

THE Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE.

Office : KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

VOL. VI, No. 21.]

POONA—THURSDAY, JUNE 21, 1923.

{ INLAND SUBS. Rs. 6.
{ FOREIGN " " s. 10.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	241
ARTICLES :—	
The Salt Tax Debate	243
Sukkur Barrage Scheme. By A. V. Thakkar ...	244
Malabar Land Tenures—I. By P. Kodanda Rao ...	245
CONTINENTAL LETTER. By Prof. Levin L. Schucking ...	247
REVIEW:—	
Rural Economics. By V. V. S.	249
MISCELLANEA:—	
The Real Kenya Question	251

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

The Kenya Question. THE readiness of Kenya Indians to put native interests first and to limit their demand for equality of status to the relative position of alien immigrants puts to the proof the solicitude which European settlers profess for the welfare of the natives. It is unfortunately only too true that the natives are, as things stand at present, unable to protect themselves against exploitation by immigrant communities; and therefore their interests can only be safeguarded by the Imperial authorities, who must maintain an attitude of strict impartiality as between Indian and European settlers. The latter can therefore oppose the Indian claim for a common franchise based on uniform qualifications only by giving up not only their dream of forming a White Dominion in Kenya, but their existing franchise as well, and they can impose restrictions on future Indian immigration only by submitting to those restrictions themselves. This solution of the question will suit the Indian community exceedingly well; for they have never cherished the immoral ambition of establishing their domination over the natives. That is however, the ambition of the whites, and we fear they will strenuously oppose this solution. They could wax eloquent over the idea of trusteeship when they constituted themselves trustees; we are not sure that they will feel equal enthusiasm for the idea when they come to realise that its carrying out would involve a deprivation of all the political privileges which they are enjoying at present and which they wish to obtain in future.

* * *

The Bombay Executive Council. THE retirement of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla and the resignation of Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad have brought about a complete change in the personnel

of the Indian element of the Executive Council in Bombay. Sir Chimanlal's retirement is due, we are told, to his desire to take part in the public life of the country in an unofficial capacity. He certainly has it in him to strengthen and enrich public life by competent national service; and one could only wish that he had found it possible to devote his undivided attention to non-official work without the pre-occupation of a busy professional career. The new members of the Council, Mr. C. V. Mehta and Mr. Cowasji Jehangir will, we have no doubt, give complete satisfaction to the public, for they are noted for their independence and general ability; but in their case also one cannot resist a passing reflection that their advent into these official positions entails a distinct loss on unofficial public life. This loss is particularly great in the case of Mr. Mehta, whose tenure of ministerial office was marked by firmness in his dealings with the non-responsible part of Government and a keen sensitiveness to enlightened public opinion in his dealings with the people. We for our part wish that his political advancement had taken different line from what it has actually taken

* * *

A Counsel to Boycott. THE Liberal Party is advised by some of our Nationalist contemporaries to boycott the newly appointed Public Services Commission, because it has been thrust upon the country in utter disregard of the wishes of the Assembly. It is urged in the name of self-respect. The matter, however, is not one to be decided in a huff. The real point to be considered is whether the interests of the country will be better served by boycotting the Commission or by putting the Indian case before it as strongly as possible. For our part we have not the slightest doubt that it is the latter course that is in the interests of the country. It will be remembered that the boycott by the Congress of the Committee which enquired into the Punjab disorders and the operation of martial law in 1919 resulted in some very valuable evidence, collected by the Congress, being wasted and all the known excesses of militarism not being recorded and adjudicated on. If the Liberal Party, whose leaders alone can speak with first hand knowledge of the efficiency of European and Indian civil servants, should boycott the Commission, the Europeans in the Services will have a very comfortable time of it and the interests of India will be betrayed. Dissatisfied as we are with the Indian

personnel of the Commission, we should, however, consider it suicidal not to give them a fair chance of representing Indian public opinion on the Commission.

National Flag Development.

THE drastic action taken by the Central Provinces Government in dealing with the National Flag agitation will have such a seriously disturbing effect that we very much regret that a small matter which, if left alone, would have subsided in a short time, has been allowed to develop into an important factor in the national movement. Each side is actuated by a sense of prestige which does not permit it to take an easy road out of the difficulty. The Swaraj flag, to the mind of most who are participating in the agitation, is a mere emblem of Indian's political emancipation, a goal recognised by H. M. the King Emperor himself and does not convey the idea of opposition to the Union Jack. An authoritative statement to this effect would at once ease the situation. We would earnestly implore the Non-co-operation leaders to make their position clear. If the National Flag is persecuted even after a declaration on their part that it is not inimical to the Imperial connection, they will put the Government in the wrong. If, however, they are conducting the agitation in a hostile sense they must first change the creed of their constitution, which still contemplates Dominion Status within the Empire. No one can start a movement in opposition to the Union Jack without violating the fundamental article of the Congress Constitution.

Disrupted Unity.

MANY other Provincial Congress Committees are falling in with Mr. C. Rajagopalachar in his determination to carry on an active anti-Council propaganda, as a result of which the All-India Committee is being more and more isolated from the provincial committees. The very unity for whose sake the so-called compromise was negotiated is broken more violently than ever before, and a regular anarchy is raging in the Congress world. The Congress decision on council elections is nullified by its All-India Committee, and the latter's decision is in its turn openly defied by its subordinate bodies in the provinces. This is of course a distressing circumstance for all who have any regard for the Congress, and therefore a proposal is revived and influentially supported to hold a special Congress before the elections, whose decision should be binding on both parties in the Congress. It is hardly to be expected, however, that Mr. C. R. Das, who had everything his own way in Bombay, will be prepared to forego his spoils and accept an arrangement which will upset the present arrangement. He is in any case ready to defy the Congress; and having got a Committee of that body to reverse the Congress decision, he will never again agree to any proposal which will only confirm that decision. The differences that separate these two factions are fun-

damental and therefore irreconcilable. The only thing one could hope for is that the Congress, instead of being a see-saw, now under the influence of one principle and now under that of its opposite, will be guided consistently by either of them.

Negation of N.-C.-O.

TO the orthodox non-co-operators who cast the reproach on Mr. C. R. Das that, in advocating the lifting of the Congress ban on elections, he is really wishful to kill the movement of non-co-operation, Mr. Das's reply has always been that he only desires to practise non-co-operation from within and he points out to them in defence the resolution which he moved at the special Calcutta session of the Congress. This resolution, however, only serves to show how far he has since drifted from the line of policy adumbrated by him three years ago, under which candidates pledged themselves, on their election, to oppose every measure of Government if in a majority and to resign and seek re-election if in a minority. This policy was as explicit as the present one is evasive. It would be interesting to note the several loop-holes that have been deliberately left in the Swaraj party's programme outlined at Allahabad in February last :

1. The Party is, first, formally to demand, not full self-government, but a mere "beginning" of self-government, which, according to Mr. Das, may take as many as 20 years to blossom into complete Swaraj. If the Government is tactful enough to accept the "principle" of the demand, the whole movement of N.-C.-O. is to be liquidated.
2. In the event of the rejection of the demand by Government, which itself will take two or three years to come about, the Party will not necessarily embark on obstruction of all measures of Government, but (when in a majority) may ascertain the wishes of the electorates, which means that if the latter are averse, or are thought to be averse, to obstruction, the party will give up the only form of non-co-operation contemplated.
3. When in a minority, they do not pledge themselves to resign, but may retain their seats and will be free to give or withhold their support as they please.

Mr. Das's Calcutta policy was one of uniform non-co-operation in the Councils; his present policy is nine-tenths co-operation and only one-tenth non-co-operation.

THE opening last Saturday of the fine new college building and the transfer of the head-quarters of the S. N. D. Indian Women's University from Hingne Budruk to the outskirts of Poona City, marks another milestone on Prof. D. K. Karve's road to outward success and recognition. Within seven short years Mr. Karve has been able to realize his ideas for the higher education of Indian Women in a manner, which nobody could have

thought possible, who was aware of the difficulties in their way. But Mr. Karve is indeed "irresistible", as Sir Hormasji Wadia so felicitously expressed himself: an "irresistibility" founded on single-mindedness, self-sacrifice and grit. For that reason alone one should be glad that the late Sir Vithaldas D. Thackersey's liberality has assured the future of Prof. Karve's Indian Women's University. But there is an even deeper reason than this for genuine rejoicing, in which all should unite, whether they believe that Mr. Karve's solution of the problem of higher education is the only right one or not: and it is that the one evil above all others, towards which Indian education is hopelessly drifting, is that of Governmental regimentation. But this centralizing tendency towards a Government monopoly in education can result in one thing only—the end of all true freedom. Only by giving free rein to all kinds of systems, ideals, methods, can there be any guarantee, that the best will be given a chance at all. It is for that reason above all others that we so heartily welcome the materialization of Prof. Karve's lifework, as we have welcomed Rabindranath Tagore's Vishva Bharati and as we would welcome any other original educational effort: for if India is ever to be truly free, her youth must have the opportunity of many avenues to learning, alternative to the kind which happens to be acceptable to the Government of the day.

* * *

Mysore Reforms. THE Mysore Reforms Conference which met in Bangalore the other day to consider the Seal Committee Report was not well advised to repeat parrot-like the old formula, "unsatisfactory, inadequate and disappointing" and to ask for a statutory declaration of rights. As we have frequently shown in these columns, the countries which have these rights laid down in the constitution, the United States of America and France among them, do not show as much regard in practice for the liberty of their subjects or of aliens as England and other countries do, which have no declaration of rights. We are not opposed to a declaration of rights, but it is easy to attach an exaggerated importance to it, and being foreign to the spirit of the British constitution on which our constitution is moulded, there is little chance of such fundamental rights being incorporated into the constitution, especially as such a formal declaration of rights is bound to be accompanied with reservations which will virtually nullify the declaration. We are, however, in full sympathy with the request that responsibility to the Representative Assembly should be declared to be the goal of constitutional reforms in the State and that this goal should be reached in few stages. This is of the utmost importance because it is not in the interests either of Indian States or British India that the subjects of the former should have an inferior political status to those of the latter. It is but fitting that Mysore which is in the vanguard of progress among the States should give a lead in this matter.

THE SALT TAX DEBATE.

THE debate on the India Office Vote, which took place in the House of Commons on the 13th inst. and which will be resumed on another supply day, turned mainly on the motion of Mr. Trevelyan challenging the certification of the salt duty by Lord Reading. Mr. Trevelyan appears to have put the Indian case in a convincing, if temperate, speech, emphasising the constitutional aspect of the matter, which indeed is an aspect that requires to be put in the forefront. The reports of the speeches made on this occasion that has reached this country is so fragmentary that it would not be safe to base any conclusion on it, but Earl Winterton's deliverance is cabled at sufficient length to make it a fair object of criticism. It is for the most part a rehash of the Governor-General's laboured apologia, and wherever the Under-Secretary has sought to break new ground or use somewhat new arguments he has come to grief. Lord Winterton repeated the Government of India's plea that every possible economy was effected by them in the first two years of the reformed constitution, whereas the fact is patent, and amply borne out by the official report of the Legislative Assembly's debates, that the Government from the first was averse to any searching investigation being instituted into possible savings that could be made in the Central Government's expenditure. Whenever any such proposal was made, the Government's exponents assumed an air of injured innocence and scouted the very idea that any further retrenchments could be made after the frantic efforts they had themselves made to apply the pruning knife. The Assembly had to take up, in face of this intransigence, a seemingly unreasonable attitude, demanding an all-round cut of 5 per cent. in all departments without distinction. It was of course the only weapon in their hands of compelling the Government to undertake a systematic survey of the whole administration with a view to effecting substantial economies, and if the Inchope axe fulfilled this purpose the credit of it is entirely due to the insistence of non-official members in face of the best efforts of Government to put them off. It is therefore futile for Lord Winterton now to pretend that the Government of India has always been alive to the urgency of balancing its account and that it was due to its initiative that the Inchope cuts were made.

We are all familiar with the argument that the Government had no resource but to double the salt tax in order to balance its budget. But it is quite a novel idea now propounded by the resourceful Indian Under-Secretary that, if the Central Government were responsible to its Legislature, the Finance Member would have obtained its support by threatening to resign and throwing upon his critics the duty of filling the deficit without enhancing salt duty. If the constitution does not compel the executive to resign on being defeated over any of its important measures, there is noth-

ing in the constitution to prevent the executive from resigning if it is so minded. And we feel no doubt that if Sir Basil Blackett had elected to throw down the challenge, non-official members on their part would not have been slow to take it up. If the Government is carrying on the administration as if it were accountable to the people for its acts, why does it continue in the invidious position which it occupies at present in regard to the salt tax of appearing to flout unanimous Indian opinion? Why does it not proclaim once for all that it will hereafter defer to the wishes of the Legislature and voluntarily accept the inevitable consequences of an adverse vote of the Assembly? The same query is prompted by another observation of Lord Winterton, who said that, taking the Council of State and the Assembly together, there was a majority for the Government of India's policy. If such was the case and if the Government were sure that such would be the case, why did it not, in the usual way, leave the decision on the doubling of the salt tax to the vote of a joint session of the two Chambers, as such a session would have been necessitated in normal cases of difference between the Houses? Why did it unnecessarily incur the odium of certifying, not an ordinary enactment, but a Finance Act? Lord Winterton only adds insult to injury by not contenting himself with justifying the use of special powers but by claiming that the special powers were altogether necessary.

Lord Winterton also touched upon other subjects in his speech, but the references were too slight and conventional to need any comment. On one point, however, his observations are worthy of remark. He tried to dissipate the alarm which has been sedulously propagated among the British public as to the future of the I. C. S. It was stated in various quarters that the services under the reforms regime have lost their old attractions and that the Government finds a serious difficulty in recruiting men for them. All such panicky statements are however, according to Earl Winterton, beside the mark, for he said that sufficient candidates of a high quality were available. Earl Winterton's complaint was that there was uncertainty about their position and prospects. As a matter of fact the salaries of all-India services have been placed beyond the reach of the Legislature, and there could be no element of doubt on that matter. What is in doubt is the extent to which it is necessary to go to foreign sources of recruitment for qualified civil servants. It is the belief of Indians that, except in extraordinary circumstances, foreign recruitment should cease and that in any case the Secretary of State's control over the services should give place to the control of the authorities in India.

THE SUKKUR BARRAGE SCHEME.

THIS great irrigation scheme, which has been under discussion for several years past and which

was first submitted to the Secretary of State, Lord Crewe, in 1912 in a less ambitious form, was approved by the Bombay Legislative Council on the 9th inst. and a sum of 56 lakhs (out of the 18½ crores, the total estimated amount) was voted for expenditure thereon during the current year. The whole of Sind will be jubilant, as the news will spread from hamlet to hamlet and from one farm house to another, and will thank its good fortune that politically it is connected with Bombay Presidency.

It was a general complaint voiced by members of the Legislature that they were not given sufficient time to consider the scheme in all its bearings, and this complaint was not without reason. The papers connected with the project were supplied to them less than three weeks ago, and this time was hardly sufficient for scrutinizing such a complicated matter about which there is a considerable disagreement amongst experts. Bombay has been adding so much to her indebtedness recently, and some of the large irrigation schemes undertaken in the past in other parts of the country have been such huge failures, witness, *e. g.* the canals in Orissa and those of the Madras Canal Company, that it would have been surprising if, in any case, the Council had not felt many misgivings in making itself responsible for raising a loan of 18 crores, on top of another loan of 36 crores for the Bombay Development Scheme. But the insufficiency of time allowed increased their difficulties. The Government also omitted to refer the subject to public bodies—a necessary caution if the Legislature was to voice public feeling. It has always been the practice of the bureaucracy in India to embark on big irrigation schemes involving a large outlay of money without eliciting public opinion; and this practice continues uninterrupted even when the reforms have largely tempered the bureaucratic character of the Government. Mr. Alfred Deakin, formerly Minister of Irrigation in the province of Victoria and latterly Premier of Australia, made the following observations in regard to this point in 1890-91 when he made a tour of this country.

The State in India means the Government in a deeper sense than in Australia, for in that country (*i. e.* India) the citizens are unable to mould the Government to their wishes, having themselves practically no political opinions and no political privileges whatever. Instead of projects for the watering of a special area originating with the farmers, as in Victoria and, being subject to their specific approval, the same Indian ryot, although in most cases he bears the responsibility for interest upon the capital expended in providing him with an artificial water supply, is never consulted in any way or at any stage in the construction. Government initiates, designs and executes the work, offering him the water if he likes to take it, and relying only upon his self-interest to induce him to become a purchaser.

This statement remains substantially true even now, 32 years after it was made. The Government do not appear even now to be convinced of the necessity of satisfying the public that what is pro

fessedly being done in its interest is in reality to its interest—though in this particular matter we have no doubt that the scheme will be of great benefit to the people of Sind.

In its barest outline the project consists of a barrage or regulator to be thrown across the river Indus near Sukkur, and a net work of canals cut from both sides of the river for hundreds of miles. The rain-fall in Sind is negligible, from five to nine inches only, and all cultivation depends upon an artificial water supply. No land can be cropped there without the aid of Indus water and the greater the volume of water usefully diverted from the river, the greater is the area cropped and the prosperity of the people and the state. As enough water is not at present being led off in the existing canals a large area of the province though cultivable remains uncultivated and brings no return to anyone. The existing canals, which were mostly cut in pre-British days, but have been greatly improved and partly regulated now, are all inundation canals, i. e. they are filled only when the river is in flood in the rains. It is now intended, by throwing a barrage across it, to keep the river in a state of flood even after the rainy season and to fill the canals therefrom, so as to raise winter crops also and to irrigate a much larger additional area both for monsoon (or kharif) and winter (or rabi) crops. The inundation canals will thus give place to perennial canals. The present cultivation in the part of the province affected by this project is 20 lakhs of acres. Ten years after the opening of the canals this is expected to increase to 34 lakhs, 20 years after the opening to 40 lakhs and 30 years and thereafter to 53 lakhs of acres. Thus roughly speaking 40 years from now (ten years being taken as the construction period) the cultivated area will grow to over $2\frac{1}{2}$ times its present extent.

The financial aspect of the project has been based, as far as we are able to observe, on very conservative estimates of income from (1) increased assessment on lands irrigated at present from inundation canals, (2) auction sale of land that is now unoccupied but culturable and will be cultivated with the water from the new canals and (3) sale of land to existing Zamindars at preferential rates under the "Mohag" right. The estimates of expenditure were prepared in the year 1919-20, when rates of materials and work ruled very high, and if anything, they have since gone down somewhat. Further, the rate of interest on capital is calculated in the project sanctioned at 6 per cent. and the new loan that is advertised by the Government of India during the current week bears 5 p. c. interest at 97 or 5'15 per cent. and it is hoped that the rate of interest will go down still lower within the next few years. On the whole, therefore, there seems good ground for optimism that the project will yield the estimated high rates of interests on the capital invested, beginning with 6'2% in the 13th year from

the commencement of work to 14'6% in the 40th year and thereafter, if not more.

A peculiar feature of the financial arrangement made to meet the very large amount of interest that will become payable during the period of construction (about 12 years) and before the scheme can be expected to bring in sufficient revenue to meet the cost, is that it is proposed not to add it to the capital, but to wipe it off by stages by the sale of land that is now unoccupied but culturable and which will be brought under cultivation only by the new canals. This sale of land is expected to bring in 12 crores and 60 lakhs spread over 25 years, and will not only wipe off the interest, but a part of the capital expenditure also, thus reducing the total capital cost of the work. Besides, a sum of 10 lakhs will be allotted from famine insurance funds annually for 20 years towards meeting a part of the interest charges, as the work is considered to be protective against famine in addition to its being productive. As the Punjab Government has already embarked on big irrigation works in the lower valley of the Sutlej, the main tributary of the Indus, it is feared that unless the barrage and the projected canals become an accomplished fact, Sind may not get even the limited quantity of water that it now gets for its imperfect system of inundation canals and that Sind may see its occupied land go out of cultivation. In Sind no cultivation is possible, without artificial water supply, and Sind without the Indus water would be like Egypt without the Nile water. This was one of the arguments advanced by Government for rushing the scheme, though we do not think that a month or so more would have mattered at all. Now that the Legislature has unanimously passed the scheme and that the Government has given the assurances that foreign syndicates will not be given land and that private agency will not be employed for constructing the works, we wish all success to this scheme of truly colossal magnitude which will bring new life to Sind and indirectly benefit the whole country by increased cultivation and trade.

A. V. THAKKAR

MALABAR LAND TENURES.—I.

THE present system of land tenures in Malabar may be briefly summarised as follows:—

The Janmis.—Almost all the land in Malabar district, which is 5,792 sq. miles in area, including waste land and forests, is the private property, with allodial rights, of a class of landlords, the janmis. Their rights are, however, subject to two limitations, viz. (1) payment of Government revenue, assessed at $\frac{1}{3}$ of the net produce of the soil as determined by the Government Settlement Department once in every 30 years and (2) the right of the Government to let in tenants on the janmis' lands on Government *cowls*, though the janmi is entitled to evict the tenant within 12 years.

Much the larger part of the land in Malabar is not cultivated by the janmis but is leased out to tenants on a variety of tenures, the most important of which are the *kanams* tenure and the *virampattam* tenure

The Kanam Tenant.—The kanam tenant makes a deposit, the kanam amount, in cash or kind, of a certain value with the janmi, on which the latter allows a certain interest, and takes a lease for a piece of land. Unless another term is expressly mentioned, the lease runs for 12 years. The rent payable by the tenant is fixed by mutual agreement and from this the interest on the kanam amount is deducted and only the balance of rent in cash or kind is payable to the landlord. The kanam tenure therefore partakes of the nature both of a lease and of a mortgage. At the end of the 12 years, the landlord may either resume the land or renew the lease. In case he resumes, he is liable to return to the tenant the kanam amount deposited with him and to pay compensation for the improvements effected by the tenant in accordance with the provisions of the Compensation for Tenants' Improvements Act of 1900.

If the lease is renewed, the tenant has to pay a renewal fee and may be asked to pay more kanam amount until a limit is reached, when the interest on the kanam amount due by the landlord is equal to the rent due by the tenant. During the currency of the tenure, the tenant has to pay occasional perquisites to the landlord.

The kanamdar is at liberty to transfer his interest during his tenancy or sub-mortgage it; while the landlord is at liberty to grant leases in advance to others over the head of the current holders and during the currency of the existing tenures. The advance leases called *melcharths* can come into operation only after the expiry of current leases.

The amount of kanam, the rate of interest on it, the amount of renewal fees, of perquisites and benevolences, vary with individual landlords and tenants and are arrived at by mutual agreement or free contract.

The Verumpattam Tenant.—The verumpattam tenant is a tenant at will with annual leases, paying a rent mutually agreed upon between the landlord and the tenant. On eviction, he is entitled to compensation for improvements made with the express or implied consent of the janmi.

This system which recognises the allodial rights of the janmi in the soil has been in vogue from the commencement of the British occupation of Malabar in 1792, was clearly defined in a circular of the Sadar Adalat Court in 1854 and further developed by the judicial courts since then.

Grievances of Kanamdars.—Some of the consequences that are incidental to the system are now complained against and the chief of them may be summarised as follows:—

The kanamdars complain that in virtue of their allodial rights the janmis have been induced to raise rents payable by tenants on a competitive

basis, to demand very heavy renewal fees and benevolences from kanamdars by holding out the threat of eviction, to evict tenants from farms and homesteads long in their occupation, to evict garden tenants just when the coconut plantations which they had planted and nurtured for about 10 years without return, were just about to yield, and to give melcharths. These consequences, though perfectly legal, have been considered as opposed to ancient rights and practices and as causing hardship to the kanam tenants.

Further, in view of the fact that the janmi can and does get a larger rent if he has a verumpattam tenant directly under him without an intermediary kanamdar, an increasing number of kanam leases are being resumed and the verumpattam leases substituted instead, thereby gradually tending to the extinction of the Kanam type of leases. The Janmis are also shortening the kanam term to less than 12 years, by express stipulation in the lease deed. With a view to prevent the tenants from effecting improvements for which they will be unable to pay compensation easily, the janmis are also inserting new clauses restraining the liberty of the tenant to make what improvements he likes on the land.

Grievances of the Verumpattamdars.—The chief complaint of the verumpattamdar is that he is being rack-rented by the landholder whether the latter be a janmi or kanamdar.

To remedy the hard-ships to which they are put, the kanamdars demand that the power of the janmis to evict kanam tenants should be restricted within very narrow limits, that fair rents should be fixed by judicial courts and that the other incidents of kanam tenure should be regulated by legislative action. These privileges they claim primarily on the ground that they are merely asking for the restitution of ancient rights of which they were dispossessed by the British administration in their ignorance of ancient Malabar laws and, secondarily, on more general grounds of public welfare and economic betterment.

The Tenancy Agitation.—To bring about the changes desired by the kanamdar a continuous agitation had been kept up in Malabar for over a century. It is noteworthy that the interests of the verumpattamdar have been given some slight recognition in the public agitation only during the last few years, perhaps the last two or three. Previous to that, the agitation was carried on solely by the kanamdars in their own interests. The kanamdars include the comparatively educated, professional and influential middle classes who know the value and methods of agitation, but the ignorant verumpattamdars knew not how to organise an agitation.

The agitation of the kanamdars has led to successful results in the States of Travancore and Cochin, where the conditions greatly correspond to those in Malabar. And this success was not without its influence in keeping up the agitation in Malabar, in spite of the reluctance of the Madras

Government to follow up the legislation in these States.

Opinion is not unanimous as to how far the Moplah riots had an agrarian basis. Outrages due to fanaticism, pure and simple, were not uncommon during the rule of Tippu Sultan over Malabar, just previous to British occupation. All the same it would be straying too far from the probable truth to affirm that discontent against the present system of land laws had nothing to do with the repeated Moplah riots. It is, therefore, clear that though the present system has been in vogue for nearly a century and quarter, it has not been even acquiesced in by the kanamdar of Malabar.

It would be unnecessary here to refer in detail to the various Commissions and Committees appointed by the Madras Government to investigate the question. Suffice it to say that so far the Government have not thought fit to legislate as desired by the kanamdars.

View-point of this Study.—In considering whether legislative interference—always best avoided—with the freedom of contract between the landlords and the tenants in Malabar is justified and along what direction, it may as well be pointed out that this writer has approached the subject from the standpoint of individualism, freedom of contract, and the preservation of the rights of private property and departures from this have been but advocated only when found absolutely necessary.

State Interference when justified.—Perhaps, Government will be justified if it interferes with a view to

1. restore to the parties rights and privileges which have been taken away by Government under mistaken ideas;
2. enable the weaker party to a contract to secure the right it has;
3. to safeguard the public interest when such interference is the only or the best means of so doing. In considering the question from these standpoints, it would be more convenient to treat separately the case of the kanamdar and that of the verumpattamdar.

The application of the first principle involves research into legal ancient rights and customs. This field seems to be pretty nearly exhausted. The case for the kanamdar and the jenmi on this basis will be given in succeeding articles.

P. KODANDA RAO.

CONTINENTAL LETTER.

BRESLAU, 27th MAY.

It is not without interest to know that there is a country in the very heart of Europe where the editor of this periodical, the present writer and no doubt a great many of its readers would, on setting their foot upon it, run the risk of being legally sentenced to five years of penal servitude. For that is the punishment which the government of the Saar district threatens everybody with who has committed the blasphemy of depreciating the Versailles treaty in public. It is not even necessary that the crime be committed in the Saar district

itself. This ordinance, it is true, has excited the indignation of the British Parliament lately which seemed for the moment to have lost the patience it has shown to the measures of the French government generally. It was stated that this passed beyond anything that happened during the Tsarist regime which used to be held up to the rest of the world as the very acme of depravity. Nobody objected. However the result was practically nil. And this although officially the government of the French Republic has nothing whatever to do with the Saar district, which according to the Versailles treaty depends on the League of Nations' Council until the plebiscite of the year 1934 decides about its future. In reality the Saar district with about half a million of highly civilised and politically advanced inhabitants is treated like a recalcitrant French Colony and is a remarkable example of the League of Nations' absolute impotence towards France.

Here as in the Rhineland and the Ruhr district, the principle dominates the situation: we need no moral conquests, it suffices that we score military ones. What military 'conquests' mean for the mentality of a nation could not indeed become more manifest than in the case of the Ruhr. When the French armies invaded the Ruhr district in January the leaders of the British Government, although not at all in agreement with the French enterprise, excused their irresoluteness before themselves and before the world with the argument that the unavoidable failure of this step would contribute to hasten the development of the whole reparation question and would promote the return of reason in France. If the French see what their folly leads to, they said, they will come down a peg or two. They must run themselves dead like the eel in the sand first. It is difficult to understand, however, how politicians of so much experience, after all we have learned of the psychology of the masses in war time since August 1914, could be deluded by arguments of this sort. They were absolutely wrong because they looked at things merely from an economic point of view, although we all know that as soon as the chauvinist passions are aroused in a nation the economic points of view count for little. It is true that in an economic sense the Ruhr invasion has proved a failure meanwhile. It may be that the numbers of the tons of coal which are daily confiscated and carried off by the French soldiers are too low as given by the German official report, but it is easily to be seen on the other hand that M. Poincaré's ciphers as published in the French chamber cannot be in accordance with the truth either. And not even he pretends that so much coal is confiscated as was *voluntarily* delivered to France before the invasion. If half the amount be reached it might be considered as a great success already. The railways meanwhile are almost desolate. The stations of the great towns like Duisburg or Essen which used to be flooded with by hundreds of thousands of people daily are entered by French soldiers, French agents, the belongings of the French officers and newspapers reporters of all countries; but of German passengers they contain very few, almost none: the utilisation of the railways being looked upon as an act of dishonesty in the district, as long as they are in the hands of the French military.

On the railways it becomes more manifest than anywhere else that the passive resistance has lost nothing of its strength yet. How could it be otherwise if the exasperation of the population is raised day by day with measures

of increasing cruelty? The way of expelling the German officials, the railway officials especially who refuse to take the foreign yoke upon their neck, has assumed forms lately which appear almost incredibly brutal. Some weeks ago these people received notice to leave their houses with their wives and children in four days. This seemed hard enough already, but it appears perfectly humane in comparison with the present system. To-day in a town like Trier the usual practice is that a town quarter is surrounded by French troops early in the morning, about five o'clock when most of the inhabitants are still asleep. African horsemen, Spahis, Turkos and others appear suddenly in the streets. The frightened inhabitants are wakened by butt-ends banging against their doors. They are scarcely left sufficient time to get dressed before they are turned into the street. No matter if they have small children, if they are ill or if the weather drives everybody from the street. Cases have occurred like that in the town of Kurenz where a woman, that was deadly ill, was dragged in her bed-sheet into the street. They are not allowed to take anything with them of their own furniture and property except trifles. It has repeatedly occurred that the French gendarm has even compelled a poor woman to put new sheets of her own upon the bed she had just left in order to make things appear more comfortable for the French successor that was to occupy the rooms that had to be given up. In the street these unfortunate people are driven together like cattle, escorted to the railway, put into cattle vans and sent into the uninvaded part of Germany. In many cases the banishment of the railway officials took place so suddenly that children that had gone to school early in the morning did not find their parents on coming home and did not know what had become of them.

The spirit in which these measures are executed shows that the feelings that the war had aroused live unaltered and unabated by time in the minds of these people. They also give the keynote to the mock court-martials like those which condemned the directors of the Krupp works to heavy sentences because French soldiers shot unarmed German working men, an exchange of parts between the culprit and the accuser, the grotesqueness of which is not to be excelled. Acts like these are intended as provocations. At the same time they no doubt serve the purpose of destroying the economic life in the Ruhr district, for a firm like the Krupp factories whose directors have been expelled or imprisoned will needs get into a difficult situation. The same aim has been reached as to the administration of the towns already. Here many thousands of burgomasters, town clerks, town councillors and similar officials have been chased away or made the inmates of French prisons. At the same time the police has been driven away. What this means in great industrial towns which possess a large proletariat is easily to be imagined. With an almost superhuman patience and self-control the inhabitants have tried to replace the lost police by forming new bodies of self-protection or simply by putting the voluntary fire-brigade into the service of public safety. Until recently this measure has sufficed by hook or by crook. But during the last days the situation in some of the greatest towns of the occupied district has taken a very serious turn. Quite a number of brawls and "putsches" have occurred, the means of communication and the public buildings falling into the

hands of a noisy mob who plundered the victual shops and set fire to the police stations. In some places a desperate struggle between the fire-brigades and the brawlers ensued. Not a few people were killed. Much valuable property was destroyed.

It is easy to see what consternation these things create in Central Europe. The first idea of all concerned was of course that the brawls were initiated by those who would naturally reap the fruits if the German passive resisters would tear themselves to pieces, viz. the occupation troops. This suspicion received new nourishment from the attitude which was taken by the French military towards the brawlers. For whereas otherwise everybody who is in possession of firearms in the Ruhr district incurs the heaviest sentences if denounced to the occupation authorities, in this case the armed rabble remained entirely unmolested by the French soldiers. They on the contrary seem to have got, in a number of cases, their arms from the French, who quite openly and undisguisedly sympathised with the plunderers. But in reality things are more complicated. It would be wrong to say that these brawls which threaten to bring about chaotic conditions in the whole Ruhr district are simply initiated by French agents. They are on the contrary Communist machinations which wore even an anti-French mask. For whereas the socialist parties in the Ruhr district have combined with the bourgeois parties to form one powerful front against foreign militarism, the communists have from the first moment of the French invasion been of the opinion that the time has come for them to make a good bargain. The communists in Germany as well as elsewhere receive their cue from Moscow. Now the Bolsheviks have no interest in the maintenance of law and order in Central Europe. They are opposed to the idea that an understanding might come to pass between Germany and France which would lead to a general setting of things and perpetuate the present social system. So they have kept on agitating against the mere passive resisters, using as their arguments to a great extent the same silly "patriotic" catch-phrases which are *en vogue* with the representatives of the extreme right. According to them the salvation is to come from Soviet Russia. An offensive and defensive alliance with the Bolsheviks is what they represent to their audiences as the only way out of all difficulties. This policy however presupposes a war against "capital" at home and abroad, and as "capital" abroad is not to be reached it must be tackled at home.

With muddle-headed phrases of this sort the masses are worked upon. They suffer from the military yoke and at the same time they suffer economically. They do not see that, by demolishing the authorities and by setting up a working man's administration which receives its directive rules from Moscow, they will get rid of neither suffering, but that on the contrary by this sort of internecine warfare they are only playing into the hands of French militarism. They are in fact working for Poincaré and nobody knows this better than the French. The present state of things is indeed, although not directly and immediately initiated, part of their programme. For the unbroken spirit of passive resistance stands in their way. How is it to be abolished? The population must be curbed and made pliable by sufferings. It does not suffice for this purpose to throw the heads of the administration and the most prominent people of the district into prison.

or to exile them. Also humiliations of different sorts are of doubtful effect only upon the better part of the population. Much better to let loose all powers of darkness that are to be found in the country itself, to encourage and assist them. As regards these methods the French have a certain amount of experience already. In chasing the police from the Ruhr district and allowing a rabble composed to a great extent of criminals to put Communist ideas into practice (in a way of which the Communist leaders themselves self-evidently disapprove) they only imitate their own behaviour in Upper Silesia. In that district two years ago first the excellent and absolutely trustworthy German police was done away with and replaced by a body of very doubtful composition. Then, the population itself being disarmed by the severest threats, the so-called Polish "rebels" were invited to rush upon their German foes and to vent their rage upon them to their heart's content. The French soldiers stood aside laughing all the time and folded their arms when the Germans were tortured to death. This is the way to make despair take the place of defiance.

In Germany and also in a number of other countries the opinion has been uttered, that to let the Communists and their friends have their way in the industrial heart of Europe is a dangerous play with the fire. French imperialism, they say, in opening the Pandora-box of the very worst subversive tendencies, is endangering the common interests of European Civilisation. But it is the leading feature of militarism all over the world that it does not recognise such a thing as common human interests.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

REVIEW.

RURAL ECONOMICS.

CALVERT, H: THE WEALTH AND WELFARE OF THE PUNJAB. 1922. (The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore.) pp. 244.

AGRICULTURAL economics, like agriculture itself, is a subject much neglected by the educated people of this country. Any contribution to our knowledge of it and any addition to its literature should therefore be gladly welcomed. But Mr. Calvert's "Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab" deserves to be welcomed in a special degree on account of his knowledge having been enriched by his experience as Registrar of co-operative societies. This office he has filled for several years with great distinction and if to-day the Punjab is head and shoulders above the other provinces in the matter of agricultural co-operation, the credit is due in no small measure to Mr. Calvert. He has looked upon co-operation not as an independent subject but as part of rural economics. He has been careful to appoint a large number of graduates in economics as Inspectors of co-operative societies and to make them undergo a special course in rural economics. He has utilised them to conduct special enquiries regarding the extent and effects of tenancy and the effects of rise in the price of land. In addition to a very large number of credit societies he has started in the villages of his province many societies for the consolidation of small holdings, the

settlement of disputes by arbitration and the starting of night schools. He has studied the conditions prevailing in European countries which like the Punjab are essentially agricultural, and incorporated the results of his enquiries and studies in this book. It is true that, being written in the spare hours of an active official life, the book is rather lacking in continuity of thought, uninteresting in style, defective in arrangement of matter and replete with repetition—defects which the author is aware of and for which he apologises in the preface. Nonetheless, it covers a wide field and amply rewards the reader's patience and stimulates his interest in the rural problems of the Punjab, which last is of course the object of the book.

The optimistic tone of the book is in our opinion its most characteristic feature. The Punjab—one may say India as well—is usually compared with European countries and Japan and pronounced to be backward and poor. As a matter of fact, according to Mr. Calvert, it is only the countries in the north-west of Europe that are ahead of her, where the poverty of the soil, the rigours of the climate and the competition of cheap American wheat have combined to teach the people to be thrifty and industrious and have compelled them to adopt a highly intensive and scientific cultivation with co-operative methods of production and sale. But in the southern countries agricultural conditions are very much like those in the Punjab and the economic condition of the people is not so satisfactory. In the preface he says:

As compared with Finland and the countries bordering the Mediterranean, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece and Serbia, this province must be counted wealthy. The fact seems to be that countries dependent on agriculture must be poor and remain poor until, with the progress of science, education and co-operation, the people learn to extract from the soil all the wealth it consistently and faithfully will give to those who know how to treat it properly. As an example, the instance of Belgium may be quoted. The soil of Flanders is said to be the worst in all Europe—sterile sand—and, although it has been fertilized by ten centuries of laborious husbandry, it does not yield a single crop without being manured once or twice. But the Belgian peasant-proprietor is an excellent cultivator and an extremely hard worker, and he has been aided in his struggle by an excellent transport system, a high standard of agricultural education and the development of the co-operative movement. Is there nothing in this for us to learn?"

Again in another place:

"Everywhere the cultivators of the soil seem to have failed to increase their incomes to the extent demanded by modern requirements. Poverty is a relative matter. It does not seem to be true that the cultivators of this province are, on the average, less well off than cultivators of Japan or of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, it does, on the other hand, seem to be true that nowhere in the world is there to be found so large a body of cultivators, so prosperous in proportion to the requirements of their lives, as the colonists on the Lower Chenab Canal. It may be stated further, without fear of contradiction, that no other body of cultivators in any country can afford to spend the crores of rupees on litigation that the Punjabi cultivators spend. The Punjabi is far from being so poor as he is sometimes represented; but as wi-

be seen, he has before him a fair prospect of achieving greater prosperity than is open to his fellows in many other countries.

Regarding Japan, Mr. Calvert points out: "Curiously enough, Japan, perhaps the most hopelessly poverty-stricken country in the world, is regarded as a shining example of prosperity. Were Japan anywhere else but in Asia, it would be possible to bring some understanding of its special difficulties home to the educated men of this province." Cultivation and transport are done by human labour, there being few oxen or horses. The implements are very rude.

"The tiller of the soil is unable to extract even the most frugal living from his tiny holding in spite of the great labour he expends on intensive cultivation and the free use of night soil; this fact accounts for the subsidiary occupations, for, without sericulture, the Japanese farmers would hardly be able to maintain themselves. About 15 to 17 per cent. of the total yield goes in taxes, as compared with less than 5 per cent. in the Punjab."

A somewhat surprising fact brought out by Mr. Calvert in this connection is that the average European cultivator cannot afford the wheat diet of the Punjab. The latter has within recent years largely given up the use of millets which are cheaper than wheat and now uses ghee in larger quantities than before. But in Europe potato has become the staple food of many countries, not because the people preferred it but because it is much cheaper than wheat—because an area producing only ten or twelve maunds of wheat will produce a hundred maunds of potato. English peasants cannot afford butter and use margarine made of cocoanut; Italian peasants use olive oil because it is cheaper than butter; the German eats cabbage and the American maize not because they have a natural taste for these things but because these things have been forced upon them by economic conditions.

Thus though, when compared with several European countries and Japan, the people of the Punjab are neither poor nor backward there is a good deal that could be done and ought to be done to increase their average earnings. The cultivator's main object hitherto has been the meeting of his domestic needs, not making the soil yield the best money value, though of late a rapid change is occurring towards the latter. The soil and political conditions are more favourable in the Punjab than in most other countries and if only the 'human factor' is improved, the most gratifying results are bound to follow. "Fertility is nowadays largely a matter of intelligence, industry and the correct application of capital." Intelligence unfortunately is forsaking the countryside and concentrating in towns. The ambition of the intelligent sons of even farmers is to seek a professional or clerical career in towns, either because agriculture is looked down upon or because it is wrongly believed to be unremunerative while the example of Denmark shows clearly that if only intelligence is properly applied to it it can be as remunerative as, if not more

than, any modern industry. The wealth accumulated by a few exceptional individuals in commerce and industry may be very attractive, but if failures also are counted, the balance of advantage will be on the side of agriculture. At present the rural areas are left without men of intelligence who can introduce improved methods. The big landlords in England and the Catholic clergy on the continent of Europe take a keen interest in the improvement of agriculture. In India there is at present no class corresponding to them. The cultivators in progressive European countries and in Japan are much more industrious all the year round partly because the soil is not fertile and partly because they are not content with a low yield. In Belgium where the holdings are as small as in the Punjab, and the soil infinitely poorer, the cultivators are able to produce a good deal more than in the Punjab by hard work, employment of capital and co-operative organisation.

"In Belgium science and co-operation have shown the industrious small holder how to employ capital with profit. The result is interesting and should be convincing. It is that if a large amount of capital is to be employed in scientific agriculture on a small area, human food crops must give way to crops feeding live stock; vegetable products such as wheat must be replaced by animal products. In Belgium only 9 per cent. of the cultivated area is devoted to wheat; the land is utilised chiefly for such valuable industrial crops as sugar beet, tobacco and flax and to raising food for cattle. More manure is used per acre and more cattle are carried per acre than in any other country."

"In India religious sentiment prevents economic animal farming. Horned cattle are kept only for milk, but milk by itself cannot be profitable just as sheep farming only for wool cannot be paying. These can pay only if the older animals are slaughtered for meat. The pig, which is distinguished as the most prolific and therefore the most economical of meat-yielding animals, is taboo on religious grounds. Other profitable animal industries are neglected such as sericulture, bee keeping, the rearing of geese, turkeys, ducks, poultry and pigeons. Every year crores of rupees are spent in the purchase of land, but comparatively little on permanent improvements. The price of land in India has risen so high that one who purchases it with borrowed money cannot pay even the interest on it out of the income from the land.

Then there is great waste in many directions which can and ought to be prevented—waste of female labour, waste of energy and money by litigation and for want of banking facilities, the ordinary money lender being a drag on rather than help to production, waste due to the use of infertile seed, loss of manure, fragmentation of holdings, &c.

"There is waste in the uses to which various products are put. Cotton seed is fed to cattle in a crude form which is beyond the power of the animals to digest. From the seed there should be extracted the short fibres which could be used to make felt for hats, &c; the husk should then be decorticated to form a fuel; the kernel should next be crushed to separate the oil which is of value as a cooking material, or as a basis for soap, &c.; the resultant cake is a food which cattle can digest or which will serve as an excellent manure.

All this waste can be prevented and the best value taken out of the land only by the application of trained intelligence. Mr. Calvert therefore appeals to the educated Indian to be less absorbed in unproductive professions like law and less obsessed by politics and apply himself to the problem of increasing the wealth of his country by improved methods in agriculture and co-operative organisation.

V. V. S.

MISCELLANEA.

THE REAL KENYA QUESTION.

MOST people whose reading of the daily paper is moderately intensive must now know that there is a Kenya question. The headline which gives them this information usually runs "Indians in Kenya," and on the surface it would appear that the question is concerned with the claims and relations of the Indians and white settlers in the territory which, until lately, was known as British East Africa. Whether the Indians should be given the franchise on an equality with the settlers, whether Indian immigration should be restricted, whether the highlands should be reserved for white men, these are the particular points which are at the moment being fought over by rival deputations to the Colonial Office, and the principle involved appears, therefore, to be that of racial equality within the British Empire. That principle is involved, and it is so important one, but behind it and behind the complicated dispute between the Indians and settlers, a struggle is proceeding over a question and a principle of still greater importance. The real Kenya question is concerned with the future government of those African territories which are now administered as Crown Colonies or Protectorates, and therefore with the whole future of the British Empire in Africa. Are these territories to be administered by the Imperial Government as a "sacred trust of civilization" until such time as their African inhabitants may become capable of self-government, or are they to be handed over to the absolute rule of a handful of British settlers, planters, and traders whose interest in the territories is confined to economic exploitation? That is the real question which is now being fought over, and within a few weeks must be settled, in the Colonial Office.

To prove this statement it is necessary briefly to set out the facts which have led up to the present crisis. The population of Kenya consists of about 3,000,000 Africans, about 25,000 Indians, and about 10,000 white men. The government of the country has hitherto been the ordinary type of Crown Colony administration, i. e., the white settlers elected representatives to the Legislative Council, but the Governor had an official majority on the Council, and so ultimate authority remained with him, and through him with the Colonial Office and the Imperial Government. The Kenya administration has always been extraordinarily complacent to the settlers. All the best land in the hills has been either sold to them or given on lease for 999 years at very low prices. Africans who inconveniently occupied African land in desirable situations were removed and relegated to less fertile reserves. When the Africans refused to come and work for very low wages for the settlers, the Government yielded to the settlers' repeated demands, and administrative pressure was applied in various ways to "induce" the Africans to supply cheap labour.

But for some time past the settlers have been dissatisfied with the position. There has been a widespread demand among them for more direct compulsion upon the African to supply labour, a compulsion to be applied either by law or by cutting down the reserves and increasing the taxation of natives. It became obvious that neither the local Government nor the Colonial Office could possibly grant these demands in face of the opposition in this country. Immediately there arose among the white settlers great opposition to the existing form of government, continual criticism of the official majority on the Council, and a demand for "responsible government." Responsible government means, of course, in this case, that the

administration shall be responsible to an elected majority on the Legislative Council, but that the elected representatives shall be elected by and shall represent only the 10,000 white settlers out of a population of between three and four millions. In other parts of Africa similar demands have been made and granted, with the inevitable result that the native population and its land have been handed over to the exploitation of a handful of white masters. But in this case another factor existed and stood between the very vocal settler and the inarticulate African—25,000 Indians. If there was to be a franchise, and an elected majority, and responsible government, what about the Indians and racial equality within the Empire? The question was promptly asked by the Indians and by India, which is no longer inarticulate. It received a very prompt answer from the settlers. "This is a white man's country", they said. "A deceased Secretary of State for the Colonies pledged the British Empire that no land in the Kenya highlands should ever be sold to a brown or a black man. Those highlands must be reserved for white men. The immigration of Indians must be stopped. Indians now in Kenya must be 'segregated.' The franchise must not be given to Indians, because, if it is, the government of Kenya will be in the hands of Indians, and we shall be handing over the natives of Africa to Asiatics and to Muhammadans, and betraying our sacred trust of Christianity and civilization." And if we are not allowed to perform that sacred trust, if the Imperial Government attempts to give the franchise to Indians, then we shall take to arms and impose our will by force.

So issue was joined between the white settler and the Indian. The controversy here turns upon the Indian demand that they be given the franchise on the same terms as the settlers with a common register and that no new restrictions be introduced with regard to immigration. Towards the end of last year a compromise was worked out in London, but when it was referred to Kenya, it was rejected absolutely by the settlers, who threaten force if their full claims are not satisfied. Meanwhile, they called to their aid the usual weapon of propaganda. It has been represented, that if the Indian claims with regard to the franchise and immigration be conceded, it will mean that Kenya and its three million native inhabitants will be handed over to the government of Indian immigrants, for they already outnumber the white men by over two to one. So the settler made his first appearance before the British public dressed in a white sheet, with a cross on his breast, supported or half supported by a Bishop, and claiming to be the knight-errant of the liberties and happiness of three million Africans.

Unfortunately this beautiful but imaginary vision of Lord Delamere and Mr. Grogan has now evaporated. The representatives of the Indians have explicitly stated: (1) that they consider it vital that the official majority should be retained in the Legislative Council, thus assuring to the Government the power of outvoting legislation adversely affecting the natives, until the natives themselves are able to undertake responsible government; (2) that they have no desire whatever to take any part in the direct administration of native affairs, which should be left entirely in the hands of the Colonial officials. This statement of the Indian deputation disposes of the settlers' case against the Indians. The Indians are certainly no more to be trusted than the white settlers with absolute power over the natives; but they are claiming no such power. It is the settlers' claim for "responsible government" for the handing over of Kenya to the absolute rule of a few thousand white men, which in fact, has forced the Indian to claim the vote for himself and thereby to become the defender of the native. There should be only one answer from the Imperial Government to the two parties in this dispute, namely, that the control of the government of Kenya cannot be entrusted either in whole or in part, to 10,000 white men or 25,000 Indians, but must remain for the present in the hands of the Colonial Office and the Imperial Government, and that representative institutions should be so framed as to give a voice not only to white men and Indians but to Africans as well.—*The Nation and the Athenaeum of May 26th*

The Servants of India Society PAMPHLETS.

1. Self-Government for India under the British Flag— 0-8-0
by the Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, President,
Servants of India Society. Crown 16 mo. pp. 91.
2. The Public Services in India— 0-10-0
by Mr. Hirday Nath Kunzru, Senior Member,
Upper India Branch, Servants of India Society.
Crown 16 mo. pp. 175.
3. The Congress-League Scheme: An exposition— 0-6-0
by the Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri,
President, Servants of India Society.
Crown 16 mo. pp. 66.
4. The Co-operative Movement— 1-0-0
by Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiya, Member, Servants of
India Society and Mr. V. L. Metha, Manager,
Bombay Central Co-operative Bank Ltd. Bombay.
Crown 16 mo. pp. 191.
5. The Medical Services in India— 9-8-0
by an I. M. S. Officer. Crown 16 mo. pp. 58.
6. Trade Union Legislation— 0-4-0
by A Labour Advocate. Crown 16 mo. pp. 32.
7. The Conscience Clause for Indians in Indian Education 0-8-0
Codes (With a reply to certain Criticisms)—
by The Rt. Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, President,
Servants of India Society. Crown 16 mo. pp. 67.
8. Railways and the Budget— 0-8-0
By "Economy." With Introduction by the Hon.
Prof. V. G. Kale. Crown 16 mo. pp. 80.

These books can be had of:—

1 The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City.

A God-sent Eye Cure!

Eminent doctors and gents of the country have admitted after their personal trial that our Eye-specific never fails to cure miraculously Granulation, Trachoma, Sight-weakness, Pterygium, Opacity and all such eye diseases as rendered miserable by Eye specialists and doctors.

Highest references given if required. Advance Rs. 2 with order or apply, with 2 annas postage for particulars of eye and venereal diseases; to:—

G. R. KHORANA LYALLPUR.

The Book For You !!

If you want a treatise noted for clearness and conciseness, a treatise that within a limited space will teach you the principles of clinical medicine, better than most books of double the size and double the price, then buy

An Introduction to Clinical Medicine

BY

DR. A. J. NORONHA, M. D.

The book is illustrated most profusely with actual photographs from Indian experience. You have the very example, the actual typical clinical picture before your very eyes. Purchase the book to-day and it will bring it home to you that we are speaking the truth !!

To convince you still further we need only mention that the book is recommended to all the Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries all over the Bombay Presidency, Aden and the Persian Gulf by the Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay. Besides it is spoken of in the highest terms by leading teachers of Medicine in India. It is the book for the Student.

The book for the Practitioner.

Price Rs. 12-6. Postage Extra.

For Copies Apply to:—

THE ARYABHUSHAN PRESS, POONA CITY.

JUST RECEIVED JUST RECEIVED VALUABLE NEW THOUGHT BOOKS

- | | Rs. & |
|--|-------|
| 1. Entering the Kingdom. By James Allen, Author of "As a Man Thinketh," etc. | 1 15 |
| 2. The Heavenly Life. By James Allen, Author of "As a Man Thinketh," etc.... | 1 15 |
| 3. The Path of Prosperity. By James Allen, Author of "As a Man Thinketh" etc. | 1 15 |
| 4. The Way of Peace. By James Allen, Author of "As a Man Thinketh," etc. | 1 15 |
| 5. Don't Worry or Spiritual Emancipation. By Theodore F. Seward. "Don't Worry is a prescription worth all the medicine chests in Christendom. I have read it repeatedly, and lend it to friends. Go on with your good work. The time is ripe for it." Francis E. Willard. | 1 10 |
| 6. Practical Self-Help or how to make full and effective use of the greatest and best that is in you. By Christian D. Parson, Author of "Peace Power," "Your Forces and how to use Them," "History of Self" etc. A text book of applied Psychology, mental development and personal efficiency. ... | 5 11 |
| 7. Peace, Power and Plenty. By Creason Swett Marden, The Modern Inspirational Books. Author of "Every Man a King," "Pushing to the Front," etc., and Editor of "Success Magazine." "Your ideal is a prophecy of what you shall at last unveil." | 5 11 |

The Theosophical Publishing House,

Adyar.

Madras.

INDIAN BOOK SHOP

George Town,

Madras.

CUT ME OUT

and mail me, with your name and address, to
Good Luck Co., Benares City.

I will bring you, per V. P. P., one GUSSI SILK SUIT length for Rs. 12 only. These pieces are economical, hard wear and handsome ever made.

Test them any way you please—Why not give it a trial.

Name

Address

HINDU LAW.

(3rd Edition.)

BY

J. R. GHARPURE, Esq., B. A., LL. B., (Hons.)

High Court Vakil, Bombay.

Price Rupees Ten, Postage Extra.

Copies can be had at:—

The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City

FOR terms of Advertisement, please apply to the Manager, SERVANT OF INDIA, Kibe Wada, Budhwar Peth, POONA CITY