

THE Servant of India

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Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY.

VOL. III., No. 12.]

POONA—THURSDAY, APRIL 22, 1920.

[ANNUAL SUBSK. : Rs. 6

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Western India Liberal Association have addressed a weighty representation to the Secretary of State against the retention of the residential qualification in the Bombay Presidency. The qualification can hardly be defended on principle, and it has been retained by the Government of India with no other view than to try the experiment on some provinces, of which Bombay happens to be one. The representation quotes the following telling observations from Lord Bryce :

The mischief is two-fold. Inferior men are returned, because there are many parts of the country which do not grow statesmen where nobody, or at any rate nobody desiring to enter Congress, is to be found above a moderate level of political capacity. Such men are produced chiefly in the great cities of the older States. There is not room enough there for nearly all of them, but no other doors to Congress are open. . . . As such men cannot enter from their place of residence they do not enter at all, and the nation is deprived of the benefit of their services. A promising politician may lose his seat in his own district through some fluctuation of opinion, or perhaps he has offended the local wirepullers by too much independence. Since he cannot find a seat elsewhere, he is stranded; his political life is closed, while other young men inclined to independence take warning from his fate.

MR. N. M. JOSHI of the Servants of India Society, who was deputed to the International Labour Conference at Washington to represent Indian labour, returned on the 15th inst. after seven months spent in the United States and in England. Our readers are aware of the fight Mr. Joshi put up at the Conference on behalf of child workers in factories in this country, whose minimum age it was proposed to raise from 9 to 12 years. The was sixty hours' week resolution for adult workers supported by the India Government's representatives and so Mr. Joshi had not much trouble there. Now that the Bombay millowners have also asked for a change to that effect in the Indian Factories

Act of 1911, we hope to have the Act amended in the September session of the Delhi Council. Mr. Joshi spent two months of his time in England in visiting several large works where welfare of workmen is made a speciality. Mr. Joshi feels that the educational facilities for workmen in the States are simply wonderful, but the social work done in England is of a superior type to that in the States. The real remedy, he thinks, of averting industrial feuds in this country is a frank and ready recognition by Government, employers and the educated classes of the fact that working-classes have their elementary rights of a living wage, adequate education and self-government in industry, *i. e.* profit-sharing between employers and employed.

THERE being a wide divergence in the official and non-official estimates of the extent of famine in the Puri district, the Lieutenant-Governor himself visited the affected villagers last week. He was accompanied by the Hon'ble Gopi Bandhu Das, who has given up his thriving legal practice for national work. His honour was so much moved with the sights that met his eyes that he drew out a fifty-rupee note from his pocket for giving instant relief to the sufferers. He frankly confessed, in the presence of the Commissioner who wanted to whitewash the whole affair, that all that ought to have been done was not done. The Servants of India Society have made available for the relief of distress the balance remaining with them out of the East Bengal Cyclone Relief Fund (Rs. 1,900) and the Garhwal Famine Fund (Rs. 2,000). More money is needed. A public meeting was held in Patna under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr. Purnendu Narayan Singh to raise money for relieving distress. We again request our readers to send their mite for the relief of this district to Mr. Jagbandhu Sinha, Pleader, Puri.

INDIVIDUAL Christians are not wanting who express abhorrence of the Punjab occurrences, but the feeling is not yet given an organised expression. The following comment in the April number of the *Young Men of India*, which is a prominent Christian magazine, is noteworthy in this connexion :

Has any Church or Missionary organisation in India felt that it had any concern regarding the fair name of Christianity in this matter? If so, what are the steps that it has taken to ensure that the moment all the facts are known, necessary action on its part will be forthcoming? Since the evidence of the Hunter Commission was made public, the General Assembly of the Presbyterians

Church has met, so also various Diocesan Councils, and quite recently in Calcutta, the Episcopal Provincial Assembly. In his charge to the clergy, the Bishop of Lahore did refer to the perilous days which they had traversed, also to the accentuation of racial cleavage, and made a plea for better understanding; but apparently the question of justice did not find a place in his message.

PROCEEDING, the journal says:

That most representative organization, the National Missionary Council met in Lahore last November, and we are credibly informed that a few members informally discussed the situation; but it was felt that the opposition would be so great to the introduction of a controversial subject into the proceedings of the Council, that a motion, however non-committal, would be immediately thrown out. The special correspondent of a missionary contemporary contributed to his paper a very full account of the proceedings of the Council. He even digressed and expatiated on Lahore. He saw nothing save a contented and genial Indian Christian community, and with child-like wonder gazed at the aeroplanes hovering over the city. The thought never entered his mind that the events of the last year were worthy of the notice of a Christian, or were relevant to the message of Christianity whose agent he was supposed to be. This explosion of public sentiment in his own country by Christian representatives must surprise him. "I were the unkindest out of all."

We should like to believe that the indifference of the Christian community is not nearly so great, and we know for a fact that the leaders of the community feel a burning sympathy with the people.

MR. TILAK has issued his party's election manifesto. Being only an electioneering document, one must not assume all the views expressed in it as representing his genuine convictions, but even the lip-service that is rendered in it to the obliteration of caste distinctions is remarkable, coming as it does from one who may be justly regarded as a strong upholder of such distinctions. Mr. Tilak earned his place in public life first by his uncompromising opposition to all social reform, and to the removal of the disabilities imposed by caste in particular. He has, however, the art of trimming his sails to the prevailing wind, and the homage he now does to the principle against which he fought so long and so bitterly is a tribute to the social reformers of which they may be proud. For it is a distinct recognition on Mr. Tilak's part that his is a lost battle. No active help in social advancement can be expected of the party which he leads, but, let us hope, the opposition will cease. "Free and compulsory education without distinction of sex" also appears on the programme, and in fact every possible reform which the authors could think of has been shoved in. Mr. Tilak only recently gave us a foretaste of the way in which this item will be worked out in practice. Are other items, also, we fancy, to meet with the same treatment at the hands of his party?

AMONG the planks of this party's platform figures the permanent settlement of land revenue. One would have thought that with the bringing of land assessment within the scope of the legislature, this demand would not be repeated till, at any rate

all the possible ways of increasing the nation's resources were thoroughly explored. If the nation-building services of education, sanitation, and so forth, are to receive the very large expansion they urgently need, it is suicidal to lightly throw away sources of revenue to which no reasonable objection could be urged. Sound finance, on the contrary, points to the unearned increment as the most eligible method of meeting calls for increased expenditure. Mr. Tilak, we are afraid, merely puts this forward as being one of the old Congress demands. This question, however, assumes an entirely different aspect in the new era. If, however, it is Mr. Tilak's settled conviction that, after finding out what the proper assessment ought to be at the present time, it should be permanently fixed at that figure, and that the increment in it which would accrue unearned to the landholder must not be seized by the State, does not this doctrine chime in ill with the project of railway nationalisation which he supports. Apparently little thought has been expended upon the preparation of this programme, and the sole anxiety seems to have been to bring in as many items as possible, which may look catching, without reference to any abstract principles.

IF to the *Janmabhumi* the Nationalist leaders of Madras are an enigma, to the *Democrat* the Deccan Nationalists are so. Mr. Pal, who by his independence has earned the elegant sobriquet of "the erratic" at the hands of the *Mahratta*, asks in amazement: could it be true that the Deccan extremists put an arbitrary limit upon the number of peasant delegates? If it be so, he says, "every Nationalist who has any appreciation of the true democratic principle must enter a strong protest against their action and policy." Mr. Pal also protests against the manoeuvring which was resorted to by the extremists to admit only politicians of their persuasion among the free delegates. The *Mahratta*, which first made the entirely false allegation that the Congress had put a limit upon the number of free delegates and thus led the Reception Committee at Sholapur astray, now admits, when it is too late, that no such restriction was imposed by the Congress. But the mischief is now done. Mr. Pal invites the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to issue an explanation of the matter.

BUT this is only a very small fraction of what took place at Sholapur. What will Mr. Pal say of the plump refusal by the Chairman of the Reception Committee to issue printed forms of delegates' credentials to the Liberals when they were being freely distributed to the extremists, thus preventing all but a small proportion of the Liberal delegates coming in even on payment of fees? What of the extraordinary dilatoriness of the Conference executive in registering Liberal delegates when the extremist delegates experienced no difficulty whatever? And what again of the barricading of the entrance in panic as if anochei

Jallianwala Bagh was enacting and of the shower of stones hurled at the respectable delegates outside, whom the Conference authorities themselves had by their discreditable tactics helped to keep outside? Is such open partisanship to be allowed on the part of the Reception Committee of a provincial conference held under the Congress auspices?

A PRIVATE bill is now before Parliament for giving vocational training and subsequent employment to the blind. In the form in which it is presented, it throws upon each local authority the duty of maintaining technical schools so as to provide sufficient accommodation for all the blind persons residing within the area of that authority and of maintaining workshops so as to provide employment for all such persons. Moreover, in view of the fact that the average efficiency of the blind would be anything between 35 and 50 per cent. of the efficiency of the normal person, the local authority is also required, under the provisions of this Bill, to make grants for the augmentation of wages earned by persons so employed in order that this kind of labour may be in receipt of a sufficient minimum wage and also to maintain such blind persons as may be unable to obtain employment or may be incapacitated from earning their livelihood. In one word, the Bill makes the State responsible for the blind. This responsibility the Government are prepared to assume, for they support the Bill, subject to a proviso. There are in the United Kingdom nearly 30,000 dependent blind persons, and the Government think it would be a waste of effort if in every area every local authority established a technical school, a workshop and a home for the reception of the blind. It would be enough if a sufficient number of such institutions were established at selected centres.

MUCH of the existing blindness is due to preventable causes. The Commission on Venereal Diseases reported that maternal gonorrhoea, if not promptly treated, caused as much as 25 per cent. of blindness. Among the persons who are suffering from this affliction, 21 per cent. are blind within six months from birth, and, the Minister of Health said, by scientific treatment nearly all of them could have been saved. It is, therefore, necessary to have a comprehensive inquiry into the causes of blindness with a view to removing such of them as can be prevented, and the Government have promised to set up such an inquiry. To blind persons between the ages of 50 and 70 who cannot support themselves, they propose to apply the old age pensions scale; such persons would thus receive 10s. a week or so, and this would meet the case of 46 per cent. of the blind who are indigent and too old to be taught anything. It will be seen that this legislation gives a great hope to the blind. The stirring appeal made by the mover of the Bill must direct the policy of every nation:

If the blind may not see with their eyes, we shall put eyes into their finger ends. If they may not see with

their eyes, let us give to their other organs a greater sense, and, realising that great miracle of the sense of sight, try to make up for their great loss; for, however cynical a man's nature may be, of all the curses that would come to him, his great fear would be blindness. May that fear be an appalling sense of responsibility

THE conditions of the problem in this country are, of course, far different from those in England or Scotland. They rather resemble Irish conditions, the number of the blind persons being greater and the means whereby they could maintain themselves under conditions of self-respect being almost non-existent. In Ireland the proportion of the blind is larger. "In England there is one in 1,400, in Scotland one in 1,300, and in Ireland nearly one in 1,000." And, as to the means of relief, Capt. Redmond said:

We have not got the great industrial institutions, nor the same charitable sources on which to draw as in this rich land of yours. Therefore the blind in Ireland are certainly in a worse position than the blind in this country. There are no less than 7,000 blind people in Ireland. So far as I can ascertain, of that number a small proportion, only about 250, are employed, and certainly not more than 500. There are a great many in various institutions—400. There are 700 in the workhouses, 500 receiving outdoor relief, and 3,000, roughly, depending upon their friends.

The chief point of difference between England and Ireland in regard to this question is that the facilities for compulsory primary and secondary education which exist in the former country do not exist in the latter. Under the provisions of the Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act of 1893, it is the duty of a local education authority in England to make special provision for the education of blind or deaf children, and the period of compulsion in their case is as much as sixteen years. This Act does not extend to Ireland, and without the spread of primary and secondary education, technical instruction cannot make much headway. As Capt. Craig said: "This Bill proposes to give facilities for technical education for the blind in Ireland, but it is more or less like asking a man to do higher mathematics without having taught him the rudiments of arithmetic, because the Irish blind have not had any opportunity of receiving elementary and secondary education." Irish members propose to insert in this measure provisions which will bring Ireland up to the level of England with respect to primary and secondary education. A second reading was given to the Bill on March 12.

WHAT is the Bolshevik attitude to working-class education in Russia? The age of beginning work is sixteen, and then the working day is only six hours till the age of eighteen, the remaining two hours being spent in study. Later it is hoped to raise the age of beginning to eighteen. But in the present dearth of work people permission has been granted for work to begin at fourteen for four hours a day, on condition that the remaining four hours of a working day are spent in these classes.

THE BURMA REFORM SCHEME.

It is not surprising that the Government of India should find the Joint Select Committee's recommendation that Burma should receive "an analogous constitution" rather embarrassing. An unsophisticated reader would interpret this to mean that the demand so pressingly made by Col. Wedgwood had been granted, that "Burma gets the advantages that India gets," that "this measure should give Burma in no wise fewer transferred subjects or less responsibility than is given to the minor Indian provinces," and that it should give "powers no less advanced than we are giving to the Indian provinces." In fact, the reason in the mind of some members at least in excluding Burma from the scope of the India Bill was that she should be enabled to go faster than India, if it was possible. Mr. Acland, for instance, thus expressed himself: "I am one of those people who believe that Burma might make a great mistake in her own interest if she was definitely inserted formally at this stage in the Bill, because that would mean that, although Burma is not India, she would be harnessed to the provinces of India and have to go their pace for ever." Mr. Montagu's assurance, therefore, that Burma will receive a "similar grant of self-government" must have been construed by most people as meaning that if in Burma the constitutional advance has to be on somewhat different lines, there will be at any rate equivalent progress made. Such a construction, however, does not exactly suit the purpose of the Government of India. They must have therefore heaved a sigh of relief when they discovered that the term "analogous" is susceptible of more than one interpretation, and that, by stretching a point, it is possible to put upon it a meaning which is almost contrary to its plain meaning. The Government of India choose to understand by the term not a constitution which will institute an equal measure of popular control over the administration, but a constitution of an inferior type conceding far less powers, such as in their judgment the circumstances of Burma warrant.

It is something gained that there is no pretence now of according equal treatment to Burma with other provinces. Still the Government of India claim, with much unctiousness, to have effected a considerable improvement over the proposals formulated by Sir Reginald Craddock, and it is worth while to examine the claim in some detail. Burma's political immaturity, to their thinking, justifies and even necessitates a discrimination to her disadvantage. In political development, they say, Burma is at least a generation behind India. Her legislative council belongs to the type anterior to the Morley-Minto reforms. It was therefore suggested to the Government of India that Burma should now receive the reforms which India received under the Morley-Minto régime. This would be just, but the Government of India wish

to be generous. Burma must have a legislature in which the elected members will have a substantial majority, and they provide for a majority of 60 per cent. Sir Reginald Craddock himself had provided for an elective element of this size, but more than half of this 60 per cent. majority were to be (and this is kept intact by the Government of India) executive officers of Government, namely, village headmen, or others under their influence. This feature nullifies the whole merit of the scheme, even if it were otherwise as liberal as it is illiberal. The claim, therefore, which the Government put forward, that the Burma scheme makes a greater advance in representative government than the reforms introduced by Lords Morley and Minto, cannot be sustained. It does not make as great an advance. Will the legislature thus constituted wield greater constitutional power? By no means. Sir Reginald Craddock felt so sure of his council that he had provided in his first draft that "resolutions passed by the assembly will only take effect as recommendations except in the budget matter when they will be binding if carried by a two-thirds majority." This provision has now been eliminated, and budget resolutions will be on the same footing as other resolutions on administrative matters. We are sure that, with the proposed composition of the council, it is perfectly immaterial whether budget resolutions are regarded as mandatory or not, but it is certainly not an improvement to treat them as merely recommendatory.

Then the Government of India takes enormous credit to itself for liberalising the constitution of the executive council. The Lieutenant-Governor first proposed the institution of boards presided over by non-officials and composed, as to the majority of them, of officials, the non-official presidents being permitted to over-rule the official members with the concurrence of the Lieutenant-Governor. The Government of India, in righteous indignation, negatived the idea. They found that the boards "made no real advance in the direction of giving any power over the administration." They made Sir Reginald Craddock alter his plans. He cut down the membership of the boards; they were, according to the modified arrangement, to consist of only two members, so that the non-official president might not be encountered by a standing official majority, but only by the head of the department who, however, could not be overruled except, as before, on a reference to and concurrence of the Lieutenant-Governor. This was an improvement; but the Government of India thought that all real power was still retained in the hands of the head of the Government. They therefore could not be appeased; they would have nothing short of an executive council. Any other substitute would be of inferior dignity and would thus be inadmissible. They therefore rejected Sir Reginald's boards even in the amended form with contumely and insisted that the Governor in Council type of government must be set up. And

what do they propose? A full-fledged executive council, composed as to each of the portfolios, of two members, one an official and the other a non-official, either of whom, in the event of a difference of opinion, could refer the point in dispute to the head of the province. A superficial observer would think that this executive council was very much like the board of the Craddock pattern. If he thought so, that would be the greatest mistake of his life. He must understand there is a radical difference between the two schemes. Whereas, under Sir Reginald's plan, the non-official president of the board would have to defer to the opinion of the Governor, under the Government of India's all-too-generous plan, the non-official member of the executive council would, if unwilling to accept the Governor's view, be entitled to ask that "the matter should be taken in full council," the council consisting of the Governor, three officials, and three non-officials of whom at least one is to be a European. We have only one question to ask of the Government of India. If they were themselves to propose nothing better than this, why did they set out by holding up the Lieutenant-Governor's project of the Board to contempt and lay down a standard that the executive organ must "give the Burmans some measure of control at the outset"? They could well have spared themselves the criticisms which they have thought fit to pass upon the Lieutenant-Governor if they themselves were to end by recommending something which is no doubt more complicated, but not a whit more favourable to popular government. Sir Reginald had also proposed that, with the possible exception of the European member, all the non-officials should be selected from among the elected members of the legislative council. In obtaining, however, a liberalisation of the boards, the Government of India had to surrender this feature. We agree it would make precious little difference to the composition of the executive council, the legislature being practically packed with village officers of Government, but since the Government of India is so sanctimonious about the affair, we may well point out how the Lieutenant-Governor's original scheme has suffered a progressive retrogression. The omission of Sir Reginald's first proposal not to apply the exceptional procedure to any legislative proposal which commands a two-thirds majority in the legislative council, though not important in itself, deserves to be noted in this connexion. If the Government of India desired to deny all constitutional power to the Burmans, they could have avowed their intention to do so. One would have felt greater respect for them in that case. But the country knows what to expect of a Government which indited the letter of March 5, whittling away Indian reforms under the cloak of simplifying or liberalising them, and none of the high falutin in which they indulge is likely to deceive anybody.

THE MAHARAJA OF KOLHAPUR ON CASTE.

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF KOLHAPUR at the time of laying the foundation stone of a new building for the Maratha Boarding House at Nasik made a remarkable speech which deserves some examination. The speech is an apologia for the policy with which, rightly or wrongly, His Highness is popularly associated. The policy with which this paper is identified is prepared to accept a great part of what His Highness said, though perhaps it may lay emphasis on points other than those mentioned in his speech, and it is even ready for extensions of his policy in directions surprising to him. His Highness's following words have our fullest assent: "To the leaders of the different communities I have only one message to convey. Do not be short-sighted. Have a vision of the future. To dissolve castes is a necessity. To uphold them is a sin. Castes are an obstacle in the path of the common advancement of us all and our duty therefore is to remove it with all the courage we can muster. Hold your caste meetings, but ignore not the point that they are only a means to an end. The end of our caste meetings is to end the castes. Let not then your caste meetings help to mend them. It would be the happiest day of my life when we shall cease to reckon men low because of their birth." We need hardly say that the Maharajasahab will find us always his staunch supporters in his attempts to bring this day nearer.

But we do hope that His Highness will recognise that speeches like his are not always calculated to bring about this millennium. If the end of all caste is our object, it would not be attained by inveighing against the sins of omission and commission of one particular caste. The Maharaja, with all his hatred of Brahman supremacy, shows that if his caste, the Kshatriya, were universally regarded as the highest he would not be so much against the caste system; for, says he, "the fact that Rama and Krishna who are our (*i. e.* of the Kshatriyas) ancestors are deified and worshipped by the Brahmans incontrovertibly proves that the Brahmans are lower in order than the Kshatriyas." If the Brahmans are to "unlearn their sophistry," would it not be just as well that the Kshatriyas do not learn it in the first instance? The Maharajasahab says we must never slacken the efforts we are making to dethrone Brahmans in order to enthroned the Indian nation. We have a shrewd suspicion, which we hope is altogether unfounded, that, in the minds of some at least of the Kshatriya supporters of the Maharaja, the Indian nation is but another name for their own caste. Otherwise we should not have observed the unseemly wranglings now going on about the definition of the word Maratha in connexion with the reservation of seats in the councils for them or the opposition to the claims of the Holkar of Indore to the title of Kshatriya.

It is this inborn tendency to consider the country as synonymous with one's own caste that has got to be consciously fought by everybody. Caste is born with us, and it requires strenuous effort to get out of the rut. The Indian nation contains not only the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, but the Shudras, the untouchables, the Christians, the Mahomedans and others. Too much emphasis on the misdeeds, real or fancied, of the castes above one's own is not in the least likely to help you to get out of this rut of inborn prejudice. In the scale of caste, no caste is so low that it has none lower than itself. Our attempts must be directed to raise the lower castes to our own level. Can all the Marathas who applaud His Highness's words honestly say that they have spent a tenth part of their energies in uplifting the lower castes rather than in abuse of the Brahmans? We hold no brief for Brahmans. They have been for the most part creatures of circumstances just as the other castes have been. If in the social polity of old they were given, or could secure, some special privileges, one may well ask why this was so when they were a small minority in the whole country? The other castes must have at least tacitly agreed to these privileges. We grant that these privileges are altogether out of date, and the sooner they disappear the better it would be for the country. But to construe historical events as the conscious sins of a whole class is to misread history and to unfit one for the rôle of a reformer. We have to look to the future and not always to hark back to the past. Let the Marathas and other castes tell us where the supremacy of the Brahmans hurts them and we are prepared to second all their efforts with all our might. But let us be done with denunciations of this nature which will not do the least good. Keep the ideal of equality of opportunity for everybody irrespective of birth, caste, or creed steadily before our eyes. The Mahar and the Mang, the Shudra, the man from the criminal tribes, all should be our brothers. We have nothing but commendation for His Highness's efforts to raise the depressed classes and hope that he will persevere in that policy rather than waste his time in merely abusing Brahmans. The time spirit is with him. If he does away with any privileges of the Brahmans which press upon the other castes, he is fully justified and will get the hearty support of all right-thinking men, and let us take the liberty of telling him that there are a considerable number of these among the Brahmans themselves. But let us not, to take a single example, make the mistake of abolishing the Brahman kulkarni while preserving the Maratha patel; they are creatures of the same genus who are what they are by virtue of their birth alone.

We next come to a more delicate ground. The Maharajasaheb spoke about questions of high politics, but we may be allowed to say that that part of his speech is altogether inconsistent with the first. He said that he was not prepared to give political rights to his subjects until education was

spread widely among the mass of his subjects. The advocates of Brahman intellectual ascendancy have been using the same argument that they will be prepared to resign it when the other classes are fit for progress. The Maharaja pours vials of contempt upon that argument, but his own attitude in the political field is liable to a similar criticism. Fitness can come after, and is tested only by, the conferment of power. This should not be delayed too long but should be conferred by well regulated but quick steps, precipitance being preferable to over-caution. If he is so afraid of the Brahmans abusing any political power he may give to his people, they would be prepared to see the backward classes getting the largest share of it. They would see power in the hands of a large section of the people rather than in those of a single individual. They would be content to see the reign of law everywhere and power exercised in open day-light and subject to responsible criticism.

In connection with His Highness's ideal about everybody starting level in the race of life, we may point out that the position of the ruling princes themselves is the most outstanding illustration in our country of a position conferred by birth and not necessarily by merit. So long as the position is used for the benefit of the subjects, no great outcry will be raised against this advantage of birth. But the whole world is moving towards a state of things in which worth, not birth, will alone count. Any institution which goes against this tendency, whether it is the Brahmanical caste, the aristocracy of native chiefs, a house of Lords, a landed gentry, or a plutocratic class, is sure to suffer under the new régime. If the class takes betimes proper measures to adapt itself to this tendency, it will minimise its period of suffering. If it refuses to learn the lesson of the time and adjust itself to the new environment its troubles will be all the heavier. The Indian Princes should not therefore be continually harping on their rights, whether derived by treaties or by heredity; they should not think that whatever modicum of political rights is granted to their people would be accepted with gratitude by them; the people will never be really contented until the whole power is in their own hands and have the right to control their own destinies, including the disbursement of the taxes they pay and the personal expenditure of the chiefs.

The subject that we have barely touched last would not have been mentioned in this connection had not His Highness himself referred to it in his speech. It is one of the most difficult questions before the country and the future history of the Indian States will be largely moulded according to the way in which it is solved.

LOCAL OPTION.

ON March 12 an Irish member introduced a Bill in the House of Commons for applying the principle of local option to the sale of intoxicating li-

quors in Ireland. The principle has been discussed on the floor of Parliament on very many occasions and has been partially embodied in the legislation of the British Isles. In 1913 a Local Veto Act was passed for Scotland, which is to come into operation this year. Similar bills have also been introduced for England and Wales, and it may be added that in the Licensing Act of 1908 the principle of local control has already been incorporated. The proposal of the present Bill is that on the demand of any ten persons among the Parliamentary electors a poll is to be taken by the local authority in any county, borough, urban district or rural district, and if a majority decides that there shall be no licenses, there is to be local prohibition in that area. Once a poll has been taken it cannot be taken again for three years. It will be seen that the Bill gives only one option, namely that of prohibition; it does not provide for the option of a reduction of the number of licenses, as is usual in local option legislation, and a bare majority vote is to introduce prohibition. These features of the Bill must have been responsible for a great proportion of the opposition offered to it, but there is little doubt that they will be eliminated and suitable amendments inserted in committee if it reaches that stage. As to the wide prevalence of intemperance in Ireland and the necessity of taking drastic measures to control its ravages, there is no room for doubt. It is estimated that in the United Kingdom about one-sixth of the man power is made non-efficient by the liquor traffic. But the evil traffic obtains to a far greater extent in Ireland than in England or Scotland. A member stated that the number of public-houses to the population in Ireland was about twice as high as that in England, and in some areas it was three, four, and five times as high. In some towns in Ireland there is one public-house for every eleven houses, and in some places there is a public-house for every sixteen inhabitants. A Departmental Committee, which investigated the question of drink traffic reported that there were far too many public-houses in Ireland, and that they could easily be reduced by one-half. Lieut.-Colonel Allen said in supporting the Bill: "Seventy-five per cent. of the people in our workhouses in Ireland are there through drink. It is well known that pauperism follows the public-house. Where there is a large number of public houses in Ireland, we find that pauperism is the greatest. It is the same thing in regard to our gaols. Sixty or seventy per cent. of those in our gaols in Ireland are there through drink."

Local option in regard to the liquor traffic is a question of supreme importance in India. Our reformers have pledged themselves to enforce local veto prior to the application of a general prohibition law, and it is well therefore to examine for a moment the pros and cons of the matter. In doing so, one need not go beyond the records of Parliament for the last ten years, so often has the ques-

tion been brought up. The discussions are lengthy, and I will select only a few passages which are likely to afford some guidance in tackling our problem. The objections usually urged against the adoption of the policy of local control in the matter of issuing new licenses or renewing old ones are three: that it is unnecessary, ineffective and undesirable as trenching upon the sphere of legitimate individual liberty. The first objection has been well stated and answered in the following quotation from the speech made by Mr. Charles Roberts in introducing his Scottish Temperance Bill in 1910:

It is urged that the temperance movement has been so successful in past years that legislation is superfluous. All we have to do is to trust to the slow changes which are at work in the habits of the people and the forces which are making for temperance in various directions. We have heard a good deal about these slow forces working in the direction of temperance, and I am bound to say that they operate slowly. John Bright, back in 1860, argued that all that was required was to trust to the forces making for improvement in his day. Now, after fifty years, I am sure the Leader of the Opposition would not agree with him. Only a few months ago he told us we were faced with "the great and ever-present tragedy of drink." He told us he "agreed with the present Prime Minister that of all the social evils that meet us in every walk of life and in every sphere of activity the greatest of all evils was the evil of intemperance." That is what the advocate of slow changes in the habits of the people have to offer us after fifty years of the slow operation of these changes.

Mr. Roberts went on to add that no remedy except that of total prohibition would do lasting good. He said: "For my part, you may improve the external conditions of sale, you may no doubt help by better housing and by increased opportunities for recreation, but I do not believe that there will any final remedy for the evils of the licensing system except through the policy of no license."

But is local prohibition an effectual remedy? Does it lead infallibly to the abolition or at any rate a diminution of drinking? That the policy has been followed in the British colonies, in several other European countries and in America no doubt raises a very strong presumption in favour of it, but is it not the experience of some States in the United States of America, for instance, that the policy has sometimes resulted only in an increase of intemperance, having led to illicit drinking? After making due allowance for the possibility of indirect encouragement being given to illicit drinking, one may confidently assert that the experience of countries where the experiment of local option has been given a fair trial is that it reduces drinking. Mr. Charles Roberts remarked as follows on the above occasion:

I believe that local option countries have lower drink bills than elsewhere, and converging evidence from places so different as New England, New Zealand, and Ontario amply justifies the statement that in no-license communities at least two-thirds of the drunkenness disappears. Where no-license districts are established, it is followed by a very considerable increase of material prosperity, owing to the diversion of money from the drink bill to proud-

five purposes. . . . Be it understood that we do not ask and do not expect in the no-license area a complete elimination of drink. We do not imagine that they are going to be inhabited by teetotallers only. We are aware that in no-license areas moderate drinkers manage to exist. But we do ask for a possibility in these areas of the suppression of retail trade.

The experience of a town in the United States which frequently "wobbled" from one side to the other in regard to license would be conclusive. Mr. Leif Jones related the following story of the town of Waltham in Massachusetts (October 20, 1908):

Waltham had a no-license year in 1899-1900, and the arrests for drunkenness were 221 or 2.4 per 1,000. Waltham went back to license in 1900, and the instant result was that the convictions for drunkenness jumped up to 634 or 2.7 per 1,000. The experience of that year drove Waltham back to no-license in 1901, and convictions for drunkenness dropped to 119, or 7 per 1,000. Taking a period of fourteen years—five years of license and nine of no-license—the average arrests for drunkenness in license years were between two or three times as many as in no-license years.

The exact operation of the local option system is thus described by Mr. Philip Snowden in his speech on the Licensing Bill of 1908:

I believe in local veto as a principle, but ever since I began to make inquiries upon this matter I have doubted whether in operation it will do very much to reduce the amount of drunkenness. But there is a great difference between local veto as applied to existing licenses, and local veto in regard to the issue of new licenses. In Queensland they have local option which enables a vote of the locality to close existing public-houses. A clause in the same Act enables a majority of electors to veto the issue of proposed new licenses. In not a single case has the veto been exercised in regard to existing licenses, but nearly 60 per cent. of the proposed new licenses have been vetoed. The reason for the difference is of course obvious. In the one case interest has been created. The people who vote know the man. He is probably a neighbour or a friend, and sympathy enters into the consideration of the question, but in regard to new licenses no interest whatever has been created. I believe, under the operation of that clause in the Bill when it becomes an Act, that in the overwhelming majority of cases the people will veto the issue of new licenses. I prefer that the people should have this decision rather than the bench of licensing magistrates. The people know the needs of the locality better than the bench of magistrates. There is no difference in principle between the two things, but there is a little difference in form. The Magistrates, at any rate, are supposed to be acting on behalf of the people, and local veto is simply allowing the people to act for themselves and not merely through their proxies, the licensing bench of magistrates.

If local option is thus found to be effective in reducing drunkenness little objection can in reason be urged against the policy on the ground that it restricts individual freedom. On this Mr. Charles Roberts said: "I believe if we could really prove to the satisfaction of this House that this system would largely diminish intemperance, any abstract question about interference with individual liberty would vanish. I believe, too, that the moderate drinker would be willing to put up with the possible occasional inconvenience of living in some place without a public-house round the corner if he thought it would seriously diminish

the national curse of intemperance." And he asked: "Do our opponents really regard it as an indispensable condition of existence—is it a national and inalienable right of man—that there must be in every village and along every mile of a country road and in every ward of a town a licensed place to sell drink? Do they insist that where, by a large majority, the inhabitants of a town would wish to get free of such an influence which they regard as contaminating, these public-houses must be thrust, with all their fatal temptations, upon the population?" (April 15, 1910.) The idea, however, which underlies this objection is itself wrong, namely, that local option, permitting of no-license areas, is restrictive of freedom, while the licensing system is not; for this system is founded upon the very principle of restriction. The point was well put by Mr. Leif Jones in speaking on the Scottish Bill introduced by Mr. McKinnon Wood, Secretary for Scotland, in 1912:

The second objection put forward in the reasoned Amendment is this, that it introduces the principle of prohibition into the licensing system. May I remind Hon'ble Gentlemen of what the licensing system is? They talk about the principle of prohibition. The licensing system in its essence is prohibitory. Hon. Gentlemen opposite are prohibited from selling liquor. The great mass of the people in this country and in Scotland are not allowed to engage in the sale of liquor. I do not know that it could be better put than in an argument in the Law Magazine of 1875, which exactly expresses the point. That article has these words in regard to our licensing system: "The State acknowledges no right on the part of any citizen to sell intoxicating liquors. It strictly prohibits the practice to the whole community because of its acknowledged tendency to produce grievous social wrong, and then grants State permits to individuals selected here and there, for the purpose of administering to the supposed wants of society." You have, as the Statute Law of England and Scotland and Ireland, a general prohibitory system, prohibiting most of the people to engage in the sale of any liquor under heavy penalties, and you have licensed exceptions to meet the supposed wants and conveniences.

S. G. V.

A MODEL INDUSTRIAL VILLAGE.

CLOSE to the Kundal Road Station between Poona and Belgaum, and 135 miles from the former, is an industrial village called Kirloskar Wadi in the territory of the Aundh State. This factory was till recently owned and successfully worked by Messrs. Kirloskar Brothers, and now by Kirloskar Brothers, Limited. It manufactures improved iron ploughs, fodder cutters and other agricultural implements. The chief characteristic of this factory is that it has grown to its present size from a very small beginning and a small capital. It has now expanded so much that it can make about 25,000 ploughs per annum, besides accessories, and will soon have actual capital of 10 lakhs of rupees. The talent, money and guidance required have been purely indigenous, and supplied by Brahmans, a class which cannot boast of any industrial or business traditions. Moreover, there are other distinguishing features, relating to the housing and social life of the

workmen of this factory, and Messrs. Kirloskar have shown great tenacity and ingenuity in passing successfully through the critical period of the latter part of the war, when materials could not be had for love or for money.

Factory.—Pig iron for making castings for plough blades is obtained from Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur, B. N. Railway, coal from Jerriah coal fields in Bengal, flat iron from Bombay and bolts and nuts are made locally. When all the products of Tata Steel Works were commandeered by Government for war purposes, pig iron could not be got at any price, and so the owner of the factory imported iron ore from near Goa, made a small furnace to smelt it, and almost made his own pig iron. When flat iron in Bombay reached fabulous prices, he made his own small rolling mill and made his own bar iron from scrapped iron sheets welded and brought to proper shape by heating in the furnace and passing through the small mill. Linseed oil and red paint were also made on the spot from raw materials obtained from elsewhere in the country. Thus they tided over the critical years of 1917 and 1918 by their resourcefulness and kept the factory going notwithstanding great difficulties and some loss.

The working hours of the factory are 7 to 9 and 9-20 to 11 in the forenoon and 12-30 to 2-30 and 2-50 to 5-30 in the afternoon, total 8 hours and 20 minutes only. Sunday is a full holiday as far as work is concerned. The midday meal time is one hour and half, and the resting time of 20 minutes in the middle of the working period both in the forenoon and the afternoon is found necessary to allow the workmen time for light refreshments, tea, smoking, etc. The total number of workmen is 250, most of whom were first trained and have been working in this factory for several years past. About 165 of them are Marathas, 50 Mahars and Mangs, 25 Brahmans and 10 of other castes. Besides there are Wuddurs or stone workers, potters, etc., who are given piece-work. Out of the 250 workmen, who earn monthly wages, 150 are housed in pakka houses specially built, on a nominal rent of one anna per month, the remaining 100 coming from their own village homes close by.

The greater part, about 90%, of the turn-out of the factory consists of iron ploughs, which are slowly, but surely, replacing the time-honoured wooden ploughs in the Deccan and other provinces. The present price is Rs. 70, the pre-war price being Rs. 39. In the busy season, i. e., from November to May as many as 80 to 100 ploughs are turned out and despatched daily and 10 to 20 daily in the remaining part of the year. Besides pulleys, railings, chaff-cutters, etc., are turned out in the slack season.

Welfare Work and Social Life.—A Marathi primary school with an English class attached to it is attended by 43 children. This is free to all children and attendance is practically compulsory, through the use of moral suasion alone. There is a read-

ing room where all important Marathi papers and magazines, and English and American magazines concerning iron trade and manufacture are kept. A large hall serves as a theatre or occasional cinema show. A temple dedicated to God Vithoba is frequented by all and used for Kirtans, etc., on Sundays. There is a Co-operative Grain Store for the use of the men, and money is lent to workmen on the security of their pay, almost every one having his pass-book showing his deposits and loans. Every body gets his water pumped up from a well, four hours in the morning, and delivered in pipe, on the nominal payment of one pie per day per man. Electric light is supplied on a flat rate of six annas per point, and even the most unskilled labourer has got one lamp in his room. The workmen have bought shares in the Joint Stock Company (into which this concern has been recently converted) to the extent of Rs. 20,000 or 800 shares of Rs. 25 each. Thus the workmen are shareholders, though to a limited extent. No liquor shop is located nearer than three miles from this village, and no workman drinks. If it is found that any workman imports liquor from outside he is persuaded to leave off the habit and reclaimed gradually by the force of public opinion. There is no habitual drinker on the works now, and the village may thus be said to be quite "dry." A barber and a washerman are engaged by the factory and every workman get his shave three times in a month on stated days and a fixed number of clothes washed every week on payment of fixed small amounts. On Sundays all workmen are drilled in the morning for one hour, and hold departmental meetings where future progress or improvement of the work is discussed, and they clean their machines in the forenoon. There is no police guard in this village, and every night about 8 or 9 workmen, including the superintendent of the works, patrol the shop and village by turns. The spirit of self-help and mutual co-operation is perhaps best evidenced by the formation of the village punchayat, which settles all disputes, civil and criminal, by arbitration.

Wages.—The minimum monthly pay of the unskilled labourer is Rs. 12, the highest pay of a manual worker being Rs. 45. The Superintendent is paid Rs. 250. Women, who do the painting of the plough when ready, are paid four to five annas a day. In pre-war days the unskilled workman used to get Rs. 6 to 10 per month. The wave of strikes in the country affected this factory but slightly, about 30 workmen holding out for higher pay for two days.

Joint Stock Company.—In January last the concern was registered under the name of Kirloskar Brothers, Limited, the capital being 12 lakhs divided in 48,000 shares of Rs. 25 each. The factory and the village have been bought by the company for two lakhs of rupees, and the good-will and promotion charge for Rs. 1,30,000, both the sums paid in fully paid up shares only. The Managing Agents guarantee a dividend of 9%, failing which

they forfeit their share of the additional net profits. I sincerely wish this purely Indian enterprise in the manufacture of implements required for the greatest industry of this country, agriculture, a thorough success.

A. V. THAKKAR.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, MARCH 25.

THE CONDITION OF EUROPE.

THE condition of Europe continues to be chaotic. It is true that something like order appears to be emerging out of the Russian chaos. Mr. Lansbury, who has just returned from that storm-tossed land, tells us, with unction and enthusiasm, of the new heaven and the new earth that are being prepared under the Lenin dispensation. He has spent some weeks in Moscow and the neighbourhood, and has come back an ardent admirer of that great man and the system for which he stands. It is probably true that theoretical Bolshevism, and Bolshevism even as it has been worked out in practice, is not the abhorrent thing that its opponents, for very obvious reasons, have sought to make us believe it to be. But one does well to remember that, honest man though he is, Mr. Lansbury is a born enthusiast who, by temperament, finds the very thing that he is looking for through sheer belief in its existence. I doubt whether his is the most convincing testimony available. However that may be, it is clear that Bolshevism, or whatever will take its place, will not be what it started out to be. In the face of the facts of life, and of the inconsistencies and weaknesses of human nature, it has already been compelled to compromise all along the line. Most people everywhere find it difficult to imbibe the pure spirit of truth, however ardently it may be administered, and it is to be presumed that the same thing has been discovered in Russia. It is also true that Hungary appears to be about to restore the Monarchy and to resume normal life, though, as to this, it would be premature to speak too confidently. Hungary has not yet accepted the Treaty of Peace either in the letter or the spirit. I suppose that it is very difficult for a country that has been swollen by the spirit of domination and imperialism to shrink to its ordinary size and importance by the liberation of its subject peoples, without a sense of acute discomfort and angry resentment. The Border States between Germany and Russia are one by one settling down into conditions of peace. Poland alone is strong enough, at least for the moment, to present a strong front both to German and to Russian aggression. But Poland, too, is suffering from the spirit of aggression, and until that spirit is exorcised there can be no stability in Eastern European relations. Finland, also, seems likely to come to terms with Bolshevik Russia.

THE TURKISH TREATY.

There are, however, two grave danger spots for the hépeace of Europe, if not of the world. The one

lies in Turkey and the other in Germany. I learn on very high authority that the Turkish Treaty is expected to be drafted within a few days when, if it be approved of by the Allies, it will be presented to Turkey for acceptance without further argument. It seems likely that, in this respect, at any rate, America will not be nearly so friendly to Turkey as the Allies. America, apparently, does not wish that Constantinople should remain to Turkey, but that as to its final disposition no definitive decision should be taken until after Russia, having fully recovered from her present political and economic illness, shall have been able to consult with the Allies. It rather looks as if America, at any rate, does not believe in the permanency of Bolshevism even in Russia. Meanwhile, Constantinople has been occupied on behalf of the Allies by strong British forces, including, apparently, Indian Mussulman troops, and Turkey has been notified that Constantinople will continue to be occupied pending the complete fulfilment by Turkey of the Treaty. It is stated that this notification has had a very salutary effect in producing more settled conditions in Turkey and a better disposition towards the realities of the situation than the members of the Committee of Union and Progress were, until lately, displaying. Not unnaturally, the Indian Khalifat Deputation has addressed the following telegram to the Chiefs of the Allied States.

The Indian Khalifat Delegation have learned with profound alarm of the forcible Allied occupation of the seat of the Khalifat and the use Moslem troops against the Commander of the Faithful. The Delegation entertain the gravest misgiving that the mission of peace and reconciliation on which they have come here on behalf of the people of India will be frustrated if a policy so aggressive and humiliating to Islam is pursued. The Delegation urge that protection of Christian populations in Asia Minor does not necessitate or justify an affront to the conscience of Islam, which they can state with the utmost assurance will have the most unfortunate effect possible upon feeling in India, already so gravely exasperated by suggestions of dismemberment of the Khalifat. The Delegation earnestly appeal to the Allied Powers to refrain from a policy which they feel will fail to achieve the object in view, and will produce the most unfortunate consequences in India."

It is quite clear, from his shout of defiance at the Woking Mosque, that Mr. Mahommed Ali was far from satisfied with Mr. Lloyd George's reply to his representation on behalf of the Khalifat deputation. You will already have seen the full text of that reply. There was, however, one point of interest that emerged during the proceedings, namely, that a clear division of opinion among some of the members of the deputation was revealed on the question of Arab independence. It would have been very remarkable had Mr. Lloyd George not questioned Mr. Mahommed Ali upon the views of Indian Mussulmans regarding the proclamation of the Emir Feisul as king of Arabia. And Mr. Mahommed Ali hastened to state that Indian Mussulmans were entirely opposed to Arab independence. Mr. Syud Hossein at once perceived the capital error into which Mr. Mahommed Ali had been led, and before the Prime Minister replied

he was at pains to show that the opinion expressed on the subject by his leader did not express his own view. It is, indeed, a little difficult for professing Nationalists like these prominent Indian Mussulmans to deny the expression of Nationalism to the Arabs should they choose to demand and fight for complete independence from Turkish suzerainty. Commenting upon the reception of the delegation by the Prime Minister, the *Times* strongly approves of the reply given to it. But the paper cannot resist the temptation to have a tilt at Mr. Montagu. "The delegation," it says, "appear to have been brought from India for the purpose of supporting a phase of Mr. Montagu's activity with which those who are best acquainted with Islam in India and elsewhere are least in sympathy. We trust that the stand now made by the Government against a pernicious agitation will mark the end of this phase." I am very sure that if Mr. Montagu had had any say in the matter he would certainly not have brought here a deputation of the composition of the one now here. But, of course, the *Times* for its own purposes does not hesitate to descend to any unscrupulous misrepresentation.

It, however, concludes its editorial with a repetition of its views on the question of the Indian Mussulmans: "They are that while the genuinely religious susceptibilities of our Moslem fellow-subjects are entitled to, as indeed they have received, every consideration, no section of the citizens of the Empire can claim a right to dictate Imperial policy. We imagine, moreover, that when the Indian Moslems really wish to speak in their corporate capacity to the Imperial Government, they can choose representatives of unquestionable standing and with irreproachable credentials." I suppose the *Times* will be satisfied with the warning that has just reached here by cable given by the Aga Khan in Bombay. It is, meanwhile, noteworthy that the *Times* applies the expression "Citizens of the Empire" to the people of India. Let us hope that it is something more than a phrase, having regard to the urgent need of improvement in the conditions of our Indian fellow-citizens in South and East Africa.

BRITISH POLITICS.

Mr. Lloyd George appears to have committed the great mistake of his life. He has definitely moved to the right, instead of keeping a little to the left of the centre, as every statesman should habitually do if he wishes to keep abreast of the current of the times. He has thrown down the gage to Labour, and has defied Mr. Asquith in his own stronghold. Both have taken up the challenge. Mr. Lloyd George has summoned to his banner all the anti-Labour cohorts, and all the forces of reaction will rally to him. He has declared that, notwithstanding the moderation of most of the leaders of the Party, Labour is essentially Bolshevist and its demands, if acceded to, are calculated to injure society. He has thus given his sanction to class warfare of a highly objectionable and dangerous type, against which

even the *Times* has been forced to protest. The Prime Minister's fulmination has naturally aroused the ire of the Labour leaders, whose position at the present time is by no means an easy one having regard to the insecurity of the present industrial situation. The South Wales miners, true to type, have decided to cut themselves off on economic questions from the Miners' Federation. The lure, of course, is gold. The coal export business is the most lucrative part of the coal trade, and South Wales has practically a monopoly of this. The South Wales miners wish to retain the profits of this special branch of the industry for themselves instead of sharing it with their fellow-workers in the less lucrative branches. Nothing, of course, could be more cynical than this sectional movement, which is calculated to destroy the influence of the more moderate Labour leaders and to throw the whole of industry into the melting pot. In the scramble for loaves and fishes the strongest section must obviously win, and all the work of years in the direction of federal, as distinct from sectional, action will be destroyed at a blow. The railway men, too, are in a state of acute unrest, and before the next few days are over we may again be plunged into a social and economic paralysis by a national railway strike. Mr. Asquith has naturally seen, and taken advantage of, the mistake committed by his formidable opponent. Already the acknowledged Parliamentary Leader of the Opposition, he claimed yesterday, on the strength of the result of the Paisley election, to be as much a leader of Labour as any Labour leader, and he protested against the assumption that Liberalism and Labour had nothing in common and were mutually repulsive. On the contrary, he declared that there were many matters in which Liberalism and Labour could work together, many paths that they could tread in common. Mr. Lloyd George will reply to him on Friday, but he will find it very difficult to overtake his initial error.

INDIAN CURRENCY.

Last Thursday, Sir William Meyer read a paper before the Indian Section of the Royal Society of Arts on "The Indian Currency System and its Developments," Lord Chalmers presiding. Sir William reviewed the findings of the recent Committee on Indian Exchange and Currency, agreeing, in the main, with its conclusions. In regard, however, to the Committee's proposal that half of the gold standard reserve should be held in India and set apart for the purpose of financing exports, he considered that the suggestion lacked practical value in view of the cognate findings of the Committee. But no final decision had yet been reached and orders on the subject would have eventually to be given by the Secretary of State. Sir William severely criticised the minority report signed by Mr. Dalal. He declared that it was difficult to take the scheme proposed by Mr. Dalal seriously, as it was fully open to the Secretary of State's criticisms that it would involve depreciation of the coinage, drain on silver stocks, which must entail grave risk of inconvertibility, a demand for gold, which would impose a heavy strain on the world's stock, an immediate crash in exchange through the operation of the reverse councils proposals, and inflation of prices.

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