

THE Servant of India

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Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY.

VOL. III., No. 39.]

POONA—THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1920.

[ANNUAL SUBSN. : Rs. 6

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Irish debate last week in Parliament chiefly centred round the reprisals which have recently been carried out by the military. It served to show how strong was the feeling of resentment roused by these retaliatory measures. Despite Sir Hamar Greenwood's contradictions, the popular belief in Ireland is that they are part of a deliberate policy of repression adopted by the British Government to crush Sinn Feinism and their opposition to the simple demand for an inquiry lends colour to the belief that they want to conceal something. If, as the Government say, they did not sanction or in any way countenance any of these measures, they had no reason to be afraid of the result of the inquiry; if anything, they would have been the gainers inasmuch as it would have acquitted them of a share in the coercive measures. These acts on the part of the military have raised such a storm of indignation against them that the recall of their chief is being demanded. Sir Hamar Greenwood pleaded provocation in extenuation of the unauthorised action on the part of the military; but even provocation can not justify a policy of reprisals on a large scale. The death of the Lord Mayor of Cork in the 74th day of his hunger strike will also add to the Government's difficulties in Ireland.

THE proposed constitution of the Indian National Congress drafted by a committee presided over by Mr. Gandhi defines its object as "the attainment of *Swrajya* by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means." The deletion of the word "constitutional" in relation to the means for the attainment of the above object is perhaps due to the fact that, to the framers of the new Congress constitution, India does not seem to possess anything which can be called a constitu-

tion. For Congress purposes, the country will, under the proposed constitution, consist of fifteen provinces based on a linguistic basis, Indian States also coming within its jurisdiction. Provision is made for the maintenance of the British Committee in London and presumably also of its organ *India*. This seems to suggest that Mr. Gandhi's idea of disestablishing the Committee and stopping the Congress organ in London is an after-thought. Perhaps the inconsistency involved in two such incompatible things as the country's determination to be self-reliant and its intention to maintain, at India's cost, a Committee and a paper in the land of the very people with whose Government non-co-operation is to be practised, did not strike him earlier. The draft constitution also gives evidence of the recognition on the part of the party in power in the Congress of the reasonableness of the contention that the body, consisting as it does of a limitless number of delegates, is too unwieldy for deliberative purposes. The recommendation for the raising of the delegate's fee from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20—a dodge commonly resorted to when it is found necessary to limit the demand—is an indication of the fact that the present organisers of the Congress feel compelled to restrict the number of delegates.

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THE Deccan Nationalists accuse the Liberals of want of loyalty to the Congress, because the latter refuse to boycott the councils in obedience to the Calcutta resolution on non-co-operation. As for themselves, they have proved their loyalty by implicitly following the command of the Congress, though their convictions ran the other way. If their decision was influenced by nothing so much as by their loyalty to the great national institution, why should that feeling be confined only to the boycott of the councils? Should not the same feeling of loyalty dictate an attitude of unquestioning obedience in regard to the other items in the non-co-operation programme? Nearly two months have elapsed since the Congress stamped its imprimatur on the non-co-operation programme; and while we in the Deccan have heard a good deal of the boycott of councils, we are not aware of any serious steps being taken by the Nationalists to empty Government or aided schools or to have law-courts boycotted by lawyers as well as litigants. Evidently these items in the programme as involving considerable personal sacrifice have failed to make the same strong appeal to them as the

boycott of councils has done. Otherwise it is somewhat difficult to explain why it was that Mr. Kelkar headed the primary school teachers' deputation to Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoollah to beg for an improvement in their salaries. If, as they conveniently believe, their loyalty to the Congress leaves them the option to select for action only such items in the programme of non-co-operation as they find suitable and practicable, one wonders how they can blame the Liberals who find nothing in the programme which they can put into effect consistently with their ideas as to the best means for advancing the country's cause. But we forget the fact that consistency was never the strong point of the Nationalists.

IN a recent number of the *Searchlight* Mr. C. F. Andrews describes how the European community in general has become arrogant and overbearing as a reaction from the recent war fought for the sake of freedom. The Asiatic policy of the East African Government is the best example of this. The policy of race segregation which is being enforced there in the teeth of Indian opposition finds support everywhere. A lady missionary of New Zealand says in the *Herald* of September 4, that "it is one of God's laws that the white and coloured races should not mix," and much in that strain. And a member, Hon. H. L. Michel, seriously drew the attention of the Council to the fact that "a certain agitator from Fiji, a dangerous man," Mr. Manilal M. Doctor, to wit, "had been permitted to land in New Zealand." It was explained on behalf of Government, that he was given this indulgence only because, if prohibited, he would have had to go back to Fiji, where he would have been more dangerous! It was further explained that Mr. Doctor was distinctly told that he might remain in New Zealand only on condition that during his stay he conducted himself properly!

THE *New Statesman* of Oct. 2 has the following:

"OUR criticisms of the Government's 'Compulsory Labour' policy in East Africa have been confirmed by a pamphlet just issued by the Bishop of Zanzibar. The Bishop of Zanzibar, unlike his colleagues of Mombasa and Uganda, has nothing to say in defence of this policy. The Labour Laws imposed on Kenya and Zanzibar, he roundly asserts, are a breach of faith, a betrayal of the weaker peoples, a danger to the peace of the Empire, and an offence 'against the Lord Christ.' His account of the application of these laws shows incidentally the hollowness of the Colonial Office pretence that no forced labour is used in private employment. It is laid down that natives are only to be compelled to do 'work of a public nature' for the good of the community. But 'work of a public nature,' says the Bishop, 'includes (unless things have altered recently) the packing of cloves for private employers, since cloves pay 25 per cent. duty to the Government' as well as labour on the Government's own clove-plantations. Nor does he admit the plea that we are doing a righteous work in preventing the deadly sin of idleness in the black man. The African natives, he claims, after twenty-two years' experience of them, are not idle and if they were, we should still have no right to make them industrious by immoral methods. We do not know whether the Bishop's

views will make any impression on the Colonial Office; which are doubtless more concerned for the clove-merchants than for the Lord Christ. But this dirty business must be stopped. The matter will be raised in Parliament when it meets and we cannot believe that even the present House of Commons will stomach such a system of serfdom."

* * *

THE Bihar and Orissa Agricultural Labourers Bill, 1919, which has been passed into law will, it is to be hoped, bring about an improvement in the condition of the labourers for whose benefit it was intended. Mention was made in a recent issue of this paper of what are commonly known in that province as 'kamiauti' contracts and attention was drawn to some of the evils resulting from them. These contracts, while securing the employer in his advantageous position, reduced the employee almost to semi-slavery. The new Act comes into existence with the avowed object of putting a stop to such a regrettable state of things and preventing its repetition in future. The Bill underwent only a few changes in the Select Committee to which it was referred. The explanation in clause 4 was omitted, because more harm than good was expected to result from it. A clause casting on the sub-registrar, before whom the document was registered, the duty of seeing that "a fair and equitable rate of remuneration for the labour had been included as one of the points of the agreement" was also dropped, in view of the Government of India's opinion that an officer of the rank and standing of a sub-registrar would not be found equal to the responsibility proposed to be thrown on him.

* * *

THE vague fear—whether well-founded or ill-founded, time alone can show—is widely entertained that in the allocation of revenues between "reserved" and "transferred" subjects under the new scheme, the latter will be allowed to starve for want of funds. Point is lent to the suspicion by the recent increases, quietly made, in the emoluments of the higher services involving an expenditure of crores of rupees, the increases in C. P. alone entailing an additional burden of 41 lacs on the tax-payers! This was the underlying idea of the resolution Mr. Golwalkar moved in the last meeting of the C. P. Legislative Council. In moving for the appointment of a committee to suggest means of economising public expenditure, Mr. Golwalkar indicated some directions in which it was possible that a saving in expenditure could be effected. The re-arrangement of district areas so as to reduce the number of districts and consequently that of district officials, the abolition of merely supervisory and inspectorial offices like divisional commissionerships, superintending engineerships etc. might be expected to counterbalance the extra cost that the new form of Government will entail and leave some margin for the "transferred" departments. Anyhow a beginning is worth making in the directions suggested above.

LOGIC RUN MAD.

WE are already seeing some of the actual effects of the *non-violent* non-co-operation policy of Mr. Gandhi and can form some idea of the lengths to which it will soon go. Thus, for instance, one of the items suggested for immediate action is the boycott of tea in hotels and restaurants. Let us say in the first place that we entirely approve of this item, as we know but too well that the vogue of tea in this country has become excessive and is giving rise to ailments of various kinds. Drugs in whatever form are deleterious when taken in excess and tea except in strict moderation is an evil. A proper anti-tea campaign will have our most hearty support. But our non-violent non-co-operators begin at the wrong end. They are trying to do away with the symptoms and do nothing to root out the causes of the disease. Thus an anti-tea-shop propaganda is being started which has already led to violent assaults on tea shops in Bombay. Mr. Gandhi may not have time to think of these so-called non-violent manifestations, as he is engaged in his propaganda tour in other parts of the country and has, much against his will, to give *darshan* to thousands of his admirers at all times of the day and night. But when the same kind of non-violent assaults develop into riots and outrages and murders, then he will come out again with the acknowledgment of his Himalayan mistake and retire to the jungles if he still affects to stand by his principle of non-violence. But the mischief will then have been done and he would be morally responsible for the whole of it.

Signs, however, are not wanting that his theoretical hold on the principle of non-violence is also fast slipping. He does not now appear to be so averse to it as not to contemplate the possibility of some of his followers at least formally giving it up. In certain eventualities he has begun to talk of giving a timely warning to European women and children to clear out of the country. One of his followers speaks of expelling the British Government. Another is reported to have spoken of a murdered English civilian as a *kafir* and of his murderer as a martyr. It is rumoured that on the election day he is going to declare a *hartal* and ask his followers to persuade voters not to vote. We have had a slight indication of the actual meaning of this "persuasion" from the anti-tea movement in Bombay. The "sword" is also figuring rather unpleasantly frequently in his speeches.

The way in which he is leading young men astray is perhaps the very worst item in his propaganda. False analogies are made use of to justify his asking them to leave their schools and colleges. During the great war the schools and the Universities of England were empty, as the students had donned the soldiers' uniform and gone to fight for their country. The present, we are told, is a great war for India's liberation. The students should therefore leave their schools and colleges. But, may we ask what they are to do after leaving?

Mr. Gandhi does not ask them to take up arms as these have no place in his programme. The only constructive suggestion is that they should take to spinning and weaving. The actual effect has been that they are spending all their time in spinning very long patriotic yarns and doing no work. To work even in the offices of patriotic businessmen they must know something. Nobody, not even a follower of Mr. Gandhi, will long continue to pay any wage to men who don't know their business. The young men are not competent or accustomed to work as agriculturists. The students at Aligarh, some of whom have been persuaded to non-co-operate, are at present having a nice time and enjoying an extra holiday. Fine idea they will get of work in the cause of their country! They will of course rue this day when they see a few years hence, that they have been led on a fool's chase. The student-soldiers who went to the war did so for harder work in the trenches than they did in their class rooms. These Aligarh boys have stopped doing any work at all.

When our Muhamadan brothers begin to look at things from a proper perspective, they will realise that no greater disservice has been done to them by anybody than by Messrs. Gandhi, Mahomad Ali and Shaukat Ali, when they in one day ruined the institution which was the one visible sign in India of Muhamadan solidarity, which was the result of the far-seeing statesmanship of Sir Syed Ahmed, and which has been an ocular demonstration of the efficacy of patriotic endeavour. The visible memorial of the present activities of non-co-operators will be an epitaph on the site of Aligarh: *Here vandalism proved too strong for statesmanship.* The wave of this vandalism is proceeding to Lahore and other centres. Some Muslims have already begun to see, that in the end this wave is going to press them still lower than the other communities. Already the Muslims are backward in education. These educational centres were helping them to recover some of the lost ground. What insane folly is it to cut the branch on which you are sitting? We believe that the Hindu, the Parsi and the Christian students will not be persuaded to leave their studies quite so readily or quite in such large numbers as these young Mahomedans of Aligarh and Lahore. Then when the days of sanity return, Mr. Gandhi may be charged with the deep-laid plot of perverting Mahomedan youth in order to further the interests of Hindus. Such things have happened before and may happen again.

Another striking illustration of logic run mad is Mr. Gandhi's recent article on *Brahmacharya*. Indians are slaves at present in their own country. The condition of slavery is bad. The number of slaves must therefore be diminished. Hence Indians should cease to propagate their kind by a universal policy of sexual abstinence. We wonder whether Mr. Gandhi does not consider himself living in some imaginary land of his own creation. There are two overpowering universal instincts of

human nature, that of existence and that of propagation. Although the first is generally stronger, the second occasionally gets the upper hand. The institution of marriage is mankind's means of regulating this instinct. To say to thirty-one crores of people that from this day nobody should propagate their kind is ridiculous and argues an utter want of realisation of the needs of human or even organic nature. We would ask Mr. Gandhi to examine the sex-history of many of his own admiring followers and see whether they have been noted for—not total abstinence but even moderate indulgence, within the sanctioned limits of law and then consider whether his proposal is within the moderate bounds of possibility. But it is becoming more and more difficult to appeal to reason when discussing matters with Mr. Gandhi. He has been gradually getting into the belief that any fanciful idea that strikes him for a moment is practicable and will be immediately acted upon by all Indians, but if he changes his opinion within the course of six months, all his countrymen should immediately do the same, that if he can live on a few nuts and a plantain a day, everybody else can do the same, that if he at fifty-two can smother his creative instinct, every young man and woman can do the same. Mr. Gandhi considers himself and has been regarded by all as being above most of the ordinary failings of mankind. But there are failings of a different order to which men who command the homage of a large number of their fellow-beings are subject. One such is an overbearing feeling of egotism. We are very much afraid that he is in a fair way to become the victim of this vice. To a certain limit everybody should think himself right and should do everything to urge his own opinion. But when one's opinions run counter not only to those of his intelligent countrymen but of the whole world past and present, then there is time to stop and consider whether one is right after all. If one is merely to chop logic, what harm is there in drawing from the same premises the conclusion that Indians should commit the act of universal suicide once for all, so as to destroy once for all the class of slaves of which India consists. If it is argued that suicide is a sin, we may say that in the great war many a man ran the risk of certain death for the sake of his country and often practically immolated himself. Moreover, his celibacy propaganda is irreligious, as our religious authorities will be prepared to produce any number of sacred texts to show that the object of marriage is to propagate the species and that the husband swears on the holy altar that he will produce children. We believe that the doctrine of celibacy is not so much countenanced in Islam as in Hinduism; but that the Muhamadans are exhorted by their religion to have children to propagate the faith. The truth is that the introduction of religious doctrines into political matters is at all times dangerous and nowhere more so than in India.

THE PRESENT LABOUR UNREST.

A WAVE of labour unrest is at present passing over the whole country, especially its industrial parts. There are continuous streams of strikes of one group of workers or another in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and other large cities. These strikes not only affect the industries and services concerned, but in a number of cases cause inconvenience to the general public. It is therefore well that this subject should be discussed in the public Press from various points of view in a frank and sympathetic manner. Unfortunately much ignorance prevails in the public mind about the genesis of this unrest, its extent and the method of removing it. Very few publicists in our country study the present tendencies of the labour movement and its past history in this country as well as outside; and fewer still write about it. Even the Government have neglected this problem so far except that very recently the Government of India have established a Labour Bureau and the Government of Madras have appointed a Labour Commissioner to deal with this subject. The capitalists and the employers, who are affected most by the labour unrest, do not give as much attention to the human element in the industrial development as they give to its other parts. There are hardly any of them who consider it their business to understand the forces that are moving the labour world and the method of directing and guiding them. But if this ignorance on all sides is allowed to remain and the tendencies of unrest are not sympathetically dealt with, not only will the industries be prejudicially affected, but the growth of the country in other directions also will be seriously disturbed.

The element in the present labour situation, which causes the greatest anxiety and is most dangerous, is the ignorance and the illiteracy of the labouring classes. The indifference, if not a deliberate intention on the part of Government as well as the public that allowed the working classes to remain uneducated, is responsible for this state of things. But there is also no doubt that some officers of Government and a section of the public have thwarted attempts for the spread of education among the masses believing that it will be easier to deal with the ignorant than with the educated people. The strikes that have taken place during the last two years and their aftermath have made it quite clear that it is more difficult to deal with ignorant working classes when they are affected by unrest than it would have been if they had been educated. I therefore feel that while we try to find the solution for the labour unrest, we must give the first consideration to the education of the working classes and the sooner we seriously tackle this question, the easier it will be to meet the difficulties of the labour unrest.

Another element that baffles the public mind in the present labour situation is the ever increasing demand on the part of labour for higher wages.

An unthinking and unsympathetic critic, especially of the capitalist class, generally comes to the conclusion that the demands are unreasonable. But if we consider all the circumstances, which have brought about the unrest, in a calm and patient spirit, we shall find that the demands are reasonable; and if on some occasions they look unreasonable, it will be found that the responsibility for the unreasonableness does not lie with the labourers. At present the prices of the necessities of life are going up at such a speed that it is difficult at any moment to say what wage is reasonable and a living wage. The scarcity of house accommodation and the ever increasing rents make the calculation of the reasonableness of the wage demand most difficult. Add to this the fact that even the labourer has now begun to understand his right to a better standard of life and what might have been regarded as reasonable in former times and may still be so regarded by others, will be regarded by the labourer of to-day as the minimum, to secure which he is entitled to put forth all his efforts. Again, it is necessary to remember that if labourers sometimes become unreasonable and immoderate, they are not the only class who are so. Let us think of the profits which the capitalists are making or at least coming into possession of, but nobody has talked of their immoderation or unreasonableness. If factories and firms can earn a profit of hundred or even two hundred per cent. on their capital and nobody would think of putting a restriction on them as being immoderate and unreasonable, why should the labourers be blamed if they are induced to pitch their aspirations to a much smaller height? Moreover, this atmosphere of unreasonableness is not only created by the capitalists, but by others also. Let us think of the increases in salaries which now some of the higher Government services have claimed and obtained; and then we shall not wonder at the demands of those who are much below in rank. If therefore the spirit of reasonableness is to be created, the whole atmosphere must be changed. If the capitalists and the higher officials show themselves reasonable, their example would have the desired effect upon those who look up to them. If the capitalists gain huge profits to which they have no moral claim and which vitiate the whole atmosphere only on account of the present basis of industry and trade, that basis and system must be radically changed.

In the first place, the unrestricted manner in which prices have been allowed to go up enabling the capitalists and merchants to come into the possession of huge profits must be put a stop to by the regulation of prices by the State and by distributing the profits beyond the fair share due to capital and the management, amongst the consumers either direct by a system of rebate or through Government, and amongst workers. If a policy of open competition is allowed to prevail in the case of prices, rents and profits, by what argument can you convince a labourer that he should not try to

secure as high a wage as he can get by all legitimate methods? If a system of the distribution of surplus profits is introduced, a good deal of the present economic disturbance may be checked. The share due to consumers cannot be paid directly unless the whole distribution of goods is carried on on co-operative principles and so it may be paid to them through the State. The share to the labourers can be paid direct by introducing profit-sharing plans in all industrial concerns. This will also give the workers a living interest in the prosperity of the industry.

Another change which is very essential in the industrial system is to regard the workers not as a part of machinery but as partners in the management. The spirit of Self-Government is now abroad not only in politics but in all spheres of human activity. In all advanced countries where the working classes have come into their own, the real struggle at present is not only for increased wages, although apparently it looks so, but for a share of control of the industry by the workers. This right of the workers may not be fully recognized at once without a bitter struggle, but signs are not wanting that the workers will succeed in securing recognition of this right before long. Indian workers, although uneducated, are not altogether unaffected by this world spirit. Several strikes that now take place are as a protest by the workers for some high-handed action by the management such as a dismissal of their comrades or keeping the factory open on a particular day on which the workers wanted a holiday. Moreover, in India, there is at present a vast agitation for political Self-Government and the ideas which are spread for one object and which permeate even the working classes will not fail to be applied by them also in the other spheres in which they are more vitally concerned. In England, this right of Self-Government in industry is being step by step recognized by Government and the capitalists, inasmuch as proposals are being made and accepted for the appointments of joint committees for supervising the administration of railways and mines, and joint industrial councils and works committees have been established in all principal industries. This may be regarded as associating the workers with the management. But this stage of 'associating' is bound to develop into active participation. The Government of India have also announced their intention of establishing Works Committees in their printing establishments and it is hoped their example will be followed by other industries as well. The establishment of these committees will not only satisfy to some extent the natural longing of human nature for being consulted and treated as human beings with rights including that of self-government in all spheres but will serve as a link to revive human touch between the employers and the employed which under the present day system of large factories has totally disappeared.

Yet another matter which requires serious at-

tention in our industrial growth is about the location of factories. A great portion of the present labour unrest is due to the reckless manner in which large industries are allowed to be crowded together giving rise to the evils of slumdom. The only remedy for it lies in strict regulations about the location of factories and the immediate application of Town Planning Acts to these areas. Want of precaution in this matter forces upon the people an unnatural and cramped life, bringing in its train an unremediable unrest. Crowding of industries in a few centres on account of railway and other facilities without any regard to the interests of human beings employed in the industry is, frankly speaking, putting higher value on wealth than on human life. There must, therefore, be a change in our angle of vision enabling us to see in proper perspective the worth of wealth and of human life. Proper distribution of factories over the country will necessitate creation of better transport and power facilities, but if no attention is paid to this aspect of the problem, labour unrest due to unnatural and cramped life cannot be prevented.

I would like to touch upon another stray matter which several times crops up in the discussion of labour troubles, namely, the inefficiency of Indian labour. Men, who, while discussing politics, will claim equality for the Indian with the rest of the people in the world, unhesitatingly condemn the Indian labourers as inferior and inefficient and, therefore, not worthy of better treatment. We must also learn to look at this matter in its proper perspective. If an Indian is inferior, say, to an Englishman, then not only will the Indian labourers be less efficient than English labourers but even the Indian capitalists will be equally found to be less efficient than English capitalists. I do not admit the innate inferiority of the Indian to the people of any other race. But there is no doubt that due to several circumstances, not the least prominent of which is our present political dependence upon a foreign people, we are much backward as compared to the people of some advanced countries. But this backwardness or inefficiency is not only to be found in Indian labourers but also in Indian capitalists. Unfortunately we see comparisons being made between an Indian and an English labourer and we are told that a weaver in an Indian mill manages two looms while an English weaver looks after even a dozen. But who has ever compared the ability of the managing director of an English factory and that of the manager of an Indian factory? Moreover, when we lay at the door of an Indian labourer the charge of inefficiency as compared with the labourers of other countries, we must also take into consideration the educational facilities, the progress in the matter of machinery and the conditions under which the labourers work and live in those countries. If this is done in a just and impartial manner, much of the blame

at present thrown on the Indian labourer will have to be transferred to some other shoulders.

Lastly, I would like to make an appeal for earnest efforts on the part of Government, the capitalists and the general public for seriously studying the labour problem and securing better knowledge of the various aspects of this difficult question. I have already stated that the Government of India has made a small beginning and that local Governments are also thinking of moving in this direction. But in this matter time is of great essence. Unfortunately capitalists in India have not yet paid any attention to the study of this problem. While in England there are several names of industrialists like Lord Lever-Hulme and Mr. Rowntree, who, by their study of the Labour problem and by their practical attempts at solving it, have helped the cause of their country. There is hardly one industrialist in India who can claim to know anything of the problem with which even their own selfish interests are vitally concerned. The Indian capitalists still depend upon the old and discredited method of curbing and restraining by means of their superiority in financial and educational resources in dealing with an unrest of human beings who are seeking justice and freedom.

N. M. JOSHI.

CANADIAN EDUCATION IN 1919.

THE latest census figures showed that in a total school population of 1,154,307, 79.83 per cent. attended school for some period in the year. The percentage between 7 and 14 years not attending school was 20.17; the percentage from 15 to 17 years 72.86. Out of a population of 5 years of age and over, 5,622,932 could read and write. Out of a total of 6,323,135, 667,340 or 10.55 per cent. could neither read nor write. A very small proportion—about 10 per cent.—of young people attend high schools with hardly one out of a hundred passing into the universities. Still, Canadian education was growing gradually better and reaching different strata of society. The total expenditure on education for seven or eight millions of people was \$50,000,000 a year.

Technical Education.—This subject was largely a matter of provincial policy and enactment until 1919; but action at Ottawa had been urged for some years, and last year the Technical Education Act was passed, providing for the promotion of technical education upon a national scale with the appropriation for that purpose of \$10,000,000 to be apportioned as follows: \$750,000 for 1920, \$800,000 for 1921, and \$900,000 for 1922, \$1,000,000 for 1923, and \$1,100,000 for 1924 and a like sum for each year up to 1929. These moneys were to go (1) in a fixed sum of \$10,000 to each province yearly; and (2) the balance to be allotted to the provinces as grants in proportion to population. provided a similar sum was expended by each province within each year specified. The general object of these grants was to fit young persons for

useful employment in vocational, technical or industrial pursuits.

ONTARIO.

THE total enrolment of pupils in all schools was 591,283 or 22 per cent. of the total population in 1919; the expenditure was \$18,588,890 or 6.90 per head of the population; the attendance in rural schools (1918) was 217,129 or 41.05 per cent. of the total attendance compared with 42.12 per cent. in 1903. Of the teachers 1,068 were males and 11,877 females; while 1,099 held 1st class certificates, 9,018, 2nd class and 1,247, 3rd class. There were in 1919, 43 collegiate institutes, 36 high schools and 59 public schools.

Compulsory Education.—Last year an Act respecting compulsory school attendance was passed which provided that every child in the province of Ontario between 8 and 14 years of age should attend school for the full term during which the school of the section or municipality in which he resided was open each year, unless excused for sufficient reason. Another measure regarding the attendance of youths between 14 and 18 was also passed, which was regarded by the Minister of Education as "most important". Its main provisions are as follows:—That every boy and girl in the province up to the age of 18 years must either be employed or go to school; that when employed there must be part-time attendance at school classes—400 hours a year between the ages of 14 and 16 and 320 hours a year between 16 and 18; that this attendance must be during the day time, and not at night after the boy or girl has done a full day's work; employers to make provision for the part-time employment of adolescents so that they may attend class; that all municipalities of a population of over 5,000 must provide such classes for part-time study; such study to be divided into (1) continuation of elementary education; (2) commercial and trade preparatory classes; and (3) commercial and extension classes.

The rural schools numbered 5,757 with at least 5,000 of these as one-teacher schools. The sum spent upon them totalled \$5,700,000 of which the school sections contributed over \$3,000,000, the townships \$1,807,000 and the legislature \$998,000. Of this \$3,744,635 went in salaries to teachers and the value of rural school property was \$12,600,343.

An important problem which Ontario statesmen have got to tackle is about the consolidation of the rural schools. These schools are generally inefficient, and it is the aim of the Government to consolidate them, so that they may be better housed and better equipped, they may have better teachers, graded classes, larger numbers, and higher average of attendance. In October of last year the consolidated schools were reorganised and new regulations issued. They covered the selection of a school site, to consist of five acres of ground including playgrounds, garden plots, area for experimental agriculture and a very small forestry plot; there was to be provision, among other things, for the collection of the children by vans which

could traverse the main roads carrying all those who were living more than a mile from the school. The consolidated school provided for advanced courses so that, as the Minister said, "it would bring the advantages of a high school education almost to the doors of the boys and girls on the farm." The financial provisions gave a fixed grant of \$2,000 to each consolidated school in actual operation before December 22, 1921, with a specific building grant to be paid under certain conditions.

The free public libraries numbered 183 with volumes totalling 1,407,666; the total expenditure was 578,865 and 57,182 was spent on books; the 1919 legislative grant was \$24,510.

QUEBEC.

The chief educational question of the year in this province was that of compulsory education. On January 31, a large Labour delegation, claiming to represent 125,000 men, urged the provincial Government to enact laws establishing compulsory and free education and demanded that all persons under 21, employed in any kind of work; be forced to at least attend night schools. On April 30 Hon. Pope dealt with this subject in the Senate and declared that lack of provision for compulsory attendance of children at schools had resulted in the withdrawal of Quebec children in large numbers after the first few years of schooling, altogether too many had left after the third or fourth year and he compared this attendance with somewhat similar conditions in Ontario. Of the total attendance of 131,844 there were in Ontario 100,023 and 90,050 pupils in third and fourth reader classes respectively; while, in Quebec, of the total Roman Catholic attendance of 155,376, there were only 44,045 and 17,468 pupils in the upper two classes of the primary school.

SASKATCHEWAN.

In 1917 there were 70 per cent. of the pupils of the public schools in the first four grades, five per cent. in grade eight and only five per cent. in the high school grade. In rural districts but one pupil out of every 129 was doing high school work. The Department, in order to encourage attendance at the high schools, had decided to give a grant to every town and village school which had 15 pupils taking such work and including grade eight pupils. The Schools Grants Act was amended so as to permit grants for noon-day lunch in continuation and night schools, and the Attendance Act was changed to permit of enforcing a fine of \$10 for neglect in sending a child to school regularly, by means of distress levy or sale of goods and chattels when necessary.

The racial and language problems of this province were among the most important ones, and an earnest attempt was made to solve them. It was found that there were in the province 40,000 people who did not speak English. This difficulty was met by a language amendment providing (1) that English shall be the sole language of instruction in all schools, and no language other than English

shall be taught during school hours; (2) that in the case of French speaking pupils, French may be used as the language of instruction, but such use of French shall not be continued beyond grade 1, and, in case of any child, shall not be continued beyond the first year of such child's attendance at school. In regard to the foreign settlers, the Minister of Education outlined his policy as follows: "To ensure the obtaining by every child in our schools of an adequate knowledge of the English language and the training necessary for good Canadian citizenship. In order to accomplish this, every school in non-English districts will be supplied with strong Canadian teachers and these will be provided with comfortable home-like cottages and paid salaries of at least \$1,500. These schools will become community centres where instruction in Canadian civics and customs, house-keeping, poultry-raising, etc., will be encouraged; field day sports will be held to introduce the people to the social side of the Canadian people and night schools to overcome the alarming illiteracy of the adults.

ALBERTA.

In 1919 the appropriations for education amounted to a 40 per cent. increase, with a total of \$1,700,000, the extra sum being derived from the supplementary revenue tax. Of the additional half million dollars, four-fifths went to providing better schools and education among the farmers; while the city schools received 60 cents per day, or \$120 a year for 200 teaching days; the country schools received \$1 a day or \$200 a year. The rural schools presented the greatest problem. As the Minister of Education observed in his review of the situation: "Two-thirds of the children of Alberta got their education in the rural schools. Less than 5 per cent. of these children enjoyed the privileges of secondary education. Consolidated schools were the only medium to extend secondary advantages to rural districts. . . . Another big problem was the difficulty of enforcing school attendance in rural districts. While the province did as much as possible, so many lived so far from schools that it was impossible to enforce attendance, either on moral or statutory grounds." One of the plans for meeting the problem was the provision of houses, for teachers, of varying size and costing from \$1,000 to \$1,800; under new legislation carried by the Minister the province was to pay one-third of the cost of the building and essential furnishings, the district providing the balance. The department also initiated a policy of two-roomed schools to meet the crowded pressure in some districts. Under this policy the province bore part of the increased cost by providing a double grant for the second teacher and an extra grant of \$250 to furnish the second room so that it might be used also as a community hall. In October about 40 such schools were under way. The Government also established a plan whereby students aspiring to the teaching profession, but with insufficient means, could borrow enough money from the Gov-

ernment to put themselves through the normal school. As a result, within a week, at two normal schools opening with 180 students, 115 more were added to the rolls. It was the intention of the Department to supply a flag to every school in the province and the Department would insist on each school having a flag-pole. "We will select," the Minister said, "suitable dates, say about 20, throughout the school year, on which the flag will be raised. These dates will be occasions on which British peoples made unselfish contributions to human liberty."

The Government aid for education in the various provinces of Canada per pupil was as follows:—Saskatchewan, \$4.82; New Brunswick, \$3.16; Nova Scotia, \$2.47; Quebec, \$2.25; and Ontario, \$1.47.

HISTORICUS.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, October 7.

INDIAN IMMIGRATION INTO NEW ZEALAND.

IT is to be feared that India must face further trouble on the immigration question, for the *Times* correspondent at Wellington, New Zealand, telegraphing on September 30, states that the Immigration Restriction Bill has been passed. The Bill replaces the previous educational test by a test of suitability to become settlers in the Dominion. Intending non-British immigrants are required to make application from their own country for permission to land. The Minister of Customs is given absolute power with regard to the issue of permits. Certain nations may be exempted, and Mr. Massey, the Prime Minister, indicated that this will probably be done in the case of the United States, France and Belgium. The Labour Party opposed the granting to the Minister of absolute power, and proposed instead a severe education test and a limitation of the number of Asiatics allowed to enter, a proposal that was rejected. The New Zealand Bill will almost certainly have to be reserved for the expression of the views of the Crown, upon the advice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and, I understand, the Indians Overseas Association, which has been in correspondence with the India Office on the question, has been informed that the Department was in communication thereon with the Colonial Office. By the last mail from New Zealand the Association learnt that, upon the suggestion of Mr. D. M. Manilal, who, as your readers will remember, was recently deported from Fiji, and who is now in New Zealand, a Joint Indian and European deputation, organized by the Britain and India Association of New Zealand, waited upon the Minister in charge of the Bill, and made strong representations, which were received in a friendly spirit; but it does not seem, so far as can be judged from telegraphic reports, that these have had much practical effect. It

would thus appear that New Zealand has gone the way of South Africa. where, too, the education test has been subordinated to a test of economic fitness, whereof the Minister of the Interior is alone the judge. It is of interest to note that New Zealand is slowly bringing Fiji within its orbit and is becoming increasingly dependent upon this Colony for her sugar supply. The recent assistance given by the New Zealand Government to the Government of Fiji in the forcible suppression of the Indian workers' economic strike will be well within the public recollection in India, and it is of interest to note that the New Zealand Parliament has just approved of the maintenance of the system of indenture in regard to the Samoan Islands, over which they have been given a Mandate by the League of Nations. It is quite clear, therefore, that in an advanced democratic Dominion such as New Zealand, coloured labour is regarded as desirable only in so far as it can be usefully exploited in the interests of the white capitalists and workers, and provided that it can be employed in servile conditions. India should therefore very narrowly watch the process by which New Zealand hopes to swallow Fiji, with its very large Indian population and Indian interests. It does not seem in the least likely that the New Zealanders will be at all enamoured of Mr. Andrews's former project of converting Fiji into an Indian colony, and it is sincerely to be hoped that Indian public men will take warning in time, and, if on this ground alone, refuse to allow any more unfortunate countrymen of theirs to proceed to Fiji. In similar fashion, apart from all other reasons, they should be very careful of their commitments in regard to British Guiana and the West Indies, which are coming increasingly under the economic control of Canada.

AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE.

From time to time we have heard positively fascinating reports of the intentions at an early date on the part of the American Administration to confer large powers of self-determination upon the Philippines. The happy-hearted creatures who have circulated abroad this optimistic news will be sadly disillusioned, and the cynics and pessimists correspondingly confirmed in their views, by a despatch recently sent from Manila to the *Times* by its correspondent. He says that the arrival in that city of a party of United States Congressmen has brought the question of Philippine independence to almost white heat. The American residents, as may be well imagined, are almost unanimously opposed to independence. "They had a hand in the taking and making of the Philippines, and they have more than a life-interest in their future. They have acquired wealth, power, and position." There you have it all in a nutshell. The American argument is that a strong, stable, and experienced Government is the first essential for the development of these resources. The Filipinos, it is claimed, are phy-

sically and temperamentally unfitted for national independence. Then, too, there is Japan not so far away, and—well, we have heard it all before many a time. Naturally, since the arrival of the Congressional party, American opposition to the Filipino demand has crystallised, and a strong anti-independence policy has been developed through the agency of a disinterested Press! Whilst it is admitted that from time to time promises or statements "of the alleged intention of the United States to grant independence to the Filipinos when they are fitted for it" have been made by certain individuals, it is claimed that such promises have been irresponsible and without authority, inasmuch as Spain, by article 3 of the Treaty, ceded the Philippines to the United States, the people of which alone, by an Amendment of the Constitution, and not the President or even Congress, has the power to grant independence. But the fact seems to emerge, from this statement, that the disinterested American settlers are not going, if they can help it, to let the American people make fools of themselves, however the Filipinos may give evidence of their fitness for independence. It is not to be surprised at that the determined and uncompromising attitude of the American newspapers in Manila has been answered by bitter denunciation from the Filipino Press, and that, just before the despatch was sent, the Filipino printers and typesetters employed by the three American dailies in Manila walked out on strike, leaving the city without newspapers printed in the English-American language, save for an emergency cable-sheet. And of such is the kingdom of Heaven! Evidently, the United States are going to have some trouble in the Philippines before they have got through with their adventure in Imperialism. If it does not come from the Filipinos it will assuredly come from the American settlers.

JAPAN-CANADA AGREEMENT.

Speaking of the Japanese question reminds us that America is likely to have a great deal of anxiety on that score in California, an anxiety that is now being shared, so far as British Columbia is concerned, by the Dominion of Canada. The Montreal correspondent of the *Morning Post* informs us that such discussion as has taken place relative to the Anglo-Japanese Treaty and its extension is being followed with close interest in Dominion circles. If the terms are satisfactory—whatever that may mean—it is predicted that Canada will offer no objection to the general principle of renewal, but a serious obstacle is foreseen in any claim to equal international status which Japan may put forward. The present relations between Japan and Canada are regulated by the arrangement negotiated by Mr. Demieux, then a member of the Dominion Government, in 1907. He is now in Opposition, and has given public expression to his views on the renewal of the Treaty in the course of an interview. He strongly supports the Alliance. He says that the Japanese have

lived up to the letter and the spirit of the Japan-Canada agreement, as to whose enforcement Canada has had no trouble whatever. He considers that if the Alliance be broken, it will rejuvenate the "Asia for the Asiatics" party, and the consequence would be that from Japan, through Korea, China and Tibet, there would be an alignment of forces which in the end might result in the disruption of British power in India.

BOMBAY LABOUR DEPARTMENT.

It is stated that Mr. E. C. Ramsbottom, of the Ministry of Labour, will shortly proceed to Bombay to assist in organizing a new Labour Department which the Bombay Government has decided upon in view of the frequency of strikes in the Presidency. Bombay is a good deal before us at this moment, if one may judge from a despatch from the Calcutta correspondent of the *Morning Post*, dated the 5th. After quoting Mr. Wadia's pessimistic views on the industrial future of India, he proceeds to quote the following remarks of Mr. Jehangir Petit:—

"Finding that the close of the war left the balance of trade highly favourable to India to pay which England had not sufficient gold in her coffers, and for which she wished to pay as little as possible, every available method was studiously devised and deliberately resorted to by an all powerful, almost absolute Government to substantially reduce, if not altogether wipe out, the balance of trade in favour of India. Measure after measure that has been enacted since the beginning of the war in currency and exchange methods can easily be explained and understood when examined in the light of this fact." Of course, the correspondent does not approve of these views, but, he remarks, constant criticism tells, with the result that a sinister motive is now sought for in any step, such as this week's release of wheat for export. The general feeling (probably among Anglo-Indian merchants in Calcutta) seems to be, he adds, that the Government are now trying to pursue simultaneously two incompatible trade policies, and that unless some one imparts firmness to its counsels the result will be commercial chaos.

MR. MONTAGU'S ILLNESS.

Mr. Montagu being ill is again away from the India Office. It is announced that his indisposition is slight, but it was similarly announced when he had to take long leave in the early months of this year. It is stated that his return to duty is expected at the end of a fortnight, and one may hope that this time the expectation will be fulfilled, in view of the critical condition of affairs in India. Mr. Montagu cannot have been very happy over the thundering denunciation of the proposals regarding the Army in India of the Esher Committee's Report by the *Times*. No ultra-Nationalist Indian paper could have written more strongly on the subject. The proposals, so far as the main argument is concerned, are condemned as undemocratic, unconstitutional, unsound, and in flagrant conflict with the policy laid down in the declara-

tion of 1917. Mr. Montagu or the Government or both are charged with having given some sort of approval—which Mr. Montagu, in a communication to the Press, states is very limited indeed, and contingent upon the reception by the Cabinet of the complete Report—to the main proposals and conclusions, and altogether, Lord Esher and his colleagues—before the appointment of the Indian members—are badly handled. It is singularly unfortunate that the practical proposals made by Sir Krishna Gupta should be, to all intents and purposes, nullified by the separate Minute of Sir Umar Hayat Khan. But that seems to be the general fate of things Indian, save in the exceptional case of the unanimous Minority Report of the Hunter Committee.

IRISH AFFAIRS.

As to domestic politics, the Irish question is being handled, in their various manners, by Viscount Grey, Viscount Morley, Mr. Asquith, Lord Salisbury, Mr. Arthur Henderson, and the Prime Minister. It is doubtful, however, whether anything very much will immediately come of the discussions. The coal-strike is still in the balance, but, on the whole, it is not believed that the country will be plunged into a disastrous industrial and economic struggle at the beginning of what promises in any event to be one of the most difficult winters that this country has had to face.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CONDITIONS IN FIJI.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—I read your note concerning Fiji in your issue of the 22nd of July.

If the Commission goes to Fiji, I very much doubt if they can learn anything more on the spot than what the returned Indian immigrants have already told the Indian public.

When Mr. Andrews was in Fiji last time, he was threatened by the then Governor with deportation etc. and the whites said they would shoot him. I would be surprised if Mr. Andrews or any other impartial man can land in Fiji now or having landed remain long enough for enquiry. So uncontrollable is the white mob of returned soldiers and sailors in Fiji.

They forced the hands of the Government to serve the prohibition order on me and my wife, and the Fiji Government were impotent to protect me as they had previously been to protect certain naturalized British subjects of German origin and also the Labour Representatives of the New Zealand Parliamentary Party who were clearly told they would be "tarred and feathered" if they would land to see me a second time.—Yours etc.

MANILAL M. DOCTOR.

Te Awamutu, Kihikihi,
New Zealand,
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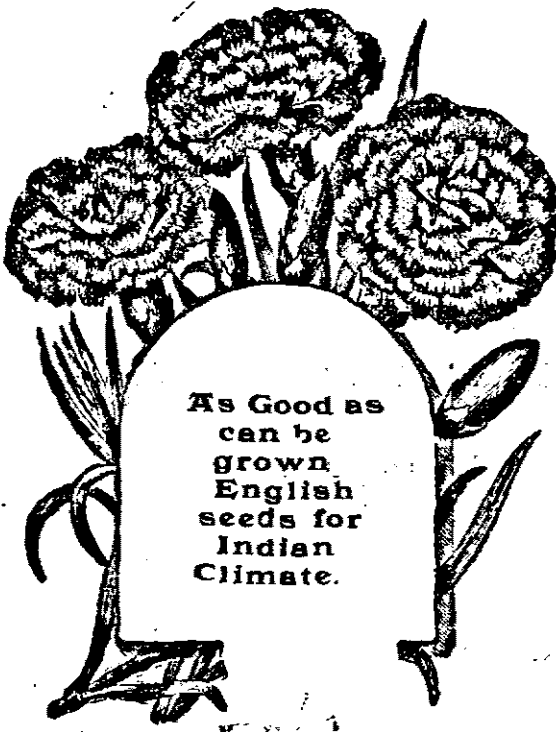
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Nomination of Candidates.

Statement showing the names of candidates for the Poona City Non-Mohamedan Urban Constituency, who have been validly nominated, and symbols allotted to each candidate under Regulation 5 clause (1) part III of the Electoral Regulations.

Serial No.	Name of the candidate.	Symbol allotted to candidate.
1.	Apte, Laxman Janardan.	... Horse.
2.	Gupte, Vasudeo Rajaram.	... Tiger.
3.	Khopkar, Vinayak Narayan.	... Elephant.
4.	Manurkar, Sidharam Anna.	... Sword.
5.	Shinde, Vithal Ramji.	... Flag.
6.	Sule, Raghunath Shripat.	... Cart.

Statement showing the names of candidates for the Poona District Non-Mohamedan Rural Constituency, who have been validly nominated and the colours allotted to candidate under Regulation 5 Clause (1) part III of the Electoral Regulations.

Serial No.	Name of the candidate.	Colour allotted to candidate.
1.	Deshmukh, Harjirao Janrao.	... Black.
2.	Godbole, Kashinatha Ramchandra.	White.
3.	Gokhale, Laxman Raghunath.	... Yellow.
4.	Kalbhorr, Gangaji Mukundrao.	... Red.
5.	Khedkar, Raghunath Vithal.	... Green.

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