# Servant of India 

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|  | POONA-THURSDAY, JUNE 1, 192\%. |  |
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| VoL. V. No. 18.] | POONA-XHURDAY: JUNE 1, 192. | (FOREIGT MOEM B. 10. |



## TOPICS OF THE WEEK,



The Home Member in the Goverrmont of Bombay; as wo showed last week, ovaded answoring a question regarding the traztment of political offenders. While in gaol on the ground that the law of the land did not define the term "politionl offorders." It is trie that this is a popular expression not recognised in law, but Mr. Hayward should not have had muoh difficulty in anderstanding it as ingaols these prisoners are in their " history tioket" labelled "political prisonés" by the gaoler himself! The position which the treatment of politioal offonders occupiea in England at present is this, that perisons convieted of eadition or seditious libel are sreated ad offonders of the firat Bivision, and prisoners of the eecond and third divisions whose provious oharacter is good pad who are convioted of offences not involving dishonesty, oruelty, indecency or berious violence, may at the disoretion of the Prison Commisisioner be gratiod relaxation's of the fules noit exdeedHing those allowed by the rulies for the first division In respeot of wearing prison olothing bathing, hair outting, oleaning of cells, employment, eteercise, booke and otherwise. It is unweocesaty th detail here all the ameliorations to whibh offenders of the first division are ontitiod in England, but it may be said generally that this class corresponds more or less to persons aemtenced to simple imprisonmont in India, and it may be added in partioular (in view of the prominence which the question has received in Mr. Gandhi'n oaiee) that they Gre allowed to receive letters and visits from not more than three frionds at intervals of a tortnight, addi-
tional letters and viaits being allowed at the discretioh of the visiting Committee. There is no serson why, till the lat ie ehdtiged or these lines, polizidsl offeradars ehould not be treated simifarly in India by making the necesedry alterations in the rules. Sush ohanges hate sotually been made in Bihar and Orissarwhere all prisonere senterided to rigorous imprisommont under the Criminal Law Amendment : Act or tection 124 A or 153 A of tive Indian Ponat Code, or innder seotion 108 read with section 114 of the Criminal Procedure Codej, wefo ordered by the Inspector General of Prisoris to bo treated "as if they bad been sentenced to timpfe imprisonment." The Bombay Goviranoot exn indeed do worse than follow the exait ple of Bider.

Non-vilomé or torachoppt
klon?

THE Gujarat Protindial Conferonee, held last week, passed a refolution to the effect that "after fully considering the disonssions that had faken place in the coduntry regarding the boycott of Councils, the Conference was of the opinion that co-operation in the administration by entering the Councils was altogether orposed to the first principles of non-co-operation, and the experienes of the last eighteen monthe showed clearly that the well-being of the country lay in aticking to the boycott of Councils. " This if no doubt the correot position from the orthodoz non-co-operation point of view, but what is the alternative to the abtrionment of non-cotbperation, ts implied in the remotal bif the existing ben on cooncile, sochods or courts? The only alternative is as premeture adoption of the aggressive forms of non-co-operation, whieh Małatma Gandini dethred de all vasts to suriptend for fear of violerice breaking outche westilt of subh dangerolts áobivithes. Tha Bardoli programme, Which consitits mainily of spinhing, tis miserably Indedequate to engage the interest of the frenzied enthusiasts of no on-óo-operatión, who liave been fed rifl revertly oh promises of awaraj withín a year. They zequire much stronger meat than is contained in the Bardoli plan. Thàt is the true inwardness of the readution passed, for instance, by the Bengal Protrincial Congress Committee, which advocates "resort to individual oivil disobedience of the gagging orders under itedtion 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code and to 'd limited form of mass civil obedience which is to oonsist in refusing to pay certain taxes levied under the salt, forest and chaukidari laws." The Servint bowails the passing of this
resolution as due to impatience. But such im. patience is bound to, be betrayed by people who have been persistently taught to expect miracles to happen and with this impatience there is always bound to be a danger of an eruption of violenoe, unless a now direction is given to their en; thusiasm such as is provided by work in the Councils. The latter may be, and is, inconsistent with non-co-operation, but when the choice is between non-co-operation and non-violence, which will the non-co-oprators háve?
A. DEPUTATION of the Malabar Re.

Ao Impasslule construction Committee, led by Dewan Bahedur M. Kristinaǹ Nair, urged on H. E. Lord Willingdon the necessity, for giving to the poor victims of the Moplah rebellion free and liberal grants of money for food, . houses and cattle instead of the loans that are being given. Weinave already commented on the in.adequacy and other unsatisfactory features of these loans and heartily supporf the deputation on this point. But we cannot say the same thing. with regard to the claim for compensation put in by the deputation for damages to property caused by the rebellion. Lord Willingdon promptly enough expressed his doubts about the Legislative Council being induced to grant money .for such compensation. But Mr. Krishnan Nair is confident of gettingit, provided the Government do not themselves oppose the motion. We are afraid he is reckoning without the host. The tax-payer:may not grudge relief to poor people in distress owing to famine or some other calamity, but he will certainly refuse to reimburse well-to:do landlords and others. You may appeal to his charity but you caǹnot treat him as a property insurance company. It would of course not be unreasonable to make the rebel Moplah compensate the victim of his inhumanity. But he is a poor devil who has baen either shot down, imprisoned or already fleeced of his ill-gotten wealth and is now mostly himself in need of relief. When the Allies are thinking of forgoing German reparations, it is absurd for the Hindus of Malabar to think of getting compensation from the Moplah, without whom their economic life would be almost at a standstill, with whom they are obliged to live side by side and to calm down whose hatred and fanaticism is to their best interest.

## Peacefal Plckettng.

WE are glad that an appeal has been preferred in the Allahabad High Court against the decision of the District Magistrate who convicted Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and others for intimidation and extortion in connection with the picketing of certain shops in Allahabad where foreign oloth was sold.' The owners of these shops had promised a private association not to sell foreign oloth and on their breaking the promise the association threatened to picket their shops and carried out the threst, so that the owners paid a fine and gave an undertaking in writing not to deal any more in foreign oloth. One
reason for our welcoming this appeal is that it is a departure from the rion-co-operators' practice of refusing to lead evidence or to crosseramine, whereby they have only helped the prevalence of injustioe and oppression. A more important reason is that it will enable the High Court to decide the limits within which peaceful picketing is permissible. In England its legality was placed beyond doubt in 1906 by a legislative enactment, but only in connection with trade disputes between the employers and the employied. We do not hear of picketing for other purposes being thought of there, such as that of capitalist shops by socialists, \&col Butin Indiawe have picketing for political reasons as in the present' case', 'and it is possible to conceive of its being resorted to for making a person join a particular political association or do something else against his inclination; in which case it would become an intolerable nuisance. On the other hand, it would have the approval of the best minds, when it is adopted for promoting the moral welfare of the community as when liquor-skops or brothels are peacefully picketed. It is a mattor where one individual's liberty of action has to be reconciled with another individual's liberty of speeoh. The present case is further complicated by a threat to picket which has been construed as intimidation and by the collection of a fine whioh has, been constried as extortion. We hope the High Court will go fully into the matter and give useful guidance for future action.

IN an article contributed to the

The Nepative Cult. current number of the Indian Review, Mr. Ramalinga Reddy aptly characterises the Gandhian movement as "an invitation to the re-barbarisation of India," and he thinks that the best mode of delivering an attack on this cave of Adullam is somehow to persuade the non-co operators to erter the councils and to put them into office, with the consequent duty fixed upon them of realising their policies.
"Let Gandhi try, for instance," he says, "to oonvert schools into spinging factories; to introduce personal law and permit the members of each religion to be tried by their religious codes; to discourage industrialism; to allow each local body to be a law unto itself; to legalise non-oo-operation with Government and civil obedience on any and every pretext; or any one of the elements of moonshine that have eerved him in alliance with superatitious revivals co well in opposition ; down he will go with no hope of resurreotion. If Gokhale had been a revolution arg and succeeded, he would have given us a Government with progressive policies and workable measures. Gandhl could give nothing practical or progressive; it is only When the wheel of electoral fortune brings him inte power that his hopeless impossibility will be demonstrated beyond dispute. If, on the other hand, power will purge his party of its orudities and absurdities, it is so much gained to the stock of national sanity, at which all will rejoice."
The discerning observation of Mr. C. Rajagopald achariar is indeed true in more senses than onei that the non-co-operators' entry into the eounciln would really be the extinotion of the movement. ;

## MALABAR.

## THE TYRANNY OF "LAW AND ORDER."

THE great need of the moment in Malabar, in addition to the prevention of starvation and the helping of the economic rehabilitation of her people, is the restoration of a feeling of security among them. This has been so rudely shaken during the past ten months that the temptation to revive it by strong methods is very great. But that way folly lies and the "greatest consideration and tact are needed in laying down the right policy to be pursued. Regard for law and order is a delicate plant of tender nurture and it requires all the sympathy and imagination which the ruler could command to implant it in the minds of the citizens. This is all the more necessary in a plece like Malabar where there has been recently a rebellion and which was consequently under the rough and ready systems of martial law and is at present under the speoial ordinance, which is equally stern in charaoter. It is here that the Special Commissioner ought to have concoived of and inaugurated a thoroughly originsl and wholesome policy of action that would ring out the old by wiping out memories of class hatred and other tyrannies and ring in a new era of peace and good-will ämong all classes of people and of intelligent and loyal support to the Government.

Mr. Manjeri Ramaier, a leading public man of Malabar, one of the ablest and most experienced practitioners of oriminal law and one whose motive cannot be questioned by his worst enemy, official or non-official, has recently portrayed in the columns of New India the present political condition of the district. It is an unmitigated rule of the polioe with all its attendant evils. And a worse remedy could not have been devised for Malabar in her present temper. The police official for various reasons has lost the confidence of the public and it is generally believed in Malabar that the growing sympathy whioh the middle and aristocratic olasses of Malabar feel for the Gandhi movment, to whom not so long ago every favourite dootrine of the Mahatme was an anıthems, was largely the result of the police misrule by petty officers which not only went unrebuked and unpanished but often received the approbation of the Department. It was beoause the polioe had lost the sympathy and therefore the oo-pperation of the public that they also failed to avert the rebellion as it was an open seoret that even two month: provious to the outbreak large quantities of knives were baing forged at the village smithies. Any shred of respect or prostige which they might have commanded for atrength and courage was completeIy lost when the policemen, at the first signal of the mob law surrendered all their arms and ammunition and took to ignominious filght, leaving the defencelens Hindue to thoir fate.

A police with such a reoord as this is the least. fitted to reatore respeot for law and order in the minds of panio-stricken people mor of the really
guilty: Under the regime of martial law ond the' special ordinance the police enjoy $s$ privileged position and it is difficult to conceive of their aoting without wanting to take revenge for their past humiliation. The ordinary processes of law administered in the special courts, commendable as they are in preference to the notorious martial law pourts of the Panjab, afford peculiar advantages to the police to practise their questionable methods of detection and prosecution under the present conditions in Malabar. The average Hindu theire is naturally so much embittered against the Moplah that he seeks vicarious vengence on him by pointing out to the guardians of law partioular criminals and also swearing to his actually having witnessed the criminal acts, when generally the truth is that the same Hindu was in some refugee camp in Calicut or elsewhere and the policeman hiding somewhere in mortal dread of his life. It is a glaring commentary on the present demoralised condition of Malabar that only recently a Nambudiri Brahman who, saved from the rebels, fed and safely conducted to a place of safety by'a Moplah, swore against his very protector in a prosecution for waging war against the King Emperor. Rumour is also very strong that many of, the actual perpetrators of crime are still at large and shrewd men it is reported, explain the fact by saying that the deities have been propitiated with liberal shares of the loot. The arreste and prosecutions however of a large number of Moplahs and a few Hindus (for the law is no respector of creeds) have been going on. More than ten tousand have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, perhaps an equal numbér are awaiting trial and it is believed that twice the same number have yet to be arrested. The absurdity and danger of following the ordinary forms of remedy on suoh extraordinary occassions is painfully patent. A really statesmanlike policy is necesrary but that is expeoting the impossible of the bureauorsey in India.

Mr. Knapp has boldly recommended a new form of punishment for the prosecuted Moplahs. Large numbers of them who are accused of having marticipated in a minor degree in crimes commii aed during the rebellion will be brought to trial and if imprisoned will have their sentenoes suspended on condition that they remain on good beheviour and pay punotually the fine thät will be imposed uporit: them and whioh they will be given time to pay: An . excellent arrangement if only the police were not made the arbiters in this matter. Let Mr. Manjeri Ramaier desoribe the result :

After all the coathy and longedrawn coramonials, polioe and fudioinl, after the witnemes have done thoip beet and the langers have done their worth after long terme of impritonment have been pronornoed. with due pomp and aolomnity. Police Ray atope on the soone onoe again, reoommonding the metamorphonis of the viottm' imprio eonment to amall instalmente of monthly finee spreed out into the fluid froture. Suppoed the fuge are pald foe a fow monthe regularly, she time munt come, in many eqcet, Whan the Mople feoes the policoman with an ampty
grocket again; the alderativea thet fape himiareieither to go quipely to gapl at once lite a good man to Fepkgut the rominder of his long term or to take to orime to refili his pocket at the expense of his neighbour, in which oase he cannot be worse of, even if the is detected. Inaction leads him frasight away to gaol, action in crime may make him rich mandenable him to dodge the prisen. It in all a case of robbing the coantry to pay the Stete. What Pogesible; gin cap agorue whero the good of the State is idegtical with the good of the Country?
Ne wonder the afflicted people of Malabar feglin thair hearts that the police. are the third placupeof their dear land, having begn precoded fifthby the Moplhhs who ran amok on account of tha Khilafat agitation and gecond by the military who were liconsed to do as they pleased in subdu. ing:tham.

## FRIENDS OF ISLAM.

 claimetast "Givilized" meant "Erenohified" more whukeheartedly accepted than in the Levant. Paris wis forthe Levantine the standard by whieh exery: therforas arionatically measured; and:when we sacrentie, we of corrse do not maan the industrial quauters of Leyallois or Belleville or the intinacy: of the small bourgeois of the banlieu but the Paxis of the grands boulevards. The effendi was at home thupend his partners in the hawte fingnce fopnd htu the ready megns, whereby to enjoy the ouphemistiodiy somelled "gay" life of the rille lumiere. The fedlabin who had ultimately to pay for it sll of curuse were not asked : having hithorto begn craudy y bled for the effendi, they now; were soiontifiaulis explaited by the concessionaire plys his efferdiassooiates. Everybody in the Leyant who pratended to any eeducation at all, needs had to hare at least a smattering of Frenoh and the most polished had turned French into a second mother toycue. This was the general mentelity of the I-syentine towards France-whethar in Foppt, Tunkey or Syria.

Fgypt of course was particulerly pro-Frenoh sinceat one time-we speak of the Fashoda era $\rightarrow$ to be so, meant to be anti-English. But in 1904 England and France made it up and whilst Fngland promised to give France a completely free hand in Morocco, France undertook to renofunce all its pretensions in Egypt. Since then Fbemoe has added Morocco to its colonial possessiems, but so slow are the Moors in appreciating theibepefits of French rule, their that powers of disorimination have had to be aided by a parmar nemit garrison: of several lakhs, whose bayonets under the direction of General Liyentey (who is alsougoviermer General) are still (after ten zears!) epuged in "pacifyling" the country.

It would therefore almost seem that the French apronly herpee to thoir Moslom frieyds, as long asthe comantry of the lattaris not get Branoh. We read vine other day that in Tunis, where the FYench keep a tame Dey to uphold the fiction of thimere "proteotorate" of an au fond independent State, this unfortunate im-potentate had ventured
to oppose an order paradithy the Frenoh Government: Whemeupon the Franeh Rosident Genpral called upon the Dey to clear up metters. He called on the Doy and in doing so he ordered a squadron of French cavaly to accompany him. Whilst this squadron stood at attention in the Palace courtJard, the Dey signed the paper whioh the Resident Genexal once more ventured to submit to His High-ness-and once more was "complete accord" restored, except that subsequently some pestilpntial journalists were clapped into prison the better to be able to understand the benefits of Frenoh rule. And order now reigas in Tunis. But somohow one cannot quite believe that the Moslems of Tunis are quite as enthusiastic about France as protector of Lslam, as, say, the Kemalist press.

This Tuniseffir of course was petfy. Not 80 the open rebellion into which Syria broke out a fow wooks ago. Syrians had alpays excelled oven in Turkish times as Francophils and during the war one remembers periodical issues of manifestoes from some Syrian League or other (sefely located at Marseilles or some such place), assuring the world in general that Sypia was just crazy after France and would not be happy until it got it. England accordingly had more or less promisedSyria to France, when the Turkish booty was going to be divided up : which did not prevent it from promising Syria also more or less to the "King" of Hedjaz; nor from promising one part of it, Palestine, to the Zionists. We know how afterwards a reconciliation of the three promises was attempted by drawing the Sykes-Picot line in favour of France; by drawing upa Zionist mandate for a severely truncated Palestine; by giving Trangjordania to "King" Hussein and letting "King" Faysal occupy-entirely at owner's risk! -the throne of Damascus. With that cordiality which always oharacterizes the Entente Cordiale, France soon drove this English protege from Dsmascus and annexed the province without further ado, thereby putting England to the trouble of organizing an "almost unanimous" referendum which called the unemployed sovereign to the hastily constructed throne of.Irsq.

Meanwhile the French got busy in Syria. Their natural starting paint was Beyrout, the great port of all Syria, and its immediate hinterland, the Lehanon. There, French influence had been supreme for half a century. For the Lebanese are almost to a man Christians, and not only Christians, but Roman Catholics. It is not superfluous to stress this difference; for the bulk of the Ohristians inhabiting the Levant are not Roman Catholic but Greek Orthodor, and if there is mighty little love lost between the Greek Orthodox and the Turk, there is still greater hatred between the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic. The Roman Catholics, in fact, were officially protected and represented in the former Turkish Empire by France, and protector and protected were at all times ready to join with the Turks against the "Schismatics " i. e. non-papal) Christian population. No won-
der, the latter hated the Christian of papal obedience even more than his "infidel" master; no wonder too, that France had an exceptionally strong position in the Turkish Empire.

The mountain district of the Lebanon, however, as already remarked, had an almost exolusively Roman Catholic population, and they on the intervention of France were given (long before the war) a status of practical independence, perfectly safe against any interference from Constantinople. As a consequence the Lebanon prospered exceedingly and after Turkey had lost the war, nothing of the whole Turkish settlement seemed as natural as that the Lebanon should come de jure under that protection of France which de facto it had enjoyed all along. The Lebanese of course welcomed their French liberators enthusiastically, at least at first. And when the French went and took the hinterland, $i$. e. the Daniascus province, and the two further districts to the north, Aleppo (inland) and Latakia ( maritime), they still were enthusiasticfor, were they not the favoured province, were they not safe in counting on an ascendancy over the whole of this Frenoh Syria? So these Maronites (asthis Roman Catholic community of the Lebanon is called) reckoned and at first they were not disappointed. But soon came disillusionment. For the French, confronted by a Sy ria, which, apart from the Lebanon, was overwhelmingly Moslem, soon saw the necessity of slowing down their pro-Christian pace. They at first tried to make each of the four provinces entirely independent of each other and to be pro-Moslem in three and pro-Christian in one. The scheme of course did not work and eventually the four provinces were "federated" into one whole, presided over by one French Governor General, with merely subordinate executives and legislatures in the four formeriy "sovereign" districts. And the policy of this federated Syria of course had to be frankly pro-Moslem. But if thereby the Lebanese sympathies were necessarily alienated, it by no means followed that those of the A rabs were thereby won.

The French, as is usual with them in all their colonial dependencies, unloaded on Syria an absurdly swollen French bureaucracy, which helped to keep down unemploymentin France certainly, but was hardly calculated to enhance the political freedom of the Syrians. Economically the French dominion proved even more disastrous : the Syrian market became a elose preserve for French industry and commerce, and a sinister manipulation of the curreney saddled the country with a depreciat--d Syrian frane. Teohnically, of course, Syria was a sovereign arab State with merely a League of Nations' mandate given to France, in order to help the infant country to stand on its own legs; practically, the French proceeded to make themselves as much at home there, as they had done, isay, in Tunis or Morocco. And note, that the terms of the mandate have never been published yet ! No wonder, the Syrian crown sits uneasily on the French brow; no wonder that the universal
revulsion of feeling of the Syrians against the French finds vent in bloody rebellions such as the one which is being put down just now. Alas, one feels that it is neither the first nor will remain the last of the series!

So far, so bad. But with all these frots staring one in the face, it would realiy be laughable, were it not so tragic, to contemplate the colossal audacity of French propaganda, which tries to exhibit France abroad as the one and only true friend of Islam. Whenever there is any acute tension between England and France, France is sure to appeal to Moslems who know British but ignore French rule, to compare France's angelic friendship for Moslems with their satanie oppression under Albion's perfidious rule-supremely oonfident, as she is, that it is a far cry from Morocoo to India, and that, if you talk loud enough about the State endowment of a Mosque in Paris, the newspaper readers of the world will have no chanoe of listening too keenly to reports of massacres in Syria. Two whites, as we know, do not make one black, but it is very needful for us in Indis to appraise things as they are in fact and not in propaganda, and not to allow ourselves to be carried away with enthusiam for a stick which may seem useful to beat our own dog with, but which in the end may hurt ourselves most. If ${ }^{\circ}$ France is proKemalist to-day, it does not prove that in France Indian Khilafatists have found a new champion.

Still, adversity makes strange bed-fellows: Who would have thought of that doughty Knight, Sir Michael O'Dwyer of Punjab fame, as an ally of Khilafatism? Yet so it is. Our Khilafat friends here shout against the iniquity of a British-Zionist mandate over Palestine and back the Arab delegation from there which tries to arouse English opinion to compassion with the poor aamindars of Palestine. And thess Arab friends of theirs, when in England, find their natural-and only -allies in that antisemitic clique, which makes itself vocal in the Morning Post, and their meetings, where fiery denunciation of the wicked Jews, inside or outside of Palestine, is indulged in, finds no more illustrious or enthusiastic patron than the great Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

It's a strange world indeed, my masters; but with however little wisdom it may bs ruled-that at least is becoming quite clear, that, if only one gives a sufficiently long rope to blind partizanship and reckless sectarianism, they are sure to end by tying themselves up in a knot-and hanging them selves.

## THE KISAN MOVEMENT IN OUDH. -I. THE AGRARIAN DISTURBANCES OF 1921.

IT is an irony of fate that in a province, where soil is abundantly rich and rainfall hardly ever scarce, the peasantry should be so helpless and downtrodden as in Oudh. But the reasons for this disparity of conditions are not far to seek. The Taluqadars of Oudh are an organised and powerul body of landlords, ever jealous of their interests
and position and for whom the suocessive rulers of the province have invaribly shown the utmost solicitude and sometimes actual partiality, which more often than iot has proved detrimental to the interests of the tenantry. Further the tenancy legislation in. Oudh is not only far behind the times, but does not go even, so far as in the sister province of Agra. Unlike his fellow-tenants in the neighbouring province, the tenant in Oudh has got no hereditary or occupancy rights. A few months before he was merely a tenant-at-will, now he has been conceded life tenure, though more in name than in reality. The miserable lot of the tenant in Oudh was now and then the subject of serious complaint in the press and on the platform. The question of amending the Oudh Rent Act of 1886 was raied in the Local Legislative Council more than once, but to no purpose. The Government, being busy with other preoccupations, had no time to heed the warning. Meanwhile the oft-repeated demands of the Government on the purse of the Taluqadars during the period of the great war and the general rise in the level of the prices, had been adversely reacting on the slender resources of the poor tenant in Oudh. His condition was growing desperate. The general upheaval against the established order of life and the political ferment in the country also affected the peasentry in Oudh in no small measure. Kisan Sabhas were started not only in every tehsil but almost in every village of considerable dimensions, in the various distriets of Oudh. People flocked to these Kisan Sabhas in their hundreds and thousands. They were up against the taluqadars and zamindars and demanded that ejectment and nazrana should go for good and that they should be given hereditary rights of tenure. Our non-co-operator friends could not possibly let this tempting opportunity of pushing on their propaganda amongst the masses slip through their fingers, so the programme of swaraj and boycott was also added to the long list of agrarian grievances later on. This resulted in disturbances, looting and various other acts of lawlessness and aggression on the part of tenanks against the zamindars and in some places against the traders also. The main area affected was limited to the four districts of Rai Barelli, Partabgarh, Sultanipore and Fyzabad. The disturbances were put down by the Government through the use of ordinary force, though in some places the looal authorities, in their zeal for restoring peace and order, went far beyond the requirements of the situation in putting down the populaoe. When these disturbances had been quelled, so many lives had been lost and the people had undergone a severe test of suffering, then only did the Government wake up to the realities of the situation.

AMENDMENT OF THE OUDH RENT ACT.
The Government of Sir Harcourt Butler, had it widely announced, that in viow of the long standing grievanoes of the tenantry. of Oudh, it was prepared now to take up the amendment of he Oudh Rent Act of 1886 at the earliest possible
date. Naturally it was expected that as the matter effected the Kisans most, the Government will ask the tenants to lay their case before it, through their representatives before the draft of the Amendment Bill was taken in hend by the Governmont. But unfortunately Sir Haroourt Butler set to work by holding private converations and conferences with the representatives of the Taluqadars and ignored the Kisans. The draft Bill, when it was published, was found to be absolutely unsatisfactory from the point of view of the tenantry: The Government had from the very beginning set- its face against conceding hereditary rights of tenure and, while granting life tenanoy to the cultivatora, had, more than compensated the Taluqadars for this loss by adding to their privileges in matters of Seer sights, acquisition of land, disallowance of subletting by the tenant and by inserting a olause about the ejectment of undesimable tenants. No aooner had the Amendment Bill been introduced in the Legislative Counoil than the Liberals seriously set to organise and focus the views and demands of the Kisans relatiag the Bill, inside as well as outside the Council. Dozens of public meetings of the Kisans were held in the various tehsils and villages of the several districts of Oudh, protesting against the objectionable features of the Bill and demanding the concession of hereditary rights. The Lucknow Liberal League submitted a memorandum to the Goverament fully setting forth the views of the Kisans, as ascertained by the League, after due investigation. A deputation of the prominent members of the League waited on the Hon'ble the Finance Member to represent the cass in a personal interview: The Liberals in the Council, at the time of the introduction of the Bill, entered an emphatic protest against the objectionable features of the Bill and made out an unanswerable case for the concession of hereditary rights. The Finance Member, in reply to the oriticism of the Hon'ble Members of the Council, promised that the views expressed in the Council woul receive due consideration in the Select Committee on the Bill. But when the question of hereditary rights was raised in the Select Committee, the Finance Member on behalf of the Government announced that the Government was unable to make any such concession without the consent of the Taluqadars to whom it was bound by certain pledges against conceding hereditary rights to the tenants. Thereupon the Liberals in a body withdrew from the discussions of the. Select Committee as a protest against the attitude of the Local Government. The protest was not altogether vain. Though obdurate on the question of hereditary rights, the officials and the Taluqadars in the Select Committee, had to concede cortain important amendments to the Bill. Forinstance, the olause relating to undesirable tenants was deleted and the heir of a gtatutory tenant was allowed to continue on the soil till after five years of the death of the tenant, on the same terms. It is to be noted that the
demands of the tenants for herèditary rights was bsoked up not only by the Liberals, but even aome very high-placed officials and trusted advisexs of the Government, whose opinions ordinarily carry decisive weight with the Government, advocated the same course. Mr. Hopkins, the then senior member of the Board of Revenue, and Mr. Hailey, the Commissioner of the F'yzsbad Division, in theiv official notes on the question, strongly advtsed the Government to ooncede hereditary rights 日is in their opinion this was the only remedy: to ensure future peace and prosperity of the provinue. But tha Government of Sir Haroourt Butier was deaf to every reason and argument. And no wonder, for out of the three members of Government 'with whom lay the final decisioi on the question, two 'were members of the British Indian Association, the well-known organisation of the Taluqadars of Oudh. Perhaps it is not widely known that Sir Harcourt Butler, after assuming the reins of the 'high office of Governorship of the United Provinces, allowed himself to be elected an honorary member of the British Indian Association, as a mark of signal confidence in and special favour to the Taluqadars. Though every inch of ground was contested by the Liberals in the Legislative Council during the passage of the Oudh Rent aot Amendment Bill, the Government could oarry the measure through with the majority vote of the Taluqadars and the officials. In the conoluding part of the debate on the Bill, the Finance Memtber, disoounting the opposition of the Liberals, very complacentiy remarked that the Government had received defnite assurances, through the district authorities, that the tenantry was quite satisfied with life tenure and that the opposition to the measure was not genuine. But hardly had the ink of the Oudh Rent Amendment Act dried in the Statute Book, then the Government was confronted with a revival of the Kisan movement in a slightly different form under the designation of Eka. Had the Finance Member been in touch with tenant life in Oudh, his speech in the Council would have ibeen less complacent and more sober. I shall - deal with the Eka movement in the next iesue.

> Krishna Prasad Kaul.

## THE C. P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL. LAST BUDGET SESSION.-III.

THE resolutions which ovoked a grest deal of - discussion have been thus far dealt with. But to give the general reader an acourate idea about the nature of the problems which are sure to -ome to the surface very shortly (though much is not heard about them in open debate as yet), it is necessary to mention two more topics here, viz. the great discontent which exists as regards the restrictions imposed by the mining rules and the rights of tenants and their relations with the malguzar. The malguzari system itself, under whioh the malgujar is the proprietor of a village and interoapts nearly $50 \%$ of the Land Revenue
from going to the State has been oalled into question. UNJUST MINING ROLES
The Central Provinoes sontsin minerals of great value. of these coal, manganese and various kinds; of olays. fit for industrisl purposes, such as the manufacture of cement, pottery and the like, are at present the most important. Very bitter oamplainter are frequently made against the arbitrary way in whioh the almost plenary discretion vested in the exeoutive officers is often exercised; to the disadvantage, $\mathrm{it}_{i}$ is alleged, of Iudians who have to secure certificates of appro-下al or prospecting or mining leases, The charge of making an unfair discrimination against Indians or undue favouritism shown to European ooncessionaires is very frequently levelled against the executive. Unfortunately the rules under the Indian Mines Act are made by the Government of India, control of minerals being s central subject. In reply to a question in the Council in the August session last year, it was said on behalf of the Local Government that the mining rules were made by the Government of India and they could be amended only by that authority. But the teohnical plea about the belplessness of the Local Government apart, somebody having an intimate connection with the mining industry must take up the question very soon and bring the law as well as the rules thereunder into closer conformity with the desire of Indisns to have an adequate ahare in the exploitation of the mineral resources of the country. Otherwise a conflict of interests is visibly growing up in a large olass of influential people which is bound to lead to collateral political effects of an undesirable character. The Local Governments concerned would do well, on their own initiative, to get the complaints investigated in time by an impartial committee, and suggest such modifications in the mining rules to the Government of India as would allay the discontent which undoubtedly exists. The executive Government seems to be unaware of the seething mass of discontent which exists below the surface in the matter. Complaints are not openly made beosuse, under the unlimited disoretionary powers which Deputy Commiseioners at present exercise, everybody who has anything to do with the mining industry (except the European firms and a few favoured Indians) is afraid that he may lose even the few orumbs of right he has, if he gave expression to any complaints publicly. But one feels that there is something unwholesome or unhealthy in the whole atmosphere about the mining industry whioh may turn out to be one of the most fruitful causes of political discontent.
abolition oftre malguzari system.
As regards the other problem mentioned aboven viz. that of the malguzari interesty, there are the rumblings of a distant storm already audible. The question reared its head quite incidentally in the debate on a comparatively unimportant resolution which recommended that the settiement of
diaputes relating to land in a village abadi, where the malguzar claims the site on which a house is built and the tenant the superstructure, should be made by a standing committee of arbitration. A village abadi corresponds to what is known as gaothan (village site) in the Bombay village. Butit seems unnecessary to enter into the merits of the proposal in any detail. Suffice it to state here that the proposal was rejected, the Finance Member suggesting in the course of the debate that the acceptance of the motion implied a change in the existing law; and if that was at all a desirable thing the proper course would be to bring in a bill for effecting the change. But the interesting thing to note is that the proposal came from a member who was himself a malguzar or village proprietor, and it was opposed by other malguzar members of the Council. The incident has been mentioned only to draw attention to the signs of the times and coming events which have already began to cast their shadows before. This malgujar member thus sounded a note of warning in the ears of his -brother malgujars:
"My resolution has upset my malguzer friends in the Council who characterize my attitude as inconsistent with my protest against the abolition of the malguzari aystem during the budget debate. I ray, however, assure them that I do not meap any ill to the malguzar by moving this resolution. I only want that a man should always be liberally disposed. Is it not inconsistent that we have been pressing Government to grant us nothing less than oomplete Swarajy a while the malguzars are not willing even to extend even this small privilege to the tenants ? It is surprising that we should expect to advance like Americe and Japan without being prepared for the least saorifice. How should the tenant get land to live on under such circumstances? He cannot certainly be born with a piece of land in his month. If you are not prepared to give up your self-interest, what can you say if others do the same? . . . I should like to invite the particuiar attention of my malguzar friends to the agitation carried on against their class in the United Provinces and warn thern not to carry matte ra too far.
Now that we are dealing with this question, it will not be considered out of place to anticipate a little and indicate here what was actually proposed during the course of the budget debate on this question. Various suggestions were made with regard to the way in which an equilibrium between revenue and expenditure could be brought about in provincial finance, in view of the normal annual deficit of 48 lakhs in our normal revenue position. On two or three previous occasions the abolition of the malguzari system or expropriation of the malguzar was hinted atindireot. ly. But the suggestion was put forward directly for the first time only during this session in this way:
"One more phenonenal change which may be suggested is that the present malguzari aystem in the Central Provinoes be now. abolished. Some of ut who are landlords here may perhaps feel the suggestion as it is against their interests, but it is a quention worth while oonsidering. The malguzara in the Central Provinces unnecessarily enjoy 50 per cent. oommission on the revenue, involving loss to the State as well as to the actual tillers of the moil. Any settlement means extra payment by the tillers
of the soil, and not by the malguzars. The malgusers are oharging this 50 per oent. commission unnecessarily. The question of vested interests can be met by giving compensation to the malguzars. This will require a lot of money, but the aystem can be easily adopted on an experimental atage in certain districts, and a loan can be taken. for the same."
The bold course suggested here is not of course within the range of practioal politics just now, for the malguzari interest holds a strong position in the Council. As the Finance Member said in winding up the general debate on this year's budget:
"Inotice snother interesting suggestion relating to the acquisition of the malguzari right in the Central Provinces. I gather this is not suggested as a means of immediateiy meeting our deficit and I dare say that the malguzar members of Counoil have not yet begun to tremble. But there are some attractive paints about the suggestion and they must appeal with special foree to a part of our electors, the tenants and the urban population. No one knows what the future may bring forth, and I would advise the malguzars to put their house in order with an eye to the future."
; The only important resolution of the session which now remains to be noticed as being of somewhat general interest is the one which deals with the grievances arising out of the rigorous enforcement of the Factory laws in Berar during the last cotton season. In Berar alone, where there are a, large number of factories, the number of prosecutions under the Factory laws rose from an average of 4 to 5 per year to 69 in the last cotton season. The members interested in the question did not contend that the law was fauity or that its administration was undesirable or should be suspended. They recognized that the public conscience had been recently quickened and that public opinion itself demanded proper protection for factory workers. But they contended that a sudden and drastic change in the system of administration was causing harassment even when the offences were of a trivial character and that ordinarily mere warnings in cases of technical breaches of the law should suffice. The Home Member, Mr. Joshi, promised to draw the attention of District Magistrates to the discretionery powers vested in them, as regards giving warnings only, where such a course would meet the necessities of the case. But factory owners will do well to note that the law is bound to be administered with increasing rigour as."time passes and they should train. up their staff properly in the requirements of the law, so that no appeal for meroy may be necessary. It has to be recognized that in a majority of factories, the management is still in the hands of people who do not know the rudiments of the scientific: side of it. Those elovenly habits which have been prevalent till now must be given up-a course which. will not subserve only theinterests of ${ }^{-}$ workers but thosei of the? capitalists themselves in the long run.

Sitabaldi.

## REYIET.

## IMPROVEMENT IN AGRICULTURE

## AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS IN WESTERN

INDIA.' By G. Kéandes, C. I. E. (Longmang Green \& Co.) pp. 253.
Tis chief object of the present' volume by Mr. Keatinge, late Director of Agricaltare in the Bombay Preaidency, is to show the progresp agricaltare has made in the Bombay Presidency and in doing 00 to analyse the canses that infuence the agricaltaral progress not only in India but also in other conantries where similar conditions prevail. The anthor has very ably shown the progress Indian agriculture has made during the past ten years giving varions proofs elucidating his argament: with a darge number of facts and tignies obtained as ar result of his long experience in the revenue and the agricaltaral departments.

AGRIOULTURE IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.
Not the least interesting part of this book is the one which deald with the progreals which agriculture has made in some foreign conntries, natably Henmark and Germany.

Demmark.-At prement all authoritios bear witness to the general prosperity of rural Denmark and the high level of edacation, intelligence and industry to be:found there. It is interesting to stady the method sdopted to reach the present level of progress in Denmark as it may indicate the possible lines on whioh India can advance. The lines of development were threefold: ( 1 ) fundamental economic reforms, (2) measares creating the machinery for development and (3) technical advance on scientific lines.
(1) Towards the end of the 19th centary a law was passed to bring into existence a large number of small pessant farms. Under this law the commission finds for a sober, industrions and trainod farmer a farm of from three to sixteen acres, advances nino-tenths of the parchase money for the land and stock. Repayment is to be made in a handred years by annaal instalments pasing an interest of only three por cent. Such farms cannot be. .pabdivided or mortgaged and thas the : farmers are protected against the grave evils to which amall holdings are usually subject. The improvement of coads and telephone arrangements in rural areas have greatly assisted the progress, while aocietien for land reclamation, dramage and irrigation whioh benefit the tarmors are encopraged and aubsidiead by the State,
(2). The machinery for raral development conaigte of admirable arrangemente for raral, apd agricultural ednoation and co-aperation. Both agricule taral schools and co-oparative qocieties are private ventures but receive subsidy from Gqvernment, The co-eperative organisation is of extreme, value to the farmers and embraces a great many aotivities like the parahose and distribution of seed, manures apd implements, live-stock, paultry and beo-keeping apd many others.
(3) Technical progress on sciontifle lines is the third line of advance. Denmary depende on the cow for 'ite wealth and its problems aré scientific breeding and feeding of milk cattle. A high level of milk production has been reached by'scientific cattie breeding. 'It may be of interest to note that the agriciltural badget of Denmark' (with e populaof $3,000,000$ ) for 1804 was roughly $£ 80,000$.

By means of suoh ineasares Denmark has achieved a high position amonget the nations of the world in the matter of raial progress:

Germany.-The improvement that has taken place in German agriculture during the last thirty to thirty-five years is very striking. These regults werd achieved by working on the mame lines as in Denmark.

The progress of the beet sugar industry in Germany is "an' important "fetor"'in the "agricultaral progress of the conntry. By means of tariff protection and direot bonnties a powerful industry has been establighed, profiteble alike to the commanity and to the Government. One more thing worthy of note is that the cultivation of the land in the beat posibile manner is looked opon by the German agriculturists as their sarced duty to the Fatherland:

England and America:-The anthor then tracen the progress of agricultare in England, from the 18th: century onwards. It is shown how the progress was attaiaed by the various Acta of Pirliament along With the introduction of root and fodder crops, iron implements and the improtement of cattle by scientific feeding and breeding.

In the United States of America, agricaltural progress is achieved by propaganda-work. Lecturing campaigus, demonstration farme, agricultaral exhibitions and aimilar activities have brought about a great improvement in the agriculture of the conntry.

Some other Countries.-The progress made by the islands of Hawaü, Formosa and Java affords instractive examples of rapid progress secured by the Americans, Japanese and thé Dutch respectively in tropical countries. Powerful joint stock companies obtained control of the necessary land, commanded large capital and efficient foreign labour." In each case the sugar industry was taken as the most important line of advance.

In Formoss the Chinese farmers who were anwilling to sell their lands or to grow cane for the factories were forced to sell their cane to the factories and conld be panished for making sugar themgelves by an Act pasesed by the Government in 1005.' In addition to this large subidies were granted to the induatry:

In Jave again on account of the State interfereqce, the sugar companies are in a position of advantage for securing land and labour for cane prodaction, anch as no other country enjoys.

It will be noticed that the apparent agricultaral prograse in these islands is not the result of genaine
advance made by thẹ. cultivators but is. due to the artificial advantages obtained by State interference for the;ssake of the capitalists even at the cost of the liberty of the farmers and the labourers. No one who desires the genuine prosperity of the Indian cultivators, would recommended the adoption of any of these methods for agricultural and induatrial progress.
;AGRICULTURE IN WESTERN INDIA.
The anthor then deals with: the indications of progress in agricultare in Western India. We agree with the anthor's'general concluaion that "agricultural progress has taken place:in Western India bat the pace has been slow-slower than it has been elsewhere." But some of his argaments as indications of agricultural progress are not convincing. For when the author gives the cincreased import of gold in the Bombay Presidency as a sign of agricultural progress we cannot agree. It is difficult to know how much of this gold actually goes to the cultivators. We believe it is mostly absorbed in towns. Again the capacity of the raral population; to withstand the effects of a recent famine cannot be wholly attribated to the agricaltural progress but to the exployment which the people got during war time in military and other construction works as well as in textile and other industries at very high rates of wages.

The rise in the price of food grains is not advantageous to the cultivators of the Presidency as a whole, for they have to import even in a normal year about 500,000 tons of grain from other parts of India. The increase in the imports of articles of laxary like tea, sugar, liquor, \&c., does not necessarily prove the spending capacity of the rural popalation, for we know that most of these luxuries are only to be found in large industrial towns and their subarbs.

Holdings.-The sabject of holdings with their subdivisions and fragmentations has been very ably treated by the anthor and the information given in the appendix enhances the value of this chapter. The anthor had paid a great deal of attention to this subject while he was in India and he has already drafted a permissive bill intended to stop the evil effects of sabdivisions and fragmentations in the Bombay Presidency. The custom of fragmentation, together with the Hindu law of inheritance, has resalted in (1:) making the holding very small and (2) in breaking ap the individual holding into a large namber of plots. . The numerous evil effects of anch excessive subdivisions have been clearly shown. It is also shown that this state of things is not peonliar to India: alone, but occars in France, Switzerland, Japan;and parts of Germany. From the etudy of the remedial' measures adopted in most of these conntries, it would not be difficult to saggest such remedien :as would suit Indiai conditions and:the Hindn sentiment. The proposed draft bill of the aiothor given in appendix III, which is the outcome of the anthor'm long experience
and critical study of the problem, certainly deperves serious consideration at the hands of all those who wish to see the agricultural industry carried on on an economic basis.

Irrigation farming.-The anthor then deals with the special case of irrigation farming. It is shown that from 1868 large irrigation works have been conatructed from time to time to sapply water to the east Deccan where the rainfall is scanty and ill-distribated. The present area irrigated from sach canals which amounts to 200,000 acres is capable of being increased several times. It is shown that the capital outlay involved in the constraction of these large irrigation works is heavy: and interest paid on the capital outlay in the casa of large irrigation works is very low, varying from 0.13 to 2.2 per cent. Now it must be remembered that whenever such schemes are proposed for sanction, they are always shown to be profitable and capable of yielding a high rate of interest. And hence when we find after the completion of the works that they are hardly able to pay their way, we cannot admire the engineering akill and ability. which certainly must include an accirate financial estimation of such works. The anthor then indicates some of the evil effects of irrigation on account of which one-third of the area commanded by the Nira Left Bank Canal has been ruined or damaged. Eren on the newly opened. Godavary canals one-seventh of the area has been rained by waterlogging and salt efflorescence. Ta avoid these evil effects the author recommends preventive measures before starting a canal. In. this connection he has mentioned a scheme originally. worked by Mr. Inglis of the Irrigation Department. This is specially intended for starting the sugar industry in the canal aress by the establishment of some joint stock companies or sugar syndicates. This in our opinion is trying to mitigate one evil by introducing another. The establishment of such companies is sure to drive out a large number of caltivators from their farms and turn them into landless laboarers. We shall certainly be glad to see the sugar industry established in these areas, but it should bo organised on the co-operetive basis and not on thebasis of joint stock concerns.

Technique and Equipment.-The next two chapters are devoted to the consideration of technique and equipment of the Indian cultivator. The first briefly deals with the departmental activities and propaganda. The anthor considers that substancial progress has been made in the direction, but the economic obstacles block the way for any rapid progress. Equipment includes implements and the live-stock required by the farmer. The anthor:thinks that even the poor Indian cultivator cannot do without improved implements if he is to compete with the growers of cotton, sugarcane, oilseedspand wheat in the more advanced countrien. The queation of dairy industry has been discnesed. It is shown how the measares adopted in other

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countries have revolationised the dairy industry in thosa parts and that there is room for enormons progress in this respect in India. Of course here again the author recommended the establishment of dairy companies well-financed and aided by Government by acquiring lands and other facilitios for them. We however think that even the dairy industry. can be established on the co-operative basis instead of as a eapitalistic concern.

Finally the author considers the possibility of formulating a forward policy to secare agricultaral progress at a more rapid rate. A brief review of the past policy has been taken and some of the important points likely to secure a rapid agricultural progress have been summarised.

On the whole the book is an excellent and authoritative review of the agricaltural progress in Western India and gives very. valuable, usefal and practical saggestions for making a more rapid advance in agricultare in the Bombay PresidencyWe warmly commend this book to those interested in agricaltare and to the iodustrions and skilfal caltivators to whom the book is dedicated by the anthor.

## N. V. •Kanitgar.

## CORRESPONDENCE:

## REPRESSION OF NON-BRAHMANS.

To the Editor of the 8ievant of India.
Stan-Readers of newspapersin the Deccan are quite familiar with oriticisms of Non-Barhmans in certain parts of the Central Diviaion on theground that they have been oomritting acts of violence and perseoution against their Brahman neigh. bours. It has also been asid that the officials in the distriots ooncorned are siding with the Non-Brahmang and shielding them againat the Brahmant if they dare oomplain to them. What truth there raay be in these allegations, it is not my purpose to-day to discuss. But I'wish in thic lotter to show that there are two sides to the shield even in the present oaseWhat is the treatment meted out to Non-Brabmans by Brahrasen when and where they are in power? The following atory of what is taking place at Yoliur in the Kurundwad Junior State aupplies a striking illuatration of the Brahman attitude sowards the Non-Brahman attemptis to attain a ponition befitting their cenae of self-respeot. This State, as may be known to many readers, is wituate in the Southern Maratha country and is ruled by a Chitpawan Barhman Chief who has some olaims to be oalled an eduoated gentleman. His and who taken a prominont part in these affaire, is an undergraduate. These faots are neeossary to ensble the publio to appreolate the aignifloance of their doings tomards the Non-Brabmans in one of thoir own villagen, who have the misfortune to be the followera of the Satya Shodhak Samaj.

About three years back, the Yellue people, mostly Marathas by caste, frobibed the Satga Shodhak prinojples and deoided to dispense with the aervices of the Brahman priesta at their religious ceremonies, A suit for reoovery of Daxina from one of the Satya Samajist Merathas was lodged by a Brahman priest and thougi it was shown that the coremony having been performed in a Non-Brahmanioal form, the suit oould not lie scoording to the law laid down by the Bombay High Ooutt, the Courts of the State with Brahmans presiding over ther granted the olaim on gronnds which are worth notice. The original Court Igoored the Higb Court ruling on the ground that it wat not suffioiently, old! The Court of First Appeal ruled it out on the around that thacose before him
was in respect of martiage ceremony while the Bombay High Court'r deoleion related to a funeral beremony. Ultimately the poor Non-Brahman was foroed to pay Daxima emoluments to the Brahman whose services he never asked for or utilised.

In April last,' a small portion of the backyard of the Brahman Kulkarni of Yellur was alleged to have been burnto The police have arrested two men, one a Maratha and another a Mabomedan, for this alleged offence and placed them before a Brahman Magistrate for trial. The case is still sub judice I am not, therefore, going to enter into a dlsoussion of the merits of:fite case. But the highest authorities in the State do care for the ordinary prinoiplen of fairness or justice. They have decided that the offence has taken place, that it. is the result of the Non-Brahman movement and that the whole Non-Brahman population in the village and even those of them who, though living far away from it, have the misfortune to own some property there, deserve to be saddled with a Punitive Police oosting about Rs. 2,600 a year. In the Proolamation issued by the Distriot Magiatrata of the State, a Brahman of oourse, on the 25th April and given effect to on the 1st of May, it has been stated in a charaoteristically vague atyle that "horrible' and troublesome sots" are taking place at Yellur, that there is "possibility of dangerous rioting" in the future, that all this is due to differences arising out of the Non-Brahman movement- and that the fire for whioh the two men!are still to be tried is an . instance of this dangerous state of thinge.

One may ask, ia this justice or fairness to the men under trial p In a petty State like Kurandwad Junior, low paid men hold high posts and form a olique in whioh there is usually unity of purpose and plan. Are we to believe that the Distriot Magistrate who has been imposed on the State by the 'advice' of the Politioal Agent and who is the higheat. offioer in the State will not influence the Magistraoy or even the Chief who is the nominal figurehead of the State by his own decision announced in the proclamation? 'Is such aotion' justified $?^{\prime}$,Does it leave apy'y possibility of justice beian dealt to the accused in the case? Does it not in faot make the trial a sham farce? Another point is that the whole village is going to be paninhed for a single offence committed by only two of its residents who are still under trial. Does it not show the existence of a deep-seated prejudice o Is it not ${ }^{1}$ likely or intended'to overawe the poor Non-Brahmans in the village and, dissuade them from following the Satya Shodhat activitios whioh have been damned for good by this District Magistrate ?

There are duestions for the Brahman leaders to answer. I cannot doubt that the answer of all fair-minded Brahmans must be only one and against the authoritien of this Brahman State. WKat is the chance of ju'stice belng done to these Non-Brahmans of Yellur? Is not the State obiviously trying to use methods of ,repression against the. Non-Brahmans? And finally, what are the-Brahman publicists in the Decoan going to do to see that sugh represaion is not resorted to by a Brahman State against its Non-Brahman subjects for no fault of theirs except that they are orying to stand on a level with ihe Brahman P - Yours, etc.
B. K. Dalvi.

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