THE

Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE. Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

VOL. V, NO. 17.] POONA—THURSDAY, MAY 25, 1922. {INLAND / FOREIGN SUBSN. Rs. 6. / s. 10.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	193
ARTICLES :—	
Trustworthy Leadership	195
Malabar Affairs.—Position of the Moplah ...	195
Political Prisoners	196
Some Erroneous Views Regarding our Commerce and Industry. By V. V. S.	198
The C. P. Legislative Council.—II. By Sitabaldi	199
THE WORLD OUTSIDE	201
MISCELLANEA :—	
Mr. Sastri's Tour. By Benarasi Das Chaturvedi ...	203

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Inconsistent with Congress Policy.

THERE are many Congressmen all over the country who, having once given in their adhesion to the non-co-operation plan, now think better of it and wish to revert to constitutional methods. We are ourselves convinced that it would be a great national calamity if such men stood outside when the next council elections came round and are therefore anxious that all those whom experience of the last two years has taught that the boycott of councils was a blunder should bestir themselves in time and see, first of all, that no one who shared their view was left out from the electoral register and, then, induce all the electors to exercise the franchise. We are glad to find that Mr. K. Natarajan, although he has no belief in the present constitution, made an earnest appeal the other day to the Nationalists to prepare themselves for the election contest. But the ground on which he rested this appeal is, we must say, altogether misleading. He put it on the ground that the Bardoli resolutions which hold the field at present, do not debar the non-co-operators from entering the councils. We wish Congressmen to come into the councils, but let there be no mistake about it, that for the non-co-operators, to go into the councils is to put an end to non-co-operation, and it is clearly inconsistent with the Bardoli resolutions to adopt that policy. The Bardoli programme was meant only to suspend, for the time being, the aggressive forms of non-co-operation, but Mr. Gandhi protested with all possible vehemence that it did not imply an abandonment of the policy of non-co-operation and would not therefore afford any excuse for non-co-operationists either to enter the councils, or to resume legal practice, or to take advantage of the State-maintained or State-aided schools, boycott in regard to all of which was vital to non-co-operation. When Mr. Jayakar suggested certain "modifications" in the non-co-operation programme, Mr. Gandhi warned all his followers that these modifications would mean the scrapping of the whole of non-co-operation, for, he said, "rejection of courts, schools and councils is an integral part of the programme of non-co-operation."

* * *

Principle or Expediency?

IT may be said, however, that if the non-co-operators entered the councils under a pledge to obstruct every measure, good, bad or indifferent, that came before the councils, then they would thereby only be carrying non-co-operation into the legislatures and would thus extend the scope of, and not put an end to, the Congress policy. But this argument does not avail, for, in the first place, Mr. Gandhi has ruled that obstruction of council work from inside is the worst form of co-operation, and, in the next place, Mr. Natarajan does not want Congressmen to go into the councils for obstructionist purposes, but for helping forward the constructive parts of non-co-operation, *e. g.*, prohibition, swadeshi, etc. If, non-co-operators use the existing legislatures for the purpose of promoting causes which they as well as the "co-operators" have at heart, their policy will be identical with that of the "co-operators." It is certainly too late in the day to ask, "why should they forego the gains which come from the use of the constitutional machinery?" Mr. Gandhi would answer this question in the words employed by Mr. Natarajan himself: "What profiteth it to gain the whole world if it involves losing one's soul?" "To co-operate with a sinful Government," he said "is to partake in its sins." He did not advocate non-co-operation as a more effective method of attaining swaraj than co-operation; he advocated it because in his opinion, there was no alternative for one who would guide his conduct by the dictates of conscience. It is altogether another matter that he believed non-co-operation to be more effective than co-operation, but if, in Mr. Gandhi's judgment, it was less effective and entailed untold sacrifices, even then he would advocate it with equal earnestness. To put this question beyond doubt, we would quote here the language used by Mr. Gandhi:

"Education and legislation are the instruments of

to-day in the hands of the violent. To make use of their law courts or their legislatures or their schools is to take part in their violence. There is a fundamental distinction between the two processes (the one advocated by Mr. Jayakar and other Mahrashtrians and non-co-operation). The one is aseptic and the other anti-septic. They are diametrically opposite. We definitely rejected the anti-septic treatment last year. The majority at Maharastra frankly suggest a return."

* * *

A Piece of Self-Deception.

IT is impossible for anyone to enter the councils without repudiating the fundamental principle underlying the non-co-operation movement and adopting the contrary principle. No one will be better pleased than the Liberals if the non-co-operators abjure their former policy and accept the one which the Liberals have been following from the first. But it is wrong to urge upon the non-co-operators a line of action which is diametrically opposed to non-co-operation without making them fully realise what the implications of such action would be, and it is still more wrong to represent that the Bardoli resolutions admit of such action. It is no more consistent with the Non-Co-Operation doctrine that Congressmen should enter the councils than with Non-Vloience that the Mulshi Peta "Satyagrahis" should obstruct the hydro-electric works there by uprooting the railway line or by forcibly breaking through the ring of guards planted on land already acquired by the Tata Power Company with the consent of its owners. If the non-co-operators have come to think, as they well may, that the boycott of councils, schools or law courts is not required on the part of one who wants to serve the country, it is easy for them to persuade themselves that it is also infructuous. For they have known by their past experience that the boycott, without hitting the Government to any appreciable degree, has hit themselves and hit the public. Nothing would contribute so much to the good of the country at present than for those who are staying out of the councils to come in; our only plea is that they should do so with a full realization of the consequences involved. It would be sheer self-deception to believe, as Mr. Jayakar does, that the non-co-operators' entry into the councils would give added strength and intensity to non-co-operation; it would eviscerate the movement of its vital contents and thus kill it.

* * *

A World Opium Policy.

WE have now before us the report of the meeting of the League of Nations' Opium Commission, which began its sittings at Geneva a month ago with the avowed purpose of formulating a world opium policy. The outstanding figure was that of an "assessor", Sir John Jordan, the late British Minister to China, who combines with a genuine and deep affection for the Chinese people an equal love for truth. His testimony is therefore all the more valuable in the conflicting welter of interested parties and their opinions, and deserves especially in this country to be closely studied. Opium "Prohibition" became absolute in China in 1917, but Sir John estimates that to-day China produces 30% more opium than in 1907, when the Chinese Government decided upon a progressive shutting down of the cultivation of and traffic in opium. To-day there is only one Province of China which is *de facto* and not only *de jure* opium-dry—viz. Shansi: a fact which speaks eloquently for the almost unlimited power (for good and for evil) of each Provincial Governor in his own Province. We would do well to ponder Sir John's words:

> "The manner in which the Chinese Government during the years 1907 to 1917 gradually closed down the cultivation of the poppy, according to their agreement with the British Government, was one of the greatest reforms the world has ever seen," said Sir John Jordan. "Both Government and people worked cordially together to this end. Unfortunately there has been a relapse, and I wish the Chinese Government had acknowledged the truth that there had been a recrudescence of poppy growing which they had been unable to suppress. The principal cause, of course, is the disorganised state of the country. This is one of the phases in China's evolution, and the world must be patient with her. Practically all the country is in the hands of military rulers who have usurped all authority. Contributory causes are the fact that very large quantities of morphia have been sent to the Far East, while there has been an immense amount of smuggling of foreign opium.
>
> "It is true that the Indian Government sacrificed £4,000,000 worth of revenue by agreeing to cease sending opium to China in 1917, but its policy in continuing to send opium to Hong Kong and other places has been very unsatisfactory. The Chinese argument is that if India and other countries are supplying the Chinese abroad with opium why should not they grow it for their people at home themselves?".
>
> The prestige of Britain was being very seriously injured by this action, Sir John Jordan asserted, and that this was so was not only his own opinion but that of the British communities in the East."

* * *

The Deccan States Conference.

THE Deccan States Association, which has been very active in all matters affecting the States of Maharashtra, held a very successful Conference of the subjects of these States in Poona last week. This was the second session of the Conference, which adopted resolutions requesting the ruling princes to introduce in their territory representative institutions ndowed with real power and to announce in clear terms that it is the aim of their policy to confer rights of full self-government on their subjects. The recent extension of the definition of sedition also came in for a strong protest from the Conference. The President, Mr. Gupte, in his opening speech advised workers to raise questions regarding Indian States in the Britich Parliament, for though such suestions lie outside the scope of the Indian legislature, they can well be treated by the Imperial legislature—a suggestion well worth consideration by those who are interested in Indian States. It is to be hoped that the All-India States Conference to be held in August or September under the auspices of the same Assocciation, will be equally successful.

* * *

TRUSTWORTHY LEADERSHIP.

THE Member for the Hitchin Division, the Rt. Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, addressed in mail week to the Chairman of the Unionist Association of his constituency a letter, which one fervently hopes will constitute a political portent of the first magnitude and serve to crystallize English public opinion as to the possibility of an alternative to Mr. George. For if, as one is inclined to think, the next elections will return the three parties in almost equal strength to Westminister, it is just a man like Lord Robert, who would be able to obtain the hearty co-operation of the sanest elements of all the three—a co-operation, based, not on a bargain struck between opportunists bidding for popularity, but on an agreement on principles: between Conservatives shrewd enough to see that the best way of preserving historic institutions is to adapt them to the needs of the day; between Liberals willing to concede to industry that self-government which they demand in politics; between Socialists prepared to take thehalf loaf of immediate reform rather than the somewhat doubtful and decidedly as yet unbaked whole loaf of a cataclysm *a la Russe*.

Lord Robert is known as probably the greatest enthusiast for the League of Nations to-day; he abhors the secret diplomacy of the "experts" who have produced the war and sabotaged the peace; he looks askance at "Imperial institutions which have produced the conditions existing in Ireland, Egypt and India"; he sees nothing sacrosanct in an "industrial organisation which cannot work for six months without disastrous strikes or lock-outs"; nor is he enamoured of "a bureaucratic machine which is open to the annihilating strictures of the Geddes Committee." The great and re-assuring fact is that Lord Robert Cecil is altogether independent with the independance of the old-world aristocrat, which has to-day made the House of Lords almost the better guardian of England's liberties than the expediencies of an unscrupulous Lower House. A scion of the Cecils, he would be trusted by his own party in ventures where they would certainly refuse to follow any upstart, whose "limehousing" of yesterday is merely succeeded by a pose of "guardianship of throne and altar" because it seems to be the more paying attitude for the time being. Not being an industrialist, he would be able to carry his liberalism to its logical consequences in industry, where the Liberal party itself, dominated by Lancashire mill and ship owners, refuses to take the plunge. Being of conservative instincts, he would appeal particularly to that *qua fond* most conservative section of voters which rallies under the Labour Party's flag and, having no axe of his own to grind, he would stand above the petty jealousies which devastate that party. Above all, fired by faith in the principles of truth and righteousness, he would make the strongest possible appeal to all men of good-will—and to all women.

The times are weary of the old game of grab and bluff which only leads the world to more and more labours of the type of Sisyphus and the Danaïds; they are ready—and not in England alone—for the voice of one, who like Lord Robert Cecil, would "first lay it down boldly and clearly that *force is no remedy*." The *Star* of London jeered at this letter of the Member for Hitchin as totally unpractical, because it was merely a paraphrase of the Sermon on the Mount—but the size of the clientele of cynics for whom the yellow press of all lands caters is really in an inverse ratio to its audibility. Lord Robert is no dreamer who misinterprets the Sermon on the Mount as meaning a doctrinaire "Non-Violence": he "does not mean that force should never be employed." He states in his letter in so many words that "it may be necessary for defence and perhaps, in very rare cases, for destruction: but as a constructive agency it is of little value." This is eminently true and sane and practical—applicable now and everywhere as the first principle by which alone the present foreign and domestic chaos throughout the world can be reduced to order. What a future for England, for the Empire, and for India within that Empire, if only their destinies were in the hands of leaders who could be depended upon, always and everywhere, to be proof against the temptation of "Try Force"; resolved, whether internationally or industrially or imperially, to take their stand on that foundation on which alone permanently stable relations between races and people and classes can be erected—the realization that "Force is no remedy!"

MALABAR AFFAIRS.

POSITION OF THE MOPLAH.

A GOOD portion of Mr. Knapp's report is devoted to a description of the condition of Moplah women and children of the families of those who have been killed, arrested and imprisoned. Here too his note is that of great optimism, and in some places of great exultation at what he persuades himself is a refutation of the popular estimate of the painfully distressed condition of this misguided but now thoroughly humbled population of Malabar. It is the purpose of this article to examine this problem at some length.

Let us make our position clear. We hold no brief for the fanatical Moplah who has perpetrated the worst form of savageries on his peaceful Hindu neighbour in the name of his religion and of the Khilafat. We do not condone any of his barbarous acts, and we have no patience with those "educated" people, Hindu or Muslim, who actively or by acquiescence roused the Moplah for their political ends and now go on finding excuses of one sort or another for the excesses of the ignorant pawns in their dangerous game of Khilafat Non-Co-operation. But these considerations should not cloud our judgment of the existing condition of things among the Moplahs of Malabar

and the means of properly meeting them. Only thus can the problem be faced squarely and measures devised for the permanent peace and prosperity of that unfortunate part of the country.

It may be rather surprising to the outsider to read in what the cavalier manner Mr. Knapp treats the findings of his own Committee on the distress among Moplah women and children. In the matter of this Committee Mr. Knapp was truly hoist with his own petard. The Committee, we understand, was appointed more to spite the Central Relief Committee which dared to doubt the official theory that the Moplah community as a whole was more prosperous than ever before, than to investigate into the real condition of things. Relief agencies naturally were anxious that charity must reach all irrespective of other considerations, religious or political. They could not easily reconcile themselves to the official theory. Though the Moplahs looted the Hindu houses, rich and poor, the loot in the general scramble must have been very unequally distributed, especially among the families of those who were hiding for the most part in the jungles. Some portion of it must have gone to serve as hush money; some more, especially that in kind, has either been captured or burnt by the military along with the houses in which it was hidden. In these circumstances it was not unnatural to expect that there must have been some amount of distress among at least a small section of the population. It was impossible for such destitute persons to go to the contentration camps on account of the many strict restrictions imposed under the martial law régime. The distress must have been slowly increasing in volume and intensity till Mr. Knapp's Committee found that it was appalling. The figures as modified and toned down by Mr. Knapp in reporting them to the Relief Committee are no less appalling.

Mr. Abbas Ali M. L. C., whose description of the distress is discredited by Mr. Knapp, was a member of the Committee appointed by Mr. Knapp himself to enquire into Moplah distress. Relief workers and visitors to Malabar who have toured in the interior and have made careful inquiries and not a hurried "official" inspection in a motor car will endorse Mr. Abbas Ali's observations. Mr. Manjeri Ramaier's pen picture of "Hundreds and hundreds of burnt and desolate homes open to Allah's mercy and sunshine and cries of helpless little children filling the air with no man's footsteps near," is literally true. Thousands of families have been rendered destitute; their male relations have either been killed or are in the process of being imprisoned. They are homeless because their houses have all been razed to the ground or are standing, burnt or charred remnants, a hideous and painful right. It would almost seem as if the Military could do what they liked with Moplah person and property, without check from above. That this should have been so even after the gruesome waggon tragedy speaks of the gross negligence on the part of the civilian officials on the spot in doing their duty. It is reported that in some places the row of burnt houses suggest that the military went on simply applying the torch as if they were lighting lamps at a carnival. The Central Relief Committee wisely decided to give relief, first of all, to enable the houses being put up, for bad as the condition is under the glaring sun, it must be worse under the heavy monsoon of Malabar. Mr. Knapp admits, it is refreshing to see, the destruction of the houses, but his excuse for it is far from convincing. Also the Government is bearing but a minor, almost negligible, share in their duty of restoring them. In the two worst affected taluks of Ernad and Walluvanad, it is said that only 40 Moplah families have been given loans to rebuild their homesteads. The impression, therefore, which Mr. Knapp seeks to convey in his note, that the Moplahs are being helped to restart life is not warranted by facts. Inadequate as the help is which the Government gives to the Hindu, it is still more so for the Moplah.

The conclusion which is drawn from the failure to obtain pupils for instruction in weaving and mat-making, viz. that there cannot be any distress amongst their women and children is hardly fair. There is severe distress among the Moplahs as well as among the Hindus of Malabar, greater among the Moplahs as the breadwinners of the Moplah families have either been killed or are being imprisoned in large numbers. There is besides a great hindrance to the Moplahs in settling down to the work of economic rehabilitation in the policy of daily arresting in large numbers the male members of the community, which policy keeps the community in a state of unhealthy restlessness. Mr. Knapp himself admits that "uncertainty as to how many of them are going to be arrested" prevents the return of the Moplahs to their normal life. However, detailed criticism of this policy must be reserved for a future occasion.

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BOMBAY.

RECENTLY the Inspector General of Prisons in Bombay was reported to have stated that he had received orders from the Bombay Government to give no sort of differential treatment to political offenders in the prisons of the Bombay Presidency. Such a statement seemed to us to be in direct conflict with the policy which the Government of India and the Imperial Government are known to be desirous of pursuing, and hence being unable to credit the report that in Bombay political offenders are being treated exactly like common criminals, we made inquiries of the Director of Information on this subject, who in answer referred us to an interpellation in the Bombay Legislative Council and the Government's reply thereto.

Sardar V. N. Mutalik asked:—Will Government be pleased to state—(a, the number of "political prisoners" up to the end of December, 1921, in different jails?

(b) What sort of treatment is given to them with respect of food, accommodation, supply of lights and books, and

medical treatment ? Is there any difference made in such respects between such prisoners and other ordinary criminals ?

The Honourable Mr. H. W. Hayward replied:—The information will be obtained on the precise meaning intended by the expression " political prisoners " being furnished by the Member. The criminal law makes no such distinctions between prisoners.

Sardar V.N. Mutalik: With regard to that I may tell the Honourable the Home Member that the word in my opinion requires no explanation.

And then the Director of Information added :

Where however for reasons of health the ordinary prison treatment is not found suitable for a particular prisoner, modifications of the ordinary jail regulations are permitted. For example, in the case of Mr. Gandhi a special diet has been allowed and he has also been permitted to retain his private books, etc.

From this it would appear that political offenders as a class are accorded in the Bombay Presidency the same treatment with ordinary offenders though evidently the Bombay Government is ashamed of making such a confession and therefore pretends not to know a political prisoner from an ordinary prisoner. Mr. Hayward who gravely told his interlocutor that the criminal law of the country did not recognise political prisoners and who seemed to be entirely innocent of the meaning of the expression on February 23 could guess the meaning of this legally undefined phrase rightly enough on February 20, when he answered a question put by Mr. G. H. Kassim in regard to political prisoners in Sind. The question was, " Will Government be pleased to give the names of all political prisoners in Sind ? " etc., and there being only three such prisoners, Mr. Hayward felt no necessity to burke the information by taking shelter behind the excuse that a " political offender " was not known to the law of the land. He gave his own interpretation of the term, thus : " I presume the Hon. Member referred to prisoners in Sind convicted of sedition or similar offences against the State by the Criminal Courts in Sind, " and proceeded to answer that the number of such prisoners were only three. He was further asked whether such prisoners were put in solitary cells and he answered, no. " They are not put in solitary cells and are otherwise treated exactly like other prisoners convicted by the Criminal Courts of Sind. " When the number of of political offenders he had to account for was small and when the question was whether the Government was meting out worse treatment to these offenders than to ordinary criminals, Mr. Hayward had no difficulty in understanding the drift of the inquiry. But when the number of political prisoners was large and when the question was whether they were being given better treatment than other prisoners, he thought it best to put away the inquiry, by pretending not to know what a political prisoner meant.

We cannot help saying that the expedient to which Mr. Hayward resorted on this occasion of evading an inconvenient inquiry is unworthy of the Bombay Government. He could not have been ignorant either of the meaning of the expression " political prisoner " or of the wishes of the Government of India and the Imperial Government in the matter. For as early as January 18, the Law Member in the Government of India, no mean authority on law, told the Legislative Assembly that Local Governments had already prescribed special treatment for "political prisoners"—this was the exact expression used. Again, the following question and answer took place in the House of Commons on April 11 :—

Colonel Wedgwood asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether he will enquire in which provinces differential treatment is actually being given to political offenders; whether this is only done in Bengal and the United Provinces; and, if so, why there should be any difference of practice in this matter in India.

Earl Winterton: The Government of India have suggested to all the Local Governments not only that uniformity of practice is desirable in the treatment of political offenders, but that many of these offenders, if awarded sentences of rigorous imprisonment, might not unreasonably receive treatment, in the matter of labour, food, clothing and privileges, different from that accorded to ordinary criminals. It is understood that in many provinces such differentiation is made. I shall be glad to inquire as to the result of these suggestions. The hon. and gallant Member will remember that jails are now a provincial subject, and that the rules are framed by Local Governments.

The principle, recognised almost all over the world, viz. that persons whose offences, though subversive of public order, do not involve moral turpitude of any kind, should receive special ameliorative treatment, found authoritative expression in an answer given by the present Under-Secretary of State, Earl Winterton, on March 27 when the principle was challenged by a die-hard member. He said :— " The general principle underlying the distinctions made is that while a person who deliberately incites to violent crime deserves no less severe treatment than the person who actually commits such crime, there is a large class of cases in which a man who, presumably from honest motives, expresses political views the public expression of which is an offence under the law should not be subjected to humiliating treatment or classed with criminals whose offences show moral obliquity." This is a right principle, and in fact some Local Governments have gone further, inasmuch as they have ordered special treatment to be given not only in the case of persons whose offences consisted in the expression of political views, but of direct defiance of law—e. g. those convicted under the Samiti Act. In the United Provinces persons convicted under this Act and also persons convicted under the ordinary law are being accorded special treatment, but the Local Government draws a distinction between these two classes of prisoners, treating the former as first class misdemeanants and the latter as second class misdemeanants. " A number of these persons (convicted under the political sections of the Indian Penal Code or the Criminal Procedure Code and not considered eligible for treatment as first class misdemeanants), though sentenced to rigorous imprisonment in the first instance, have

not in fact been subjected to ordinary jail labour and discipline." Now while we acknowledge that the United Provinces Government has gone far in giving effect to the principle that political offenders should be treated differently from others, it has not gone far enough. There is no justification in principle for discriminating between political offenders convicted under special laws like the Criminal Law Amendment Act or the Seditious Meetings Act and those convicted under the ordinary law. Both deserve the same mitigation in the hardships of prison treatment, and in countries where special treatment is accorded to political offenders no such distinction is made. The only justification that is pleaded is that among the political offenders there is a large number of persons who are merely hired for the occasion. Now such hirelings will be found in a larger proportion among those convicted under extraordinary laws than under ordinary law, and in any case there is not this complication in the Bombay Presidency. There is therefore no reason why in this province political offenders who are not guilty either of the use of or incitement to violence should not be treated as what are known as first class misdemeanants in England. If the Bombay Government still finds it such a baffling task to define either "political offenders" or "political offences," we would reprint here for its behoof the the definitions of those expressions that were in force in Ireland, where Sinn Fein prisoners were being accorded special treatment. We quoted the order relating to this question *in extenso* in the SERVANT OF INDIA of February 2, and we would earnestly commend it to the consideration of the Bombay Government. The order defined exactly what are "political offences" and what are not "political offences":—

> The general principle, which has been adopted and which is now enunciated in detail, is that persons arrested and imprisoned for political offences, shall be treated as political prisoners, and shall be entitled to be differently treated, both as regards the place of confinement and treatment therein, to persons arrested and imprisoned for ordinary criminal offences.
>
> It is also thought desirable, in order to avoid possible future misconception, to state that the following offences shall not be deemed to be political offences, even though the motive for such offences may be, or may be alleged to be, a political motive;—
>
> (*a*) Homicide, assault, or similar offences, against the person.
>
> (*b*) Burglary, house-breaking, larceny, malicious damage, cattle-driving, or similar offences against property.
>
> (*c*) Riot; carrying, keeping, or having firearms, ammunition or explosive substances; unlawful assembly (as defined by Common Law or by Statute, but not an assembly rendered unlawful merely because it is a meeting of a political or suppressed association), speaking or writing words inciting or encouraging persons to commit any of the offences set out at (*a*), (*b*), or (*c*).

SOME ERRONEOUS VIEWS REGARDING OUR COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.

A WAG is reported to have caricatured the schoolboy orators who were sent out some time ago to educate our villagers on the iniquitous industrial policy of British rule in India as saying: "We export raw materials and get them back as finished products. We export cocoa-nut and get back cocoa. We export pepper and get back peppermint." This belief, that we export raw materials and get back *the same* as finished products, is shared by a good many of our politicians who may not be so absurd as the school-boy orators caricatured above. The statement has a political value and is naturally believed in by the small politician and the man in the street without a close examination of facts and figures the result of which may prove inconvenient. But it is certainly surprising that a responsible person like the Development Minister of Madras, who enjoys every facility for ascertaing facts, should have repeated the statement, as he did recently in a speech delivered on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of a new spinning and weaving factory near Coimbatore. He said,

> "Industrial crops like cotton, oil seeds and cocoa-nuts are produced and exported in large quantities only to import equally large qunatities of finished cloth and oils." "We export large quantities of cotton to other countries and get it back in the shape of cloth for which we pay freight to and fro, the middlemen's profits, the capitalists' profit and interest, not to speak of the duty in the foreign country and in our own".

It is true that raw materials form the bulk of our exports and that manufactured articles form the bulk of our imports. And no one disputes that it will be much more profitable to our country and to the ultimate consumer that we should export finished products instead of raw materials. But it is not true that we import goods made out of our own raw products, that we pay double freight, middlemen's and capitalists' profits, &c. as the Madras Minister stated. A brief examination of our trade statistics will show that while our cotton goes mainly to Japan we get our foreign cotton goods from England, that there is no connection whatever between the oils we import and the oil-seeds we export. As the misconception is exceedingly common, I propose to deal in some detail with the figures relating to our trade in cotton and oilseeds. They are taken from the Annual Statement of Sea-Borne Trade of British India for the year 1919–20, the latest that is available. It was a year of exceptional boom in trade and was immediately succeeded by one of equally exceptional dullness. The figures may therefore not be quite suitable for quantitative comparison, but for the purpose of our argument they are as good as those of any preceding year.

During the year ending 31st March, 1920, we exported raw cotton of the value of Rs. 58·65 crores of which that worth only Rs. 4·16 crores went to countries in the British Empire and the rest valued at Rs. 54·48 crores went to other foreign countries. The main countries to which it was exported and the value of the export to each country are given below:—

Japan	Rs. 41.22 crores
United Kingdon	3·72 „
Italy	3·50 „
Belgium	3·12 „
China (exclusive of Macao and Hong Kong)	1·98 „
Germany	1·10 „
Spain	1·00 „

Thus while 75 per cent. of our cotton went to Japan, only about 6 per cent went to England and a little less than that to Italy nnd to Belgium respectively. Our imports during that year of all cotton goods, including twist and yarn, were valued at Rs. 59.07 crores, of which those from the British Empire amounted to Rs. 51.37 crores and those from foreign countries amounted to Rs. 7.70 crores. The principal countries from which we imported these goods and their value are given below:—

United Kingdom	Rs. 50.80 crores
Japan	5.89
Holland	.68
U. S. A.	.54
Italy	.20

If the Madras Minister's statement were true, our imports of cotton goods from Japan would have been infinitely more than what they actually were and also we should have imported goods of nearly equal value from Britain, Italy and Belgium instead of getting more than 80 per cent. of all our imported cotton goods from Britain alone. It may not be out of place to point out here that Britain gets only about 4 per cent. of her raw cotton from India; she gets the rest from America and Egypt, whose cotton has longer staples and is consequently better suited for spinning the finer counts; while 25 to 30 per cent. of the cotton goods that leave her shores are exported to India. England is far and away the greatest cotton manufacturing country in the world, owing to the exceptional advantages it has long enjoyed in the matter of machinery, capital, coal and skilled labour, and its cotton gooes are exported to most countries of the world. About 20 per cent. of its manufactures are retained for home consumption and the rest are available for export. It has about 60 million spindles as against 6 millions spindles of India. Though our consumption per head of even cotton goods is much less than that of England, our present production is inadequate for the needs of our huge population. We are therefore obliged to import a good quantity from outside. Another factor of importance is that our machinery and cotton can produce only yarns of lower counts, so that goods of finer quality have to come from England or Japan. And as a matter of fact we import very little yarn of counts lower than 25 but, on the other hand, export it enormously to China, Egypt and other Asiatic countries. With the improvement of our cotton and the installation of superior machinery we shall be able gradually to decrease all our imports of fine yarn and fine cloth—a process which is even now going on satisfactorily.

In this connection it may be pointed out that Egypt, which is famous for its production of long staple cotton, imports a large quantity of coarse yarn from India. The Egyptian farmer finds it advantageous to take our coarse yarn for his rough wear and export his fine cotton to England, which is willing to pay a good price for it.

So far as cotton is concerned, some plausibility may be admitted for the belief that we get back our own raw material in a finished form, because England from which we get most of our imported cotton goods takes some raw cotton and Japan which takes most of our raw cotton does export to us some cotton goods—though it does not necessarily follow that the goods imported by us were made out of the cotton exported by us. But there can be no such plausibility in the case of our trade in oils and oil seeds; for the bulk of the oils we import are mineral oils which cannot be made out of our oil seeds or copra. In 1919–20 we exported oil seeds and copra of the value of Rs. 26.0 crores and vegetable nonessential oils of the value of Rs. 2.2 crores. The copra exported was worth only Rs. ·5 crores while the cocoanut oil exported was worth Rs. 1·4 crores. We thus exported nearly three times as much finished product in cocoanut as the raw material. In that year we imported oils of all kinds valued at Rs. 9.43 crores of which mineral oils were valued at Rs. 9.26 crores and non-essential vegetable oils such as those of linseed and cocoanut, of which we exported raw material to the value of Rs. 26.0 crores, were valued at only Rs. ·08 crores; the value of cocoanut oil imported being only about Rs. 92,000. It is certainly disastrous to our agriculture that such large quantities of our oil seeds should go out of the country, as the cake is lost to us which as cattle food and manure should have been useful to replenish the soil. But that is very different from saying that we export them only to get back the oils made out of them.

V. V. S.

THE C. P. LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

LAST BUDGET SESSION.—II.

RIGHTS OF "UNTOUCHABLES."

IT was pointed out at the close of the last article that the only dissentient voice as regards the proposal to stop all overseas recruitment for the services was that of a Mahar member of Council. It is necessary to analyse somewhat closely the motive which presumably may be supposed to have inspired this opposition, for there is a lesson to be drawn by all the politically minded classes from this seemingly trivial incident. Fortunately, out of the two Mahar members of Council, only one thought it necessary to record his opposition formally by means of a vote against the resolution discussed in the last issue. But it is apparent that the opposition offered was in the nature of a protest—as an indication of the distrust which the depressed classes, as a community, have good

reason to feel against the services manned exclusively by Indians. It is a fashion sometimes to discuss these unpleasant facts as being due solely to the machinations of interested parties. But such a complacent attitude is nothing but a piece of self-deception and not only can serve no good purpose but is as foolish as sitting on a powder magazine smoking a pipe comfortably without realizing that a terrific explosion may blow up all our sweet dreams about full *swaraj* into thin air at any moment. The Mahar member of Council, if he were at all challenged to show that he had any valid grounds in fact to cherish such a feeling of distrust could surely convict the Council from materials drawn out of its own proceedings. In the last November session of the C. P. Council, a Mahar member moved a resolution inviting the Council to place its opinion on record "that the depressed classes should enjoy the same privileges as the other communities do, in making use of wells, dharmashalas, ghats or tanks and water-pipes, built out of public funds in C. P. and Berar."

Both the Mahar members recognized the practical difficulties which stood in the way of giving immediate effect to this resolution, especially in the rural areas where social prejudice was naturally very strong; but they invited the members of Council, as intelligent and public-spirited men, to express themselves openly and definitely in favour of the free use of wells and other necessities provided out of public funds. In law, it would appear, they have the right even now to use these public conveniences just as members of other communities. It is social usage only that prevents the enforcement of these undoubted rights. Mr. Nandagaoli, the Mahar member who moved the resolution, earnestly pleaded:

"I do not insist on our entry into temples. My humble claim is only for the enjoyment of the wells and sarais constructed out of public funds. I quite admit that I need not be in a hurry to pass, and much less to enforce, this resolution. I do not insist on any action being taken immediately on this resolution. But I can no longer bear to see my fellowbeings, my own brethren, drinking foul water out of dirty pools. The cry for more power and more rights from the whole of India on the ground that they are fit cannot mean anything more than that they are fit for depriving the present Government of their power and not using that power to any good or equitable purpose, if they deny the very rudiments of ordinary humanity to their down-trodden brethren. If my elder brethren get uncomfortable by my urging the claims of the depressed classes, I am quite helpless. I cannot withdraw my resolution, though I may tell the House once for all that I have no desire to get it enforced in haste and without serious consideration of the practical difficulties which will be met with in enforcing."

But even after the passionate pleadings of the Mahar members and assurances from them that all they wanted was an academic expression of the opinion which, however, would be of use to them, the majority in the Council remained obdurate and the resolution was defeated by 23 against 10 votes. The Musalman members did not vote on the plea that this was a question which affected only the Hindu community and that they should therefore settle it amongst themselves. The official votes were not cast, Government maintaining an attitude of strict neutrality. "So far as Government is concerned," said the Chief Secretary Mr. Nelson, "the members of the depressed classes have as much right to use these public conveniences as the members of the other communities in India." But this was a matter of social usage; and "all that the Government was prepared to do was to maintain an attitude of impartiality and confine itself to the enforcement of the law of the land where it was infringed." "Government," he added, "was putting no restrictions on such use." It will thus be seen that the attitude of opposition taken up by this solitary Mahar member of Council against the stoppage of overseas recruitment was the reply to the almost perverse attitude which the Council had taken on a former occasion. There is again the question of Mahar's Baluta in Berar which also is considered by the Mahar community, somewhat unjustly, as an infringment of their hereditary *watan* rights. But it is unnecessary to pursue the matter here any further. Enough indication has been given of the sort of questions that are likely to drive the members of depressed and sometimes the backward classes also into the opposite camp and the reactionery fold, in a spirit of sheer protest, even when large questions of policy affecting the interests of all classes alike come under discussion.

REDUCTION OF SALARIES.

To come back to the resolutions of the last session. Following in the wake of the previous resolution and in a way logically connected with it as dealing with what is considered lavish expenditure on establishments, came the fantastic proposal to cut down practically all salaries above Rs. 200 per month by 50%. The resolution must have taken every councillor's breath away. But faced with a huge recurring deficit in the provincial budget and the prospect of stoppage of all works of public utility, what is more natural and reasonable than a heroic course like this? There is a general impression that all classes of services are overpaid and the resolution, fantastic as it may appear, could have been intended merely as a protest against the present scales of pay. This resolution, it is interesting to note, was moved by the very same Mahar member of Council, whose resolution about the use of public wells by the depressed classes was defeated in Council on a former occasion. No wonder, if the impression first created by the resolution was that "it was one of those resolutions which members of Council occasionally bring forward as a humorous interlude to relieve the monotony of our debates." But an amendment was propposed recommending only an early revision of all salaries with a view to their reduction coupled with the provison however, that the increments provided according to time-scale should in the meanwhile be witheld. The acceptance of this amendment

by the mover introduced the element of seriousness which was lacking in the original proposal and brought it within the range of practical politics, at least so far as the debate was concerned. The announcement already made about the constitution of a Retrenchment Committee, however, to go into all forms of recurring expenditure made the diousion of the first part of the resolution practically superfluous; and the second part which was really the material part of the amended resolution was withdrawn. In the course of discussion, however, non-officials inclined to the view that as the abnormal rise of prices and the cost of living was only temporary, the increments granted should also have been made temporary and that in any case the increments granted went beyond the requirements of the situation, at least in the case of Provincial and higher grades of offices. Throughout the discussion, loud complaints were of course made, that while unnecessory increments were given to the highly paid All-India services, the lower ranks were left in the cold. Mr. Mathias the Secretary to the Finance Department took up the cudgels on behalf of the Indian Civil Service; and as some of the facts mentioned by him are of general interest no apology is needed to reproduce bis remarks here in full.

"The member" he said "has stated that the highest service first of all increased its own pay and thereby exhausted the treasury. Sir, the highest service in the province is the Indian Civil Service. I have worked out, in the Finance Department, the increase which each officer of the Indian Civil Service has obtained by the introduction of the time-scale.

"Mr. G. *i*. Jaiswal: Hon,ble Sir, I did not pass any remarks about the Indian Civil Service; I said most of the highest services increased their salary."

"Mr. A. E. Mathias: I wish to dissociate the Indian Civil Service from the general statement made by the member. I have worked out the pay which each officer has received under the time-scale in 1921, as compared with what he would have received under the old grade scale in the same year; some have gained and some have lost. The average increase over the whole of the service comes to 1.33 per cent. For every Rs 100 which an Indian Civil Service officer was drawing under the old arrangement, he drew in 1921, un der the new time scale, Rs. 101-5-4, including overseas pay."

With regard to the rest, the Government took up the position that while they would willingly leave the consideration and revision of the scale of salaries of all grades of services to the Retrenchment Committee that was constituted, it would be nothing but "immoral" to stop all increments according to the new time-scale. The Chief Secretary said:

"I do not wish to refer to the legal aspect of the question; but there can be no doubt that the members of the various services are working in the expectation of obtaining certain increments provided they render efficient service and in this expectation they have incurred liabilities and contracted obligations, including matrimonial (laughter). It would be most unfair to deprive them of these increments. Rather than endorse a resolution of this nature, I think the Council would be well advised to ask Government to stop all forms of Government activity."

The curious thing to be noted in connection with these proposals for retrenchment is that while so many of them seem to be in favour of curtailment of expenditure, there are about an equal number of resolutions still coming on the other side asking for increment to the salaries of men serving in this Department or that. Leaving aside what was done in the pre-reformed Councils, in which almost all the efforts made by non-officials were in the direction of granting increased salaries to provincial and other superior grade officers (excluding, however, the all-India services), even in the present Council a number of resolutions aiming at the levelling up of the scale of salaries to that prevailing in the more favoured departments keep coming on from time to time. In the case of E. A. C.s, for instance, who correspond to the Dy. Collectors in the Bombay Presidency the higher scale of salaries which prevails in the judicial department is recommended for adoption. Mr. Nelson thus drew pointed attention to the confusion of ideas and the conflicting nature of the proposals that are made in the Council.

"We have from time to time had scales of pay of various departments. In the agenda of this very sessions, we have no less than three resolutions asking for an improvement in the scale of pay of Extra-Assistant Commissioners. And there is one resolution asking for a very large increase in the pay of Sub-Inspectors and Circle Inspectors of Police. What is the real voice of the Council? Is it the voice of the Council speaking in to-day's debate or is it the voice which makes itself heard through various other resolutions? It is very embarrassing to Government not to know the real mind of the Council in these matters."

SITABALDI.

THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

Why they hate him so.

THAT France is the evil *incubus* bestriding wretched Europe to-day and preventing it by its imperialism and militarism from regaining peace and health, has become such a truism that it would be altogether futile to labour this fact any further. On the contrary, it may be useful to enquire how it is that France persists in so suicidal a course and particularly why she has made it her one diplomatic aim, to stultify whatever internationally good intention Mr. Lloyd George may for the time being strive to realize. To understand, let us remember that if all the present ills of European politics go back to the Versailles Peace Treaty, it is entirely due to Mr. George that this treaty is what it is. From the numerous books published by the instigators, abettors and assistants of that Treaty it has now emerged as quite clear, that at first there was no idea of demanding from Germany anything more than "reparations" in the strict sense, *i. e.*, the wherewithal to repair the actual damage wrought by the war, notably in the devas-

tated districts of France and Belgium. Now the actual war damage done by Germans in England was of course infinitesimal, compared with that in the devastated areas of the Western Front—just the damage of a few bombs dropped here and there. If therefore the principle of "Reparations", instead of "Indemnities", had been adhered to, it is obvious that of the payments to be made by Germany England would have been entitled to a few percent at the most.

Reparations or Indemnities?

HOW would that have squared with Mr. George's self-imposed mandate "to make Germany pay"? Pandering to the war-folly of his victorious nation, Mr. George had made them to expect that the conquered Hun would provide the purse of Fortunatus which would pay for all the grandiose schemes of making England a land fit for heroes. In face of that, it was impossible to come back from Paris with a few measly millions, barely sufficient to pay for actual damage done by the Zeppelins. It is for this reason that Mr. George with complete disregard of the consequences, insisted on adding the cost of pensions to these "Reparations," and thereby inflated them to a size which made their future discharge a financial impossibility. No matter; for the time being (and Mr. George of couse never thinks of any other) England's share in the swag anyhow looked fine and large; not only were the prospective thousands of millions sufficient to satisfy the hopes of everybody, but the addition of pensions had also resulted in giving to England a lion's share of every payment, as soon as made. But to-day, when the proportion of every payment to France and Belgium has thus been so seriously impaired by the unwarrantable addition of the British pension claims, France finds herself confronted by the same Mr. Gerorge airily telling her that nowadays the whole total of these Reparations has got to be drastically cut down! One surely need have no use for the megalomanias of the *maréchaux de France*—actual and potential—to feel sympathy with the victims of such welshing.

The Double Standard.

And as a matter of fact, the "reparations" claimed by the British are not for pensions only. There is a little item of £ 767,000,000, for instance, for losses in British Shipping: an item which lends itself to closer analysis and affords an illuminating insight in the fairness of Mr, George's claims. The sum mentioned was arrived at by taking an average of £ 100 as the value of every ton of shipping sunk—£ 22 for the cargo, £ 78 for the vessel itself. The round figure £ 100 looks already suspicious, and when one looks into the supposed value of shipping, i. e. £ 78, one's worst fears are confirmed: for the pre-war cost of naval construction amounted to £ 11 only—one seventh of the price charged for it! Some profiteering. You will say that at the time of the submarine peril every ton of shipping was worth much more than what it originally cost, and that a little increment of 700% was not a bit out of the way. As a matter fact that is what the Germans said—not when they were referring to this British demand for shipping lost, but when they were handing over their whole mercantile fleet. They then begged to be credited at the rate of the fancy figures which shipping fetched at the time—only to be sternly rebuked by the victors who coldly told them they would be credited with exactly the sum that the ships would fetch, when sold, and with not one red cent more. When the Germans were to be credited, the value was the price that people had actually paid for the ships; when they were to debited, it had to be seven times that price!

More Double Dealing.

NOW it so happens that if no fair case can be made out why the Germans should pay £78 per shipping ton lost, still less can a case be made for their having to pay any compensation at all to Great Britain rather than to any other country. Why? The losses, say £11 for the ships and £22 for the cargo, *i. e.* £33 per ton in all, were of course all covered by insurance; the shipping companies therefore have already been paid the actual cost of the vessels lost by them during the war. The same holds good in the case of the cargo lost by the shippers. Who then actually bore in the long run the loss, by paying for the insurance premium? The consumer of course. But although the shipping sunk flew the British flag, it does not follow, that the consumer too was British. On the contrary, it is well known that British shipping had almost a monopoly of the whole maritime transport business. It follows therefore that the consumer, so far from being necessarily British, necessarily represents the consumer of almost the total sea-borne trade of *all* the allies during the war! Whence it follows further, that if 7,670,000 tons were lost through the sinking of British bottoms: compensation for the resultant loss should in justice be divided amongst all the allies on the basis of their total overseas imports during the war. In justice.

Conjuring Tricks.

WHEN therefore Mr. George—always too clever by half—now poses before the twice-duped French as the man ready to make heavy sacrifices himself, if only his partners will follow suit and thus save the whole European concern: it is not difficult to picture to oneself, the exasperation of his French ex-associates, who with perfect truth say that Mr. George is making as many sacrifices as the man who, having doubled his price, has a sale at 50% reduction afterwards. In fact M. Clemençeau at the time told Mr. George in so many words that there were two Germanies: the one outside of Europe (the enemy of Britain), and the one inside of Europe (the enemy of France); and he asked point blank what business Mr. George had to grow sentimental and try to interfere, when

France was merely trying to do what Britain had already succeeded in doing, viz. annihilate its enemy? The blunt fact is that Englandafter a war which had smashed up the overseas trade of its greatest rival and transferred the bulk of the colonies from the German to the British flag, had not a farthing's genuine claims to make. To wish to waive them now, or to trade them against German liabilities to France, or to dispense largesse therewith towards famished Russians or ruined Austrians, is as abominable as it is transparent. How much longer, one wonders, will the people of Great Britain tolerate this Welsh Pecksniff to misrepresent them?

MISCELLANEA.

MR. SASTRI'S TOUR.

It will interest our readers to know how Mr. Sastri's tour strikes a non-party man, who possesses expert knowledge of the conditions of Indian settlers in the Dominions. We therefore make an extract of the following article from the "Leader":—

THE present is a critical time in the history of Indians abroad. We have been hearing a lot about the condition of our countrymen in South Africa and Kenya, but the case of our people in the Dominions has almost escaped our attention. There is no doubt that in many respects the cause of our South and East African countrymen is more important than that of our brethren in the Dominions, but that does not mean that the latter have no grievances. I am afraid there is a very wrong impression abroad that the Indians in the Dominions are quite well off and that they do not require any help from us. This impression is to a certain extent responsible for the unfortunte criticism that has been made against Mr. Sastri's tour through the Dominions.

Certainly our countrymen in the Dominions have grievances which are real and many. The 'White Australia' policy, the 'White Canada' policy and the 'White New Zealand' policy are held as sacred as religion by the white people of these places. We know how a slightly added influx of Sikhs from the Panjab into Canada caused an outcry and how it led to the bitterest hostilities ano we know how a slight increase in the number of Indians in New Zealand brought about a white race panic in that Dominion and how it resulted in the reactionary legislation called the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act of 1920. This Act has almost stopped the entry of Indians in New Zealand.

Our countrymen in Canada also are suffering under great hardships. Sardar Harbans Singh, secretary, United India Home Rule League of Canada, wrote some time ago: "The hardships and worries that we have daily to encounter in this land far away from the motherland cannot be described in such a short letter. Even if we would be very brief, it would need volumes to recount our tale of woe and misery." This clearly shows how ill-informed is the criticism of those who think that our people in the Dominions have no grievance. The fact is that the feeling of the unity of the Empire and the 'new angle of vision' that were said to have been created during the war-time, have almost died out in the Dominions and the old reactionary views have come to the surface again. Indians in New Zealand cannot get any boarding in most of the hotels there. They are not allowed to become members of the Unions and there is a lot of trade jealousy and racial prejudice against them. Add to these the misrepresentations that have been going on throughout the Pacific about the character and morals of Indians, and the pity of it is that there is no educated Indian there to contradict them. Mr. David W. Miller, who has been doing his best for our people in New Zealand, is of opinion that there should be some cultured Indian in the Dominion to represent the better side of India and the reasonableness of her aspirations. Another gentleman, Mr. John Griffiths, the untiring secretary of the New Zealand and India League, has suggested that some leading Indian of light and learning should visit New Zealand. Besides these many letters have been received from our countrymen in the Dominions stating their grievances and asking if we can do anything for their removal. Moreover at this time the fate of 60,000 Indians in Fiji hangs in the balance and we know that a lot of good can be done for them if their case is rightly advocated in Australia and New Zealand. It is to be noted that most of the white people of Fiji belong to Australia and New Zealand.

Under these circumstances the tour of Mr. Sastri through the Dominions is very opportune. Who can doubt the excellent impression that a man of Mr. Sastri's high character and great statesmanship will make throughout the Dominions? So far as the problems of Indians abroad are concerned, we are all united and certainly Mr. Sastri is as zealous for the rights and liberties of our countrymen overseas as any other Indian leader. This is not a question of party politics at all.

Unfortunately there are a set of people here who are bent upon spoiling any good result that may come out of Mr. Sastri's visit to the Dominions. They are creating an impression among the Indians abroad that Mr. Sastri is a discredited leader in India and that he is going on a pleasure tour for his selfish ends. I have learnt from reliable sources that these people have even written to the Indians overseas such absurd things about Mr. Sastri.

These tactics to belittle Mr. Sastri's honour and character at this time cannot but prove of great injury to the cause of the Indians overseas. The attempt to pull down in our own conntry those of our eminent countrymen who honestly differ from us is in itself harmful enough, but when it comes to degrading our leaders in the eyes of our people outside India and the white people of the Dominions, such an attempt is highly unpatriotic, to say the least. It is a pity that so few of our leaders go abroad to see the condition of the Indian emigrants and those who intend to go. get their hands thus weakened by ill-informed and misguided criticism of their intolerant friends.

May we hope that these friends will become a little more tolerant, realising the great harm that may be done on account of their foolish tactics to the cause of Indians overseas, which we all have so much at heart?

BENARASI DAS CHATURVEDI.

Satyagrah-Ashram, Satarmati.

NEW BOOKS

WILSON PHILOLOGICAL LECTURES 1915

MARATHI

Its Sources and Development

BY

HARI NARAYAN APTE

Demi 8 vo. pp. 100

Price:—

Cloth Bound—Rs. 2. Paper Cover Re.—1-8.

Postage Extra.

HINDU LAW IN THE NEW ERA

BY

K. K. GOKHALE,

Sub-Judge Jath State.

Crown 16 vo. pp. 80 Paper cover.

Price Annas Ten. Postage Extra.

Can be had of:—

The Manager Aryabhushan Press,

Poona City.

"LALVANI'S NERVENTINE"

The Supreme tonic restorative.
Valuable in the treatment of

Digestive disorders, Anaemia, Neurasthemia, nervous disorders, wasting diseases, overworked Brain, Habitual constipation, loss of nerve power, disturbed sleep, defective memory, organic weakness, lack of vital force, etc.

Surprising results in thousands of cases.

Price Rs. 2-8 a Bottle or Shillings 3-9

at all chemists and stores or from

J. Tirath and Co:
Sole distributors for Lalvonis Preperations.
Chemists and Druggists
BUNDER Rd. KARACHI (India).

Sub agents wanted everywhere.

CUT ME OUT

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

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

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

Name.....

Address.....

THE
Servants of India Society's
PAMPHLETS.

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

1. **Life of G. K. Gokhale**— by Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye. With nine fine illustrations and facsimile of the dead patriot's handwriting. (4th edition). Crown 16 mo. pp. 88. 0-4-0
2. **Life of Prof. D. K. Karve**— The Great Social Reformer, by the Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye. Crown 16 mo. pp. 72. 0-4-0
3. **Native States and Post-War Reforms**— by Mr. G. R. Abhyankar, B. A. LL. B., Sangli State. Crown 16 mo. pp. 96. 1-0-0
4. **A Gist of Gita-Rahasya**— (2nd edition, reprint) by Mr. V. M. Joshi, M. A. 0-8-0
5. **Writings and Speeches of the late Hon. R. B. G. V. Joshi.** Demi 8 vo. pp. 1400. Cloth Bound. 5-0-0
   Writings and Speeches of Sir N. G. Chandavarkar. Demi 8 vo. pp. 660. Cloth Bound. 2-8-0

(N. B.—The above prices do not include postage, which will be extra.)

These Books can be had of :—

The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City.

JUST RECEIVED. IMPORTANT BOOKS.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS.

		Rs.	A.
1.	**Psycho-Analysis.** By R. H. Hengley B. A. Gives a Plain Account of Psycho-analysis	5	4
2.	**The Technique of Psycho-Analysis.** By David Forsyth. M. D. D. Sc. Deals with (*a*) The Analyst Himself (*b*) Pre-Requisites of the Treatment (*c*) The Analysis Proper	4	6

OTHER USEFUL BOOKS.

1.	**Ruskin's Politics.** By Bernard Shaw	4	6
2.	**The Wanderer and other Poems.** By H. B. Binns	2	3
3.	**Freedom as Creative Power,** do ...	2	3
4.	**The Process of Man's Becoming.** By Quaestor Vitae with a preface by David Gow	7	0
5.	**The Elements of Social Justice.** By Prof. L. T. Hobhouse D. Litt. LL. D.	9	3
6.	**The Fantasy of Peer Gynt.** Selections from the Dramatic Poem "Peer Gynt" Interpreted by I. M. Pagan ...	3	1

Theosophical Publishing House
Adyar. Madras.

HINDU LAW.

(3rd Edition.)

BY

J. R. GHARPURE, Esq., B. A. LL. B.,
High Court Vakil, Bombay.

Price Rupees Ten, Postage Extra.

Copies can be had at :—

The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City.

DAWN of MODERN FINANCE in INDIA.

A critical Review of Indian Finance in the early stages of its evolution and an Exposition of the present Financial Position in relation to recent developments. A helpful guide to a study of Indian Finance.

PRICE Rs. 2, Postage extra.

This book can be had of :—

ALL BOOKSELLERS

and

ARYABHUSHAN PRESS, POONA CITY.

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

Printed at the Arya-Bhushan Press and published at "The Servant of India Office, 541, Budhwar Peth, Poona City, by Anant Vinayak Patvardhan.