

THE Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY.

VOL. III., No. 23.]

POONA—THURSDAY, JULY 8, 1920.

[ANNUAL SUBSN. : RS. 6

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	265
ARTICLE:—	
The Tinnevelly Conference. By V. S. Srinivasa Sastri	267
SPECIAL ARTICLES:—	
International Finance.—The Krassin Mission. By Professor V. G. Kale, M. A.	269
The Tragedy of the Punjab.—IV. By V. N. Tivary M. A.	270
The Middle of the Puri Famine. By A. V. Thakkar, L. C. E.	272
Non-co-operation and the Reforms. By A. Critic	273
The Indian Women's University. By Professor H. R. Divekar, M. A., Registrar of the Indian Women's University	274

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

MUCH misconception prevails in the country in regard to the appointment by the Government of India of Mr. N. M. Joshi as a representative of Labour under Article 412 of the Peace Treaty. This Article lays down the procedure as to the formation of a panel from which members of a Commission of Inquiry are to be drawn in case such a Commission should become necessary. It has no reference whatever to the appointment of the delegates to the International Labour Conference, which is governed by a separate Article in the Treaty. The position with regard to Mr. Joshi's appointment is this. The Labour Conventions passed by the last Conference are mere recommendations to the several Governments and will have no binding force till the Governments signify their acceptance by January of next year; however, once ratified, they must be observed by the respective Governments. The Treaty provides that if any of the members of the organisation set up by it should complain that any other member is not observing any of the conventions, the matter may be referred to a Commission of Inquiry. Each of the members is to nominate three persons, one representative of workers, one of employers and a third person of independent standing. From the panel of these persons appointed by all the various Governments, three persons—one from each section—are to be nominated to constitute the Commission of Inquiry, when such a Commission is found necessary. Mr. Joshi is nominated

India's representative of workers for the next two years on such a panel.

THE question of appointing a workers' representative to the Labour Conference is a different matter which must not be confused with the appointment of a representative to a panel for the constitution of a Commission of Inquiry. The Treaty provides that non-Government delegates to the General Conference shall be chosen "in agreement with the industrial organisations, if such organisations exist, which are most representative of employers or workpeople, as the case may be, in their respective countries." This is a direct invitation to Indian Labour to organise itself, if it wishes to have a representative of its own choice. The best method of establishing its claim in this behalf is to form a federation of Labour as suggested by Mr. Joshi in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 5th instant, a federation which will embrace all the industries in all the provinces. In default of such an organisation, the Government will be entitled, and are even required by the Treaty, to nominate a person to represent the interests of Labour, and no one will be more delighted than Mr. Joshi himself if the workpeople of India acquire the right of election by a wide-reaching labour organisation. Mr. Khaparde's proposal that the members of the Indian Legislative Council should elect the workmen's representative is absurd on the face of it. But the point as regards the method of selecting such a representative for the Conference is not affected at all by Mr. Joshi's appointment, just announced.

SEVERELY criticising the diplomacy of the Nationalist leaders of Madras in regard to non-co-operation, the *Janmabhumi*, itself an organ of sturdy Nationalism, thus describes the Nationalists' policy in their own words: "We must approve of non-co-operation in so far as it will keep us in the vanguard of our political march. And yet we must disapprove of it in so far as it will not stand in the way of our participating in the coming elections." This truly represents the attitude of the Deccan Extremists also. The latter have set their heart on council elections, and nothing shall deflect them from it. Non-co-operation they have not the least objection in the world to support, provided it does not keep them out of the councils. For our part we have nothing but commendation for the legitimate ambition which they cherish;

what we do not approve is, to adopt the *Janmabhumi's* words, hunting with the hound and running with the hare. The *Mahratta* endorses in an academic way the principle underlying the non-co-operation movement; what it takes exception to is the particular form which is proposed for the movement. The Deccan Nationalists' theoretical approval of non-co-operation is of little value if non-co-operation is not to take effect.

THEY had no objection whatever to urge to any of the drastic forms of non-co-operation which Mr. Gandhi suggested till the latter seemed far-off. In fact, when Mr. Gandhi advised non-co-operators to suspend all action in pursuance of non-co-operation till a collective decision was arrived at after full deliberation, Mr. Tilak's paper criticised Mr. Gandhi and supported individual action even before the successive steps in the movement were determined upon. This would lead one to think that Mr. Tilak was among the most advanced protagonists of non-co-operation. Nothing of the kind. The sober truth is that as the time for taking practical action is drawing near Mr. Tilak and other Deccan Nationalists are suggesting innumerable difficulties in the way of non-co-operation. The last week's *Mahratta* discountenances Mr. Gandhi's and Lala Lajpat Rai's idea of abstention from the reformed councils as a protest against the Punjab outrages. Instead of remaining out of the councils, why not go in and then refuse co-operation to the bureaucracy, it asks. It is convinced that the establishment of full responsible government is the only remedy to cure the evils of which we now complain, and it suggests that till complete home rule is won, we should enter the councils and bring the Government to their knees by offering opposition, pure and simple.

THE method which the Deccan Nationalists now propose is no other than the plan of no-co-operation which is being advocated by Mr. Pal all these months and to which these Nationalists declared themselves to be unalterably opposed. Let us analyse the position a little closely. The Extremists are now persuaded that by adopting a policy of wholesale opposition they would be able to bring about the establishment of full responsible government in less time than by any other means, and the attainment of complete autonomy being the only remedy against the Punjab outrages, they proclaim their readiness to offer wholesale opposition to Government. Then one may ask whether they are not bound to adopt this policy, even apart from the Punjab tragedy. The Amritsar resolution pledges them to take such measures as would lead to the attainment of full self-government in the shortest period of time. If what they call "aggressive non-co-operation," and which in effect is identical with Mr. Pal's no-co-operation, is a short cut to the goal of a full measure of independence, are they not bound by their loyalty to the Amritsar resolution to support no-co-operation

even as a means of accelerating the pace of constitutional development, irrespective of the question of the Punjab or the Khilafat? This is exactly what Mr. Pal claimed. Why, then, did they oppose Mr. Pal?

ANOTHER point. If non-co-operation in the sense of Mr. Lajpat Rai is unacceptable to the Deccan Nationalists, what happens to the promise of Mr. Tilak to loyally abide by the decision of the Mohammedan community in regard to the Khilafat, whatever the decision may be? On that occasion he refused to give them even private advice and pledged himself in advance to carry out the policy determined upon by the Moslems. If he has such decided objection to Mr. Lajpat Rai's non-co-operation, we think he owed it to the Moslems to tell them so. To profess to support non-co-operation wholeheartedly, while as a matter of fact to do so with rigid mental reserve is not a course which will recommend itself to men of honour, nor will it help the Mohammedans. But are the Deccan Nationalists willing to throw in their lot with Mr. Pal's no-co-operation? Even now Mr. Tilak's papers are busily engaged in denouncing this policy. They take particular objection to the refusal to accept ministerships in the new régime which, according to Mr. Pal, is a necessary corollary of the adoption of no-co-operation. But does not wholesale opposition really involve this? How can you make government impossible by yourself becoming minister? We can only say with the *Janmabhumi*, people who talk in this strain do not understand what non-co-operation means.

TO Mr. Gandhi, the report of the South African Asiatic Commission seems to be 'harmless,' and his view will, we think, be endorsed by the country at large. The Indian community in that Colony which, none can doubt, is the best judge of the situation there, has nothing to say against the Commission's recommendation that such of the Indians as would wish to go back should be given facilities to do so. There is of course nothing in the laws of the Union which would seem to prevent anybody's leaving it to settle down elsewhere; but the principal difficulty in the way of such people is believed to be the low rate of exchange, which has the effect of reducing the already meagre savings of our countrymen there. We hope the officer appointed by the Union Government to help Indians in the matter of their voluntary repatriation will prove himself really useful and find out a satisfactory solution of that difficulty. In order that the Indian community should derive the greatest possible benefit from the Commission's recommendation, the South African Government should make no difficulty about returning Indians retaining their right of domicile and the absence of even a mention of that point in the Commission's *interim* report leads one to suppose that they will adopt this very desirable course.

THE TINNEVELLY CONFERENCE.

BY V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

THE political Conference at Tinnevely shows the public distemper in unabated intensity. The Khilafat wrong and the Hunter Committee wrong are enough to provoke the gentlest of peoples. Faith in the British Government has never been so low as now within living memory. To admit a wrong and refuse to right it is to aggravate it ten-fold. The Government both here and in England are heading straight for a precipice, and cannot be unaware of it. The old Indian saying that the king is responsible for all the ills of a country may not be true of advanced democracies, but in the conditions of India it is still largely true. The future historian may record a few excesses on the part of the people, but his verdict against the sins of Government, some of them unnecessary and deliberate, will be overwhelmingly heavy. In the next few days the debate in Parliament on the Punjab disorders, followed by the final orders of the Government of India on official misdeeds, will convulse the Indian community. Will their effect be soothing? No one will indulge the hope.

NON-CO-OPERATION.

The most momentous resolution discussed at Tinnevely was doubtless the one on non-co-operation in connection with the Khilafat. The President realised its gravity and allowed the utmost latitude of debate. The result a man of ordinary shrewdness might have foretold. Still the odds were not so palpably on one side, but the issue seemed now and then to hang in the balance. The opposition was not merely influential, it was earnest and eloquent. More remarkable still, it included the men of experience and weight in the assembly. Mrs. Besant, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and I represented the 'yesterdays,' but we had several stalwarts of 'to-day' on our side. There was the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. N. A. V. Somasundaram Pillai, well-known in the Tinnevely district for the unsectarian quality of his public spirit. There was Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, whose personality was doubly impressive by his unequalled experience and by the thoroughness of his "nationalism" in politics. He went so far in opposition as to say that the resolution would mean the practice of *sanyasa* on a national scale and was not fit for discussion in a political gathering. The President himself took the same line, and although his drift seemed to be lost in a flood of words, there were in his speech two or three sentences of clear warning against the danger of non-co-operation and the unconstitutional nature of some of its particular aspects. Mr. Ohidambaram Pillai, who has a following amongst the youth of the Province, was believed to be strongly opposed to the proposal. Mr. Satyamurti had addressed public meetings on the eve of the Conference in order to discountenance the non-co-operation programme. The editor of the *Hindu* sat silent during the whole of the discussion. Mr.

N. S. Ramaswami Aiyengar who advocated non-co-operation declared himself against the particular variety of it associated with the name of Mr. Gandhi, admitted that the people were by no means prepared for it and based his recommendation on the very inadequate ground that as the final salvation of India lay in non-co-operation, it was best to begin it at once, though only with a dozen picked votaries. Mr. Rajagopalachari, worthy exponent in Madras of the Gandhi ideal, was content to rest his case on the ground of Hindu-Muslim amity and forbore for some reason to dwell on the ethical value or practicability of non-co-operation. Dr. Rajan supplied the deficiency in a speech marked by earnestness, but calculated rather to warn than to exhort. Alone amongst the supporters, Mr. Yakub Hassan seemed to combine cogency of argument with fire of conviction, and I am glad to acknowledge that by these qualities he seemed nearly to surmount the formidable barriers raised by his being new to the southern districts and unable to speak the vernacular. That a large majority voted in the end for non-co-operation shows how little a miscellaneous political gathering is swayed by reasoning and how much by emotion. The name of Mr. Gandhi and the propaganda carried on in the press had already established the gospel of non-co-operation so firmly that nothing could for the moment shake it. At an excited meeting the more heroic the terms of a resolution, the more chance it has of acceptance. Courage of sentiment has a catching quality and each man feels that the strength of others is added to his while the sense of responsibility for consequences, being dispersed among so many, is scarcely observed in the individual. A striking touch of actuality would have instantly put the enthusiasm to the proof. If a pledge had been circulated for signature the return would have been comparatively small. Reflection will doubtless bring a livelier sense than was possible at the Conference of the great risks and sacrifices involved in non-co-operation, and it may be safely predicted that the response, when an actual step has to be taken in pursuance of non-co-operation, will be disappointingly small. Fasting and the closing of shops have no doubt been practised on a most impressively large scale under the orders of Mr. Gandhi, and the success that has attended these demonstrations as mere demonstrations has been nothing less than a revelation to some sceptics. Nevertheless they are comparatively speaking easy things for the individual to achieve and familiar as collective practice in the history of India. It is far otherwise with the four stages of non-co-operation now devised by Mr. Gandhi. To call out courtiers from functions at Government House, boys from Government schools and colleges, and vakils from courts in the very first stage is a serious business. Even if one did not think of the greater sacrifices to follow, one would require for the initial steps some justification that would appeal readily, say, to the women folk. Is the

Khilafat a wrong that could be brought home to the ignorant people without a long process of ratiocination? Is it of a nature, when brought home, to impel the masses of the Hindu population to seek redress at any cost? On the religious side the question is by no means free from obscurity. On the political side while the justice of the grievance is universally admitted amongst Indians, neither the propriety nor expediency of the remedy is so. A speaker at the Conference exposed the fact that, at the All-India Congress Committee meeting recently held at Benares, Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Tilak were opposed to or not keenly in favour of Mr. Gandhi's proposals. No action ordered by the Central Khilafat Committee in such conditions and, as it turns out now, before the special Congress has had an opportunity of discussing the matter could be at all widespread. But the movement will be some time in dying out; while it lasts, unforeseen and undesired consequences may ensue and instead of the Hindu-Muslim *entente* being strengthened the likelihood is that it would be seriously imperilled. One does not like to contemplate the situation which will be created when, as is by no means unlikely, the special Congress refuses to follow the lead of the Central Khilafat Committee, or when later on it is found that the response of the Hindu community is not adequate to produce any tangible result.

THE CONGRESS A PARTY ORGANISATION?

The Conference took a momentous step in resolving to use all the resources and prestige of the Congress organisation for the purpose of putting forward at the ensuing elections candidates in the Nationalist interest in the name of Congress propaganda. From the time of the special Congress of Bombay a certain section of the Moderate party, and a considerable section of the Nationalist party too have agreed that the Congress is a national institution distinct from and above parties though including them, and that the proper course for a minority in the Congress is to continue to belong to it and try by all legitimate means to influence its proceedings and if possible become the majority. To enforce this position, the Nationalist press and individual Nationalist politicians argued that the differences between Moderates and Nationalists would never have justified secession if Government had not played at a critical moment their 'rallying' game. The argument seems now to have shifted astonishingly. The self-same Nationalists have now discovered fundamental and irreconcilable differences between the parties and would impose an altogether new test on Congressmen, *viz.* acceptance of the Constitution and likewise of the Amritsar resolution on the Reform Act, including the dubious compromise. Even the President of the Tinnevely Conference, otherwise so clear-sighted, says: "Differences of opinion there can be only occasionally or in minor matters." This would be all right in an age of primitive and undifferentiated politics. Is the eve of responsible

government a suitable time for the revival of this puerile conception? It is doubtless exciting fun to hound Liberals out of the Congress, and the great prestige which the Congress still enjoys in the country and the resources at its disposal constitute an irresistible temptation for the majority to convert it into a party organisation. To say, as a much applauded speaker at the Conference said, that if we gave up our opinions and came as penitents we should be taken back is in effect to slam the door on self-respecting men. The best party men are not the same as best men. The Councils cannot work at top level unless there were men in them of differing views and principles, both able and willing to expound and act upon them. This would be the case at any time and in all conditions. At the inauguration of the scheme and with our future development conditional on its initial success, it is most emphatically so. The President of the Conference has himself said: "No single party in the country has a monopoly of brains, of experience and of business capacity, of sanity, and of patriotism." Why does he then support the idea of keeping the Moderates out and by implication the great bulk of non-Brahmans at elections? Why does he say that the Reform Act must be worked by Congressmen and Congressmen alone? I am reminded in this connection of a dispute for possession of the property and funds belonging to the Free Church of Scotland between the majority and minority of that Church. The minority was very small, about twenty-four out of a thousand. Nevertheless they contended that the majority had deviated from the spirit and tenets of the Free Church while they (the minority) maintained them. At the time of the split the undaunted minority claimed identity with the original Free Church, and after a protracted litigation the House of Lords in the year 1904 decided in their favour. One does not wish to press the analogy in any way, but one cannot help regretting that the Liberals who demonstrably maintain the traditional spirit and principles of the Congress should be excluded from it, merely because they are a small minority, by a majority which has demonstrably violated that spirit and those principles. The resolution of the Conference on what is known as the Congress Programme can only be interpreted as an act of expulsion directed against those Liberals who have preserved their faith in the national character of the Congress and attended its sessions as of right. A similar resolution will doubtless be brought forward at the next session of the Congress. If it is accepted, this act of expulsion is ratified and the Indian National Congress will have by its own declaration converted itself into the organisation of the so-called Nationalist or Extremist party in the country. I have argued against this conversion repeatedly. I have addressed numerous meetings and propounded this view with every mark of approbation from my audiences. From Congressmen in the Punjab and from a section at least of Congressmen in other parts

of India some resistance may be expected to this narrowing down of the scope and character of the Congress. But in these days of temper politics it would be no wonder if no resistance were made or only a feeble one.

CONCEPTION OF LEADERSHIP.

The minds of men being so unsettled, it would be no wonder if they dug up some fundamental conceptions and examined them at the very root. Leadership exercised the thoughts of several speakers at the Conference. The most prominent amongst them were Mr. Yakub Hassan and the President. The President in particular thought it necessary to instruct Mrs. Besant and others in the modern conception of leadership. His concluding speech is as bad a specimen as can be found in political literature of what may be called sycophancy towards the people. On the the subject of leadership here is his deliverance: "If a leader has to guide you aright he must talk to you quite frankly and state his views, and once his views and yours are expressed, it is his duty to be your spokesman and trusted agent, and do your bidding. That is a true view of leadership in England and democratic lands." Even in official life there is a point beyond which one would ordinarily surrender a position of dignity rather than act against his convictions. Public life would be poisoned at the fountain if leaders after making a show of leading took to following. The ideal fits in with the distorted conception of public life which holds that the best workers of the Reform Act are those who have no faith in it, who denounce it as Lilliputian and the shade of a shadow, who believe it retrograde and unworkable, and who see in its provisions so many marks of national humiliation, and which holds further that one may adopt the policy of non-cooperation with Government in four stages upto the withholding of taxes and at the same time contest a seat in the legislature on a programme of many-sided improvement and progress. The straight course for a leader when he finds himself out of sympathy with his party in any vital matters is to yield place to one who can wholeheartedly carry out the new idea. To remain obstinately at the helm and do the bidding of his followers is to degrade a high office and deprive the people of the guidance of one who could be a more true and loyal exponent of their views. None of us, Liberals, who attended the Conference sought, as Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar seems to suggest, "to dictate to the people." In point of fact more than one speaker after us thought it necessary to warn the audience against our soft words and honeyed pleadings. We should not feel uneasy about Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar's notion of leadership if Mr. Gandhi at about the same time had not expressed some sentiment dangerously akin to it. Leadership of democracy is something like happiness—best attained when not sought directly and consciously.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE.

THE KRASSIN MISSION.

AN apprehended shortage in the world's wheat crop is causing serious anxiety in all countries of Europe. If the fears are realised, the price of bread which is already high, will rise still higher causing hardship to the mass of the population in European countries. Bread riots are already reported to have occurred in Italy, and it is difficult to imagine how grave the situation will be in countries in which famine and starvation are the order of the day even at the present moment. Even Great Britain is greatly concerned at the prospect of the threatened wheat shortage and dearer bread. Argentine has imposed almost prohibitive duties on her exports of wheat, the American crop is stated to be smaller than normal, Australia has little to spare, and the Russians, it is reported, have not enough for themselves. How, under these circumstances, England will satisfy her need, is a question that is troubling the mind of the people there. The shortage of other necessaries of life in European countries is a subject which is equally engaging the anxious thoughts of people. Sugar is one of such articles, and the effects of its deficient supply are being felt in India, which is one of the largest sugar-cane producing countries of the world. Insufficiency of production and the consequent deficiency of supply are the root causes of the scarcity and the high prices of food-stuffs and other necessaries of life throughout the world. And the situation can be materially relieved only by production being restored to its normal size in the various countries.

But besides larger production, there is another important factor in the situation, and that is the dislocation of the machinery of distribution. International finance has been disorganised and is not moving through its old channels. In the first place, owing to the exhaustion of accumulated wealth and the paralysis of the productive capacity of most of the European countries, their demand for capital exceeds the supply, and unless wealthy nations like Great Britain and the U.S.A. go to their assistance, no decisive improvement in the economic position can be expected. And secondly, the unsettled and uncertain political conditions in central and eastern Europe are a discouraging factor which precludes the immediate possibility of the wealthy nations giving the required credits to countries which are anxious to revise their productive activities. The British Government has indeed already set up a scheme for guaranteeing merchants dealing with the exhausted countries of central and southern Europe against any losses they may incur in their exchange operations, the object being to facilitate trade and help British industries to gain a footing in European markets. The position of the U. S. A. as a supplier of manufactured goods, raw materials and of credits is simply unique. That nation has more of these desirable things to spare at the present moment than any other coun-

try in the world, and that is the reason why everybody is looking to it for support and rescue. There is, however, a good deal of reluctance on the part of the U. S. A. to undertake any further commitments in Europe, and this subject has recently given rise to an animated controversy in the press. Mr. Otto Kahn, a reputed banker and financier of New York, who has examined the European economic situation on the spot, is of opinion that America is not, at present, in a position to participate in European financing on any large scale. He thinks that whatever capital may be available in the United States will be required to satisfy American needs of industrial expansion and that there will be little to spare for European countries. The war's drain on American wealth and credit has been enormous, and the small investor is an important factor in the U. S. so that little may be expected from him by way of contributions to foreign loans. These views which must prove depressing to European people who expected much from America, and, according to Mr. Kahn, they are the views of the business community in the U. S. A. and "represent the drift and tendency of the sentiment of the overwhelming majority of the American people at large."

This opinion has been contested by Mr. H. S. Houston who states that Mr. Kahn has not correctly interpreted responsible American banking views on the subject. He cites evidence to prove that American bankers, manufacturers and farmers are alive to the necessity of extending credits to European countries for the purpose of expanding their own trade and industries. "They are fast learning," he says, "through hard experience, the economic fact that it is our own direct concern to help in financing our foreign trade, and that the only way we can help is by extending credits by which the payment of the balances in our favour can be postponed until Europe is more prosperous and normal." It is, therefore, the opinion of Mr. Houston that if good securities are offered in America, they will be readily purchased. This controversy about America's participation in the financing of European trade throws into relief the outstanding feature of the present position of international finance. M. Krassin's mission to England is a more complicated subject and has been the cause of considerable misunderstanding in France with respect to British aims and policy. The reports of the interviews M. Krassin has had with Mr. Lloyd George and other ministers in London, have been received in France and England itself with much shaking of the head. The wisdom of dealing with the Bolsheviks in Russia is seriously doubted and the practicability of the adventure is called in question. There is, first of all, the political aspect of the question. Will not opening trade with Russia mean dealing with Bolsheviks who are out to destroy the existing structure of society in neighbouring countries? Will it not facilitate the propagation of their poisonous principles and practices? Will it not be tantamount

to the recognition by the Allied nations of the Bolshevik Government in Russia? Mr. Lloyd George recently categorically replied to this by saying that these results do not necessarily follow and every precaution will be taken to see that Bolshevik propagandists commit no mischief in England. The analogy drawn by the British Premier between dealings with Mexico with its rank anarchy and those with Russia in the hands of a Bolshevik Government has not convinced his critics who retort that the Russian revolution is infectious and militant, and it is the sacred duty of nations that love order and civilization to resist its progress by all possible means. The idea of the existence of large stores of grain in Russia awaiting facilities of transport and finance and ready to feed famished Europe is likewise ridiculed. "The bulging corn bins" of Russia are believed to be a myth, and the negotiations with Bolshevik emissaries are considered as dangerous. France has also other grounds of complaint. The gold which Russia can spare for buying goods in foreign countries ought, according to the French view, not to be accepted because it is plundered gold. France has lent large amounts of money to Russia, and if gold in Russia's possession is thus frittered away she has no chance of being paid by the Bolsheviks who are not over-keen in desiring to meet their foreign obligations. If Russia was not to buy foreign commodities with gold, she must barter goods for goods, and even then there must be some guarantee for good faith on the part of the Bolsheviks. Russian gold is reported to have already started going to outside countries in payment for their imports; and the French are indignant at this encroachment on the gold stocks which are, as it were, hypothecated to them for their loans. From a speech recently made by Mr. Lloyd George, it appears the British Premier is anxious to open up trade with Russia for the purpose of relieving the famine conditions of western Europe, and he has discussed with Krassin a scheme in this connection providing for adequate safeguards. And there is no doubt he will succeed in removing the suspicions and allaying the fears entertained in France with regard to his negotiations with Bolshevik Russia. Though the war is ended, the economic conditions in Europe do not show material improvement, and they will not improve so long as the channels of exchange are blocked up and production is hampered. International finance is thus the most urgent problem that the world has to solve and upon its speedy solution depends the recovery of Europe from the exhaustion caused by war.

V. G. KALE.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE PUNJAB.—IV.

I.

SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER was during his administration noted for his "strength." He had, in the current jargon of Anglo-India, no non-sense about

him, and never showed any mawkish sympathy with the faked-up grievances of noisy agitators. Agitation and agitators, so far as he was concerned, were a curse and a damnation. This beau ideal of Anglo-India had, in short, all the virtues and vices of a typical *tschinovnik*; in consequence, he is considered a demigod by the lesser *tschinovniks*, and has been called a despot, tyrant and other ugly names by those between whose class and his there has never been much love lost. In sober truth, he was neither a demigod nor a tyrant after the Grecian model. He was only a fanatical bureaucrat who had unbounded faith in his own wisdom and loathed dissent like some foul disease. A firm believer in racial superiority and carrying on his shoulders the white man's burden, he considered himself, like some others, an ally of Providence in the noble mission of uplifting and civilizing the children of darkness in India. Suave, humorous, fond of hearing his own voice, he was a true son of Erin in his love of paradox. Kind to those whose amiable nature enabled them to nod assent to whatever he chose to say and do, he showed bitter intolerance towards others who were perverse enough to commit the treasonable offence of thinking for themselves. Clever he was; neither did he lack the quality of drive and push. What he lacked was the supreme gift of sympathy with those who thought otherwise. Unlike Mr. Lloyd George, he was utterly wanting in that intuition which enables you to feel the tendency of forces working around you, and in the elasticity of temperament which enables one to respond to the call of new situations or strange surroundings. He resembled the proverbial frog in the well, who thinks a mighty lot of his own little world and nothing of the larger world outside. Therein lies the secret of the gigantic failure of his Indian career.

He was both sincere and insincere: sincere in his belief that the Asiatics should be ruled by the sword, insincere in protesting that they rather liked being kicked. His political morality was not of the purest, and his favourite pastime, then as now, has been to misrepresent his opponents' views and to question their motives. He had drunk deeply from the wells of Machiavellian wisdom, and faithfully practised in the Punjab the maxims of governance preached by Bismarck and his successors. He had no faith in the rule of law; on the other hand, he believed in the rule of force. He was Prussian in that he was a bully, and Irish because he was a braggart.

II.

He was *par excellence* an egoist, headstrong, obstinate, ruthless in his dealings with those whom he considered his enemies, or, as he was pleased to call them, the enemies of the Empire, big in small things, and small in big matters. And yet he was so clever as to bamboozle for some time all men, and unfortunately there is now little reason to doubt that he has equally succeeded in bamboozling some men for all time. Is he not hailed by the Anglo-Indian jingoes as the saviour of the

British Empire in India, and did he not induce Lord Chelmsford and his councillors to look upon a rebellion against Sir Michael as a rebellion against constituted authority? In consequence of this abounding egoism, he was unable to sympathise with another man's point of view. Passive resistance was to him active resistance, and a *hartal* an illegal conspiracy. A flood of light is thrown upon his character by the fact that in the Punjab he could find no better advisers than men like Sir Omar Hayat Khan Tiwana. And the character of this gallant councillor who, on his own admission, is called *Earkar ka māmā* (e.g. the maternal uncle of the Government or the officials) can be gauged by the proposal made by him at a meeting of the Punjab Soldiers' Board that men convicted in cases like the Gujranwala conspiracy trial should be made to work as scavengers in the Army lines. That he should dare put forward a monstrous proposal like this at a meeting of the Board, of which Sir Michael was the President, and be not reproved for it, shows, as nothing else can, the character of the adviser and his patron. That Sir Michael should have trusted men of this type, men who are buffoons and flunkeys, possessing neither intelligence nor independence, supplies an illuminating commentary on his character and administration.

To the fondness for the society of self-seeking courtiers was added in Sir Michael's character a deep-rooted antipathy for those whose only crime, in the apt phrase of Spinoza, was to think independently. Even constitutional agitation for the redress of a great wrong was in his eyes rank heresy and sedition which could be punished only by consigning the agitators to a pile of flaming faggots. People, he thought, should have no grievances, on the other hand they should ever feel grateful for the benefits conferred upon them by the all-seeing wisdom of their benign ruler. All efforts in the direction of liberalising the system of government by making it responsible, he looked upon with utter contempt. In one of his Council speeches, he quoted with approval the poet's cynical remark: "for forms of government let fools contend." If in spite of this sage advice, they perversely persisted in contending for forms of government, then they deserved to be taught a lesson. This constitutional intolerance of dissent supplies the key to his whole administration and explains his approval of General Dyer's action. We find it only in an intensified form during the dark days of martial law.

III.

Not a few observers have been perplexed at the sight of a Lieutenant-Governor calling in martial law and actively encouraging the debasement of his people by its abuse. In the case of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, however, it arose from an insatiable desire for revenge. He wanted revenge for the cold-blooded murder of Englishmen and the assault on an English woman by a mob of insolent Indians. As some Indians had done it, *all*

Indians must be punished and punished in a way that the succeeding generations of dusky natives should not be able to forget it. This appetite for vengeance was further whetted by another consideration of a personal nature. His long term of office was drawing to a close. He had won glory and honour for the services rendered to the Empire by raising over 4,00,000 recruits for the army. He had put down two dangerous conspiracies. He had ruled with an iron hand, so much so that the Punjab had been purged of the pestilential plague of political agitation. And as he was approaching the end of his Indian career, he could congratulate the Punjab on possessing the British qualities of common-sense and sanity. He was looking forward to laying down his great office in a blaze of glory. Alas for the vanity of human wishes! His tiny apple-cart was easily upset and upset by the action of those whose brood, he had vainly thought, he had destroyed for ever. He committed the error of mistaking forced silence into ready acquiescence. He forgot in his moments of ecstasy to remember that force suppressed grows not weaker but stronger, and only awaits an outlet for bursting out with redoubled energy. So the roseate dream of his departure from India with the reputation of a great pro-consul worthy to be placed by the side of Clive and Hastings was destroyed by the malignity of a handful of conspirators like Gandhi. He was so enraged that he counted not the cost, only if he got his revenge. India which till then had been a splendid theatre for the exhibition of his majesty and prowess was turned into a land of betrayal; the Punjabis, till then sane and hard-headed, became thenceforward a race of rebels and murderers. They had burst the bubble of his fantastic glory; death and dungeon were to be the wages of their sin. What must have passed through his mind has been best described by Milton in the opening cantos of the *Paradise Lost*.

V. N. TIVARY.

THE MUDDLE OF THE PURI FAMINE.

AFTER a protracted silence extending over eight long months, during which period leaders of the people did everything they could to awaken the sleeping conscience of Government, the Bihar and Orissa Government have found it necessary to make a public explanation of the action they took to alleviate acute suffering, or rather of their inaction. They have issued a *communiqué* recently "to correct numerous inaccuracies of statement" as their attention "has been drawn to a number of articles and letters which have lately appeared in the public press regarding the distress in the Puri District and the measures taken to relieve it." In trying to correct alleged inaccuracies, the Government themselves have committed very serious blunders, have appropriated to themselves work done by others, have tried to gloss over unpardonable official remissness, thrown blame on the wrong shoulders and made a scape-goat of an Indian Collector to save an I. C. S. European Commis-

sioner. These are strong words, but they are written after a full knowledge of the question for over two months on the spot.

In the *communiqué* the Government have been very careful to make detailed mention of non-official relief work done in 1918 and 1919, which at other times they would not have known, much less cared to applaud. Any private charity work with which any officer was connected in even the smallest way has been paraded as if it was done mainly by public servants out of public funds under instructions from an ever-vigilant administration, and as if the donors of thousands of rupees and the honorary self-sacrificing workers were almost negligible. But they were not content with taking full credit for the work of the District Relief Committee; they even went so far as to chastise these selfless workers, when their resources were at an end and when they could no longer give any further relief. The *communiqué* makes absolutely no mention of the fact that in spite of their own officers relieving distress in their private capacity by the aid of influential friends, they remained unmoved and saw no distress when people were dying of starvation, not only in villages but even in the streets of the Puri town.

Thanks to the selfless Oriya champion, the Hon. Mr. Gopabandhu Das, the matter received some prominence when he pleaded in March last in the Bihar Council for the relief of sufferings of his brethren. He was poohpooed by his official opponents, headed by the Hon. Mr. Grunning, the Commissioner of Orissa, who had the effrontery to question the accuracy of the facts, though he himself had never been to the real scene of distress. This gentleman carries the whole burden of Orissa, including five British Districts and twenty-four feudatory states, on his broad back. He said so to a member of the Famine Enquiry Committee and wrote so to another, suggesting thereby that an officer of his high responsibilities could not be expected to visit out-of-the-way villages, where a few people may be dying of starvation. Can it be imagined that he was so ignorant as to believe that the brass bangles which some women wore were made of gold and that the zinc bangles which others wore were made of silver? If Mr. Grunning thinks that the burden of Orissa is too much for him he should request Government to put him in charge of work which he can efficiently manage. It is really Mr. Grunning who was responsible for the failure to organise relief in the Puri District and who is obstinate enough to mislead the Bihar Government into refraining from the declaration of famine at any cost. Though the area of suffering is now as much as 1000 sq. miles, and the population about five lacs of human beings, he considers the area "so small" and reduces it, by a cruel juggling of words and by adopting a criterion thirty times stricter than in section 68 of the Famine Code, to 90 sq. miles only. The author of the "Imperial Gazetteer" wrote in 1873 in connection with the famine policy:—

In the Orissa Famine of 1866 . . . the men who spoke out before Government was willing to hear, were ruined. It should never be forgotten that, with the average officials, especially in the subordinate ranks and for the native gentry as a body, the attitude which the head of Government takes up will be the attitude which they adopt. The example of facing the facts will penetrate to every police station and landlord's office." Skrine's "Life of Hunter," p. 218.

In the present case Orissa being far from Bihar, Mr. Grunning has been the *de facto* Government, and his attitude which was "no famine, not even distress," was taken up by every official from the Collector down to the police sub-inspector and the village chowkidar. As the head of the Government did not sanction the use of the word 'famine', deaths by starvation of hundreds and thousands of persons were not enough for the declaration of famine.

Referring to deaths from starvation the *communiqué* states:

"No deaths from starvation have been reported by the chowkidars and in view of the uniformly excellent work which the Superintendent of Police, Rai Bahadur Sakhi Chand, is admitted by all concerned to have done in connection with the scarcity, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council is unable to accept the statement that deaths from starvation have been deliberately reported as deaths from ordinary diseases."

This is wonderful logic. Rai Bahadur Sakhi Chand, the good Jain he is, has done excellent work in connection with the relief of distress. But he and his hundreds of village chowkidars have nothing in common and they do not go by his lofty principles of ethics and religion. From this chain of reasoning Sir Edward Gait and his executive Councillors conclude that they do not believe that a single individual from those hundreds of the chowkidars who have had the benefit of a high-souled superior as Mr. Sakhi Chand would stoop so low as to make false entries in their books. Moreover, they have forgotten to note, though it was brought to their notice by a letter in the *Searchlight* of Patna, that the safeguard of Panchayat member's countersignature in death and birth registers, provided in the Chowkidari Act of 1871, is systematically disregarded in the Puri district. Mr. Vaughan Nash, the special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in the great Indian Famine of 1900, writes in his book, "The Great Famine," p. 43, that as the word starvation is one that the Government does not sanction, fifteen children were reported to have died of "emaciation," a disease invented for famine days. In Puri, fever, diarrhoea and other common diseases have taken the place of "emaciation," because the use of even the mild disease of emaciation was not sanctioned by Mr. Grunning.

I reported in the beginning of May last that I have in my possession a reliable record of 440 starvation deaths that have taken place in 40 villages, and on that basis I then computed that the total number of such deaths was about 1500. After a closer acquaintance with the condition of Puri people, I find that my estimate was rather low and

I was then not aware of the numerous starvation deaths that took place in the streets of Puri, as well as in other parts of the district which I then thought to be free from distress. If the estimate be now revised, I would not put it at less than 3000. After the enquiry made by the collector of two starvation cases that I reported and of fifteen more reported by others and the result thereof which has appeared in the *communiqué*, I am not sorry that I did not supply the list of the 440 dead persons with their place of residence and other particulars, as enquiry into them would not have met with a better fate. If an impartial committee be appointed to enquire into starvation deaths, hundreds of them will be brought to the public notice and things will appear in true colours, but not if the enquiry is made by the Collector or Commissioner who are held by the public to be responsible for the acuteness of their misery and distress.

A. V. THAKKAR.

NON-CO-OPERATION AND THE REFORMS.

THE policy of non-co-operation advocated by Lala Lajpat Rai is grounded on far deeper considerations than the natural prompting of self-respect to avoid having any dealings in the council with the officials who have covered themselves with indelible infamy by practising unspeakable cruelties on the people of the Punjab. The Lala has set forth his motives at great length in the *Tribune* of July 3. Till the promulgation of the Reform Scheme, he was, he says, a sturdy champion of non-co-operation, in the limited sense in which the Lala understands the word; that is to say, he was for boycotting the legislative councils, on the principle that "there can be no co-operation between a foreign Government and the leaders of a subject race." The Reform Scheme, however, seemed to him to make a radical alteration in the position of Indians, and lest the popular leaders should reject the Scheme with contumely and persist with the policy which he favoured till then, he sent out a cable from America, counselling a dispassionate consideration of the reform proposals. His faith in the expediency of entering the councils was, however, considerably shaken by subsequent happenings, and particularly by the lavish increases in the emoluments of the services, and it vanished entirely on the publication of the Hunter Report and the acceptance of the findings of the majority by the British Cabinet. These events have constrained Mr. Lajpat Rai to return to his old conception of the duty of Indians and to forswear co-operation with Government officials, which for a brief interval, he felt, might be justified by the new order. For he is convinced that the new order is not going to establish itself at all, the recent events in the Punjab being only symptomatic of the continuance of the old régime.

It is unnecessary to inquire too closely into the Lala's confession of faith; but I will permit myself to remark that his ideas as to the proper

attitude of the Indians towards the Morley-Minto reforms were never widely known in this country; and, to say the least of it, they are out of keeping with the advice which he gave, for instance, on the occasion of Lord Crew's India Council Bill. While Mr. Jinnah rejected the Bill *in toto* as utterly inadequate, the Lala busied himself in pointing out the danger of spurning what might after all be the best available measure of reform in the existing circumstances. Nor will I pause to examine the Lala's *obiter dicta* that "the presence of Indian members in the legislative councils has done more harm to the country than good," and that the sanctioning of £100 million and similar measures "have done greater harm to the country than the combined services of the Indian members of the legislative councils for the last twelve years." But I must challenge the validity of the considerations which have induced the Lala to renounce the policy of co-operation. The Reform Scheme which made him look upon co-operation as a public duty has only been improved upon in its passage through Parliament. The consolidation of the position of the services by increasing their salaries all round and by affording them a measure of special protection is no doubt a matter of complaint, but even here there is nothing which was not clearly foreshadowed in the Reform Scheme. Moreover, these matters, however objectionable, do not detract from the constitutional power conferred upon the people. The lamentable occurrences in the Punjab, too, whatever other moral they may have for us, do not certainly establish the futility of the reforms. They are no doubt a sharp reminder that we are as yet far from the attainment of full responsible government; but they do not demonstrate that the power which has been secured will be of no avail. If the Reform Scheme rendered co-operation desirable, the official excesses in the Punjab cannot render it undesirable. Mr. Lajpat Rai contends that the Secretary of State's dispatch on the subject of the Punjab tragedy is a denial of the principles on which the reforms are based. It is hardly right to connect the abiding principles imbedded in the Reform Act with the isolated acts of the officers who transgressed all bounds of humanity. The latter, if anything, make the beneficent influence of the operation of the Act all the more essential and enforce our demand for full self-government. There is no force in the Lala's assertion that the little power gained by the Indians by means of the reforms would be purchased at the cost of subservience to the bureaucracy in bigger matters. There need be no subservience whatever. There will be political subordination in so far as self-rule is not conceded, but the limits of such subordination have not been widened but contracted in the Act as compared with the original reform proposals which seemed to the Lala so very hopeful. He also remarks that "there will be even greater temptation, in the way of members, of selling themselves and their conscience." This is true only in the sense that the

Act gives us greater control over our destiny—to make or mar it as we like. The greater the power the wider the scope to abuse it. In that sense, complete self-government will afford the largest latitude to dishonest folk to barter away their liberties. But if our men are of the right sort, there need be no selling of conscience whatever. It will be remarked by careful observers that Mr. Lajpat Rai does not preach withdrawal of co-operation with the object of securing redress of the cruel wrongs inflicted on the Punjab; he says, co-operation is to be refused as a protest against the wrongs, but he himself is under no illusion that this protest will be effective in the sense that justice will be done to Indians. Nor does he seem to favour non-co-operation in the larger sense which Mr. Gandhi assures us will remove injustice not only in the matter of the Punjab, but also in that of the Khilafat. The Lala has not the least sympathy with Mr. Pal's idea, now accepted by the Tilak school after much tergiversation, of entering the councils with the object of making Government impossible.

CRITIC.

THE INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY.

THE Indian Women's University entered on its fifth year in June 1920. The apathy and opposition which the University had to encounter at its inception and in the early days of its working have cooled down to a great extent though occasionally a note of disagreement with the principle underlying the institution is heard in papers such as the *Indian Social Reformer*. Passive has ever been the attitude of the University towards opposition, for work-nothing less than successful work—in its opinion is the only effective reply.

A separate University for women seems to the *Reformer* reminiscent of the mediæval Hindu prohibition of sacred learning to women. But this University, the University started by Prof. Karve, a man who has devoted his whole life to the uplift of Indian womanhood, does not in any sense come under that category, unless prohibition is stretched to mean enlargement and facilitation of education. This University has been separately started, not because there was any sex distinction in knowledge, but because it was very difficult otherwise to take women out of the fixed grooves in which all University education at present has to run. The curricula in the Indian Women's University differ from those in vogue elsewhere at present both in conception and method. The fundamental difference consists in the vernaculars being used as media of instruction throughout, with all necessary safeguards to ensure a sound and thorough acquaintance with the English language and literature. Another distinct feature is the addition of sciences, *e.g.*, hygiene, physics, chemistry, biology, physiology, sociology and childmind as compulsory subjects, the object being steadily kept in view that the University ought to provide every assistance to its

alumni and promote their full growth as individuals, women and citizens.

It was this ideal, the ideal of helping women to attain the height not only of womanhood but of humanity in general, that attracted Sir Vitthalidas D. Thackersey to offer his princely donation of fifteen lacs of rupees. It is not a donation, as donations ordinarily go. It means a lift, a timely hand lent to an institution that had till now managed somehow to crawl along a rough and rugged way, a hand to help it stand on its own legs and march onward. Bombay and Ahmedabad will now fraternise with Poona in being centres of the University and the Gujaratis will join hands with the Deccanis in fostering its development and general advance. It will thus take the University a definite step further in the direction of being a real national concern. From this point of view the gift is invaluable and it is mainly through this consideration that the senate has agreed to accept it and to name the University after the donor's mother.

But one point must be made clear. It was through the help of the educated middle class that the University was brought into existence; it is on their sympathy that the University has so long relied, and it will be their co-operation which will always remain its main-stay and support. Sir Vitthalidas fully recognises the importance of this factor and with this sole object in view, has laid down the conditions that the principal amount of Rs. 15 lacs would be vested in the University only when it should have collected by its own efforts a sum equal to his amount. Even during these hard times the University has been able to lay by a balance of Rs. 1,70,000 and in the next few years, it has every hope of fulfilling the above-mentioned conditions with the general sympathy of those that have till now helped it on. It is unnecessary to say, therefore, that the University cannot afford to do without the help and support of the public in general who as hitherto, it feels confident, will never stint it. There are clear indications that herds of sympathy have been touched and a genuine response to our activities is expected from quarters that a few days ago we even feared to approach. May He so bless the University that the chords thus struck be many and the response received generous and full!

H. R. DIVEKAR.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

'CO-OPERATION where possible and opposition where necessary' has always been the attitude of the Liberals in their dealings with Government, and the prospect of working the Reforms has not altered it in the least. Since the Amritsar Congress, however, repeated and strenuous attempts are being made in the Nationalist Press and on the platform of that party all over the country to charge them with having offered what is called 'unmitigated' co-operation to the bureaucracy. Needless to say, this is very far indeed from the

truth. If any party has moved away from its original moorings it is the party of Nationalists. The *Independent* of Allahabad says: "Frankly speaking, we must say that the old and sturdy Extremism is practically dead in the country to-day. In 1906 and 1907 the Nationalists stoutly opposed Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu's dictum that our policy must be 'co-operation where possible, opposition where necessary.' But to-day prominent Nationalists like Mr. Tilak and Mr. Chakravarti have adopted the same policy. . . . This has been the policy of the Moderates for the last fifteen years ever since these party divisions appeared among us."

THE following from the same paper should, we believe, set at rest all doubts about the alleged offer on the part of the Liberals of 'unmitigated' co-operation—a term about whose meaning even the editor of that paper is not quite clear in his own mind:—

Taking the Moderates or Liberals as a party, we think those who say that they are offering 'unmitigated' co-operation, whatever that may mean, do them very great injustice. In any case, the past conduct of the Moderate leaders, as a class, does not justify this statement. Did not they oppose the Rowlatt legislation? Have not they condemned the Hunter Report and the papers connected with it almost as severely as the Nationalists? And what have we to justify the suspicion that they will behave differently in the future, if questions of a similar nature come up before the country? Sir Sankaran Nair never identified himself with the Nationalists and yet how did he act in regard to the Punjab policy of the Government? Mr. Shafi has been a notorious Moderate and nobody liked his appointment in Sir Sankaran's place. Yet how has he acted in regard to the majority report to the Hunter Committee? All the three Indian members of the Hunter Committee are notorious Moderates, yet how have they discharged their duty? No Extremist could have done better.

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR'S speech as president of the second Punjab mass meeting in Bombay a few days ago is characterised by a clear and original analysis of the causes of the Punjab tragedy. He regretted that, instead of contenting themselves with the ordinance-making power already in their possession, Government should have deemed fit to have recourse to the application of martial law. In his view, the disturbances had their root in the 'unwise' policy of Government in rushing the Rowlatt Act through the Council in the teeth of strong opposition, and he holds Government primarily responsible for the Punjab situation of last year. He thus describes the effects of the martial law regime: "Whereas the disturbances arose from, and were confined to, but a small fraction of the people, the martial law measures, by making no distinction between the guilty and the innocent, humiliated the people in such a way that the whole country, not only the Punjab, has felt its honour stabbed and the sense of security wounded."

Ladies and Gentlemen.

Have you ever heard of the world-renowned "Actina" instrument; the restorer of lost vision, the deaf man's best friend, the eradicator of Catarrh, and the avowed enemy of doctoring, drugging and probing? If not, just drop a post card to us, and obtain, *free and for nothing*, our 100 page illustrated Booklet called Prof. Wilson's Treatise on "Disease" It will tell you all about this wonderful Messiah of the age.

Thousands have been sold in India, and people universally acknowledge it to be a marvellous God-send boon for all disease of the Eye, Ear, Head and Throat. It is priced at Rs. 25-8 only, packing and postage charges extra, but is worth its weight in diamonds.

Write to:—**Raj B. S. BHANDARI, M. A.**
Batala (N. W. R., A. P. Ry.)

Dr. BAILUR'S MEDICINES.

HIVA-JWAR.
Ague pills.
Price As. 8.
Per bottle.



BALAGRAHA CHURNA.
Epileptic powder.
Price Re. 1.
Per bottle.

Ask for our catalogue for other medicines & Particulars.

Liberal commission for Merchants.
Dr. H. M. BAILUR,
Dispensary, BELGAUM.

BOOK OF THE HOUR.

Currency Reform in India

BY
Prof. V. G. KALE.

The author has made out a very strong case in favour of a sound currency and exchange system for India. Every one who wishes to understand the exchange problem should read the book, which is extremely instructive.

Price Re. One.

Copies may be had from booksellers or :—
The Aryabhushan Press, Poona & City

CUT ME OUT

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

I will bring you, per V. P. F., 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.....

M. K. GANDHI.

An Indian Patriot in South Africa

BY THE REV. J. DOKE

With an Introduction by Lord Amptill

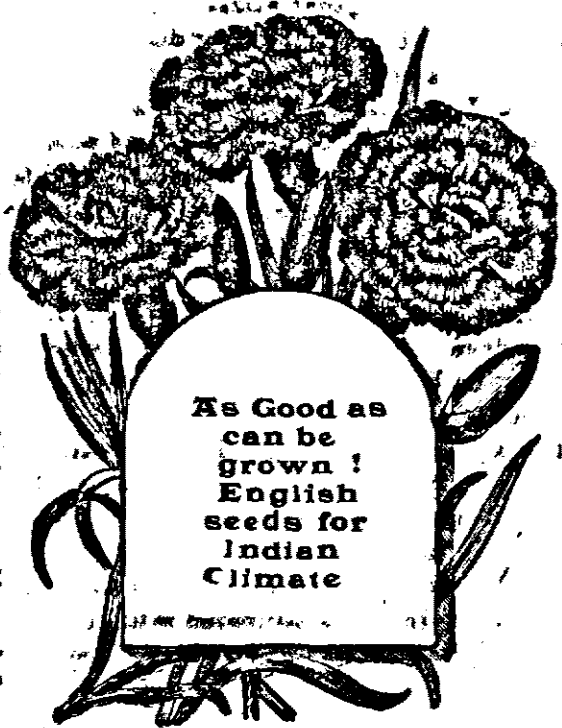
A cheap, popular edition of this inspiring book written by a great Christian friend and admirer of Mr. Gandhi and his work in South Africa is now for the first time published in India in a handy form

Price Re. 1. To Subscribers of the "Review" As. 18
When ordering mention if you are a subscriber to the "Indian Review;" otherwise please note that concession rates will not be allowed.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers,
George Town, Madras.

GOOD SEEDS.

We have the best seeds in India,—both vegetable and flower—suitable to your climate. Sow the right kind of seeds at the right time and save disappointment.



Large descriptive catalogue with numerous illustrations free on application. Mention this paper when writing.

Pestonjee P. Pocha and Sons,
Seed Merchant Poona,
Bombay Presidency,
INDIA.

GOOD OPPORTUNITY.

The India Advertising Agency are the sole advertising agents for several newspapers, journals, and periodicals in India. Rates of advertisement very moderate and reasonable. For particulars apply to—

The India Advertising Agency,
POONA CITY

Self-Government for India.

IN TAMIL.

The "Hindu says":—"This is an adaptation in easy Tamil of the Honble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's pamphlet bearing the same title. Mr. S. M. Michael of the Servants of India Society has done a useful service to South India by making it available to the Tamil-reading public. The book is priced at 8 as.

Apply to:—*The Secretary,*
Servants of India Society.

The Madras Co-operative Leather Goods Factory, Ltd.

STARTED & MANAGED
BY

THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

Will make all kinds of Boots, Shoes, Sandals, Belts, Bedstraps, Handbags, Hold-alls, etc., to your complete satisfaction.

It is a Workmen's Society. Workmanship Excellent. Rates Moderate.

THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY,
ROYAPETTAH—MADRAS.