

# THE Servant of India

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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..	265
ARTICLES :—	
Sir William Wedderburn ... ..	267
The New Malayan Labour Code ( <i>Concluded from last issue</i> ) ... ..	269
Repeal of State Prohibition Laws in America. By the Rev. G. W. Pickett ... ..	270
Malabar Land Tenures.—III. The Rights of Verumpattandars. By P. Kodanda Rao ... ..	271
The late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. By V. N. N. ... ..	272
THE WORLD OUTSIDE	
MISCELLANEA:—	
The Administration of Kenya ... ..	274

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK

INDIA has every reason to congratulate herself on the unqualified success of the great Queen's Hall meeting which was intended as a popular demonstration in support of Dominion Status for India. The occasion was so important that Mr. Sastri deemed it necessary to keep his engagement to speak thereat in spite of his serious illness which is causing so much anxiety here. Considering the difficulty of getting English people to overcome their habitual indifference to India and to listen to her grievances, it was certainly good fortune that she had the unique honour of the leader of the opposition presiding on this occasion. While Mr. Ramsay MacDonald emphasised the indelible dishonour in which England would be involved if she were to go back on her pledge to confer Dominion Status on India, as apparently some wish her to do, Mr. Sastri pointed out, referring to General Smut's interference in the Kenya question, that it would be nothing short of a disaster to the British Commonwealth if the Imperial Government permitted him to impose on them his policy of the ascendancy of the White race and the domination of one people over others. From the success of this meeting it may legitimately be inferred that, as a result of the strenuous labours of the Indian Deputation, India is anyhow evoking interest in the public mind of England and compelling it to take notice.

THE day previous to the re-assembling of the Legislative Assembly, about thirty-five members, representing both the Democratic and the National

parties in that Chamber, met informally to discuss and concert measures to signify their indignation at the Viceroy's certification of the salt duty. The rejection of the Government's supplementary demands for grants, which will be made on the 18th inst., found general favour with the members, but the attendance at this gathering was too small to justify, in the eyes of those present, a definitive decision on the matter immediately. The Assembly's attitude on this question will, therefore, be decided at a subsequent meeting. We earnestly entreat all the non-official members to give an effective answer to the autocratic action of the Viceroy by refusing to consider any demand for money that would be made by the Government. Such a retaliatory measure is fully warranted, and indeed necessitated, by the flouting of public opinion on the part of Lord Reading—and that, again, on the question of finance. Whatever practical effect it may or may not have, it will certainly have a good moral effect. It will teach the Government a lesson which they will not forget very soon.

MR. BEPIN CHANDRA PAL puts forward, in the columns of *New India*, an urgent plea for a Coalition of all the groups of the National party working for the attainment of Swaraj in India. According to him, such a Coalition can only be based upon a just appreciation—and a frank avowal—of the value of reforms. It must be universally recognised, he says, as a condition precedent to the unity which we desiderate, that though the Montagu Reforms fell short of popular aspirations, yet, "the rights and liberties secured to the electors by the Government of India Act are not such as may be contemptuously brushed aside by us. These rights are real. They are, as far as they go, substantial. And if we know how to use these rights and these openings, it cannot possibly be very long before we may be able to force the Government to completely surrender to the popular will in India." This admission, coupled as it is with a condemnation of wholesale obstruction in the Councils, is naturally very gratifying to us; but Mr. Pal seems for the moment to have clean forgotten how complete has been the transformation in his opinion. At the Amritsar Congress he plumped for total rejection of reforms, and even after this policy was turned down by the Congress, mainly owing to the influence of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Pal continued to read into the resolution of the Congress a mandate

to the country uniformly to oppose all measures of Government, whatever their merits. And yet he now says in *New India* that he was "for co-operating or non-co-operating with the Government, in working the new Constitution, according as such co-operation or non-co-operation might be found to be reasonably calculated to secure their object, which was the early establishment of Swaraj"! Though the statement is wide of the truth, it cannot but be highly flattering to the Liberals, whose rôle Mr. Pal is now so zealously taking up.

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**Labour in Mines.** THE public has one more opportunity of making strong representations to the Government on questions relating to the employment of labour in mines. The Government of India has addressed a letter to the Local Governments asking their opinion on the advisability of putting a daily, instead of the existing weekly, limitation on the hours of employment of mine labourers. The weekly limit is, as a matter of fact, seldom exceeded and therefore serves little useful purpose. On the contrary, it is common practice on the Ranigunj coalfield that miners live underground continuously for three days and work for the best part of each day in that interval—a cruel practice which must be stopped. Similarly there ought to be no hesitation in putting an end to the employment of women underground five years hence. The Joint Committee of the Central Legislature that sat on the Mining Bill of last year unanimously recommended the prohibition of female labour five years after the measure came into operation, and five years is certainly long enough notice to give to the employers for the purpose of minimising the dislocation of industry that will be caused by the prohibition. The use of mechanical coal-cutters to which the coal-owners are already becoming accustomed in India will prevent any serious shortage of labour being felt. On both these reforms we hope public opinion will be very urgent.

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**The Practice in Japan.** IN all civilised countries there is a statutory prohibition of underground female labour, and in our issue of October 5, 1922 (p. 426), we quoted relevant provisions in the laws of several countries. Recently we were asked by a prominent gentleman in Jharia, who takes a great deal of interest in labour employed on mines, as to how things stand in Japan in this matter. Japan is certainly not the country to go to for inspiration in regard to the treatment of labour, but the information we have collected in response to the above inquiry may be set out here for such guidance as it may contain. A Departmental Regulation, issued on 3rd August, 1916, prescribes the conditions of work in mines. Among other things this Regulation prohibits the employment of children under 12 years of age, and the employment underground of children under 15 years of age is also prohibited, but no prohibition has been laid down regarding the employment of women in underground work. A Government Bill was, however, moved in the Diet in 1921, with the object of bringing the Regulation into accord with the decisions reached by the International Labour Conference at Washington. The prominent features of the revision of the Mining Law on this occasion were the adoption of an eight-hour day for mine workers and the prohibition of night work (between 19 p. m. and 5 a. m.) by female workers. No proposal appears to be made yet to prohibit the employment of women below ground. It is an old custom in

Japan, as in India, that the hewers are accompanied by their wives, sons and daughters, who also work in the mines and assist the men as putters, and about 50,000 women are now working underground in Japan. We read, however, in the *Daily Intelligence* (published by the International Labour Office) of 21st February 1921 that "Government officials in certain quarters are of opinion that this prohibition (of underground female work) must of necessity be introduced."

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**Alcoholism and Overwork.** IN a book on "Psychology and Politics" reviewed by us on the 14th ult., the late Dr. Rivers explains the two methods of treating alcoholism: the old one of withdrawing access to alcohol, the modern one of changing the conditions, from which alcohol forms some sort of an escape. The author goes on to suggest a relation between the prevalence of drunkenness and inadequate housing. That inadequate leisure is no less important a factor, a recent enquiry made by the French Ministry of Labour, concerning the utilization of workers' leisure hours, tends to show. When the Eight-Hour day was made law in France (April 23rd 1919), the Government promised Big Business to watch carefully whether reduction in working hours would lead to an increase in drunkenness. Investigation in Paris (according to the *Bulletin du Ministère du Travail* of Jan. (March) has now revealed that the practice of staying away from work on Mondays and days following holidays has ceased, discipline has improved, intemperate habits of the older workers are disappearing, young workers do not drink at all. In the evenings workers are eager to get to their allotments gardens; even amongst restaurant and cafe workers there is less drunkenness. M. Tarle, a well-known French manufacturer, considers that the eight-hour day is one of the chief causes of this general decrease in drunkenness, and that, when workers had to work intensively for 10-11 hours, they had recourse to alcoholic drinks as stimulants, whereas with the 8-hour day they no longer require a temporary stimulant. As for statistics, the total amount of pure alcohol imported into Paris amounted in 1901 to 1,30,921 hectolitres,

1919	1,25,803	"
1922	1,02,256	"

and the average consumption dropped from 4.77 litres in 1901-13 to 3.82 in 1919-22 in the case of spirits, and from 225 to 173 litres in the case of wine. Ahmedabad and Bombay, please follow!

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**"Some" Evidence.** THE *Times of India* of Tuesday contained a letter from its Nairobi correspondent headed "Situation in Kenya—What the African thinks." This being exactly what we for one are most anxious to know, we eagerly scanned the despatch, full of curiosity how the mind of the inarticulate African had been penetrated. What was our disappointment, when we read on to find that this "news" had been obtained from a friend of this correspondent (second-hand news), which friend, on a holiday trip from India, had got into casual conversation with some White settlers (third-hand news), who had told him that the Nandi warlike tribe would rise against the Indians, if they were made to rule over them (fourth hand news). In the interests of decent journalism can not the *Times* get some correspondent in East Africa who is capable of weighing evidence, instead of palming off on its readers some tap-room gossip of Europeans as "What the African thinks"?

## SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN.

MR. S. K. RATCLIFFE, who is no stranger to the Indian public, deserves to be warmly congratulated on the excellent biographical memoir\* that he has produced of the late Sir William Wedderburn and his life-long connection with Indian affairs. Making a judicious use of a vast amount of material, he has succeeded in giving a clear and interesting account of Wedderburn's numerous activities in a short compass such as will suit a busy reader. Members of the old Indian National Congress and others who had the privilege of coming in direct contact with Sir William Wedderburn would perhaps wish that a regular biography with extracts from letters, speeches &c. had been written. But a work of that kind would not have appealed to a large circle of readers especially in England. And as Sir William had mainly addressed himself, after retirement from service in India, to the education of the British public on Indian questions, it is but fitting that his biographer should have chosen the best means of reaching as large a circle of that public as he could and acquaint them with Indian aspirations and the work done to promote them by a true British gentlemen.

William Wedderburn looked upon the Indian Civil Service as his hereditary profession and as the noblest career open to youthful ambition. "His father, Sir John, spent thirty years in the Bombay branch of the service, filling the offices of military, commercial, and revenue accountant and rising to be Accountant General." He retired in 1837, a little more than a year before William was born (25 March 1838). William's eldest brother served in Bengal, Bihar and in the Punjab, where he was Deputy Commissioner and was killed with his wife and child in the Mutiny. William himself entered the service in Bombay Presidency in 1860, being among the earliest competition-wallahs, and he retired in 1887, after having held various executive and judicial posts. When he left he was Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, but had acted some time as Member of the Executive Council and also as Judge of the High Court. But it was not his official duties, though he conceived and discharged them in the most liberal spirit of statesmanship, that endeared him to the people so much as the duties he voluntarily undertook for their amelioration. These were generally directed towards the economic improvement of the masses and the encouragement of general and political education of the classes. He made a close study of the economic condition of the rayats, stimulated thereto by the agrarian disturbances of the Deccan and the frequent occurrence of famines. He came to be looked upon as an authority on the subject. His study forced on him the conviction that the famines were not due so much to the absence of food grains in the country as to the inability of the people to purchase them owing to

their appalling poverty, which poverty he attributed to the land revenue system introduced by the British—the system of rigid collection in cash, the instalments falling due in harvest time, so that the rayats were forced to sell their grain at the most unfavourable time in order to pay either the Government or the moneylender who had enabled them to meet the Government demand. The remedies that occurred to him were the collection of revenue in kind, the starting of agricultural banks, the granting of *takkavi* loans and the formation of arbitration courts for the settlement of disputes. His ideas, however, were not acceptable to the authorities of the time and though his proposals were quite tentative, they were all knocked on the head as they seemed to suggest that the administration was short of perfection.

As illustrative of Wedderburn's method of procedure and the attitude of the bureaucracy towards his proposals, may be mentioned the reception given to his scheme for village panchayats, which he formulated about the year 1878. For a few years previously attempts had been made in different parts of the Bombay Presidency to revive the old panchayat system of settling disputes. In Poona an Arbitration Court, started in 1876, had privately disposed of over 3000 cases in two years. Being deeply impressed by these attempts, Wedderburn matured a scheme, in consultation with experienced friends, which aimed at incorporating the indigenous institution of panchayats in the judicial system of the Government.

"The draft of Wedderburn's scheme was adopted at a public meeting and forwarded to headquarters, where it met the customary fate. The wrecking of this effort at constructive village reform must be ascribed to Sir Richard Temple, then Governor of Bombay. He promptly increased the stamp duty on arbitration awards, and administered a separate reprimand to each of the nine subordinate judges who had taken part in the enterprise."

Throughout his residence in India Sir William Wedderburn was actively connected with educational institutions especially those for girls. It should suffice here to mention that he was chairman of the Deccan Education Society of Poona, was one of the organisers of the Poona High School for Indian Girls, a collaborator in the founding of the Alexandra English Institute for Indian girls in Bombay and the originator of the Wedderburn Hindu Girl's School, Karachi. His interest in Indian education continued unabated all through his life. He gave the strongest support to university reform and to Mr. Gokhale's compulsory education bill and founded the Gokhale Memorial Scholarship in England for the training of Indian women graduates to the teaching profession. Similarly for many years after retirement he continued to press on the attention of the authorities the need to improve the economic condition of the rayats. During his membership of Parliament for seven years he continually spoke on this subject and repeatedly made a proposal for the thorough economic investigation of typica-

\* Sir William Wedderburn and the Indian Reform Movement. By S. K. Ratcliffe. (George Allen and Unwin, London.) 1923. 7½ x 4½. Pp. 192. 6s. net.

villages, but the Conservative government as often threw it out. In 1897 when the Empire was celebrating the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria he forcibly reminded the public of England of the famine that was then raging in India by means of a pamphlet entitled "The Skeleton at the (Jubilee) Feast."

We have not so far referred to his greatest and best known service—the work of the Indian National Congress in England. The British Committee of the Congress was started in July 1889, most prominent among the originators being A. O. Hume, Dadabhai Naoroji, W. C. Bonnerjee and Sir William Wedderburn. During the thirty years of its existence there was naturally a great change in its personnel, but one unchanging feature till his death in January 1918 was its chairman, Sir William Wedderburn. All these years there was no more unselfish, painstaking and consistent friend of Indian political progress on constitutional lines than Sir William. He bore in a special degree the financial and other burdens connected with propaganda in England through pamphlets, leaflets, and later on the newspaper *India*; he was the friend and guide in a most real sense of every deputation that went to England from India in order to educate British public opinion. A real Liberal, he firmly believed in constitutional methods, being "as far from the revolutionary or the philosophical anarchist, on the one hand, as from the autocrat or bureaucrat on the other," and in British connection with India for India's good. He was in close touch with the India Office when the Liberals were in power, particularly with Lord Morley, in the shaping of whose reforms he and Mr. Gokhale played a specially important part. He greatly rejoiced at the appointment of Lord Hardinge as Viceroy and the administrative changes announced by His Majesty at the Delhi Durbar in 1911. Those changes ranked in his opinion with the South African settlement 'in wise and and courageous statesmanship, while exceeding it in far-reaching importance.' To Sir Dinshaw Wacha he wrote:

"I always told my Bengal friends that the partition could be rectified by a stroke of the pen at any time, but to have carried this out while the reforms were trembling in the Parliamentary balance would probably have been fatal."

But the greatest happiness of his life was experienced when on August 20, 1917, the Secretary of State declared in Parliament the goal of British policy in India to be the progressive establishment of responsible government.

"The proclamation came to Wedderburn as one of the most momentous events arising out of the world-wide upheaval of war. It was a consummation of infinite meaning and promise. It seemed literally like the crown of his own life work. The idea and programme of the Indian National Congress, the purpose and dream of its founders and leaders, and in his own case the faith, the labour and the self-sacrifice of forty years, had had no other goal than this—the recognition by the Imperial Power that the logical result of British rule in the great-

est of dependencies was a completed fabric of self-government."

His joy knew no bounds when Mr. Montagu's visit to India was announced for giving immediate effect to this policy. At his great age he wanted to undertake a risky journey to India along with his friend, Mr. Charles Roberts, and others of the party. He desisted only because his doctor was not sure that he would survive a railway journey from Gloucester to London! And the end came a few weeks later, on January 25, 1918.

One cannot help feeling that it was a merciful Providence that called him away then—when the happy warrior was all aglow with the fruition of his life-work and with glorious visions for the future of India. He was spared the pain and disappointment of the unfortunate subsequent events: the rejection of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms by the Congress and the consequent secession of the Moderates from it, the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, the movement of non-co-operation with its repression and other attendant evils. He was spared, above all, the agony of witnessing the demolition of a structure which he had laboured thirty years to build up—the British Congress Committee—and which was abolished by a resolution of the Congress after it had passed into the hands of the Extremists.

His liberalism and his criticism of Indian administration made him no favourite with Anglo-Indian officials and a large section of Parliament. "In India the members of the old order condemned Wedderburn as a disloyal officer of the Raj. In the House of Commons the thick-and-thin defenders of the existing system denounced him as a Little Englander, a crank—with his continual tirades against the bureaucracy, his incessant pleading for the Indian rayat. Identified as he was with the Indian National Congress, he was steadily abused by the imperialist press as a nuisance, an enemy, a man who must somewhere have a sinister motive for his hostility to the service which he had entered." This experience, however, he considered as part of the bargain. To compensate it in a measure, he enjoyed the esteem and affection of a large number of Indian friends, particularly in the Bombay Presidency, who belonged to three successive generations—of Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade and Gokhale. These included all the leaders of the old Congress. He was in close touch with many of them, but Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Babu Bhupendranath Basu and Mr. Gokhale wrote to him every week—Sir Dinshaw having done so regularly for over a quarter of a century. "His friendship with Gopal Krishna Gokhale," says Mr. Ratcliffe,

"was the closest and most fruitful personal association of Wedderburn's later life.... Their minds were in complete accord. They shared every purpose and every plan. Wedderburn could not possibly have found a younger colleague more perfectly suited, by temperament and training, to co-operate with him—whether at his side in England, or, in India, within the Legislative Council or in the Congress Movement. During a large part of the

time when the Morley Reforms were in course of preparation they worked together day by day; and there was nothing that gave Wedderburn greater pleasure than to observe the unqualified success of his friend, as the spokesman of India, with every kind of group he met and every audience he had the opportunity of addressing.....It was to him a matter of profound grief (when Mr. Gokhale died) that the man whom he rightly regarded as the fin flower of modern public life in India, its finest brain and purest character, should have been removed from the scene at the moment when the overturn of the European system with its immense reactions throughout the British empire, was sweeping India forward to her greatest opportunity and her most severe ordeal."

One regrettable omission we note in Mr Ratcliffe's excellent little book. He has not referred to Wedderburn's *Life of Hume*, which he undertook as a labour of love in his advanced age and which he completed on his sick bed, feeling anxious all the time, that his tribute to the memory of the Father of the Congress should not go unpaid on account of death's cold touch. Indeed, these two memoirs are complementary to each other, and together make one of the finest chapters in the history of the service rendered by England to India.

## THE NEW MALAYAN LABOUR CODE.

(Concluded from last issue.)

### 3. THE IMPROVEMENT OF LABOUR CONDITIONS.

WE must now hurry on to the last group of improvements effected by the new Code, viz. in the conditions of labour.

As regards child labour, "no Indian child under the age of ten shall be employed as a labourer on any place of employment" (§ 17)—a new provision, raising that age from 7 to 10; though it is once more noteworthy that "this is to meet a requirement of the Government of India to which this Government has assented" and that "it is proposed to limit the new section to Indians"—*pace* the 'Reasons'!

As regards estate schools, wherever there are more than ten children (of any one race) between the ages of 7 and 14, § 30 now lays down that the Controller may order any employer to construct a school—which is very nice as far as it goes (and again we are told that "this is meant to meet one of the requirements of the Government of India"): but why *may* and not *shall*? Similarly the Controller *may* (and not *shall*) order nurseries on any estate employing more than 50 female labourers (§ 28). This really will not do.

Another new departure of the new Code is the provision of maternity benefits, to which § 29 is devoted. The "Reasons" attached tell us, that "the system indicated is taken mainly from that followed in a few large mills at Bombay"; but that "employers' interests have been safeguarded as far as possible, as it is supposed that some danger may exist of making these maternity benefits too onerous, preventing employers from giving work to numerous women as at present." As a consequence, maternity benefit only accrues to a mother in proportion to the wages earned by her under

her present employer during the preceding six months (or 11 months in case of a second benefit): which is letting off the industry lightly enough. But one is anyhow glad that this section does not speak of "may" and insists on a peremptory "shall".

The same cannot be said about the introduction of a minimum wage, which the Legislative Assembly at its last session indeed desired, but did not stipulate. As a consequence a new section, § 131, now provides that "it shall be lawful for the Indian Immigration Committee to prescribe standard wages." The "Reasons" say that the Malayan Government has assented to the principle of standard rates required by the Government of India, and that the new section provides "a tentative method of fixing it." As it stands, the section of course may be made to mean nothing, and in any case one cannot but strongly regret that no principle of minimum wage is laid down, such as a definite ratio between wage and cost of living.

As regards overtime, everyone must admit, that the Malayan Labour Code, even as amended, does not exactly shine. For what do we find? The Code lays down a working day of 12 hours (sic!), divided into 9 hours of "time" and 3 hours of "overtime". But whilst hitherto this has been a distinction without a difference, as far as rate of pay is concerned (the difference being merely that 9 hours is compulsory and "overtime" is optional), the present Ordinance (§ 20) now graciously provides that "overtime" is to be paid double the ordinary "time" rate—provided the labourer "is employed exclusively in factory work"; in which case anyhow the labourer "may be lawfully required by the employer" to work overtime. Moreover, if there occurs a "case of emergency", the labourer has even then got to work overtime at ordinary rates! This is most unsatisfactory indeed and must really not be allowed to continue unamended for long. A nine-hour day is surely long enough in all conscience; and if overtime is at all to be permissible (which we for one are more than doubtful about), the least that can be demanded is that it should be made so costly for the employer that he will think twice, before resorting to it—"emergency" or no "emergency."

The Health sections, on the other hand, continue to be very satisfactory and in addition to some minor tightening up of the Code in this respect, we particularly welcome new section 140 which gives the Health Department powers to deal with the *prevention* of malaria on estates on lines, already law within municipal limits.

### 4. CONCLUSION.

Taken all in all, the new Malayan Labour Code is a great step in advance; so much so, that in many sections nothing better could happen to us than to get them bodily incorporated into Indian law. Many other sections, on the other hand, are still rather Victorian in their attitude towards labour conditions: yet even here we feel by no means pessimistic. For as we have always held.

the main point gained by India is not this amendment or that in a Code, but the appointment of an Indian Consular Officer resident in Malaya to watch and report on the working of the Code: a point, the necessity of which comes freshly home to one, as one reads of the recent case of an Indian gardener's death which followed upon a kick received by him from his White employer's wife. The appointment of Mr. Arulanandam Pillay to that post proves that the Government of India anyhow "mean business" and with his record as Assistant Labour Commissioner in Madras before us, we are satisfied to leave the present Malayan Labour Code and all further necessary improvements in it to the vigilant care of this, the first Indian appointed to look after the welfare of his compatriots abroad.

### REPEAL OF STATE PROHIBITION LAWS IN AMERICA.

DURING June the daily newspapers have published a number of telegrams regarding the repeal of State Prohibition laws in America. In one of the leading newspapers a telegram was published with the headline "Many States Going Wet." In the same newspaper another telegram appeared under the headline "Another American State Goes Wet." In neither case did the headlines correctly represent the content of the telegrams. "Going Wet" has always been used to indicate a vote to permit the legal sale of intoxicating liquors. Neither New York, nor Wisconsin, mentioned in these telegrams, nor any other American State has "Gone Wet."

Having dealt with the headlines, I wish to call attention to the contents of the telegrams, and then to consider the significance of the actions reported. Regarding Wisconsin, attention must be called to the fact that only the lower house of the State Legislature has voted in favour of repeal of the enforcement law. Before the bill could become a law it would have to pass the State Senate, or upper house and be signed by the Governor. As no report has been made of any action except that of the lower house, it is practically certain that the measure has not been enacted into law. Concerning New York, the papers that have just reached me from America indicate that the Governor was urged by vast numbers of citizens to refuse to grant his approval to the measure and that the great majority of the newspapers of the State, including many of those that have never been favourable to Prohibition, have declared that public opinion is overwhelmingly against the repeal. It is also very interesting to find that some members of the Legislature who voted for the repeal say that they are in favour of the Prohibition law and voted as they did because they believe the National Government can enforce the law better without the assistance of the State officers, and that the expense of enforcing an amendment to the National Constitu-

tion should be assumed entirely by the National Government and not in part by the States.

No State, acting alone, has the authority to restore the liquor trade to its former legal position, or to adopt any method of regulation or license for the trade, but it would be quite possible for the States acting together to repeal the Prohibition Amendment. If New York should want to "go wet," the way to do it would be to obtain a majority vote of the members of its Senate and House of Representatives and a majority vote of the legislatures of thirty-five other States. No single State has voted for repeal of the prohibition amendment and it is significant that no effort has been made to secure a vote for repeal in any State. There is a vast difference between a vote repealing a State law for enforcing prohibition and a vote for the return of legalized liquor-selling. The States are under no legal obligation whatever to enforce the national law, but the national law applies within all of the States. The State of Maryland ratified the amendment to the National Constitution but has never enacted a State enforcement law.

Nothing that I have written must be interpreted as indicating that I regard the repeal of New York's enforcement law with indifference. From the standpoint of the prohibitionist it is an unfortunate act. It reveals a certain "wet" sentiment. However, it does not suggest the failure of Prohibition. It does not mean that New York is tired of Prohibition. The legislators did not consider the only action that could have put them on record as wanting to repeal prohibition, or if some of them considered it privately they made no attempt to get the legislature to vote for such a proposal.

It must be borne in mind that New York State is to a large extent dominated by New York City, in which more than sixty per cent. of the voters are of foreign birth or parentage, and where a notoriously corrupt political machine has exploited the foreign vote with rare efficiency. During the war for obvious reasons the foreign voters were more subdued than is normally the case and the legislature elected during the war contained a very high percentage of native Americans. This perhaps accounts for the ratification of the prohibition amendment by both houses of the State Legislature and the passage of the enforcement law, which has now been repealed. Competent observers say that there has been an immense gain in Prohibition sentiment in New York since Prohibition began and that thousands who regretted the ratification of the Amendment are now enthusiastic prohibitionists.

In conclusion, I want to call attention to the fact that the telegrams sent out by Reuter's Agency uniformly present the news or alleged news that is most favourable to the liquor interests. When facts develop that would be recognized by the newspapers and the public as favourable to Prohibition, Reuter keeps quiet. To illustrate, let me quote two recent instances. At almost exactly the

same time that the New York legislators were repealing their enforcement law, the legislators in the neighbouring State of Massachusetts were passing such a law. No message was sent regarding the latter's action. Pennsylvania has recently enacted a most stringent enforcement law and by an overwhelming vote has elected a Governor pledged to use, if necessary, the entire resources of the State to enforce the law. New York's action is not one whit more important than Pennsylvania's, while the latter State is much more American and gives a far more reliable index of public sentiment throughout the nation; yet Reuter has nothing to say about its action.

J. W. PICKETT.

### MALABAR LAND TENURES.

#### III.—RIGHTS OF VERUMPATTAMDARS.

*Right of the Verumpattamdar to a third of the net produce.*—The case of the verumpattamdar is different. He has no claim for freedom from eviction. He has a right to a third of the net produce of the soil which he is not in a position to secure by free contract or by agitation. Nor has he found friends to fight for his rights, except Mr. Logan who fought hard for him.

*Evidence.*—There is ample evidence to prove pretty conclusively his right to a third of the net produce. It is the ancient custom of the land, freely recognised both by the janmis and the Government. It is called "kolulabham" and, as the Cochin Landlord and Tenant Commission observes, the best janmis allow this to their tenants even at the present day. Evidently on this account, even verumpattam lands had a market value, where there was customary security only. This right was expressly recognised in the mutual agreement entered into by Collector Richards and the janmis, headed by the Zamorin of Calicut in 1803. This agreement was ratified by the Madras Government and promulgated by the Proclamation of 1805. This Proclamation stated that the kudian or cultivator's share shall be a third of the net produce in wet or rice lands and a third of the gross produce in garden lands. This proposition was even further improved in favour of the cultivator by the principles adopted in the first settlement that followed a regular survey between 1900 and 1904. According to the settlement, the tenant's share was made a third of the net produce uniformly in wet, dry and garden lands. In fixing this share, the Government had in view the ancient customary rights of the cultivator, though they did not consider it necessary to secure this share to him by statutory provisions to that effect.

*Right not secured by freedom of contract.*—There is room to believe that the cultivating verumpattam tenant has not been able to secure this right to himself by contract with the janmis or the kanamdar under whom he holds his land. In 1881, Mr. Logan found that only in 2 cases out of the 98 estates elaborately examined by him, were the culti-

vators receiving their rightful share. In all others, their rights have been encroached upon, in some cases, to the extent of leaving the cultivators no better than coolies. Nor is there reason to believe that the position of the actual cultivators is any better now. The writer has not yet had an opportunity of conducting a personal investigation into the matter, and is therefore unable to speak from direct personal knowledge. But it is a notorious fact that the rent paid by the cultivating verumpattamdar to the landlord is disproportionately higher than the assessment the landlord pays to the Government; and there is reason to believe that under the present system, the landlord is unduly benefitted at the expense of the Government and the cultivator. This statement is borne out by the following considerations :

The principles of land revenue assessment in Malabar differ from those adopted in Zamindari or Talukdari areas in North India (temporary settlement) in that the assessment in Malabar is not calculated at half the rentals received by the janmis, without direct reference to the produce of the holdings. It differs also from the typical ryotwari, in that, though the produce of the holding forms the basis of assessment calculations, the pattadar is not supposed to be the cultivator; a separate cultivator is recognised and the proportion of assessment is not a half, but a third of the net produce, while a third is reserved for the cultivators. Thus, there are three claimants to the net produce of the holdings in Malabar, the cultivator, the landlord and the Government. Their shares in the net produce are as 5 : 4 : 6 in rice lands and as 5 : 5 : 5 in dry and garden lands. It will be noticed that in rice lands, the Government share is 50 per cent. more than that of the landlord, while even the cultivator has the right to a larger share than the landlord himself. But to simplify the argument for the purpose of this study, it may be considered that the cultivator, the landlord and the Government form a kind of tri-co-partnership, each being entitled to a third of the net produce. It is not my present purpose to discuss the question whether Government is or is not right in claiming a third of the net produce; or whether the assessment is rent or tax, considering that the landlords were acknowledged to be allodial proprietors of the soil. It is sufficient for the present to emphasise that the cultivator, the landlord and the Government are each entitled to a third of the net produce of the soil. It also appears that, though during the last century Government had repeatedly lowered the actual amount of its assessment in order to relieve the excessive pressure of it on the people, it did so, not by reducing the proportion of its share, but only by calculating the net produce at a lower figure by allowing more for the expenses of cultivation. Government has not abated its claim to a half in ryotwari and a third in janmamvari lands of the net produce.

From this it follows that, subject to certain

corrections to be mentioned below, the janmi's rent must be *equal* to the assessment of the Government; it may well be less, never more. The corrections to be applied are the increase in the productivity of the soil and the rise in prices of produce, to which the annually fluctuating landlord's rent is more responsive than the Government assessment fixed once in thirty years.

Even when these corrections are applied, there is room to suspect that the landlord's rent is disproportionately higher than Government assessment. How can this disproportion be explained? One possibility is that the settlement officers had grossly underestimated the net produce and thereby deprived the Government of its legitimate revenue. If that has been the case it is hoped that in the fresh settlement operations now in progress in Malabar, a more correct estimate will be made of the net produce and public revenue considerably increased. The Madras Government with its low finances cannot afford to throw away its due and legitimate revenue.

But perhaps the more probable alternative is that the landlord has appropriated to himself the one third share of the cultivator, and also the allowances made by the settlement officer, for vicissitudes of seasons, average commutation rate, cartage, merchants' profits, etc. in calculating the net produce and that the landlord has rack-rented the cultivator and reduced him to the position of a coolie.

It may, however, be urged that in making these allowances before arriving at the net produce, the Government was simply and primarily concerned with seeing that the assessment was not too heavy and oppressive and that who benefited by these allowances did not concern it directly. In typical ryotwari tenures, there is but one other party in the transaction besides the Government and that is the pattadar who is supposed to be the actual cultivator. And it follows that these allowances will directly benefit the pattadar-cultivator. But in the case of Malabar the pattadar-janmi is not supposed to be a cultivator and a separate cultivator is acknowledged in apportioning the net produce. Here, therefore, the pattadar is distinct from the cultivator. Now who is intended to benefit by these allowances, the pattadar-janmi or the cultivator? In the very nature of these allowances, they seem to be meant for the cultivator and not the rent-receiver. It may be noted here that the habit of demanding a fixed amount as rent in cash or kind is superceding the habit of demanding a certain *share* in the produce. Thus, the rent-receiver takes no risks of cultivation, his demand is fixed and he is entitled to claim it, irrespective of variations in the produce each year. It is the cultivator who takes all the risks of cultivation and is therefore rightly entitled to the benefit of the allowances.

If therefore, the cultivator is entitled to a third of the net produce, besides the benefit of the allowances, and if the disproportion between rent and

assessment can be explained on the ground that the landlord has absorbed all these, it follows that there has been great rack-renting and injustice to the cultivator. If the cultivator is not to benefit by these allowances, there is no point in Government making them and thereby sacrificing the public revenue in favour of a rent-receiving landlord, who in spite of his allodial proprietorship, is entitled only to a third of the net produce and no more.

From the point of view of the restitution of rights previously possessed by the tenants, the verumpattamdar-cultivator seems to have indeed a very strong case, for legislative interference and protection.

P. KODANDA RAO.

[ In the second article in this series published in our last issue there has been a wrong transposition of paragraphs, for which we ask the apology of the reader. The paragraphs beginning with the one headed "Recent review of the rights" in the second column on page 260 right up to the end of the article should be read after the second line in the first column on page 260. ]

#### THE LATE SIR N. G. CHANDAVARKAR.

AS the speeches at the recent great Memorial Meeting at Bombay so vividly brought out, the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was one of the very few publicists that India has produced to whom Aristotle's description of the magnanimous man may be said, very fitly, to apply. There was nothing mean, or petty about him. He was an entire stranger to the art of manoeuvring either for place, power or popularity. He had nothing to hide and nothing to withhold, both in his private and his public life. On the other hand, it may be very truly said of him that to know and judge him aright one had need to know him very intimately. In fact, familiarity, instead of making him look small, made one realise how great he was. The man who may have struck an onlooker as cold, stiff, haughty and distant, revealed himself, as one came to know him at close quarters, as gentle, simple and earnest, always eager to know and understand, and anxious to help and befriend those who needed help. That was what made him such a friend of the young.

A scholar and student all his life, he was filled with the spirit of reverence for all that was good, noble and true in the country's past. And the same habit of mind made him a true and fearless reformer. Not wedded to any immutable dogma, he was a Progressive in that he believed in progress as the law of individual and national life. As such he strove incessantly and wholeheartedly for emancipation and freedom wherever these were clearly shown to be the allies of orderly development and of consistent growth upwards and onwards. All his work was based on an abiding faith in the divine law underlying human destiny. He had faith in human personality. That was why man, woman and child, both regenerate and unregenerate, were holy in his eyes. They were to him the sparks

of the divine and nothing appeared to him contemptible simply because it was low in rank, birth and social scale. His heart overflowed with compassion and sympathy for those who strove hard to lift themselves up. He was himself humble because he was of a contemplative turn of mind and walked as the light within him led him on. This spirit of prayer and self-surrender grew with years, and, as we knew him in his closing years, none was more patient, more forgiving and more peaceful than he in his outlook on life and in his dealings with and judgments of men.

All causes that made for the welding together of men and communities on the solid foundations of righteousness, love and brotherhood found in him a willing, enthusiastic and devoted supporter. Not that he was free of impatience, anger, aloofness and irascibility. But the mood sprang not from a desire for self-assertion and domination but from the love of the work itself. Himself thorough and hard-working, he easily lost his temper when others made promises which they hardly meant to keep.

Whatever his errors, they never sprang from motives of personal self-seeking. Even those who happened for the time being to be in the opposite camp, set down his decisions as errors of judgment, but were far from attributing to him any ulterior motive or hinting aught that threw a doubt on his integrity of character and honesty of purpose.

Of very few of our public men can it be said with appropriateness what can be said of him, that in judging men and measures his standard was that of charity, using that word in the sense that St. Paul used it. He readily forgave the bitterest personal insults and had the magnanimity of spirit to discover goodness, merit and worth even in those who looked at national questions from an angle different from his own. And he realised, in its full intensity, what it is so very hard to make people in India realise, that we are all "members of one another." That was how he came to discover the soul of goodness even in things evil and place the good prominently before the public eye.

Sir Narayan's religious spirit has already been referred to in many a glowing tribute paid to him in the press. That spirit was the fruit of a culture in which the best in the scriptures and personal experience of all races had their share. He loved the Bible and he loved the Bhagwad Gita. And what he learnt from these great books he translated into a life that was firm-rooted in the love of truth and justice and in an ever-growing passion for light and more light on the pathway of life.

What his orthodox friends resented in him was his hearty appreciation of truth and light wherever he found it. Their obscurantism did not allow them to be honest with themselves. And, therefore, honesty in others embittered their spirit.

Sir Narayan looked upon woman as the best guide and inspirer of man. He believed with

Ruskin that it is only when woman buckles on the armour aright that man is able to do his work well in this world and walk erect. In his personal life, the spirit of the home was singularly in evidence,—a spirit so absent from the lives of many a public worker in India. Social reform meant for him primarily and essentially the awakening and emancipation of woman and the winning for each one, be he rich or poor, high or low, of a true, healthy and happy home. It is because circumstances and conditions have made men in India strangers in their own home that they have to be radically altered. And to do this aright was to work for reform.

Reform did not mean for him in his own words "a conglomeration of fragments." It was a spirit and an enthusiasm that ought to pervade, heighten and renovate all our activities. Sir Narayan was no blind imitator of the West, as no true reformer is. His home life, his utterances and the attitude he took up on many a practical issue bear ample testimony to the fact.

His was a life of knowledge patiently gathered, of acts and issues carefully weighed, of conclusions fearlessly uttered, of research illumined by faith, and of enthusiasm that is not allowed to degenerate into fanaticism and race-hatred. Thus was Sir Narayan's life great because it was free, open, generous, full-orbed and pure.

V. N. N.

## THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

*The Bulgarian Revolution.*

WE think our readers will do well not to dismiss the present revolution in Bulgaria as an irrelevant incident in the history of an unimportant country. The event has a deep significance and unfortunately may be the sowing of yet another whirlwind which, starting in the Balkans, may end, goodness knows where. To understand the position, one must bear in mind that Bulgaria under Stambuliski was a "green" country, *i. e.* a peasant State, whose Government was as far removed from the "Whites" (*i. e.* the Nationalist swashbucklers of the Right) as from the "Reds" (*i. e.* the Communist town proletariat of the Left). Stambuliski, the leader of the peasant party, was Leader of the Opposition when the 1914 war broke out and was promptly interned for his anti-war attitude. After the 1918 armistice of course he came into his own, turned the tables on his political opponents and became Prime Minister. The 1920 elections returned 110 members of Mr. Stambuliski's ("Agrarian") party; labour returned 49; Communists and 7 Socialists; the bourgeoisie 24 Democrats, 6 Liberals, 8 Radicals and 8 Progressives; whilst of the Nationalist intransigents there remained only 14 in the new Chamber.

*The late Mr. Stambuliski.*

MR. STAMBULISKI however not merely represented the bulk of the Bulgarian deputies, but of the nation as well, two-thirds of whom are engaged in

agriculture—mostly small holders of one to six acres of land. He consequently ruled the country with the single object of advancing the interests of the peasantry. He had constitutionally no patience with feudalism, militarism and nationalism and as for wars, he knew that, whoever conquers or is conquered, it is always the small man who has to pay. He therefore not only refused to countenance the banditry, which under the name of patriotism harassed the Greek and Serb Governments of Bulgo-Macedonian districts, but had actually made arrangements with the said Governments to co-operate with them in the suppression of these bands. Only those who know the hypersensitiveness of national sentiment in the Balkans can gauge the amount of feeling such common sense action would evoke there. Again, the Cabinet which was responsible for dragging Bulgaria into the Great War, were only last year arraigned and sentenced to heavy punishment: all of which would naturally not exactly endear Mr. Stambulski to the militarist and court cliques in question. On the other hand, as the smallholders' man, he had just as little use for Communism and he really lacked sympathy for the urban industrial worker as shown by his recent persecution of all Bulgarian Communists. Still, he was a really admirable leader of his nation and altogether the man for Bulgaria at this juncture, when after the exhaustion of the war years she needed above all things undisturbed peace for her recuperation. And now these armed Macedonian marauders, these Bulgarian hyper-patriots outside Bulgaria, have invaded the country, killed Stambulski and set up a militarist dictatorship.

*Fascism in Europe.*

WHAT after all can be expected in this era of the Versailles Peace? Trieste, Vilna, Memel, East-Galicia the Saar, the Ruhr: what do all these international outrages in "peace" time proclaim, but that only audacity and violence pay now-a-days? Why, the system has been exalted into a form of government by the Fascists of Italy! And in this lies the significance of the Bulgarian event, showing as it does that Mr. Mussolini's example in Italy is ready to be followed more and more elsewhere and that on the continent of Europe there is a general, steady current, heading for an epoch of Fascist terror, superseding what to-day still survives there of law and liberty—i. e. of civilization. France has her *Camelots du Roi*—a typically Fascist organization with typical contempt for all parliamentarianism; sixty members of which only quite recently distinguished themselves by attacking M. Caillaux and setting upon him with clubs, because, forsooth, eminent ex-Premier that he is, he dares to differ from M. Poincaré's Ruhr policy. Germany of course is full of Fascist bodies, one of which was responsible for Herr Rathenau's murder a year ago and some of which are actually terrorizing the whole of a big country like Bavaria. Hungary has been under a Whit

Terror practically ever since Bela Kun's short-lived Soviet Republic was overthrown. The U. S. A. have their "K. K. K." and "American Legion." Even in England the recent passing of the Police Force Amendment Bill left one with the uncomfortable feeling that the new powers obtained for enrolling "special constables" were intended for the creation of a Fascist bulwark against Labour encroachments.

*Fascism and Bolshevism,*

BUT the classic home of Fascism naturally is Italy, where its leader, Signor Mussolini, last year became dictator under the name of "Prime Minister." Not that Parliament had anything to do with it, nor the King nor any other constitutional institution: no, naked force alone achieved it, with gallant black-shirts pouring castor-oil down the throats of recalcitrants. What an inspiring movement! And how proud incidentally the members of "The most Honourable Order of the Bath" must be, to number, since King George's visit to Rome, this person amongst their distinguished company! But then, nothing succeeds like success. Besides, the flouting and trampling on Parliament is one thing—and a most praiseworthy one in the eyes of all the Carsons, O'Dwyers, Annunzios and 100 per-centers of all countries—if done by one of themselves: but an altogether different thing, if done by a Lenin or Trotski, in which case it becomes a Red Terror, the negation of all law, enslavement of the people, rule by Cheka, Bolshevism. Ah, that the gods the gift would give us, to see ourselves, as others see us!

MISCELLANEA.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF KENYA.

SPEECH BY MR. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

THE *Christian Outlook* of 31st May published a summary of an address given by the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri at Whitefield's to a Men's Meeting on 27th May as follows:—

A PLEA FOR EQUITY.

"We Indians in Kenya ask for a fair field and no favour. We ask for that equity and brotherhood and loving co-operation which it is meet that the sons of men should extend to each other all over the globe wherever they are thrown together. We Indians are quite prepared to consider this problem solely from the point of view of the three million natives of Kenya. If the authorities of Great Britain decide that they will have no other end in view than the uplift of the native population of Kenya, from us they may be sure of the most hearty and cheerful co-operation.

NO DOMINATION DESIRED.

"But we are accused of a deliberate desire to dominate the African Continent, of a desire to add Kenya, and, if possible, Uganda and Tanganyika to the Indian Empire! The charge appears to me to be almost too ridiculous to answer. When in our history have we desired to obtain possessions outside India? We are scarcely masters of our own destiny in our own country. Is it possible for serious-minded Indian statesmen, occupied every minute of their lives in removing the humiliation under which they live in their own country, to entertain the idea of annexing a territory in a far-off continent?

Now there comes along, I am grieved to think, the Christian missionary in Kenya. I wish to talk of him with the

greatest respect. He has done great things for us in India. We love him and honour him and welcome him for his benevolent activities. But now for the first time the Christian missionary says to an astonished world: 'We want to keep Kenya free from the attempts of the Indian to introduce his civilisation and his religion.' But who ever heard of a Hindu as a proselytiser? Has he ever gone out to other lands to make converts? The Mohammedan has done so occasionally. But you who believe in Christianity, who believe in the consolation of Christianity, who send your missionaries out into the wilds and fastnesses of the earth, amidst unexampled dangers, to present Christ, believing that to present Him is to make Him loved and accepted; you who ask in every country or an open door, is it you, I ask, that should, on the soil of Kenya, seeking for a field for your labours, first want the country emptied of all other religious faiths?

Now as regards this alleged desire on our part to establish our own civilisation in Kenya, while our history promptly contradicts any such desire, I am further inclined to say at once that in our present demand we do not seek domination at all. We have been in Kenya for about 300 or 400 years. Long before the British ever came there, we had established our connections, and built up our businesses. In fact, the Britisher, came there in order to protect our interests, and it was because of your influence with the secular powers already established in these parts that the Britisher established a Protectorate, and then converted it into a Crown Colony. It was all for our benefit in the first instance. And now having come there for our benefit, the representatives of the British power say to us, 'You clear out!'

**INDIANS DENIED CITIZEN RIGHTS.**

While I will readily acknowledge a hundred benefits the British Empire has conferred on India, outside India our belonging to the British Empire has brought us only humiliation and tribulation at every step. If we had been outside the British Empire we should have been able to negotiate for ourselves with the powers that ill-treated us, and perhaps found in Great Britain the champion of oppressed nationalities; but while we are under the Union Jack it is a different matter. The Greek, the Italian—and perhaps tomorrow, when things are auspicious, the German and the Austrian—are all welcome alike, because of their white skin, but we British citizens, who have fought alongside the Britisher and have given freely of our lives and of our money in defence of the liberties of the world in general, are told that our skin is of somewhat different complexion, and that our civilisation is inferior, and therefore that privileges which the British Government will freely give to the white nations will be denied to us. It has been so in South Africa. It is so to-day in Kenya. In the self-governing dominions of the British Empire Indians are treated as aliens, or worse than aliens.

**MORAL BANKRUPTCY.**

Now this starts in the Indian mind a train of reflection. During the talks I have had with responsible people during the last few weeks, I have been amazed at the sense of moral bankruptcy of the British Empire, that seems to have seized certain sections of politicians. What do they say? 'We do not know why, but we cannot attract the love of alien people. It seems beyond us. We are only a white empire, and we mean to remain white. We cannot assimilate other peoples. We are trying to give India self-government; in the course perhaps, of a few decades she will become a self-governing dominion, and then what will happen?' I call people who talk like that political atheists. They can have no faith whatever in their own politics or in the ideals of their own Empire.

They say that 'India will go out of the Empire.' But why should we? How benefits India by going out of the Empire? If she is treated equitably, her spiritual and geographical connections with China or with Japan will never occur to her; they have not occurred to her yet. But they may. British statesmen forget all their own highest ideals, and nobler principles, and their high, God-given mission on earth, they will continually talk of a white Empire, an English-speaking Empire, or the conflict between white and coloured

peoples, between East and West; if Great Britain will abandon her high purpose, and tell her Eastern subjects, 'We have never treated you as our equals, and we will not,' then what can the Indian people do?

**GOD'S PURPOSE FOR BRITAIN AND INDIA.**

I belong to a Society whose fundamental postulate is that the connection of Great Britain and India is meant for high purposes, under God; that some of those purposes have been achieved, but that there are larger purposes still that have not yet unfolded to the gaze of men, but which the British Commonwealth may, if it will not turn back with craven spirit upon its destiny, still unfold for the continual benefit of the humankind. I have always held that what is apparently beyond the American Republic, the solution of the coloured problem, is going to be one of the greatest achievements of this British Commonwealth. I have long felt that the genius of British statesmanship—long accustomed not only to tolerate but to understand, and within limits assimilate, the spirit of alien civilisations and alien cultures—will effect a conciliation of different cultures and different civilisations.

Immediately after the Great War, several declarations were made to us of absolute equality, of honourable and equal citizenship within the British Empire, of every opportunity being afforded us of proving our fitness for Western representative institutions; and in 1921, at the Imperial Conference, under the authority and seal of the Dominion ministers (South Africa excluded), and of important representatives of the British Cabinet, a resolution was put on record the spirit of which was that India, having now been admitted as equal partner, should no longer be subjected to any disability, but should be given the full and unrestricted rights of British citizenship. Is that to be fulfilled in the spirit, or is it, under pressure of the 10,000 white settlers in Kenya, to be repudiated as an impossible ideal?

**AN APPEAL FOR JUSTICE.**

We do not wish to dominate. We do not wish to impose our civilisation. We do not wish to deprive the African native of his rights and his liberties. We want to remain where we are in Kenya; where we were before the Britisher came; and we want to see British justice meted out to all her citizens."

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