

THE Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY.

VOL. III., No. 47.]

POONA—THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1920.

[ANNUAL SUBEN. RS. 6

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	553
ARTICLE :—	
University Extension Movement	555
SPECIAL ARTICLES:—	
Lord Willingdon's Mistake. By V. S. Ramaswami, B. A., B. L., Editor, the "Citizen"	556
Revision of the Accounts System. By the Hon'ble Professor V. G. Kale, M. A.	557
Some Morals from Recent Strikes. By Professor V. N. Godbole, M. A.	559
Hindu Law in the New Era.—The Disabilities of Women. By Lex	560
CORRESPONDENCE :	
Esher Committee's Report	562
SELECTION :—	
The Congress Creed	563

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IT is much to be regretted that, despite the warnings in the public press, Government have saddled the country with four executive councillors in the three presidencies. We had hoped that, in Bombay at any rate the coincidence of the retirement of one member on the eve of the new régime would have made it unnecessary to have two civilian members. The choice of the new Indian members appointed to the executive council in these provinces—Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Abdur Rahim and Mr. K. Srinivasa Aiyengar—will give complete satisfaction. The members in the Central Provinces, Assam and United Provinces will also be acceptable to the public. The selection of the Punjab will arouse, we are afraid, keen dissatisfaction. The appointment of two European members and one Indian member to the Bihar and Orissa Council, evidently because the Governor there is an Indian, shows how mean-minded Government can become. The direction of the Joint Select Committee in the matter is absolute that, except where a civilian member is an Indian, there must be an equality of the Indian and the European elements in the executive councils. The nationality of the Governor can have no reference to the composition of his council, and the Government's action is contrary to the Committee's recommendation. The reflection that this will suggest to Lord Sinha will be none too flattering to him, and Government have herein shown a pettiness of which none but the bureaucracy in India are capable.

THERE are several points worthy of note in the Royal Instrument of Instructions which have been issued to the Governors. Joint deliberation is required between the executive council and the ministry on all important questions, though the final decision is to rest either with the one or with the other half of Government. The report of the Joint Select Committee had laid the greatest stress on this matter, and it has now been specifically provided for in the Governors' Instructions. It will be seen that an attempt is here made to minimise the evils of dyarchy as much as possible and to restore unity of Government consistently with the general framework of the Act. Another point is in regard to the position of the ministers vis-à-vis the Governor. The Select Committee laid down in respect to this matter that the Governor should accept the policy of the ministers whenever possible, and "if he finds himself compelled to act against their advice, it will only be in circumstances roughly analogous to those in which he has to override his executive councils"—the circumstances being indicated in the Instructions. Now, the Instrument of Instructions has this:—

"In considering a minister's advice and deciding whether or not there is sufficient cause in any case to dissent from his opinion, you shall have due regard to his relations with the legislative council and to the wishes of the people of the presidency or province, as expressed by their representatives therein."

* * *

THIS was interpreted by Lord Sinha in Bombay as conferring upon the ministers power exactly equal in extent to that enjoyed by the ministers in popularly governed countries. He explained:

"It will be the duty of the Governor if he considers that any action of his ministers is contrary to the wishes of the legislative council to ask him to resign his position if necessary. If, on the other hand, he thinks that the legislative council and the ministers are advocating a view which is opposed to the wishes of the country, it will again be his duty to dissolve that council and to obtain from the country at large its expression of opinion on the question. . . . The scheme of the Act does (in regard to the relations between the Governor and the ministers) exactly what the convention is, say, in England."

The circumstances in which the Governor could use his extraordinary power to pass legislation which had not received the assent of the council ought also to have been indicated in the Instrument of Instructions, but they are not. The M.-C. Report had suggested that the reasons justifying the exercise of the certification power should be included in the Instructions.

IT is matter for satisfaction that no specific mention is made in the Instructions of the Governor's duty of safeguarding the interests of Europeans and Anglo-Indians or of the protection of missionary institutions against the possible enactment of a conscience clause, as the Government of India had proposed. No one would ever think of invading their legitimate rights. The clause in the Instructions in regard to the protection afforded to the civil services specially charges the Governor to safeguard the members of the services "in the enjoyment of all recognised rights and privileges." This phraseology which is borrowed from the Southborough Committee's Report and the Government of India's draft Instructions was taken strong exception to in this country as being much too wide. Mr. Sastri pointed out in his evidence before the Joint Committee that the Governor might insist, under this clause, on the retention of the undoubted privilege now enjoyed by the officials in some provinces of pressing carts and conveyances in the service. Narrowly interpreted, the wording of the clause would enable the Governor to use power in cases in which he could not use it at present. This defective phraseology is retained.

* * *

IN a manifesto issued by Messrs. A. Rangaswami Aiyengar and Satyamurti, they declare themselves thoroughly against educational non-co-operation. They disapprove of the withdrawal of a single student from school till provision is made for his tuition elsewhere; they disapprove of the wholesale condemnation, which is now the fashion, of the present educational system as having produced a slave mentality. The existence of the present national awakening is, according to them, sufficient refutation of such condemnation. Further, they express their emphatic disapproval—and this will come upon the country as a surprise—"of the methods of appealing to the students themselves direct to take the initiative" in boycotting schools. They think private arbitration courts cannot be successfully substituted for the King's courts, and it would be unwise to divert our limited energy now in establishing private courts. Their chief complaint against non-co-operation is that it has caused a paralysis of the political activities of most of the Nationalists, which is best exemplified in their own case.

* * *

IT is well-known that the Nationalists, who as a body are opposed to the non-co-operation programme placed before the country by Mr. Gandhi, intend to propose a rival programme of their own to the Nagpur Congress. For short, their programme seems to be that, instead of the four stages formulated by Mr. Gandhi being launched successively after the foregoing have been carried into effect, all of them should be accepted by the Congress and an attempt be made to enforce all the items simultaneously. This plan appears to have been hit upon by Mr. C. R. Das and the other Nationalists who met in a private confer-

ence some time ago. Messrs. Aiyengar and Satyamurti also give their adhesion to it. They are sore that, under Mr. Gandhi's plan, the non-payment of taxes has been postponed to the very end and that civil disobedience is altogether ruled out. They want both these items included in non-co-operation, all forming at once the first step. The Deccan Nationalists are also game for this. Mr. Kelkar, with the noted sympathy of his class for the masses, writes in the *Kesari*: "Why should Mr. Gandhi be so partial as to confine his movement practically to the educated classes? We must show our unselfishness by extending its scope so as to include the illiterate ryots in it; let them also practise non-co-operation by refusing to pay taxes while the educated classes are expected to withdraw children from schools or suspend their legal practice." It is something that the Deccan Nationalists, who never thought of the masses when it was a matter of conferring rights, do not lose sight of them when it is a matter of imposing sacrifices.

* * *

THE success which has attended the boycott of educational institutions or the boycott of law courts is not very exhilarating; and one may doubt if the whole-hog policy suggested by the Nationalists of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, however perfect it may look on paper, will be at all put into practice anywhere. But such difficulties never deter our Nationalist stalwarts. What does it matter if non-co-operation remains unpractised? Is it not a glorious thing that the whole country should adopt, though it be only in theory, a full programme of non-co-operation and that all the imperfections in Mr. Gandhi's timid policy should be removed? Mr. Gandhi thinks too much of the execution of his plans to make them logical and bold enough to satisfy the Nationalists, whose one care is that the programme should be rounded and thoroughly symmetrical. Mr. Gandhi realises that non-violence is the very essence of non-co-operation, and that, it being so, the movement must be progressive; for non-payment of taxes which, according to his plan, is to come at the end after the people have been taught to suffer quietly for the sake of a cause, will set the country ablaze if it were to be taken in hand without due preparation. But what is it to those who never want it practised? If, by extending the doctrine, its nonpractice becomes the more marked, so much the better; for then no one will notice what is now the most pronounced feature of the current politics, the want of performance on the part of the leading Nationalists, who are so very eager in their platonic support of the movement. The only weak point in this manoeuvre is that none is so simple as not to see that those who outwardly urge the extension of the movement really intend to deal it a fatal blow. It were to be wished that, at any rate where Mr. Gandhi is concerned, all would play the game.

* * *

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION MOVEMENT.

OF the adult education movements that originated and spread in England during the last three quarters of a century, the University Extension movement played the most considerable part in stimulating an interest in higher education among the middle and working class people, who were so long shut out from it owing to their inability to join any of the universities. The movement created in them a keen desire for taking a larger share than before in the grave problems of communal and civil life and of administration. It was largely instrumental in the establishment of many new colleges and even universities in the country and also in the widening of the sphere of work of the old universities like Oxford and Cambridge. The movement also discovered many a hidden talent in the land and produced a number of "serious" students amongst the working classes, some of whom made their way even to universities, but whose intelligence and natural abilities would have been otherwise lost to the country for want of opportunity of obtaining higher education. It further proved a connecting link between the universities and the people who were so long precluded from entering their portals. Finally, it opened out an avenue for the acquirement of culture to those who were till then without it owing to their not getting any kind of higher education at all.

We are on the threshold of a new era of reconstruction. We, too, like the English people, shall have to solve at an early date the intricate problem of adult education. The adults form a very large bulk of the illiterate people in the country; and having now secured the right of vote, it is they on whose education, ability and capacity will greatly depend the success or otherwise of the new reforms. We must, therefore, begin to think, and think seriously from to-day, about the methods and the means by which our adult population can be not only made literate, but also brought under the influence of our universities and taught their responsibilities as citizens. The universities cannot be allowed to remain satisfied with the work they are doing at present. They will have to extend their sphere of activities much beyond their present limits. It is, therefore, well to study, in some of its important aspects, the University Extension movement which played such a decisive part in solving the problem of adult education in England.

In the beginning of the latter half of the nineteenth century, two most significant developments took place in the educational world of England, viz. the foundation of working men's colleges and the revival of university education. While the first paved the way for intellectual endeavour and corporate life among the adult students, the second brought about the reform of the old, and the establishment of new, universities, and, what is more important, led to a movement to extend the influence of university teaching among men and

women who had been themselves unable to study in a university. This movement is known as the University Extension movement. Though it had a wider meaning before, now it means extra-mural lectures and classes organised by university authorities for students who are not members of any university. In its initial stages, the extension movement consisted only of lectures, delivered at no fixed intervals by university lecturers on some subjects in which people were interested. They created some enthusiasm in the people and also a desire on their part to acquire a knowledge of higher subjects which they had no opportunity of doing hitherto. But these isolated lectures on different subjects were necessarily unsystematic. To remedy this defect, a system of regular courses of lectures was adopted. The courses consisted, as a rule, of units of six, twelve or sometimes twenty-four lectures delivered at weekly or fortnightly intervals. They comprised subjects mostly drawn from ancient or modern history, literature, natural science, political science, economics and arts. This method proved to be an improvement upon the old one in that it could achieve to a great extent one of the main objects of the movement, viz. the stimulation of intellectual endeavour on the part of the people. But it lacked the element of inducing the habit of serious study in the minds of the people. A further change was, therefore, made, viz. that lectures were preceded or followed by classes, where those who were really desirous of carrying on serious study on acquiring deeper knowledge than what could be obtained by means of lectures alone could come and meet the lecturers and discuss with them the intricate problems which confronted them during the course of their studies. The initiative in giving this practical form to the extension movement was taken by Prof. James Stuart, M. P. He was touring in 1867 and 1868 in the north of England delivering lectures before the working class men and women. The interest his lectures aroused among his audience led him to consider the possibility of founding what he called a "peripatetic university" for working-class people, which should improve upon previous experiments by substituting continuous courses for isolated lectures, by requiring paper work and by being followed or preceded by a class in which students and lecturers could meet informally. Cambridge adopted this scheme in 1873 and immediately arranged three courses of twenty-four lectures at three different centres. London followed suit in 1876; Oxford stepped in in 1878; and soon after all the other universities accepted and gave a practical form to Prof. Stuart's extension scheme. Since then a number of extension lectures are arranged at important industrial and other centres and to most of these regular classes are attached. Lecturers come here, see their pupils, solve their difficulties, give them home work in the form of some questions to be answered, and correct those that are already solved. In this

way a great impetus is given both to the formation of habits of serious study and to the attainment of culture.

The management of these classes was solely entrusted to the local committees started specially for the purpose. They used to select the time, the place, the subject, and even the duration of lectures. The work of raising funds was also committed to their charge. They were quite free to change a subject if they thought it necessary to do so. The universities were connected with the extension movement in this sense that they had a central body like the University Extension Delegacy whose function was to appoint new lecturers, see whether the courses were properly conducted, examine the extension students and in a few cases give certificates or diplomas to the successful candidates. The universities helped the extension students by issuing books from their libraries also.

So far as the financial aspect of the movement goes, the universities bear only the cost of the central bodies. The remaining costs have got to be met by those attending these lectures and by local subscriptions. It is obvious that in order to pay their way, these lectures must attract large audiences; and in order to draw large audiences, the lectures must be of a kind to arouse a wide, even though superficial, interest. From this necessity two consequences have followed. The first is that short courses of lectures on different subjects are the general rule, with the result that one of the fundamental conceptions of the movement, *viz.* that of serious study, is ignored. The second is that the necessity of attracting large audiences has made it exceedingly difficult for the lecturer to establish any intimate relations with the students. Serious attempts are therefore, being made to remove this financial drawback and other defects in the movement. It has been urged by more than one committee that sat in England to consider and suggest measures to solve the problem of adult education, that the universities should extend their grants to this part of their activities in a much more liberal way than before. Not only are they pressed to contribute more money for adult education, but they are asked to finance it with due regard to the educational value of this movement and on the basic principle that extra-mural movements are no less important than, intra-mural movements. Hitherto the usual practice of the universities was to give as much money to adult education as they could after financing all other intra-mural activities. But now they have been asked to change this angle of vision and to look to this movement as an obligatory and essential part of their activities and not merely as an appendage to their intra-mural work. It is also urged that the extension movement should not be considered as an attempt to impart higher education to those who could not join any of the universities, but the education received with its help should be a passport to enter the portals of the universities. These views are

being urged upon the authorities and the people with all the weight of learning, and experience of those who served on the various adult education committees, and they are accepted by some of the universities with some modifications to suit the local requirements.

This will briefly show how the University Extension movement has developed in England from its crude beginning. India will do well to adopt this movement and work seriously in the direction of educating the adult population and thus ameliorating its political, social, educational and industrial condition. It is high time to begin work in this direction if we have really the interests of our backward people at heart.

LORD WILLINGDON'S MISTAKE.

AMONG the provincial Governors in India Lord Willingdon has been the first to form his ministry under the Reform Scheme. Almost the first operative step in the inauguration of the new dispensation that he has taken has been received in the Madras Presidency with surprise and disappointment by all except those who describe themselves as followers of the *Justice* party. His Excellency has selected Messrs. A. Subbarayulu Reddiar, P. Ramarayaningar and Venkata Reddi Naidu to form the Cabinet on the advice of Sir P. Theagaraya Chettiar, the leader of the *Justice* party, whom the Governor calls "the winning party." To one unacquainted with the intricacies of Madras politics, it is perhaps necessary to say that the non-Brahman community is divided in politics into two great divisions, one of whom would, more than the other, introduce into the Government the system of communal discrimination in all its unwelcome rigour. At the recent elections this *Justice* party secured about 20 to 25 seats out of a total of 65 in the general territorial electorates. Of the others 16 were Brahmans and the rest belonged to the non-Brahman community. Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans, Muhammadans, landholders and the commercial community have their own representatives, carrying the total elected strength to 97. The Governor, on analysing the results, came to the conclusion that it was Sir P. T. Chettiar's party that won at the polls and consequently he asked that party to nominate the ministers. This decision has come upon the public as a thunderbolt because it was so obvious that the *Justice* party, far from having secured the majority, had very good reasons to be dissatisfied with the reception accorded by the country to their principles. The very serious mistake committed by His Excellency was that he confounded the *Justice* party with non-Brahmans; whereas, as a matter of fact, one has nothing to do with the other, so far as emphasis on exclusive communal interests is concerned. The central fact that the non-Brahmans who did not agree with the *Justice* propaganda and Brahmans were together very much larger in number than the Chettiar party and were bound together

by common aims and aspirations was strangely and unaccountably ignored by Lord Willingdon.

The European party system based on differences of outlook and method has yet to take root in India, and parties divided on political questions can only begin to appear after some years of experience in the legislatures. It was, therefore, a matter of the greatest importance that the formation of the ministry should have been so done as would help in the creation of sound public opinion divided not on communal or sectional bias and prejudices, but on live political problems. The essence of responsible government implies the absence of racial cleavages. Otherwise a condition of oppressive domination by one section over another would result in the lasting injury to the body politic and would destroy the beneficial effect of the territorial principle of franchise. As the Montagu Report has it, it is of fundamental importance that the State should not arrange its members in any way "which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself." It is, therefore, a most unhappy circumstance that Lord Willingdon's inaugural move should be in a direction which will perpetuate class divisions and not obliterate them. The Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms brings out clearly and forcibly the dangers of such a cleavage:

"Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur. The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves, it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short-sighted."

The insidious nature of Lord Willingdon's disastrous move is that what was sought to be prevented on high national grounds by denying communal electorates has now been secured by his misguided application of the majority rule. It must be remembered that the *Justice* party are not in the majority and that it is very harmful, in the enduring interests of the whole community, to base the formation of the ministry on communal considerations. No wonder that there is a feeling in the Madras Presidency that more lies behind the method adopted by Lord Willingdon than may appear on the surface and that the bureaucracy are bent upon reintroducing and developing the policy of divide and rule that was under a state of suspended animation for the last two years.

It is an elementary maxim of political science that, under a system of representative government based on a wide franchise, the arrangement of parties should be such that political power may pass not to particular strata or divisions of society but to representatives of all classes and creeds. The object of such a principle is obviously to prevent the growth of sectional prejudices. It was the duty of Lord Willingdon, therefore, to try to

form such a ministry as would by compromise and adjustment draw up and stand by the common political programme. A Coalition Cabinet of the best elected representatives formed irrespective of caste, creed or community was the only plan that would have satisfied the conditions existing in Madras. It is idle to contend that such a Coalition could not have been formed, even supposing that the *Justice* party threatened to stand aloof, for the important fact must ever be remembered—and no sufficient emphasis can be laid upon it—that among the non-Brahman councillors there are many who do not favour the *Justice* politics and would gladly and cordially co-operate with a section of the councillors who stand for general political uplift in preference to the parading of communal prejudices. Lord Willingdon is generally reputed to be out of sympathy with the communal principle in politics, and it is, therefore, all the more remarkable that he should have been a victim to clever manipulation and manœuvring by his advisers who, to the lasting discredit of Madras, misled the Governor by false analogies and misapplication of parliamentary traditions. The Indo-British Association politics, which figured so prominently in England in 1919, reached its culmination in Madras in the days preceding the recent elections by Sir P. Theagaraya Chettiar openly and shamefacedly appealing to the worst instincts of his non-Brahman countrymen and asking them not to vote for and trust a Brahman.

A movement based upon hatred is being pushed forward by Lord Willingdon who has deplorably misapplied the canons of responsible government to the conditions in Madras. It is extremely difficult to say that His Excellency has followed the Instrument of Instructions given by the Royal Sign Manual in the spirit in which it has been drafted. The Instrument says:

"And whereas it is our will and pleasure that in the execution of the office of Governor in and over the Presidency of — you shall further the purposes of the said Act, to the end that the institutions and methods of government therein provided shall be laid upon the best and surest foundations, that the people of the said Presidency shall acquire such habits of political action and respect such conventions as will best and soonest fit them for self-government and that our authority and the authority of our Governor-General in Council shall be duly maintained.

"You shall do all that lies in your power to maintain standards of good administration, to encourage religious toleration, co-operation and good will among all classes and creeds, to ensure the probity of public finance and the solvency of the presidency or province and to promote all measures tending for the moral, social and industrial welfare of the people and tending to fit all classes of the population without distinction to take their due share in the public life and government of the country."

V. S. RAMASWAMI,
Editor, *The Citizen*.

REVISION OF THE ACCOUNTS SYSTEM.

THE decentralization of Indian finance caused by the constitutional reforms has rendered necessary the introduction of important changes in the system of accounts so far followed by the Government

of India. The accounts of the Central Government and those of the Provincial Governments have to be separated and the heads of revenue and expenditure have to be rearranged and readjusted in several important instances. The proposed changes in the system of accounts must, of course, be of a technical character, but the presentation of the accounts of the State is not only a matter of the convenience of Government departments, but has a good deal of interest from the point of view of the public which wants information about the country's finance placed before it in a clear and instructive manner. The late Mr. Gokhale had, on several occasions, to indicate defects in the prevailing method of presenting the financial statement and the accounts of the Government of India and the latter found it necessary to remove some of those which had been criticized. In the present instance, the primary object of Government is obviously to recast its accounts system so as to meet the needs of the change which has come over the relations between the Central Government and the Governments of the Provinces. In doing so, however, it appears to have introduced some other alterations that are calculated to make the accounts more clear and informing.

Those who have perused the financial statements and accounts of the Government of India are familiar with their traditional method of showing the Imperial and Provincial heads of revenue and expenditure separately side by side and of combining the two into Imperial totals to present to the reader a view of the national financial position. This system had its origin and justification in the theory worshipped by the Government of India that all State revenues belonged to itself and that the Provincial Governments had no revenues of their own. The latter received shares of divided heads of revenue and lump assignments from Imperial revenues in their capacity as subordinate administrative authorities. But the position of the Provincial Governments has now undergone a radical change. They will have allocated to them definite and independent sources of revenue. Consequently it will no longer be necessary to record together the imperial and provincial transactions against each head of account; and the estimates and accounts of the Government of India will have reference only to the transactions of the Central Government though "all the moneys received from the resources of the provincial revenue will be paid to the public account of which the Governor-General in Council will continue to be the custodian." The division of functions between the Central and Local Governments will further necessitate the keeping of separate accounts of all revenues realised and expenditure incurred in England with reference to the several Governments; and these receipts and expenditure will no longer be treated as imperial, irrespective of whether they pertain to an imperial, provincial or divided head.

In showing revenue from the railways, the

practice so far followed has been to deduct the working expenses from the gross receipts, and to put down the net receipts on the revenue side of the account. The interest charges incurred on the capital sunk in the railways are indeed included in the net receipts and we do not get a clear idea of the true profit from that State enterprise. But the figures in connection with irrigation works and posts and telegraphs are gross, and it has now been decided to adopt the same procedure in the case of these departments as in that of the railways. The "working expenses of the irrigation works and the expenditure on revenue account in respect of the posts and telegraphs will be shown in the accounts as a deduction from revenue, interest charges relative to the former remaining on the expenditure side." As, under the new régime, divided heads of revenue will cease and there will be no lump assignments, transfers between imperial and provincial revenues will be discontinued in the accounts and will be replaced by fixed contributions from Provincial Governments to the Central Government and also fixed assignments in consideration of the allocation to the Provinces of a share in the revenue realized upon taxation on incomes. The responsibility of finding funds for famine insurance will be thrown upon the Governments of Provinces who will be required to set aside a fixed sum every year for the purpose, and "the appropriation of one million pounds a year hitherto made from imperial revenue for famine relief and insurance will disappear" and as a consequence the head 'Reduction and Avoidance of Debt.' Important changes are foreshadowed in the system of casting and keeping irrigation works accounts, and the present distinction between major and minor works will be substituted by one based on the productivity of the works. A new major head 'currency' has been opened on both the revenue and the expenditure side to bring together the receipts and charges in connection with the currency department which are scattered over several heads at present. 'Judicial' and 'non-judicial' stamps are distinguished as sources of revenue and heads of expenditure, and the head 'education' has been split up into five sub-heads. The head 'provincial rates' disappears, as also those relating to refunds and drawbacks and assignments and compensations. The designation of some of the existing major heads will be altered and 'income tax' and 'sanitation' will appear as 'taxes on income' and 'public health.' Capital and revenue accounts of railways and irrigation will be shown in one place to make it possible for the reader to obtain an entire view of the position of the commercial services. In the accounts of the Provinces, expenditure on reserved and transferred subjects will be distinguished; and noted and non-noted expenditure will be separately shown in the cases of the Central as well as the Provincial Governments. Government has given the assurance that the detailed statements in the accounts will be revised with a view to make them more intelli-

gible to the general public and that explanatory notes will be included in each statement or group of statements. It is expected that greater interest will be taken by the public in the financial situation of the country, and the changes brought about and contemplated by Government in their system of accounts are calculated to be helpful in that regard. Finance must always be a complex affair, but it need not be a mystery to the curious; and every effort has to be made to simplify the statements of accounts submitted to the public and to render them more intelligible. Government has taken a step in the right direction by availing itself of the opportunity of the changes called for by the constitutional reforms to improve the prevailing system in certain places. More changes will be demanded in the light of experience, and it is hoped the demand will be promptly and generously met.

V. G. KALE.

SOME MORALS FROM THE RECENT STRIKES.

THE new régime of strikes inaugurated in India ought to set all of us thinking about the suitability of this weapon which has been forged by the industrialism of the West. It seems as if we must perforce go through the whole gamut of changes traversed by capitalism in Europe. But the question is, should we? What is the good of our coming late in the day if we do not take a leaf out of the book of the West.

There is no need to dilate on the incalculable harm done by strikes and the shock they send through society. We have recently realised the stunting effect on the trade and commerce of Bombay of the postal strike and the strike of the mill-hands. We do not intend to prejudge the question of the merits of the case in any individual dispute. In many cases the strikers' demands were reasonable and it may be that they would not have been met except by a resort to this deadly weapon. We have called the weapon deadly with a full sense of responsibility; the weapon is none the less deadly because it is necessary and inevitable. We do not question the right of any body of employees to strike when the terms of the contract of labour do not suit them. What we want to emphasize is the shock given to the delicate mechanism of modern societies by this method of settling disputes.

Even in the West where this weapon has been pretty freely used during the last century, some people have begun to recognize the need for some more amicable method of settling disputes. Arbitration courts have been set up and in many cases have proved to be very successful. But arbitration presupposes that the workers are properly organized and are able to send accredited representatives to sit on the arbitration board whose advice they will be willing to accept without demur. It is, therefore, the duty of all interested in the economic prosperity of the country to set up such organizations without the least delay. The Govern-

ment themselves in their capacity of employers ought to lead the way. The present salaries and wages were fixed when the rupee had three times as much purchasing power as now; and to continue paying the same is the surest invitation to discontent and ill-will. The higher-grade salaries have been revised and the lower-grade ones ought to follow suit. Budget excuses salve no conscience.

Considering how closely Socialism and strikes are connected, it is worth while remembering that we must be very cautious in spreading the propaganda of Socialism in India. It is easy to raise the ghost of Socialism, but very difficult to exorcise it. We are glad that—to use a current phrase—labour has come into its own, but labour should remember that to ask more wages than what the capitalist can afford to pay after making allowance for interest, for his own reasonable share for the "direction of industry" and depreciation, &c., is to court defeat. The root dogma of modern Socialism is that labour produces everything. Although the intellectual Socialists strenuously deny this, the general impression produced on the mind of the labourer by the platform orators of Socialism is that "the knowledge, intellect and energy to which the surplus values of the modern world are due represent merely a system of legalized theft from an output of wealth which would lose nothing of its amplitude, but would on the contrary still continue to increase were all exceptional energy, knowledge and intellect deprived of all authority and starved out of existence to-morrow." (Mallock, "Critical Examination of Socialism," page 291.)

The mischief of Socialism is the impression engendered among the majority of workers that they are entitled to practically the whole wealth produced. The mill-hands of Bombay have already begun to think that it is they who produce the cloth and that the capitalist, the foreman, the manager are simply harpies who take a share without having done anything to produce the cloth. Now this is undiluted nonsense. Without the *entrepreneur* the industry would collapse within a week and the labourer himself would go down among the ruins. Besides, we have to note that although the capitalist gains enormous profits, he is equally incurring enormous losses; and on the whole, taking an average of good and bad years, he gets what may be regarded as the reasonable reward for his superior ability and genius for management.

Besides, granting that the capitalist takes a larger share than what the champions of strikers allow him, it is a question of his bargain with society. If he is indispensable, society must allow him the wages he demands or consent to his remaining away. Suppose you say to all the mill-owners: "You take 2 or 3 lacs out of a total production value of 8 lacs. Now, we are not going to give you more than ten thousand, and the rest you must disburse as wages among, let us say, ten thousand employees, giving 19 or 20 rupees more to each

man. This is what we regard as just apportionment." The probable answer of the mill-owners would be: "These rewards are not sufficient to induce us to undertake the direction of industry; we will rather retire from the business and do something more humdrum in order to get such a paltry reward." The result would, therefore, be a 'strike' on their part. The labourer at present thinks that he alone can strike and not the capitalist. This is a mistake. If you drive the capitalist beyond a certain point, he is certain to retire and then society would be the sufferer and the labourer the first of all.

After having pointed out the error of striking for unreasonable wages it is equally incumbent on us to point out the remedy for the evil for which the strike is sought as a remedy. The remedy is what Ruskin has most eloquently described in his discourses on Economics. That remedy is *nobles oblige*. Let the employer remember that his hands are his children. "Let him ask himself sternly whether he is dealing with his subordinate as he would with his own son. . . . Supposing the master of a manufactory saw it right to place his own son in the position of a workman; as he would treat his son he is bound always to treat every one of his men." ("Unto this Last;" Essay I.) The principle of demand and supply must give place to the principle of justice. Let him take pleasure in the happiness of his men, which consists of sufficient food, sanitary hours, education, cultured amusement, &c. It is said in the Mahabharata: A good king asks, "Has every one of my subjects taken a meal? Then I shall take my meal, not before." Let him win their affection and they will not only work for him, but will die for him. Let us listen to Ruskin again: "The largest quantity of work will not be done by this curious engine, viz. the soul, for pay or under pressure but only when the motive force is brought to its greatest strength by its proper fuel namely by the affections."

It were to be wished that all employers would try this master-key for solving riddles of industrialism. Strikes are against the genius of Indian psychology. They are based on competitiveness and self-interest and not on benevolence and co-operation. The whole history of the European movement of *laissez-faire* has demonstrated that selfishness on one side can only be combated by selfishness on the other side. Labour and capital are members of one family, and if they quarrel with each other they can only weaken the joint interests of the family. It is curious to see that our quondam enemies, the Germans, have understood this truth far better than ourselves at least in theory, and the State in Germany does everything to put down private acquisitiveness.

The *entrepreneur* should establish personal relations with his men. It has been demonstrated in some of the railway strikes that the officers were not in touch with the men. There should be in addition some agency for the ventilation of

grievances by ordinary channels without resort to the extreme step. A proper agency is a "complaint bureau" consisting of, say, one representative of the employers and three of labour which every three months or so should thrash out every reasonable complaint. The agency of profit-sharing we will discuss on another occasion.

Now a word as to the part of the State in industrial disputes. It would be preposterous if the State were to interfere in every dispute; at the same time it is not good for the State to look on when life and property might be jeopardised by the action of strikes. Merely trusting to the Indian Penal Code would not be enough. In important disputes the State should pronounce its own opinion on the merits of the case and this would have a moral effect on the parties. As in the case of tram service and other semi-public services the State should resort to compulsory arbitration.

V. N. GODBOLE.

HINDU LAW IN THE NEW ERA.* THE DISABILITIES OF WOMEN.

WE may now tackle the last portion of our subject, viz. the position of woman under the present Hindu Law, explaining the disabilities under which she suffers and proposing suitable reforms. Among the peoples on the face of the earth that claim to be civilised, we are the most backward in this respect. Whereas all the other countries have advanced views, we are content, or, what is worse, we are proud to be guided in our every-day affairs by ideas and rules of conduct made in the earliest state of civilization. Woman under the Hindu Law of the *Rishis* was no more than a brute and the same law yet reigns among us. "Indeed," says Dr. Gour, "the social development of Hindu Law as portrayed in the law *as now administered* remains far behind that of the earliest Roman institutions as seen in the Twelve Tables promulgated about 500 B.C."

"The gregarious instincts which man inherited from his brute progenitors first asserted themselves in the formation of alliances, and, aided by the self-same instinct of parental protection and control, family groups were naturally formed in which the wives, sons and slaves came under the sway of the adult men, of whom the eldest, usually the father, became soon recognised as head-man and leader. His authority was supreme. The idea of property was then in its embryo. No distinction was made between his dependants and his belongings. All were alike his property. The virile ruled the weak. As women and sons were weak and defenceless, he afforded them protection in return for their services, which he commanded without any restraint of social conventions."

Therefore, wives, sons and slaves fell into the general category of property and they could therefore own no property of their own; for wives were themselves the property of the patriarch. Accordingly Manu says: "A wife, a son and a slave are declared to have no property: whatever they acquire is (acquired) for him to whom they belong" (VIII: 4:6). Another Smriti cited in the Mitakshara significantly says: "Even when there is cause of dispute between preceptor and pupil, between husband and wife, between father and son, between master and slave, no action is maintainable." The infusion of religious ideas into the fabric of society merely gave a new reason

* Previous articles in this series appeared in the issues of September 9 and 23, October 7, 14 and 21, November 4, 11, 18 and 25 and December 2, 9 and 16.

and an added solemnity to the idea that wife was the property of the husband. The father was free to sell his children and as such he sold his daughters in bondage or marriage. Even in the Brahma form of marriage which is considered to be the best and now in full vogue among polished high class Hindus, the daughter is only gifted to the bridegroom. It is a transfer of property in the daughter to the bridegroom by way of gift made by the father to him. It is as such little distinguishable from the transfer of chattels. The *patria potestas* was transferred by marriage to the husband, but she still continued a chattel; and as her husband was a member of the joint family and himself dependent on his father, his acquisition of her was an acquisition by and for the family, who could use her for the primary purpose of her life, viz. procreation *independently of her own volition*. Therefore, if the husband died, "a younger brother any *Sapinda*, or *Sagotra*, being anointed with clarified butter, and with the permission of the Guru, could go to a sonless widow *when is season with the desire of raising a son*." Mark the brutality of the idea embodied in the italicised words, which are taken from Yajnyavalkya, I. 68. Further, if the wife is withdrawn after marriage, the delinquent is punishable for *theft* as one would be for the theft of any piece of property.

The above clearly shows that woman and even wife was mere property among the early Hindus. Nobody need blush at this, for property in women and sons and slaves was no peculiar feature of the Hindu system. We find the same thing among ancient Greeks and Romans who sold or even lent their wives to their own friends either for pleasure or for procreation! What we needs blush for is the fact that we are still continuing in the same condition, though nominally we are living in the twentieth century. Slavery disappeared and sons got themselves emancipated from their status of mere chattels in course of time. But not the least change has been wrought in the status of women as chattels. A daughter could yet be sold by the father in what is by courtesy called marriage, when it is in law and in fact a sale out and out. A wife could be thrown on the scrap-heap at the mere whim of the master, euphemistically called her husband. Even in the Brahma form of marriage, as mentioned previously, the function really consists of a gift by the father to the young man and the girl is merely the thing (or brute being) gifted. And yet many a latter-day educated Hindu sneers at the western idea of marriage being a contract between man and woman, while he claims with much unction that among the Hindus marriage is a sacrament! We wonder whether those who use the word sacrament in this connexion realize its significance and the legal consequences it has in relation to the girl who is given in marriage. She is, as it were, used for purifying the man exactly as a cake of Pears' Soap would be used for purifying his body. (A *sanskara*, indeed!) As any number of Pears' cakes may be purchased at pleasure and used at leisure, so any number of marriage *samskaras* could be performed at pleasure, the only requisite condition being the length of the man's purse. Just as the cake could be used partly or wholly, or thrown away or replaced or discarded at pleasure, the wife also could be similarly dealt with. What we should be ashamed of is that such multiple *samskaras* are possible to any man in these days and that the Hindu Law cannot at all interfere! A still worse feature is that high class society not only condones it, but actually shares in the festivities accompanying such second and third marriages with as much non-chalance as if

they were first marriages. Nor are these exhibitions of the male contempt for woman confined to Rajas and other wealthy folk who can gather any number of sycophants and hangers-on around them. Was not Mahomed far more civilized in restricting a Moslem's wives to four at a time? And yet most of the Hindu graduates would hold up their hands in abhorrence if they are told that Moslem Law is far more just and considerate to woman than their own! A Kulin Brahman in Bengal can marry even a hundred wives! On the other hand, even from the earliest time polygamy was prohibited both in Greece and Rome. No doubt concubinage was also common in those countries, but that is equally so among us since times immemorial. In some provinces, as is well known, the prosperity of a man's business or profession is measured by the number of his concubines. So whereas concubinage may be eliminated as being common to both, early Romans and Greeks were decidedly superior to us in having prohibited polygamy.

Thus woman among us has been all along a mere chattel. Let nobody delude himself with the belief that she was really honoured and respected in Manu's times, from such verses as *यत्र नार्यस्तु पूज्यंते रमंते तत्र देवताः*. We have been wrongly reading into such verses a high sentiment which the writers thereof never even dreamt about. What such verses really amount to is nothing more than an injunction in a modern book to take special care of a race-horse, or to keep one's milch-cattle well fed and well taken care of—in order to derive the greatest benefit from them, but certainly not because they are the equals of men. However expensively groomed and fed, a race-horse is a brute animal after all, even though he may bring world-wide renown to Mr. Gokuldas! This is quite obvious from the other verses abounding, in juxtaposition, in the same *smritis*, according to which the female sex was created only to please and obey and was never supposed to attain the age of reason and experience. *Vide Manu IX-2 and 3:*

अस्वतंत्राः स्त्रियाः कार्याः पुरुषैः स्वैर्दिवानिश्च
विषयेषु च संजन्यः संस्थाप्या आत्मनो वशे ॥
पिता रक्षति कौमारे भ्राता रक्षति यौवने
रक्षन्ति स्वविवे पुत्राः न स्त्री स्वातंत्र्यमर्हति ॥

Compare also parallel passages in Gautama XVIII. I, Vasishtha V. I, Bauddhayana II. 3.44, Vishnu XXV. 12.13, Yajnyavalkya I. 85. See also Manu V. 147, 148 न मजेत् स्त्री स्वतंत्रताम्. Compare also how implicitly she is advised to obey the man to whom she is given by her father or brother:

यस्मै दद्यात् पिता त्वेतां भ्राता बानुमते पितुः
तं शुश्रूषेत् जीवंतं संस्थितं न च लपयेत् ॥

i. e., she shall not only serve and obey him as long as he lives; but when he is dead, she must not insult (his memory).

All kind of dependance is to be enforced upon women, because their very nature is sinful. See what the great Manu says of them:—

जेता रूपं परिक्षंते नासां वयसि संस्थितिः
सुरूपं वा विदुषं वा पुमानित्येव भुञ्जते ॥ ९, १४ ॥

"Women do not care for beauty, nor is their attention fixed on age. Thinking 'It is enough that he is a man,' they give themselves equally to the handsome or to the ugly." Further, "through their passion for men, through their mutable temper, through their natural heartlessness, they become disloyal towards their husbands, however carefully they may be guarded in this world." IX. 15.

Indeed the creator Manu, when he set about creating women, allotted to them the following evil qualities: a love of their bed, of their own seat and of ornaments, impure desires, wrath, dishonesty, malice and bad conduct! IX. 17.

It is for this very reason that "for women, no sacramental rite is performed with sacred texts. That is the fixed law. Women being destitute of strength and destitute of the knowledge of Vedic texts, are themselves as impure as falsehood itself. That is a fixed rule." IX. 18.

नास्ति स्त्रीणां क्रिया मन्त्रैः इति वरुणं व्यवस्थितिः
निरिन्द्रिया समन्त्राश्च, स्त्रियोऽनृतमिति स्थितिः ॥

That is the climax. "Woman, falsehood is thy name."

Such being the low estimate of women, how could anybody be deluded into thinking that they were honoured and respected in ancient India? And if that was their status, is it any wonder that they were all along treated merely as cattle and as incapable of holding any property or proprietary rights whatever?

Let us now briefly sketch the legal position of women under the Hindu Law. We have seen that as a maiden her only right is to get enough food and clothes for her maintenance. She may be married and so kicked out of the family, but this she cannot claim as of right. The man may either spend a fortune on her marriage or not a pie at all. He may even actually sell her for a price. All this depends on his own sweet will. She has no right whatever in that matter. If she is unmarried, she does not possess the right of even being maintained in her father's family. Then, we have seen how in her husband's family her position is that of a mere slave. She is bound to obey and serve not only while he lives but to cherish his memory after he is dead. In return for such implicit service, she shall not claim anything as of right. According to the husband's pleasure, he might treat her as a queen, or he might treat her as a broom-stick. He might take other wives, or keep any number of mistresses, but she shall not have the smallest right of saying "nay" to him. She cannot ask for divorce or separation even under the grossest kind of ill-treatment. As a married woman she could be turned out upon the street and yet she would have no right to any of her own children.

If this is her status when her husband is alive, what will it be when she is widowed? Her own sons become her masters, or in their absence her husband's brothers. Her duty to them is to labour for a pittance. In ancient times she could be put against her own wishes to the work of procreation at the hands not only of the husband's brothers, but of any *Sapinda* or *Sagotra* gentleman. She is latterly spared this indignity; but she is made to touse her head and keep it tonsured so till her death. Of course, she cannot marry again; that would be the highest sin!

As long as there was the joint family, such was her position. If perchance all males in that family predecease her, and she lives as the widow of the last person of that family, then the Hindu Law relented a bit towards her and allows her the right (the first in her life) of enjoying the family property till her death. But even that right is hedged round with severe restrictions. If there be any separated Hindu gentleman (which is, as we have already seen, very rare in Hindu Law) and he dies leaving his widow but no male issue, then she is also allowed graciously to succeed to his estate though there also severe restrictions are

placed upon her enjoyment of it, with the sole object of her handing that estate intact to her husband's distant male relations after her death. Even if the man leaves any daughter, the latter also must observe the same rigid rules.

Such has been the lot of Hindu woman since *Rishic* times, and it has remained unaltered for over 3,000 years until now. Her whilom co-equals, the sons and the slaves, have emancipated themselves during this period. She alone remains fixed in her splendid serfdom—a monument of the much vaunted Hindu civilization!

LEX.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ESHER COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

THERE are several points in the Esher Committee's Report, which, being concerned with purely military matters, have not received the publicity which they deserve. We therefore reproduce below a criticism conveyed to us in a private letter by an esteemed friend who has for several years past been in close touch with military affairs:

"The Esher Committee was a farce. The scheme of so-called reorganisation was hatched by the military department of the Government of India and the members of the Committee were nominees of the Government of India, the chief of them being the late Adjutant-General who defended Dyer's crawling order in the Indian Legislative Council. The whole thing had been out and dried before the sitting of the Committee and as soon as its sittings were over the whole thing has been practically carried into effect. India has been divided up into districts of internal security. The internal security force consists of the regular troops which have been redistributed in view of experience gained by last year's disturbances. The troops have been rendered *khoosh* by the perpetuation of war concessions, i. e., increased pay, war *batta*, free rations, free uniform, house accommodation, increased pensions, free railway passes when going on leave, etc. The British troops have their pay fixed at two shillings to the rupee. Barracks have been built for their change in all hill stations with well-fitted camps all along the route and every jack man is sent to the hills in summer. Their families have been given free rations and free house accommodation and change to the hills. The officers have their pay increased and are given other concessions recommended by the Committee. Machine guns and aeroplanes have also been located in almost all convenient places. Besides the regular forces the Eurasians and Anglo-Indians imbued with the spirit of Dyerism have been armed with machine guns, aeroplanes and other weapons of "peace and good will!"

The Indian army is three times the size of its pre-war strength. The regiments have been duplicated and triplicated. Their strength has been increased from 600 to 800 to 1000. Where the Indian regiments used to have 14 British officers, now they have between 30 and 40. Nearly 7000 reserve officers are still being maintained in the army although the war was over two years ago. This is to find employment for the unemployed at the expense of India. Units which were raised as a special measure during the war are still being kept up to find excuse for the employment of these officers. A large number of pensioners who were reemployed as a war measure are still being kept in service, receiving pension and full pay of their rank, although they were pensioned off as being unfit for further service. Army, I am afraid, is the canker which will eat away the vitals of twenty Reform Schemes.

SELECTION.

THE CONGRESS CONSTITUTION.

OPINION OF THE DECCAN SABHA.

The Council of the Deccan Sabha at their meeting held on the 18th inst. adopted the following report of their Sub-Com-

mittee appointed to consider the proposed changes in the Congress creed and other articles of the Congress Constitution :—

The proposed radical change in Article I of the Congress Constitution as laid down in the report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the all-India Congress Committee and approved by the latter, appears to the Council of the Deccan Sabha entirely uncalled-for and further to be calculated to produce mischievous results.

Whatever views may be held about the character and the scope of the constitutional reforms just inaugurated, nothing has recently happened to render the goal of self-government on the lines of that of the British Dominions undesirable or inadequate in the case of India.

In the opinion of the Council, the political freedom enjoyed by the people of the self-governing Dominions and the status they occupy in the British Empire are objects, which are not unworthy of being placed as their ideals before themselves by the people of India. There is no intelligible reason why the Congress should abandon its old goal and fight shy of India's membership of the Empire and of the aspiration to rise to the status of the self-governing Dominions.

There is no particular meaning in replacing the words "a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire" in Article I of the Constitution by the single word *Swarajya*, if the latter is intended to connote self-government within the Empire. If, on the other hand, *Swarajya* is to convey the ideal of independence no useful purpose is served by refraining from making that meaning clear. Congressmen know how the word *Swarajya* has been twisted in the past to mean many different things and how bitter controversies have raged round it. The Council believes in the British connection, because it has given India national self-consciousness and has taught its people to aspire to self-government. It feels that India's membership of the Empire conduces to the good of this country as well as that of Great Britain, and that severance of connection with England, far from promoting the country's advancement, is sure to produce disaster and to throw back its progress by generations. *Swarajya* may besides mean any kind of government, autocratic or oligarchical or it may mean anarchy. India wants democratic government similar to that prevailing in England and the Dominions. Whatever charm the word *Swarajya* may have on the surface is shattered at the gentlest touch of calm consideration. The cry of *Swarajya* is likely to mislead the public and put into its head wrong notions as to the lines along which the country is to march in its political development. The Council, therefore, strongly and earnestly objects to the proposed change in Article I of the Constitution in this regard.

The above remarks apply with equal force to the proposed change concerning the means to be adopted by the Congress to attain its goal. It is difficult to know what is meant by "legitimate" means. Are the means to be unconstitutional? Can they be illegal also? The Council of the Sabha is of opinion that the description of the means contained in the existing Article I ought to be retained for the reason among others that India's political progress requires a great deal of organisation and active work in the intellectual, economic and industrial spheres and it is not right to convey the impression that efforts in this direction are superfluous and wasteful. If the proposed change is adopted, room will be given for the idea that India's political salvation is to be achieved by a revolution. The Sabha stands for evolution, as the Congress has stood for it for all these years, and feels that efforts to bring about sudden changes, for which the country is not admittedly prepared, cannot but end in confusion and serious trouble.

Another amendment to which the Council of the Sabha has to take strong objection relates to the proposed exclusion of affiliated bodies from the Congress organisation. If the amendment is accepted, political bodies of such long standing as the Deccan Sabha will cease to be component parts of the Congress, and people of the Liberal persuasion will be driven out of the fold of that national institution. A better remedy cannot be desired to make the Congress a party organisation

and shut its doors in the face of the Liberals and other politicians in the country who do not see eye to eye with those who happen at the present moment to be in the majority in the Congress. The proposed method of electing delegates is also calculated to have the same effect. The only door through which delegates can enter the Congress is election by the provincial, district and taluka committees, and their number being restricted to a fixed proportion of the population and to the number of members of the all-India Congress Committee, Liberals will have no chance of participating in the deliberations of the Congress and of influencing its decisions.

The proposed changes in the Congress Constitution, therefore, amount to nothing less than a notice to quit, addressed to politicians who cannot accept the views and the methods of those who are now in power in the Congress and the Congress will forfeit the right to be called and regarded as "national" in the true sense of the word.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

No item in the non-co-operation programme is fraught with greater harm to the interests of the country than that relating to the withdrawal of boys from schools and colleges and one can well understand Mr. Fazlul Huq's feelings when he characterised it as "immoral, unjust and selfish." It is to be noted that Mr. Huq does not tar all the organisers of the movement with the same brush; but proceeds to make a distinction between Mr. Gandhi for whom in common with millions of his countrymen he entertains the highest respect and most of the other leaders of the non-co-operation movement, who, in his opinion, "are notoriously irresponsible agitators of questionable antecedents" and "the sincerity of whose motives we have every reason to question." His further observations are even more startling. "There are some who have frankly and openly confessed to me that they do not care a brass farthing for the Khilafat but that their sole object in pushing forward the programme of the boycott of educational institutions is to bring back the days of anarchist outrages and thereby pave the way for a revolution in India." Those who are working with this criminal object in view have no stake in the country and will have nothing to lose; but we on our part cannot be a consenting party to this scheme of bloodshed, rapine and plunder." If the facts are as depicted by Mr. Huq, all thoughtful and sober forces in the country must combine with a view to checking the spread of this poison among the youth of the country.

B. C. PAL'S BOOKS.

1. Non-co-operation. (Four Lectures.) Re 1.
2. The New Economic Menace to India. Rs. 2.
3. Nationality & Empire. Rs. 2.
4. Indian Nationalism: Its Principles & Personalities. Rs. 2.
5. The World Situation & Ourselves. As 8.
6. Responsible Government. As 8.
7. "Sir" Ashutosh Mukherjee: A Character Study. Rs. 1-8.

PAL BROTHERS,
Bhowanipur, CALCUTTA.

Books that sell.

- THE PRIME MINISTER:** An Authoritative Biography of the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George. Rs. 7-14-0
- THE NEW LABOUR MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN. MANAGEMENT AND MEN.** By Meyer Bloomfield "In writing this book the author had the assistance of Labour leaders, Thomas, Henderson, etc. It contains several documents of labour which underlie its present industrial projects." Rs. 7-14-0
- RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN IRELAND:** By Gordon Smith. In this book is given the fascinating story of the movement initiated by Sir Horace Plunket for economic reconstruction. Rs. 12/-
- THE UNFINISHED PROGRAMME OF DEMOCRACY.** By Richard Roberts. Rs. 4-8-0
- CO-OPERATION AT HOME AND ABROAD.** "A descriptive analysis with a supplement on the progress of co-operation." by Fay. Rs. 13-8-0
- BOLSHEVISM AT WORK.** By Goode. Rs. 2-4-0
- GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.** By Ramsay McDonald. Rs. 7-14-0
- RECONSTRUCTING INDIA.** By Sir M. Visvesvaraya.
- N. B.—Our "in stock" list sent free on application.*

TAGORE & Co.

Booksellers, Publishers, & Stationers. Post Box. 208. MADRAS.

Telegram: "BOOKSHELF."

AWARDED A FIRST CLASS CERTIFICATE BY THE SOUTH INDIA AYURVEDIC CONFERENCE AND EXHIBITION.

SIDDHA KALPA MAKARADHWAJA

THE WONDERFUL DISCOVERY IN THE MEDICAL WORLD.

FOR ALL "ACUTE" AND "CHRONIC" DISEASE.

Prepared Scientifically by Ayurveda Ratna Pandit N. V. Srirama Charlu, Ph. D. Sc. and Ayurveda Vaidya N. Narasimhacharia, Retired Sub-Registrar.

This unparalleled and Ancient medicine is prepared in exact accordance with Aurvedic and Western Modern Principles carefully tested and Standardised by expert analysis and found to be an unrivalled Elixir for the general prolongation of life, and particularly a guaranteed remedy for Nervous Debility, Skin Eruptions, Eczema, Vertigo, Loss of Nerve Power, Vigour, Memory and Appetite, Depression of Spirits, constant Mental Misgivings, want of spirit and energy. Melancholia, Rheumatism, Gout, Paralysis, Insanity, Hysteria, Dropsy, Diabetes, Piles, Asthma, Consumption, Dyspepsia all Uterine complaints, and all sorts of Urethral Discharges, Acute or Chronic, of all kinds and all men and women's ailments, etc. This is the only safe and reliable remedy for all diseases resulting from youthful indiscretions and loss of Vitality. It imparts New life and Energy, by increasing and purifying the blood. It contains such valuable ingredients as Siddha, Makradhwaja, Mukta Suvarna, Loha and vegetable drugs. This can be taken also as a tonic by every one of either sex, without any restriction of Diet Season or Climate. Complete Directions are sent with the Phial one Phial of 60 pills (for a complete cure) Price Rs. 10 (Ten) only. V. P. Extra.

Apply to:—**THE MADRAS AYURVEDIC PHARMACY,**

"Telegraphic Address"—"KALPAM," MADRAS.

POST BOX No. 151 MADRAS

GOOD-SEEDS.

As good as can be grown English seeds for Indian Climate. Large, descriptive catalogue with numerous illustrations free on application, mention this paper when writing. 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.

Pastonjee P. Pocha & Sons,
SEED MERCHANT, POONA,
Bombay Presidency, India

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 diseases 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:—**Raf B. S. BHANDARI, M. A.**
Batalu (N. W. R., A. P. Ry.)

Notice to Contributors.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected Mss. or any other contributions sent to him.