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#### TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE All-India Congress Committee Threat of Civil Disobedience. which met at Lucknow on the 9th instant, has had to promise to its extreme left a reconsideration, after August 15, of the present programme with a view to the inaguration of civil disobedience. This change is now recommended as the most effective means of counteracting the Government's repressive policy, but it is easy to see that the real object is to propitiate the go-ahead elements in the Congress. Speaking on the merits of the resolution itself, the "constructive programme," whatever its other recommendations may be, does not necessarily form the best preparation for civil disobedience. Hand spinning, the removal of untouchability, temperance, etc. have no more connection with civil disobedience than with civil obedience, and Congressmen will be no more fit to start civil disobedience after two months' execution of the "constructive programme" than they are now. There is no doubt that two months hence the ardent spirits in the Congress will find themselves as far away from civil disobedience as ever before, and it will be impossible to restrain them by any other means than that of removing the ban on the Councils.

THE personnel of the Inchcape

Personnel of
Inchcape Committee. Committee on Retrenchment will

cause no little amount of surprise
on account of the inclusion of no member of the
Legislative Assembly in it. Since the matter will
anyhow come before the Assembly it is not necessarily a defect, but it cannot be doubted that if

one or two capable members had been included they would have been able to plead more effectively for retrenchment in the Assembly by reason of the inside knowledge of the subject which they would have thus gained than now. There is no lack of financial talent in the persons who have actually been appointed and the public will form high expectations from the deliberations of such a Committee. Only one remark we may be permitted to make: the commercial interest dominates the Committee so thoroughly that it is not impossible that the point of view of the average citizen will receive insufficient attention when this view-point conflicts with that of commercial men

In an important interview to the press Mr. H. S. L. Polak has put before the public the Indian question in Kenya with admirable clearness and urged the immediate starting of a ceaseless campaign both in the press and on the platform, to show that India is alive to the gravity, of the situation and that she would not have outsiders to imagine that she is apathetic. He very much deplored that public opinion was being diverted from this acute problem which not only affected vitally the status of India in the Empire but also the well-being of thousands of Indians abroad. To those people who innocently imagine that once India gets self-government all her external problems will be automatically solved, Mr. Polak point out that Japan with all her position as a world power has been unable to secure a satisfactory position for its emigrating nationals in white colonies. We fully agree with him that a representative deputation should wait at once on H. E. the Viceroy, but will non-cooperators deign to join such a deputation?

Though some difference is bound to exist between the Government and the private agencies that are engaged in relief work in Malabar in their estimate of the present situation there and regarding the language to be employed in describing it, they both agree that the next two or three months will be a harder time than any preceding corresponding period, excepting those early days of the rebellion when thousands of refugees flocked in to Calicut every day. The Relief Committees in Bombay and Malabar have therefore been obliged, in response to pressing appeals from the people of Malabar, to continue their humanitarian work till the end of

September next and have consequently issued a fresh appeal for funds, which we hope will meet with an adequate response. It is indeed a great pity that owing to political pre-occupations and prejudices the country as a whole, and the Madras Presidency in particular, should have failed to do its duty by outraged Malabar. As Mr. Devadhar asked at a recent meeting in Madras, when England is appealing to India on behalf of the intellectuals of Russia and when Angora sufferers are getting our sympathy, can we turn a deaf ear to Malabar and refuse to practise charity at home? Moral support from the rest of India is also urgently needed for re-admission into Hindu society of those unfortunate victims of Moplah fanaticism who were forcibly made Mahommedans in the rebellion. Full of good intentions, the Hindus of Malabar are reported to be lacking in courage to act up to those intentions. Though some time ago it was believed that the reabsorption of these 'converts' would best succeed in the absence of public agitation and demonstration, the latter seem now to be necessary for strengthening the moral stamina of the people. We hope learned and influential Hindus and Musalmans all over the country will spontaneously come forward to wipe off this great stain on their fair name.

Now we know why Non-Co-OperaNon-Co-Operation tors stay away from the Councils.

It is their firm conviction that if they go in they are sure to succumb to the temptations of the bureaucracy. Says the Janmabhumi:

This policy of entering the Councils and yet resisting the blandishments of the powers is very much akin to the principle of marrying and yet living a life of celibacy in the solitary company of the wife. The idea is admirable. There is nothing impossible about it. Indeed one in a million has succeeded in illustrating by example what he has advocated in precept. The scheme is not exactly Vanaprastha, but it is a modified form of Grihastha asrama. It is the young and energetic citizens of India that Maharashtra calls upon to enter the Council and then, having entered the bridal chamber, to sit sedate, non-chalant and unmoved. The scheme has been improved by Swami Satyadeva who has gone one better and urges that the best spirits in the country, having entered the Councils desist from taking the oath of allegiance and thus paralyse the organs of Government. A simple remedy indeed! And yet those that would follow the golden advice of the Swamijl are as few as the Swamis in India that, having taken orders and put on the orange robes, resist the temptation of politics, Keshranjan oils and motor cars.

We quite agree that people made of such flimsy stuff had better keep out of the Councils.

"sympathy with the Down-Trodden."

P. G. K. has contributed a penetrating article to the columns of the Bombay Chronicle on the Mulshi Peta agitation. He shows up the hollowness of the cry of the owners of land being reduced to the posstion of industrial wage-slavery, by bringing out the fact that some 75 per cent. of the lands are in the hands of moneylenders and that their former owners live in semi-starvation as the virtual serfs of the absentee landlords.

Such Mavlas as still own lands there can get similar pieces of land elsewhere, if they so wish; those who have lost them will be better off andnot worse off by reason of the hydro-electric works being started in Mulshi Peta. The writer says:

May I ask what the gentlemen who are now crying themselves hoarse over the cause of the Mavlas were doing when the latter were being mercilessly fleeced and deprived of their ancestral lands by the Brahman and Gujar moneylenders? Have these champions of the Mavlas done anything to stop their economic degradation, to remove their seridom, to elevate their condition ? Were they not the same 'Shivaji's Mavlas' when the were being ground down by Swadeshi Shylocks? I can appreciate the unsophisticated simple village life, but what is the use of singing its beauties when the canker of indebtedness and economic helplessness has eaten into its vitals? The agricultural tenants in the Taluka of Pen are putting up a brave fight against uhe tyranny of their landlords who are mostly Brahmans, but are they receiving any help from the Poona Nationalists and their compatriots in the Kolaba district? On the other hand the so-called non-co-operators of Poons, under the guise of bringing about a compromise, are, advising their landlords to have recourse to the Government courts in order to teach a severe lesson to the tenants who are, in their opinion, behaving impudently in that they are practising Satyagraha to secure justice at the hands of their masters.

THE Bombay Government deserves a word of praise for having at long last appointed an Indian to the post of Advocate General. Indians have filled the office before in the Bombay Presidency but only as Acting Advocates General; now, for the first time, an Indian is made a permanent incumbent of it. In these matters the practice of different provinces differs widely. In Bengal and Madras the post is as a general rule given to Indians, but in Bombay Europeans have till now had a monopoly of it. At last the monopoly is broken!

As we have shown before, the Government's policy in regard to the purchase of stores in foreign countries would seem to be quite satisfactory. Asked if it is the intention of Government to seek tenders from Germany and other Continental countries for the supply of requirements in road rollers and other classes of machinery, the Under-Secretary for India answered:

The High Commissioner for India is responsible for making purchases of stores for the Government of India. The instructions issued for his guidance require purchases to be made in the most favourable market on a commercial basis. Important requirements are, as a rule, advertised, and tenders from Germany and other continental countries are considered on their merits, together with tenders from British, Dominion and American sources of supply.

The S.1.S. THE Anniversary of the Servants of India Society was as usual celebrated in Poons on the 12th instant and succeeding days. Almost all the members and several Associates from Bombay attended the function Many subjects concerning the internal affairs of the Society were considered by the members.

THE "ASIATIC MENACE" IN NATAL. LATTERLY there has been a feverish anti-Indian activity among the Europeans of Natal. They are busy making laws which will have the effect, unless the deus ex machina again appears in the from of the Governor-General of the Union South Africa and withholds his assent to them, of wiping out Indians from that colony in course of time. We shall first consider the Townships Franchise Bill being introduced in the Natal Provincial Council by Mr. G. H. Hulett, which provides for the disfranchisement of persons who, not being of European origin, are natives or descendants in the male line of natives of countries which have not possessed, prior to the coming into force of the South Africa Act of 1999, elective representative institutions founded on the Parliamentary franchise. The Indians and the Indian Government, agreeing to have their right of free immigration limited, have been asking for rights of equal citizenship for those who are allowed by the Union Government to settle in the country, and therefore one of their principal demands has always been that the Parliamentary franchise should be conferred upon them, believing that the franchise would enable them to obtain redress of other grievances. But what is the answer of the white settlers to such a demand? Instead of granting to Indians the Parliamentary franchise which is now denied to them, the Europeans are intent upon dispossessing them of even the municipal franchise which they now possess, as is evidenced by Mr. Hulett's Bill. A similar proposal for depriving Indians settled in townships of their power of voting in municipal hodies was introduced last year in the Provincial Council and passed, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the Indian community. Being vetoed by the Governor-General on that occasion, the danger was then averted, but one cannot trust the Governor General to do it again this year. As no Select Committee is to be appointed on this Bill, there is no knowing when we shall be encountered with a fait accompli in the shape of a full-blooded anti-Asiatic law.

Another Bill before the Provincial Council of Natal—the Rural Dealers Licensing Bill—proposes practically to take all trade in the rural districts from the hands of Indian traders. At present the issue of trade licenses is entrusted to an officer for the whole province, from whose decisions an appeal lies to the Appeal Board. Now neither the Licensing Officer nor the Licensing Appeal Board has earned the confidence of the Indian community in Natal, the decisions of both being wholly capricious, where they are not governed by a consistent anti-Indian racialism. Indians have therefore been asking that the licensing authority should be under the statutory obligation to set out the grounds on which any particular license may be refused, and that an appeal should lie from his decision to the Supreme Court, which should go into the grounds of refusal. The answer of the European community to this demand is seen in the

Bill we are considering, which proposes to supersede the Licensing Officer by a Licensing Board in each rural district, consisting of a Chairman and four other members (nominated by the Administrator) who must be all Europeans. Of course you do not have such a racial discrimination in black and white in the Bill-the South Africans are too astute for all that—but it is provided that none can be a member of a Licensing Board who is not enrolled as a voter of Parliament, and Asiatics, being excluded from the Parliamentary franchise, are automatically excluded from the Licensing Board. This change thus removes the power of licensing from a European official who may occasionally pretend to some impartiality to Boards exclusively manned by Indians' rivals in trade. And, to crown all, Indians are also to be deprived of the very limited right of appeal which they now possess, the decisions of the Boards being absolutely final. A similar Bill was brought forward last year and passed in the teeth of the opposition of the Indian settlers, but again vetoed by the Governor-General, not on the ground that it interfered with the existing rights; of Indian and thus violated the terms of the Smuts-Gandhi compact, but on the much lower ground of some technical objections taken by the legal pundits. These objections are said to have been met in the present Bill, and therefore it is more than doubtful if this year again there will be a kindly intervention of the Governor-General. The Bill has already had a second reading and may pass into law any time. Deprived of the municipal franchise and of the right of trading in rural districts, what further stimulus does the Indian community need for undertaking a general exodus from South africa?

But a resolution moved by Mr. Mackeurtan in the House of Assembly raised the question in so many words as to whether Indians should not by one means or another be driven out of the country. All seemed to be agreed that it was dangerous to let Indians live side by side with Europeans and that the fewer Indians remained in the country the better for Europeans. The only difference was in respect of the remedy. While some were in favour of a clean cut - a compulsory repatriation of most of the Indian settlers and a compulsory segregation of such as could not be repatriated-others were in favour of somewhat milder measures, voluntary repatriation and voluntary segregation "vigorously pursued." The latter measures have been recommended by the Asiatic Inquiry Commission, but the Union Government has as yet taken no action on the report, save for the repatriation of some 13,000 Indians for the last two years. This policy to-day is "being pressed more vigorously than ever before," but it does not satisfy the whites, because it has resulted in the repatriation of labourers while the whites want the Indian labourers to be retained and the Indian traders to be sent away. Therefore the cry is going round that the whole pack of them -some 1,60,000 Indians—should be compulsorily "repatriated." They know well enough that for

more than half this population repairiation would mean expatriation, for they were born in Natal and have nowhere to go to. But this is a consideration which does not weigh with a very large section of the Europeans who think that "the Asiatics are the white ants of South Africa destroying the foundations of our institutions and the roots of the livelihood of the white race." The more reasonable section of the Europeans is unable to forget that the people of Natal had brought in the Indians. and having brought them in it would be wrong to say (as the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Patrick Duncan said), "we could use them as we wanted and turn them out when we no longer wanted them." Another member, Mr. Merriman, thus put the matter: "The people of Natal brought the Indians over. The latter turned their land into a garden; they were docile and good labourers, and now they were to be treated with violence; what was proposed would be regarded as violence." This was not, however, an argument that appealed to many. They asked, are the whites of Natal always to suffer because a long time ago, when we were in a sore difficulty, we had to import them? No such ancient historical incidents would deter them from carrying out the policy in its entirety—"of reserving the whole of the Union for the white people." The half-hearted measure recommended by the Asiatic Commission. of not allowing Asiatics further inland than 20 miles from the coast, could not satisfy these extreme advocates of the white prestige—the whole ountry must be set apart for the whites.

The plea for such a frankly anti-Indian policy is that the number of Indians in Natal is growing rapid. ly, which is contrary to fact. Mr. Duncan described the position accurately when he said, "The proportion of Indians to Europeans in Natal was far less in 1921 than at the previous census in 1911 in which year they outnumbered the Europeans by nearly 50 per cent., whereas the numbers were now nearly equal. During that period the Asiatics had increased by a little over 5 per cent. and the Europeans by just over 40 per cent., so that the fear expressed by some members that the European population was practically being swamped was not being borne out by the census figures, which showed the contrary was the case." With extreme anti-Indiah Europeans the fact that Indians belong to the same Empire which they own themselves does not weigh at all. They think they can do what they like with Indians, who have absolutely no means of redress. The Minister of the Interior, who cannot naturally be entirely unconscious of the inter-imperial obli~ gations, tried to impress upon men like Sir Abe Bailey the utter impracticability of such a proposition. And even if the Empire should be unable to impose upon its constituents a lively sense of their responsibility, there are other Asiatic nations to be considered. For Asiatic labour is not imported into South africa from India alone, but from Japan as well. Would the Japanese, who are influential

members of the League of Nations, take it lying down as they think the Indians will do? Mr. Duncan said, "They must realise that all the Asiatics in South Africa did not come from British India, and other Asiatic Powers would protest against any injustice.... They must realise that this problem was one of world-wide importance. "The pressure which the Government of India is constantly exerting on the Union Government is already being very greatly resented by the whites there and India's status in the League of Nations as an original member thereof will surely add considerably strength to the India Governmet's elbow. News has now been received that Mr. Mackeurtan's motion had to be withdrawn for want of time, but it is understood that it will be brought up again next session.

#### THE SITUATION IN MALABAR.

EXCEPTION was rightly taken by people who knew the situation well to the statement made by H. E. Lord Willingdon recently that any talk of hard times in Malabar was loose and ill-informed. Perhaps H. E. did not mean it, but the effect of that utterance on the relief operations carried on by non-official agencies would have been very great indeed, if the statement had not been immediately contradicted. Even for the most charitable purposes people do not readily come forward with pecuniary help and the collection of funds is always a difficult job. Non-official agencies like the Malabar Central Relief Committee would therefore have been only too glad if they had been spared the necessity of continuing their operations any longer. But the appeals for help still continue to pour in on the Committee and Mr. Devadhar has just been obliged, on behalf of the people of Malabar, to issue another appeal for funds to enable relief work being carried on till the end of September next. Mr. Ellis, Collector of Malabar, writing to Mr. Devadhar about this appeal complains that the attitude of Government in the matter of necessary relief is very much misrepresented in the press. If this is so, statements like those of Lord Willingdon are more to blame than the press. We recognise, however, that no useful purpose is served by wrangling about past misunderstandings. What is wanted is that both the Government and the non-official relief agencies should realise the necessity for increased effort to save the people during the hard times that are ahead of them. Those who have been very recently through the affected area could not help feeling that the measures adopted by Government for meeting distress were altogether inadequate. must explain here that the public and private charitable agencies do not attach the same mean, ing to the word "distress" that the Government do: The latter understand it in the Famine Code sense and use it only in cases where actual starvation is prevailing over a vast and extensive area. It may be conceded at once that matters have not reached that stage yet in Malabar. But nobody with a

knowledge of the state of things in the interior can deny that great suffering exists among both the Hindu and the Moplah women and children and that it should be immediately relieved. . No other conclusion is possible when one sees them coming long distances of seven or eight miles to receive a small charitable dole of rice. Under such circumstances it would indeed amount to trifling with the situation to fight over mere words and to be discussing whether it is distress. suffering, privation or hardship. We are glad therefore to learn that a kind of working agreement has now been established between the private relief agencies and the Government regarding the existing state of affairs. In his letter to Mr. Devadhar, Mr. Ellis says :-

"My own view of the position is that at present there are in the affected amsams a few cases among both Hindus and Moplahs where help, although not yet required to save from absolute starvation, is still most necessary and can most appropriately be given by non-official agencies; and that in the coming months of July and August, always famine months in Malabar, there will possibly be a great increase in the number of such cases which may call for a considerably increased effort on the part both of the Relief Committee and of Government to meet it."

We cannot of course accept this reading of the situation as entirely correct, for the cases which Mr. Ellis considers to be few are in our opinion so numerous that it is necessary for both Government and the public to put forth their best efforts to meet them. Government have so far advanced only about Rs. 3 lakhs as loans to the victimised population, but a sum several times larger is really required for this form of relief alone. It should also be mentioned here that the news of these loans being given by Government an not spread sufficiently in the interior amsams. Non-official agencies will therefore be well advised to do some propaganda regarding them along with their other activities.

Coming to the political aspect of the situation, that also has created a wide-spread feeling of anxiety as regards the consequences of the measures that Government are adopting at present to restore peace and order. The outspoken comments recently made in these columns on that policy should perhaps be supplemented by admitting that it is undoubtedly more difficult to suggest acceptable alternatives than to criticise a clearly wrong policy. It only adds to the difficulties of the case that the Hindus in the interior still feel very insecure, that they are not satisfied with the numerous arrests already made and urge that some of the dangerous characters who took part in the loot, murder and arson are still at large. On the other hand the Moplahs feel that many innocent people are being harassed and if their advice was sought in the matter it would undoubtedly be in favour of a general amnesty, so that consultation with local opinion seems to be out of the question. Regarding the arrests which the police are now making one frequently hears complaints, without, however, obtaining adequate proofs for

them, as it often happens in such cases, that the police are harassing innocent persons and letting off notoriously bad characters on account of temptations being placed in their way. Government have therefore to be extra cautious in the matter of these numerous arrests and trials. Making thousands of Moplahs prisoners in jail would itself create problems for Government which they would find it hard to deal with in the future. Every Moplah who now goes to jail must entertain a feeling that his punishment is due to the information laid against him by some of his Hindu neighbours. Some day his term is bound to expire and he comes back with this iron in his soul. It would not be surprising at all, the Moplah character being what it is, if almost his first act on release were the murder of the Hindu or the Kaffir whom he may rightly or wrongly suspect to be the cause of his imprisonment. If Government can take power by means of some suitable legislation which will enable them to deal drastically and at once with any signs of fanatical outburst that may hereafter manifest themselves amongst them, the right course for Government would be to drop this policy of wholesale arrests and confine themselves to securing the prosecution and conviction of such offenders only as can be proved to have personally committed the outrages, as distinct from those who were merely members of a mob.

N. A. DRAVID.

#### CO-OPERATIVE FINANCE IN C. P.-I.

IF in the past public attention has been attracted by the rapidity of the growth of the co-operative movement in these Provinces and by certain features in the constitution of the several co-operative institutions, last year's financial crisis, which at one time threatened to engulf the whole movement, has attracted greater attention still. How did it arise, how was it met, and how is its recurrence to be avoided—are questions which co-operators as well as the depositing public have been asking, publicly as well as privately. The Government of the Central Provinces appointed a Committee to enquire into the constitution, finance, banking methods, and general working of all co-operative institutions in the Provinces, and to make recommendations concerning the respective functions of these bodies, their relations to each other and the general policy of Government with regard to them. The Committee has examined a number of witnesses and has issued a report of considerable length, dealing with these important matters. As one who has taken part in the investigation and has subscribed to the report, which has evoked considerable comment, complimentary as well as condemnatory, I can only say that the Committee, who are unanimous in their recommendations, are convinced that the solution of the problem of the finance of the co-operative movement in India will be found in their recommendations.

The position of the movement, so far as its financial side is concerned, is briefly as follows:—

There are a little over 4,500 primary societies with about 7,500, members who use capital of about a crore and fifteen lakhs of rupees. These 4,500 societies are grouped together under 34 central banks and there is a Provincial Co-operative Bank which recently acted as a balancing centre and generally performed the functions of an apex bank, such as the custody and investment of reserve funds and the provision of a provincial fluid resource. Taking all these institutions together, the total assets of the movement amounted on the 30th of June, 1921, to about one crore and thirty lakhs while the liabilities amounted to 93½ lakhs. capital owned by the movement is therefore about 361/2 lakhs, which is equivalent to about 28% of the total working capital.

The organization of the movement was, or rather is, by no means defective. The whole system is so inter-dependent, so coherent, that one part exactly fits in with the other. The primary societies are all affiliated to central banks. The capital of these central banks is owned in a large measure by the members of the primary societies, and on the directorates of these central banks the representatives of the members of primary societies have an indisputable majority. The central banks and societies again own the apex bank, which is managed by their elected representatives without outside official interference. Thus the whole machinery ought in theory to move without friction and so as to yield the maximum of benefit to the agriculturist member of the primary society. Here was therefore co-oprective finance controlled, and managed by the members of the primary society through his duly elected representatives: thus was credit democratized, the dream of the democrat realized.

The events of the year 1920-21 therefore gave a rude shock to the co-operators in the province as well as all to those who were interested financially as depositors or otherwise in the movement.

What happened may be summarized follows. One of the main functions of the Provincial Co-operative Bank was the provision and maintenance of an adequate fluid resource to cover the deposits held by the whole movement. this function it was definitely and distinctly charged; and in fulfilment of this obligation in October 1919, it possessed no less than 14 lakhs of rupees representing 331/3 per cent. of the deposits due within the next twelve months. This fluid resource rose in an ascending curve, and reached the apex in February when it stood at 19 lakhs and represented 42 per cent. of the deposits due within the next 12 months and then it was converted into a rapidly descending curve which meant a diminishing balance, until in August it reached 3 lakhs and in November it had disappeared altogether.

The last audit report of the Provincial Bank is the work of an absolutely disinterested and well-known firm of auditors. Messrs. K. S. Aiyar and Co., in the terse language of auditors, describe the situation as follows: "We find that a great crisis

had come over the bank during the year under audit. . . . This bank as an apex bank was expected to keep full fluid resources not only for itself, but for the whole movement in the province. From the month of April 1920, however, we find that the fluid resources began to go down with amazing rapidity month by month until in the months of November and December, these resources, which ... should have been 19 lakhs, were nil. This extraordinary situation drove matters to a crisis and the bank was unable to meet maturing deposits. . . . Now it is a fundamental principle of banking, which distinguishes it from money lending, that it should have at any given moment enough fluid resources to meet current liabilities based on a percentage of deposits. The provincial bank came to this critical position owing to its disregard of this ordinary banking principle, by freely granting loans and cash credits to central banks by raising an unauthorized loan from the Imperial Bank, on its gilt edged securities."

If, in Central Provinces and Berar, kind Providence had favoured the co-operator and given him a bumper crop, the situation might have been eased, if not relieved, by the repayments beginning to flow in by November 1920, but the year 1920-21 was one of the most serious of famines known to the province, and perhaps providence refused to run to the help of the Provincial Bank which disregarded the rules which practice and prudence had prescribed. It is said, Nature punishes always and pardons never. The laws of economics are laws of Nature and their infringement meets with retribution as surely as any other.

This and other blunders of the Provincial Bank only served to draw prominent attention to certain features of the movement, and it was the business of the Committee to examine them and to frame recommendations concerning them.

R. R. JAYAVANT. (To be continued.)

## THE STORY OF AN AGRICULTURAL STRIKE.

AGRICULTURAL strikes are very rare in England and other western countries because agricultural labour is scattered and therefore difficult to organize. Not so industrial labour which is more intelligent and concentrated in towns. But conditions are different in India which is mainly a rural country where each village contains sufficient labour force to make its organisations effective and where the caste system supplies special facilities for such organisation. If in addition most of the land should happen to be held by a few moneylenders or other non-cultivating persons, the chances of a successful strike on the part of agricultural labourers are improved. Some notable agricultural striks have cocured in India in the past few years, whether in every case they have been called strikes or not. The agrarian movement in Champaran started by Mr. Gandhseveral years ago was really a strike on a large scale and we have also had strikes on tea plantations. But perhaps the clearest case—because unconnected with racial or political issues—is the strike of of villagers in Kolaba District, the story of which is narrated below. Many similar strikes may be expected in the near future in various parts of the country as the masses are gradually becoming conscious of their power in combination. The story of the Kolaba strike should therefore prove of to the student of public affairs, who will disalso be able to read in it an account of the curious bisconduct of some politicians who, while professing to be the friends of the poor, act as if they are mothing of the kind.

The cultivating tenants in some parts of the Kolaba District have non-co-operated with their landfords and several thousand acres of land have for some time past been lying barren. The cultivators belong mostly to the Agri community among whom education has not much spread. There are two types of rice lands in this district. There are Khari lands situated very close to the creaks and requiring to be protected by very strong mud embankments which have always to be kept intact to keep the salt water from rushing into the fields. During the dry season the cultivator has to work hard of on these fields to keep the embankments in repair. No ploughing is necessary; he has only to sow paddy seeds from the embankments at the beginning of the rains and in three or four months the crop is ready. This enables a cultivator to look after 15 to 20 acres of land. It is only the Agris who have been accustomed to the work which these fields require, for it is difficult even to walk in them during the rains. 🗫 crops, however, are uncertain and one does not get a full return for one's labour every year. The other lands are the ordinary paddy fields in which there is a greater certainty of the crops, but work in them is heavier and has got to be done during the wet season. The cultivator is also required to spend more money for labour in these fields but the yield per acre is much larger than that in the Khari lands.

The strike of the cultivators has now continued for nearly two years. Last year they cultivated the lands but did not give any produce to the landlords and this year they have not even tilled the fields. The causes of the strike are ill-treatment, the extravagant demands of the landlords as regards rent, and the heavy cost of cultivation. The lands which in former times belonged to the cultivators have in many cases passed into the hands of the moneylenders. Besides these general complaints there are specific grievances against certain landlords, who levied heavy fines on cultivators for refusing begar and other services, and there is still a darker tale of the shameful treatment of men and women by some very wealthy landlords. The cultivators have been all thoroughly non-violent in spite of the efforts of some landlords to provoke them. In the course of their truggle the ryots have learnt the lesson of combined action. Whenever they want to decide a question, their leading men from all the fifty-six villages assemble at Vasi, their head quarters, and settle it after proper deliberation. Another gain is in the shape of social reform. As they have not got much money with them and as they cannot borrow it from the sowcars with whom they have no dealings during the strike, they have curtailed their expenses on marriages and other festivities, and the most remarkable thing is that they have all become teetotallers.

An attempt was made to settle this dispute last year by Mr. Gosavi, a leading pleader of the District, but he soon gave up the idea as he found himself growing unpopular with the landlords. A similar attempt was made by Mr. Gordon, the Collector, but that also proved unsuccessful. In December, 1921, Mr. T. A. Kulkarni of the Bombay Social Service League went to Vasi at the suggestion of one of the landlords. He saw the leading men among the Agris and then had an informal meeting with the landlords, arranged merely to discuss the conditions on which a compromise was possible. In January, 1922, he arranged to bring together a few leading men of both parties for discussing the conditions. The Agris became hopeful and sent word with Mr. Kulkarni to the landlords to arrange for a formal meeting of the representatives of the two parties; but the landlords ignored the proposal and invited the Collector to mediate in the matter. Along with the loss of income from rice fields there is also loss of income from salt pans. The labourers refuse to manufacture salt for the landlords as long as this dispute is not settled. An attempt was accordingly made by Mr. Ingle, Salt Superintendent, who for two days tried to bring about a compromise between the parties, but the appearance of a pleader from Bombay on behalf of the landlords spoiled his chances of success. In March, 1922, Mr. Kulkarni arranged for a mass meeting of the Agris which passed resolutions and also settled the form of the agreement to be signed by the tenant while accepting land for cultivation. According to this form the rent was to be reduced by one maund per acre. Receipts were to be given for rent paid, which had not so far been given, and false charges of non-payment were sometimes made consequently. A uniform standard of measure was to be used by the landlord. The use of a false measure, much larger than the standard one. by the landlord was common in former times. Begar was to be abolished. In case of bad crops two arbitrators were to be appointed to settle the amount to be paid. In case of a difference between the arbitrators an umpire was to be appointed. On these conditions the tenants invited the landlords to settle the dispute.

In the meanwhile the Maharashtra Provincial Conference was held in April at Pen. A resolution was passed at the Conference requesting the two parties to appoint an equal number of representatives with a president to decide the dispute. Mr. N. C. Kelkar accordingly went to Vasi and spoke

to the Agris and they elected Messrs. Laxmanrao Patil, Hiru Mahadu Sir Patil and T. A. Kulkarni as their three representatives. The landlords also elected Messrs. Manohar, Limaye and Sathaye as their three spokesmen. The cultivators have proposed the names of Messrs. Joseph Baptista and N. M. Joshi for the Presidentship. The other party have suggested four names, the Collector, the Subordinate Judge, Rao Bahadur Kamat of Alibag and Mr. Gharat.

When these discussions about the appointment of the President are going on, a wealthy landlord invited Mr. N. C. Kelkar some time ago to Pen .to give his advice to the parties. Accordingly he went there; but the Agris refused to listen to him because some of their representatives were not present, having had no previous intimation. Mr. Kelkar's own views may be gathered from a long leading article in the Kesari of the 23rd May, which suggests the ways by which a compromise can be brought about. After praising the tenants for their combined action during the strike and their work for the abolition of drink and after assuring them of his partiality for them, the writer has blamed them for being unreasonable in the matter of having failed to point out real grievances. The second charge is that they are asking for unconditional surrender from landlords. The article also insists upon having the old form of the agreement. Then it is also recommended that half the produce should be given to the landlord in bad years. This was originally the suggestion of the landlords. The system of arbitration is condemned by Mr. Kelkar who advises the tenants to get relief from the revenue courts. It will thus be seen that Mr. Kelkar, while professing to be a friend of the Agris, has really been arguing for the moneylender-landlords. And it passes one's comprehension how the non-cooperating President of the Maharastra Provincial Congress Committee could bring himself to recommend to the agriculturists the Government law courts for the settlement of their disputs in preference to arbitration. Meanwhile, as the rainv season is at hand a large number of landlords have already agreed to the conditions of the tenants and it looks as though the strikers will win completely before long.

A SOCIAL WORKER.

#### A LETTER FROM LONDON.

( FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, MAY 25.

THE welcome given to the Premier last Saturday on his return from Genoa was tremendous and spontaneous. Probably never before has any Prime Minister received so enthusiastic a reception on his return from any mission abroad. The most important moment at the station was when a royal coach drove up containing the Duke of Atholl with a warm message from the King. Even the smiling Premier himself seemed overcome by such an act of consideration and for a moment was at a loss for words. The platform at the station was crowded,

it being estimated that at least 200 Members from both Houses of Parliament were present with theirwives and daughters, as well as the crowds that througed both inside and outside the barriers, and lined the approaches.

The closing speeches at the Conference were marked by a greater tolerance than the opening ones. Perhaps it is true that the Conference has given an airing to hidden anger, and having dissipated it, paved the way for a better undertanding. The meeting of financial experts that is to take place at the Hague later on is a direct outcome of Genoa. It is hoped and believed that the same conflicting forces which have rendered abortive much of the promised good work of Genoa will not be there. In fact, ere the Hague meeting takes place the conditions in Europe will be different. The reparation problem will have passed from the chronic stage to the acute, or be on its way to a cure. Much will depend upon May 31st. At the present moment the chances of the French armies. being set on the march, looks less probable than it did two weeks ago.

It was announced in the House yesterday that Mr. Lloyd George had decided to make the opening speech on the Genoa debate to-day. His speech is eagerly awaited, especially those parts dealing with our relations with France, and the future of Russia. Also much curiosity, not anxiety, is felt. as to what Mr. Lloyd George meant by the remarkable statement he made last Saturday to the Press. He said in this, " that a few weeks ago there werearmies massing on frontiers extending over thousands of miles with the intention of marching against each other, and the whole of the centre of Europe was in a state of fear and trembling, because they were expecting the march of these armies. . . . By the Genoa Conference, the march of these armies has been arrested, and I believe the order will never be given for a single battalion to go forward. " Most people think that the statement of the " massing of armies over thousands of miles" is a journalistic exaggeration. But they are nevertheless waiting for the explanation.

The tragic loss of the "Egypt" with its long death roll of over a hundred, has turned all eyes upon the sea and our shipping. Every passenger steamer to-day is so supplied with life-saving appliances, that during times of peace the loss of lifein any wreck should be very small indeed, unless. precautions are not properly taken, or the crew neglects its duty. An enquiry has been ordered into the allegations against the Lascars on board the liner. It has been repeatedly stated that the Lascars were seized with panic and having obtained firearms prevented the women and children from entering the boats, overcrowded them themselves and were capsized in the attempts to get free of the " Egypt". It is well that an exhaustive enquiry should be held, for during the war, with all its horrors and dangers, the Lascars received as good reports of discipline, bravery, and good behaviour under trying circumstance as any white sailors

anywhere. How the Lascars came into possession of firearms is not known, but that is a matter also to be enquired into.

Irish difficulties have gone from bad to worse, and though an arrangement has now been entered into between Mr. Collins and Mr. De Valera, peace is far off from the country. While the contending political parties have been busy quarrelling over forms of Government, Ireland has been collapsing for lack of any Government of any kind. Taxes are not being paid, banks are being raided, land is being seized and cattle driven off. The old habits of life are breaking down as one outrage after another goes successfully unpunished, and the danger of chaos and anarchy seems very near. Yesterday, however, strong action was taken in Northern Ireland, and Government made hundreds of arrests, so that most of the leading Sinn Fieners are now incustody. The Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Irish Republican Army, Irish Volunteers and several kindred bodies have been proclaimed as illegal. For most of the present trouble Mr. De Valera is blamed. Had the Treaty been accepted by the Dail in last December, when the people were ready to accept it, much misery might have been saved, and the country would never have got into the state of disorder that it is

An important sentence appears in the Times Empire number dealing with British Guiana. "India" it says, "the country to which British Guiana looked in the past for labour for agricultural purposes, has now sent a delegation to the colony to investigate conditions, with a view to resuming Indian immigration. The colonization scheme provides for the transportation of East Indians, or for that matter any other race of people to this outpost of Empire to take up lands for development and to embark in other industries. There are signs that the delegates from India are impressed with what they have seen in the colony. They are satisfied that Indians who form the backbone of the working force on plantations are well treated and it would not be surprising to learn later on that as a result of their report the Indian Government will give its assent to hundreds of thousands of persons turning their faces from East to West, to settle in British Guiana. Sir Wilfred Collect, Governor of the Colony, has informed the delegation that there is room for twenty million settlers." Whether or not the Indian delegation was impressed and satisfied with the conditions of Indian labour in British Guiana, we do not yet know: their report is not yet sent in, and some weeks may elapse ere the findings of the delegation are made known to headquarters. But if their findings are adverse to Indian colonization, it will certainly be a big blow for British Guiana, for without a satisfactory labour supply the colony cannot be developed, and it is evident British Guiana is counting upon this supply coming from India.

May 24 is Empire Day. London honoured it

by making a gigantic collection on behalf of the hospitals. Students from practically every Lon don hospital turned out in all manners of dress to collect money. Women and girls of all ages and types braved the sweltering sun-it was 81 in the shade—and collected from every passerby. The markets were raised by enthusiastic collectors quite early in the morning. None escaped it, for no one could either stay in the house or move outside it without coming in contact with a collector. It is estimated about £50,000 will have been collected in this one day in London itself. No more fitting way of celebrating Empire Day could possibly have been found than by assisting the sick and helpless, and prolonging the life of some of the noblest work that British men and women have done in providing for the maintenance of the voluntary hospital system.

The Anglo-Indian Temperance Association held its annual Meeting in London on Monday May 24th. A large number of people were present including many Indians. The Chairman, Lord Clwyd, spoke of the growth of temperance reform in India, notwithstanding all the political difficulties and unrest there, and thought that total prohibition could come in India long before it might come into force in England. The Rev. C. Phillips Cape, however, while believing that India, at least some provinces of India, was rapidly going towards total prohibition, had a bigger danger than intemperance to fight in drug-taking. India, he said, was not really an alcohol-taking country, but millions of its women believed in drug-taking, giving a pinch of opium to a baby to cure it of any sickness the mother believed the baby to be suffering from. The Hon. Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai also spoke, and received a very warm welcome both from the Chair and the audience.

#### REVIEW.

KANARESE LITERATURE. By E. P. RICE.—The Heritage of India Series. Second edition, revised and enlarged. (Association Press, 8 Russell Street, Calcutta.)

Tens little book very well fulfils the purpose of the Series which is to make available to the ordinary man 'the treasures of knowledge, wisdom and beauty' contained in the literature, philosophy and art of India—her ancient heritage: two tests being rigidly applied to every book-scholarship and sympathy. Tamil and Kanarese or Kannada have the oldest liberatures of all the vernaculars of India. The earliest extant work is a treatise on poetics written about A. D. 850. It mentions by name eight or ten writers in prose and verse, saying these are but a few of many; and it quotes, discusses and criticises illustrative stanzas from other poets whose names are not mentioned.' The Kannada country has been in the past the scene of great religious activity. Sankara established here his most important mutt or monastry to fight the Jains whose stronghold it had

been for centuries; Ramanuja spent a great part of his life in Mysore; Madhava and Basava were born, worked and died here. Vidyaranya and Sayana also lived in this country. Though the works of these Acharyas are in Sanskrit, their influence on Kannada literature was most powerful, making it religious almost entirely. As with other Indian languages, its most important works are epic poems which describe the doings of Jaina or Lingayat heroes, or are renderings of Ramayana, Bharata and Bhagavata. They are most conveniently classified according to the religion of the authors—Jaina, Veera Saiva or Lingayat and Brahmana—which also roughly represents their chronological order. The reading of these epics in Sanskrit or vernacular and explaining them to the masses are an effective means all over India of disseminating religious culture, though of late the practice is unfortunately becoming less common.

It was not Mr. Rice's object to deal at any length with modern Kannada literature—with the literature that is due to western influence—and therefore his treatment of it is very meagre. But it may be mentioned here that modern literature in Kannada is not as large or remarkable as one would expect from the richness of its ancient literature or from the output of Marathi, Hindi, or Bengali.

The Jaina works form an admirable group of classics remarkable for their elegance of description and narrative, though, being written in what is known as old Kannada, they are open only to the learned. Notable among them are the Pampa Bharata and Pampa Ramayana, which are especially interesting as Jaina versions of the great epics. The former, written about A. D. 941. "differs from Vyasa's account chiefly in the following particulars:-

(1) Draupadi is the wife of Arjuna only, not of the five Pandavas. (2) Arjuna is the chief hero throughout and it is he and Subhadra who are finally crowned at Hastinapura. (3) The book terminates at Arjuna's coronation, the later parvas not being included. (4) The poet delibrately identifies his patron, Arikesari, with Arjuna, and so makes him the real hero."

The other work, Pampa Ramayana, was written about A. D. 1105 and its deviations from Valmiki's Ramayana are much more striking:—

"The whole atmosphere is Jaina. India throughout appears as a Jaina country. No reference is made to Brahmans or Brahmanism. The hermits in the forests are Jaina yatis. Rama, Ravana and all the characters are Jainas, and generally end their career as Jaina yatis.

The Rakshasas are only occasionally called by that name. They are generally styled vidyadharas (beings having the power of movement throught air). In fact all the inhabitants of the earth belong to one or other of two classes, khecharas (movers through the air) and bhucharas walkers on the earth, jinus and men.

In the place of the supernatural and grotesgue marvels of the Brahmanic story we have a natural and comparatively credible narrative. For example, Sugriva, Hanuman, and their followers are not monkeys, but human beings whose standard bears the figure of a monkey (Vanara dhvaja). No bridge is built across the sea to Lanka with torn-off tops of mountains; the army is transported across the water through the air by nabhogamana vidya 'as ahough' on a bridge (xii 91). Ravana received the name

'ten-headed' not because he really had ten heads, but because when he was born his face was reflected on the ten facets of a jewel-mirror which was in the room, &c.' Among numerous other differences may be mentioned the version that it is Lakshmana who kills Ravana and he is also called Krishna, Kesava and Achynta.

Those who know how completely the Lingayats and Brahmans exclude each other in social matters at present in the Kannada country, will perhaps be interested to know that, according to Lingayat writers, there lived in the reign of Praudha Deva Raya (1419-1446) a great Lingayat poet named Phamarasa, who was an Aradhya Brahman and that his rival and brother-in-law was a Vaishnava Brahmin called Naranappa who came to be known as Kumara Vyasa for having written a famous version of the Bharata. The Aradya Brahmans have now disappeared from the Karnatak but are found in parts of the Teluga country.

Mr. Rice has made a remarkable, if ambitious, attempt at rendering specimen passages from some of the poets into English verse. No translation, particularly that of a poem, can produce the same impression as the original and Mr. Rice's translations are no exceptions. But they are as successful as could be expected of one who is not a poet.

The book was first published in 1915 and the fact that there was a demand for a second edition by 1920 shows that it is appreciated as it deserves to be...

V. V. S.

#### MISCELLANEA.

#### FAMINE RELIEF IN DOHAD.

THE following is a report of the relief work done by the Famine Committee in Dohad and Jhalod Talukae of the Panch. Mahal District from the 16th February, 1922, (when the workwas started) up to the 26th May, 1922.

The total of donations received by this Committee is. Rs. 20,800 in cash, and Rs. 1103 as the value of the cloth received, thus making the total collection of Rs. 21,903. The cash collection includes the sum of Rs. 5,000 received from the Bombay cotton merchants and muccadums' association. The committee is deeply grateful to all who generously responded to its appeal for funds.

9 volunteers have been placed in charge of 7 centres in this area, where relief is dispensed to the needy and the poorin a prescribed manner. The chief forms of relief are—

- (1) Free distribution of clothes, especially for women and children.
- (2) The provision of spinning wheels and carded cotton for spinning.
- (3) Provision of cheap maize, the staple food of the Bhill population, at 4 centres.
- (4) Free doles to the sick, the aged and the infirm, and (5) giving loans to cultivators for the purchase of bullocks.

Moreover, arrangements are being made to provide maize seeds for the coming sowing season at cheap rates at 6 places in the two talukas.

Great stress was laid by the Committee in their preliminary appeal on the half-nude condition of women and children in this area. The distribution of clothes has therefore engaged their special attention, and will continue for a couple of months more. The total number of clothes distributed upto date is 5,125 and Rs. 4,662 have been spent on this form of relief. It is unfortunately still a common sight to see girls.

√of 12 or 13 absolutely naked, except for a langeti, and women
in villages as well as in towns in tattered petticoats.

Able-bodied destitutes were employed last year on spinning wheels at about 10 centres, where they were paid 2 as. per day. Hundreds thus learnt to spin fairly good yarn and out of these about 300 women and children have taken to spinning this year at the rate of 4 as a lb. They earn about 2 as. a day, thus barely saving their families from starvation. The Committee have, however, been able to touch only a fringe of the problem. Unemployment is the order of the day. Many private lime and building works have been closed down and yet Government has not opened a single relief work that might maintain even a few hundreds.

Cheap grain shops have been opened with a view to protest the poor against the rise of prices. Maize is sold at an average loss of about 2 as, in the rupee in these shops, which are freely resorted to, by those for whom they are meant. The total daily sale amounts to about 250 mds, and about Rs. 8,000 have been invested in this operation. The shops it appears will have to be continued at least up to the end of July.

About 242 persons are being given grain doles, by the Committee. Its workers go about in villages and distribute grain among destitutes, who are either too old or too infirm to do any work.

The Committee have been faced with a demand for easy loans, for buying bullooks on account of the general economic depression. However, Rs. 250 only have been loaned out to 9 persons for this purpose. A grant of about Rs. 25 has also been made to chamars to enable them to carry on their here-ditary industry of jute carpeting.

Two items of the Committee's work deserve attention, from the standpoint of its future development. The Committee got a large legacy of good and bad yarn of about 70 mds. from its last year's operations. More yarn is coming in from all centres. A few weavers have begun, weaving our hand-spun and the khaddar prepared so far has been made into clothes for free distribution.

The Committee also supervises and assists the working of the depressed classes' and the Bhils' schools, maintained in the two talukas. Two antyaj schools are being conducted at Dohad and Garbada, 20 to 30 boys receiving instruction in each.

A Bhil boarding school has been started at Mirakhedi, situated at a distance of 8 miles from Dohad, where 18 boarders and 3 or 4 day students attend the school. A small stone building has been built there for the accommodation of the boarders and bamboohuts have been provided for the teachers and the Cmmittee's workers. A reading room, a library, and an ayurvedic dispensary have been opened at the boarding, which promises to play a good part in the general awakening of the Bhil community.

A Bhil school has been opened at Mudaheda in Jhalod Taluka, in response to the village people's demand. True to their word, they send about 50 children to the school.

It is to be hoped, that the general public will continue to take interest in the work, which is being carried on amidst comparatively difficult conditions for the amelioration of one of the most backward and primitive communities in India and will subscribe their mite in the cause from time to time.

All cheques and subscriptions should be sent direct to Mr. A. V. Thakkar or Mr. I. K. Yajnik, who are secretaries, at Dohad, Gujerat.

#### THE VALUE OF ELOQUENCE.

Even judged from the brief summaries which have reached us, it is easy to appreciate the impression which the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri's speeches have made in Australia. In the British Dominions they set a higher value on oratory than in England. In England public speeches have been lowered by the verbose sloppiness of the House of Commons manner, and where those who know least speak most and make up their speeches as they go along. It is otherwise in the Dominions and in America. Some of the most polished speakers in the English language have come from the Dominions, {Laurier from Canada and Deakin from Australia. To these the

only modern Englishman who could compare with them was Lord Rosebery in his prime and the silver tongue of Rosebery has been silent since 1909. There is no more polished or more graceful speaker to-day than Mr. Sastri and we have no doubt that in Australia as at Washington his appearance has created a new concept of Indian culture, attainments and character. We must admire no less the skill with which Mr. Sastri has struck the right note. If the Australians pride themselves on anything it is on their democracy. Convince them that a measure is anti-democratic and the cause is half won. Mr. Sastri has wisely not challenged the "White Australia" policy. That with the menace of Japan is an obsession in the Commonwealth. But he has demanded for the Indiana resident within the Commonwealth the full rights of citizenship and has bluntly declared that Australia dares not deny it. Nor will it ultimately be denied. The greatest service that can be rendered to India is to carry abroad this message of her character, culture and attainments. The greatest disservice that can be rendered is that miserable occupation, so beloved of really mean and insignificant minds, of belittling the most eminent of their countrymen.-The Times of

#### TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

with which Mr. THE closeness, Toistolans. Gandhi has modelled himself on his guru, the Count Leo Nicolayevich Tolstoi, manifests itself in the closeness of parallels which may startle by their unexpectedness but on closer inspection prove only natural and necessary conclusions flowing from one and the same premiss. In the last number of Young India we have Mr. C.Rajagopalachariar commenting on the enterprise of a Madras firm of publishers, who are issuing as "books by Mahatma Gandhi" collections of articles and speeches of his, strung together by them under a title of their own, but giving the impression to an uninitiated reader as if the books had been written as such by Mr. Gandhi. Following Count Tolstoi, Mr. Gandhi has waived every copyright of his writings, in the express hope that his writings might be as much as possible copied and the ideas contained therein disseminated. This, at first blush seems a most noble attitude to take and one which puts to shame those other authors who do not disdain to make money out of the dissemination of even their most lofty ideas. The editor of Young India in fact pointedly refers to "so many other well-known men" who are "in the habit of making up books for sale." To a philosopher of anarchy there can To a philosopher of anarchy there can of course be no copyright any more than any other restriction of individual liberty. As a consequence, whatever Tolstoi wrote, he wished to become everybody's and nobody's property. As a matter of . fact, this policy defeated itself completely, for his writings, deprived of the protection of the copyright, were copied, reprinted, translated somehow and any. how, with the result that to-day it is almost impossible for anybody to know exactly what Tolstoi did write. Only the other day we noticed that the hat is actually going round in Europe to day amongst lovers of literature and science, to finance the issue of an authentic text of the complete works of Tolstoi. It very much looks as if the. same fate was rapidly overtaking our own great Tolstoian, the Mahatma. To the ordinary clay, to which Young India so patronisingly refers, it of course always open to maintain his copyright intact, thus preventing the garbling of his works, without necessarily allowing them to be capitalistically exploited : but to the great ones, who exalt individualism into a religion, no such fine balancing is of course possible. To them it is always, neck or nothing. And the end of it all usually is nothing.

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