

# THE Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

VOL. IV, NO. 19.]

POONA—THURSDAY, JUNE 9, 1921.

[ ANNUAL SUBSN. Rs. 6.

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

LORD READING'S first important speech in India, though couched in very sympathetic terms, has not given general satisfaction. The reason is that the people were expecting to find in it some indication of the definite measures that the Viceroy will undertake with a view to the settlement of the Indian problem. This expectation has been disappointed. Beyond a reiteration of the desire to establish racial equality and to do national justice, there is nothing in the speech which can be interpreted as a sure sign that an attempt will soon be made to remove causes of the present discontent on lines which will be approved by the people. Even the references to justice and equality are not altogether clear. It does not appear from the speech whether the Viceroy intends to inaugurate afresh the reign of racial equality and justice or whether he intends to convey that there has never been a deviation from these principles. It is not a very comforting assurance for a people complaining bitterly of inequalities and injustices to be told that equality and justice have ever been the attributes of British rule in India. No doubt the Viceroy said that it was possible, by the measures it would be his duty to adopt in his régime, to re-establish these qualities of British rule on firmer lines, and it is the best part in Lord Reading's speech; but it is natural for those who looked for a detailed enunciation of the policy to be pursued for the next five years to feel disappointment.

THE great point which Lord Reading made of the fact that Mr. Gandhi first applied to him for an interview and that it was only then that the Viceroy condescended to meet him is, we must confess, al-

together lost upon us. Being innocent of the usual official ceremony, we do not understand why so much fuss should be made as to who makes the first overtures, when it is admittedly desired by both sides to come into relations with each other. That Lord Reading stood on ceremony and manoeuvred Mr. Gandhi into making advances to him in the first instance neither enhances in a particular manner the respect which the people feel for the personality of the Viceroy, nor betokens, in the imagination of the public, a surrender on the part of Mr. Gandhi, unless it be felt that it is wrong for a non-co-operator to seek an interview with the head of a government with which he is non-co-operating. In the Viceroy's references to the Ali brothers, however, we are unable to see any trace of ungenerosity or a desire to exploit their apology; on the contrary, they indicate a genuine sense of relief, on the part of the Viceroy, that it is no longer necessary for him to take the invidious course of prosecuting them. He accepted the apology as a full reparation and was disposed to believe that the undertaking given by them would be loyally carried out.

THE speech which Mr. Mahomed Ali delivered at Broach as president of the Khilafat conference renders it not a little difficult to put implicit trust in the testimonials which Mr. Gandhi has of late been lavishing upon the Ali brothers. This speech is a clear attempt to wriggle out of the apology which he was induced to tender. It is possible to take a disparaging view of the apology, but we choose to regard it, with most non-co-operators, as reflecting credit on the Ali brothers. It is even described as magnanimous. If it is so, how must this later attempt to explain it away be characterised? Not certainly as magnanimous. It is futile for Mr. Mahomed Ali to contend that his speeches could not be properly interpreted to contain incitement to violence. He himself says in his statement that he saw the force of the argument and interpretation of his friends. This means in plain English that he concedes that his speeches at any rate lent themselves to be interpreted as they actually were. What then is the use of his saying that that interpretation is wrong? Who are his friends who insist upon misinterpreting his speeches? Is Mr. Gandhi among them? And if, in fact, his speeches are unoffending and can only unjustly and improperly be interpreted as instigating to violence, why does he make the apology at all? If he was for once betrayed into violence and, on be-

ing corrected by friends, he tendered a public apology, it would be regarded as a creditable thing; but the fencing to which he now resorts in order to neutralise the effects of his apology possibly on such of his followers as are apt to confound heroics with heroism, is not exactly creditable. If he had refused to apologise, that attitude also we could from one point of view appreciate; but to apologise and then to pretend that you have not apologised will not strike anyone as particularly straightforward or courageous.

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A PASSAGE in Mrs. Besant's evidence before the Press Act Committee, which was published in an Anglo-Indian paper, has been made the subject of adverse criticism in many quarters hostile to her. This passage contains a denunciation of Mr. Gandhi's methods of political agitation, but there is nothing in what Mrs. Besant has said there about Mr. Gandhi which she has not been saying every day in *New India*. One would have thought that even non-co-operators would be glad to find the usual condemnation of Mr. Gandhi for once put to good use by Mrs. Besant, for it is all directed in the evidence to obtaining a repeal of the Press Act. But the use which she makes of Mr. Gandhi's activities to reinforce her arguments for repealing the Act is not of the character suggested by the *Hindu*. This paper says that Mrs. Besant's "main reason for urging the repeal of the Press Act is not that papers are unjustly harassed, but that it proves ineffective against Mr. Gandhi." This is a most wicked and mendacious suggestion, if it is implied that Mrs. Besant would like the Press Act to be applied to Mr. Gandhi's writing. For she expressly disowns such an idea and says on the contrary that she is very glad that the Act is not set in motion against him. It is a perfectly legitimate argument even for one who does not share Mrs. Besant's view of Mr. Gandhi's politics to plead that if writing which is apparently most objectionable in Government's eyes goes free, so should other writing also go free. Indian publicists frequently point out, as an objection to the Press Act, that the Act is not applied to the Anglo-Indian Press. What they mean is, not that the Act should be applied to the Anglo-Indian Press, but that the Indian Press should not come under it—though trouble is not always taken to make the meaning clear. If this is a valid argument, so is Mrs. Besant's, with the explanation which she is particular to attach. We must add that Mrs. Besant's main reason against the Press Act was of course the great hardship which it inflicts upon the Indian Press. On that score she made out what was by all accounts an exceedingly strong case.

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THOUGH the causes of the recent exodus of the Surma Valley tea-garden coolies are not clear, it will not be far wrong to surmise that they are mainly economic and also relate to the ill-treatment meted out to them on the estates. Otherwise it is difficult to account for their stern refusal to go

back in disregard of strong persuasion to the contrary. The tea industry is passing through a state of depression at present with the result that a considerable part of the labour employed on these estates has been thrown out of employment. The subsistence wages paid to these people which are so low as six pice per day are totally insufficient in these days of high prices to keep their body and soul together, much less to keep them from starvation. No wonder then that there had been persistent complaints of underfeeding and starvation! It is also not surprising that being in a helpless condition owing to their being reduced to absolute poverty they find themselves stranded in a small place like Chandpur. What they want next to food and clothing is proper facilities to return to their homes. But it is regrettable that the Government which is willing to provide for their sanitary and other conveniences at Chandpur disclaims all responsibility for their repatriation. In the meanwhile Mr. Andrews with the help of the local leaders is doing his best to see as many of them safely back to their homes as the public response to his appeal for funds will allow. We agree with the Indian Association of Calcutta in thinking that the whole affair presents a fit case for inquiry by an impartial committee with a view to find out the causes of the Assam labour unrest. This is especially necessary, having regard to the allegations of serious ill-treatment by the Gurkhas employed in clearing Chandpur station of these discontented labourers.

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THE only requirement to be satisfied before a resolution proposing the removal of the disqualification of women as voters at council elections could be moved in a provincial council is that the mover must give at least a month's notice of his intention to do so. It is noteworthy that in its anxiety to give the fullest scope for the expression of public opinion on a matter of such consequence, the Joint Select Committee had originally proposed a more stringent condition. Its original proposal was "that before a resolution on the subject can be moved, the mover must obtain the leave of the Council not less than one month beforehand to the tabling of the motion." For making the requirement as easy of fulfilment as it actually is, we are obliged to Mr. Spoor, who suggested that the only thing that should be insisted on in such a case is one month's notice. His amendment on being put to vote was passed by a majority of 5 against 4, the Earl of Selborne, Lord Sinha, Mr. (now Sir) T. J. Bennett and Sir John Rees being, besides himself, the supporters of his amendment. The procedure now incorporated in the Rules is doubtless much simpler and may be relied upon to facilitate the solution of the question of the enfranchisement of women for council elections.

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SOME useful information can be gleaned from the full report, which is now available, of the debate on Lord Sydenham's question in the House of Lords on the reduction of cavalry regiments in

India. The reduction of eighteen cavalry regiments has been sanctioned—that is, from 39 to 21, and all these regiments that are going to be disbanded are Indian. This step was decided upon in the interests of economy and was fully approved both by the late and the present Commanders-in-Chief. From first to last it was an entirely military decision, taken under no sort of pressure from the civilian side. The civilians in the Government of India did want to effect more economies by reducing British troops, but they had to give in to the opposition of the military authorities. There has been some reduction in the number of the pre-war British troops—one cavalry regiment and six infantry battalions, but it was not consciously brought about to afford relief to India's finance. During the war a number of British units were withdrawn from service in India for elsewhere, with the result the numbers now are less than those before the war by 6,000 British ranks.

THE Government of India desired to effect a reduction in the British troops, and "the Secretary of State and his advisers at the India Office felt the utmost sympathy" with them in this desire, and yet the Commander-in-Chief alone could defeat the wishes of both these high authorities at the two ends. The matter was not indeed pressed to an issue, because it was found when the Government of India made this proposal to His Majesty's Government that "the system of troops in India was so inextricably bound up with the British troops in England, owing to the system of linked battalions, that it was impossible for us to reduce any British troops in India without giving longer notice than had to be proposed." But the question will soon come up again: and we shall not be surprised if the Commander-in-Chief is able to hold his own against all the civilian authorities combined. The Commander-in-Chief's opposition to plans of retrenchment proposed by the Government of India and supported by the Secretary of State and the India Council—after a realisation of the "very parlous financial position" of India which necessitated a ruthless cutting down of civil expenditure far below the limits of efficiency, "reducing some of our departments almost to starvation estimates"—is thus explained by Lord Lytton:

"It was natural, therefore, I think, that there should be some difference of opinion between the civil and military advisers of the Viceroy, or at any rate that the civil and military advisers should look at the question from slightly different points of view, one body desiring to reduce the military expenditure in order to make the country more contented, the other advising that so long as unrest existed it was not safe to make further reductions."

It is thought but natural that, on questions of economy, the civil and the military authorities should take opposite sides. It was for this very reason that Wellington laid down that the Commander-in-Chief should have no voice whatever on matters concerning army expenditure, and in the determination of military policy which controls

expenditure, and thus he should find no place in the Cabinet. This has a lesson for Messrs. Norton, Seshagiri Ayyar and Gour.

It is not only in India that mounted forces are being reduced; they are being reduced in England and in other European countries on a much larger scale. The reason is purely military. As the Secretary of State for War explained on April 20: "The war has proved the vulnerability of cavalry through machine guns and through air forces to such an extent that this is certain that there will be occasions in the future when cavalry cannot be used because of the machine guns and the air forces, and if you want to get the same amount of force you have got to choose some other arm, some mechanical means, which will be better protected against these particular forms of attack, and so it is intended . . . to replace the . . . cavalry regiments by other mobile forces, namely, tanks and armoured cars." In India also it is the introduction of tanks, armoured cars, etc. that enabled the authorities to dispense with some cavalry regiments. But even after their disbandment the Army in India has, as Lord Chelmsford said, "a vastly greater military strength than it had in 1913 and 1914." Lord Chelmsford feels that "for the purpose of internal security a single company of 1921, with its machine guns and Lewis guns and its capacity to get about the country by means of motor transport, can almost do the work of a battalion of 1913 and 1914." If England is reducing her cavalry by something under 13 per cent., France is reducing hers by just under 30 per cent. and Italy by just about 20 per cent.

WE invite the attention of our readers to a very opportune publication by Mr. Akshaya K. Ghose of a volume entitled "Laws Affecting the Rights and Liberties of the Indian People." It brings together in a handy form all the repressive laws existing on the Indian statute book which a Joint Committee of the Indian legislature will shortly set out to examine. The book is printed in very elegant style and has an introduction by Mr. Norton. It is priced Rs. 7-8-0 and can be had of Mohun Brothers, College Street Market, Calcutta.

THE article on the Tata Industrial Bank which appears in this issue is contributed by an economist of note who is prompted in his comments by the most friendly feelings towards the many pioneering industries started by the Tatas. We can vouch for it that if there is any harshness in the article, it is wholly due to the anxiety which the writer feels that the house of Tatas should give no ground of complaint to the public. While his plea for giving a chance to Indians will find universal support, it is possible that due allowance is not made in it for practical difficulties. We are sure that the other side will be placed as forcibly before the public as this one, and in any case the present contribution deserves serious attention as portraying correctly the sentiments of the general community.

### RACE PREJUDICE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE *Indian Opinion* of May 13 which has just come to hand contains Reuter's summary of the discussion that took place in the Union Parliament in the beginning of last month on the question of Indians in South Africa. The perusal of the report will convince every fair-minded person that the average European resident of South Africa is so deeply interpenetrated with race prejudice against the Indians that it is vain to look for any satisfactory solution of the problem in South Africa itself. If the United Kingdom is precluded from interfering with the Union by its constitutional position, then the pressure which the Indian representatives may be able to put on the Union Minister at the Imperial Peace Cabinet offers the only pathway to the settlement of the problem. The speakers in the Union Assembly who proposed that "we must stop the Indians coming in and send all the others back to India" were apprehensive that some sort of coercion would be exercised upon the Union in regard to the Indian problem and were loud in demanding that South Africa should be left alone to solve her problems in her own way without any external pressure. One speaker complained that in the Asiatic Commission's Report the views pressed by Sir Benjamin Robertson were strongly reflected and could not understand why it was obligatory on them to pay heed to what either the Indian people or the Indian Government say. "Why should we listen to India?" he asked and found many to echo his question. Another speaker hoped that "this matter would not come up at the Imperial Conference without the knowledge of the House and that no obligations would be placed upon this country (South Africa) in this matter." Mr. Merriman put a check to the wild talk of his colleagues by reminding them that "we were partners with India in the League of Nations" and could not proceed to solve the question as if they were not bound by any Imperial ties. Mr. Duncan, Minister of the Interior, followed in the same key and told his critics that India was advancing to the position of a self-governing Dominion, and that since the question brought them into touch with outside countries, they had to take cognisance of what the outside world was doing. So far as India is concerned, the Imperial Cabinet is for the present our only resource.

If the Europeans had their own way, they would have made short work of the Indians. They would have expelled all the present residents and shut the door against all future immigrants. Speaker after speaker rose to say that nothing short of compulsory repatriation or the wholesale expulsion of the Indians would meet the situation. If this were not done, there would be a "collapse of our civilisation." This was a drastic step, but it must be taken in the interest of the Western civilization. If it could not be taken now, it must be taken some time hence. Compulsory repatriation was recognised to be impracticable just then, and

therefore compulsory segregation was advocated in its place. But this latter was a mere makeshift to be intended to serve only for a time, but as soon as a favourable opportunity offered, it was to be discarded in favour of the more thorough-going policy of entire expulsion. After all East was East and West was West, and they must not be allowed to intermingle. This was the least that could be done now. Mr. Marwick, who started the discussion, brought into requisition a strange argument to support his thesis of segregation. He said that the Imperial Conference of 1918 had already recognised the right of Dominion Governments to determine the composition of their own population. That right being granted, every Dominion naturally had the right, moral as well as legal, of segregating any section of the population in any corner. For the object of such segregation of the Asiatics was "to prevent, as far as possible, undesirable immigration into the life of the white community." Thus from the right to control immigration this worthy member of the Union Assembly derives the right of segregating a community already allowed to immigrate! The Minister of the Interior explained that compulsory segregation was out of the question; the only kind of segregation the Government contemplated was strictly voluntary. But such voluntary segregation, he maintained, was absolutely necessary. For, in his opinion, there was no doubt that the living together in towns of Indians and whites was detrimental to both races, and if such segregation was adopted, he said it would not do to allot to Indians unhealthy or inferior locations. Mr. Merriman strongly condemned the race prejudice to be observed in the speeches of several members. He declared that when the question of segregation came up, the Natal sugar planters objected to the segregation of their coolies. He also pointed out that in America they had not been able to segregate the Negroes. It could not be done. The Minister of the Interior said that compulsory repatriation could not be thought of, voluntary repatriation, which was favoured by the Asiatic Commission, was being "prosecuted as vigorously as possible." He was just then preparing a regulation allowing Indians to take all their personal ornaments with them, so long as this was not used for smuggling gold away. It will thus be seen that voluntary repatriation was now being pushed to a much greater length than it was originally contemplated. One can only express the hope that the Imperial Cabinet will find something like a solution of this long standing question, which may well be regarded as the crucial test of the Empire idea.

### LOCAL OPTION NOT SUITED.

ON the question of drink, there will, I think, be unanimity in India in regard to two positions, first, that total prohibition ought to be the goal of India's excise policy, and, second, that that goal cannot be reached in one bound, but that certain intermediate stages are necessary. It is generally believed that

Local option will be a very appropriate intermediate stage leading automatically, after a convenient space of time, to complete prohibition. I wish to point out in this article the untenability of this belief and to prove that local option is utterly inapplicable to Indian conditions. If prohibition is thought to be immediately impracticable, it is only because of revenue considerations. For instance, in Bombay four crores or nearly a third of the total revenue is derived from abkari, and it is rightly felt that it is beyond the power of the most ardent teetotallers to extinguish such a huge income at once and to replace it by other sources not open to objection. It is clear that we must raise revenue by some alternative means if we do not wish to starve services like those of education, sanitation or medical relief. None outside Bedlam will suggest that it is immediately possible to cut down the normal expenditure of administration in one year to such an extent as to be able to dispense altogether with the illicit gains of the excise department. And it is also equally impossible to devise any new taxes which will yield enough to fill in the gap in the revenue which will be created by the cessation of drink money. Exigencies of finance thus compel us to put up for a brief period with the hateful liquor traffic and to wait till it becomes possible to apply a policy of prohibition to it. Money difficulties impose an impassable barrier in the way of the immediate adoption of prohibition, but there is no other difficulty. Popular sentiment is all in favour of such a policy, and the legitimate rights of the moderate consumer and an invasion on popular liberties which prohibition implies have no meaning in India. It is here recognised to be the duty of the rulers to keep the people free from drunkenness, and no one will raise any serious objection if the liquor traffic were abolished forthwith by legislative action.

But this very fact shows that the method of local option is ill-adapted to the peculiar conditions in this country. If it is desired that prohibition should be eventually enforced, and that in the meanwhile some interim measures should be adopted which, while giving the administrators some breathing space, will surely ripen, after that period, into full-fledged prohibition, local option will certainly not serve our purpose. In India the exercise of local veto will mean in practice nothing short of complete prohibition. For, be it remembered, that, in the application of local option, generally three options are allowed—you can vote either for No License or a reduction of the number of licenses, or no change. The Indians, except in certain abnormal places, will plump for No License. They will not be deterred by financial difficulties from going solid in favour of prohibition, for financial responsibility is not theirs. While they exercise the right of closing down all grog shops, it is the provincial treasury that will suffer a deficit and it is the provincial Government who will have to make it good. The practical effect of introducing local option will, therefore, be little different from

that of immediate prohibition. I do not regret this by any means; I rather rejoice that even if an option is left to the ignorant masses in India either to have liquor or to dispense with it, they will, of their own free will, prefer the latter course. But my point is that local option will not answer as a half-way house between the present condition and total abolition; it will not give you the respite you want. If some people still show a preference for local option, it is only because local option sounds less drastic than prohibition; really it is not less drastic. Those who are guided by sense rather than sound will not entertain the proposal for the adoption of local veto as a halting stage on the road to prohibition. It may be maintained, with very good reason, that if prohibition is introduced it had better be by the agency of local option; for after all persuasion is better than coercion even if coercion is not felt. Local option has certainly much educational influence, and from that point of view may be all to the good; but as a remedy calculated to give temporary relief from the financial difficulties involved in the adoption of prohibition, it is altogether ineffective.

In fact local option has no application in India. Where some people want to drink and others do not, the matter is best decided by taking the vote of the people concerned. But where all or most agree that the temptation of drinking should be put out of their reach, there is no point in submitting the question to their decision. By traditions and by convictions the Indian is averse from drink, and those to whom it falls to legislate for them are justified in assuming their support to prohibition and to proceed with it in confidence, without testing the matter previously by local option. If financial considerations forbid such a course, some other expedient must be adopted, and perhaps the best under the circumstances is that of reducing a certain proportion of liquor shops every year, so that in the course of, say, six or nine years all the shops may be closed. If the effects of prohibition are thus spread over a number of years, it should be possible, in the first place, to effect a reduction in the existing scale of expenditure and in the second place, to raise by additional taxation enough money to take the place of the excise revenue. It is too easily assumed that the limits of taxation have been reached. They have not; by a wise adjustment of the financial system, we can certainly raise the necessary money without inflicting much hardship upon the people. The rich ought no doubt to bear a greater proportion of the burden, but I would not mind putting some burden even upon the poor, though it must be proportioned to their income. I feel certain that if properly approached, they would be willing to pay their mite in order that the great evil of drunkenness may cease from off the face of the country. It is the poor who suffer the most from this evil, and with an educative propaganda, we ought to be able to persuade them to be moderately taxed. A gradual diminution of the excise revenue with a view

to its eventual extinction is the remedy I would suggest; local option, in my opinion, will not do.

V.

### HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN POONA.

ON the 28th, 29th and 30th May passed off very successfully the Ninth Annual Gathering of the Bhārat Itihāsa Sanshodhaka Mandala, or the Indian Historical Research Institute, Poona. Let us review the work that has been done in the field of historical research, bearing particularly on Mahārāshtra. With the advent of Western education, came in a spirit of critical inquiry which began to make its influence felt in more than one direction. No regular histories worth the name were to be found in India till late in the latter half of the 19th century. Captain Grant Duff was, on our side, one of the first pioneers in the field of history-writing. He devoted much labour to the task of writing a history of the Marathās, the erelong enemies of the rising British. Of course Grant Duff was no scholar and hence his production, though a work of considerable labour, lacks the many qualities that go to make a great historian of a great nation and its people like the Mahārāshtra. Besides he was unable to take a dispassionate view of affairs, himself being one of the conquerors. However, his book supplied a great want and in the first quarter of the 19th century, was the only readable chronicle of the Marāthā nation in the market. Scott Waring and Orme were very fragmentary and Elphinstone confined himself to the achievements of the Muhammadans. Duff's history of the Marathās was soon translated into Marāthī. The first glamour of English education belittling Indian achievements and Indian potentialities did not last long and in the sixties and seventies of the 19th century Indian scholars began to make their appearance in the field. The late Mr. Nilkantharao Kirtane of the Deccan College wrote a critical essay attacking Duff's position in many places and exposing some of his glaring defects. It was shown that for a true comprehension of Marāthā history, a study of the unpublished mass of Marāthī chronicles, and original letters was quite essential. Duff's valuable material was somehow not forthcoming and hence there was no way to test his work. Mr. Kirtane with the aid of the *Vividhadnyānavistar* of Bombay published a chronicle of Shivaji written by Malhar Ramrao, the popular Kayastha chronicler of Marāthā history. Mr. Bhai Saheb Gupte (now at Calcutta) published a number of papers throwing more light on the history of the Kāyasthas. The late Gopal Rao Hari Deshmukh wrote interesting pamphlets on miscellaneous subjects, including historical. Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar with his sledge hammer crushed the excessively colored pro-English tendencies of the age and created in his readers a real patriotic interest. He with the collaboration of Mr. (now Rao Bahadur) Sane and Mr. Modak started the well-known monthly *Kavyetihāsa-sangraha* and published through its medium valuable original

letters, documents, *bakhars* &c. bearing on Marāthā history.

This publication gave a new turn to the study of the whole subject. The lively *bakhars* and the fine original letters were eagerly read by many, as the Editors had taken great pains to present them in a very readable form. The eyes of these readers were now opened and they saw how mistaken and prejudiced was the viewpoint of writers like Grant Duff and how little had they presented in their books, of the great deeds of their forefathers. A revolution was worked up in the minds of the people. So much so that they now began to look with great reverence and admiration towards their ancestors and their doings.

This new wave of a mental revolution gradually grew in dimensions and acquired great force. Mr. Vasudeoshastri Khare of Miraj published a life of Nānā Fadanvis and began a study and publication of the precious daftar of the Patwardhans, preserved at Mirajmala. This daftar gave a well-ordered, chronological, detailed and reliable account of all important transactions of the Poona Darbar of the Peshwas. Mr. (now Rao Bahadur) D. B. Parasnis and the Deccan Vernacular Translation Society undertook a similar work by publishing a magazine, *Bhāratvarsha*. The Peshwa Daftar in the possession of the Bombay Government was sifted a little and volumes of the extracts of the Peshwa diaries were issued year after year. Rao Bahadur G. C. Wad was the chief editor of the series and much useful matter was thus published. The late Mr. Justice Ranade with his keen intellect, sound judgment and great capacity was busy studying these State papers, the result of which we see embodied in his fine introduction to the Peshwa diaries. His "Rise of the Marāthā Power" published in 1900 is a monument of his gifted imagination and close study. The writer of the "Gleanings" attached to Ranade's book—K. T. Telang—was another eminent scholar in the field. But already about 1895 there had arisen on the horizon a star of the first magnitude, who by his brightness eclipsed all others—I mean Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade. I cannot imagine what a deep debt of gratitude we owe to this great savant, who by his singular devotion to the cause of historical research has won the admiration of friend and foe alike. One may not agree with his views, or may sometimes quarrel with his ways of life, but every one has paid him homage. Physically he is a giant worker; intellectually he is a genius. There is no labour which he has spared in rescuing papers from dust and darkness; there is no historian who has displayed such supreme intelligence in the marshalling and interpretation of evidence. Regardless of fame, he has suffered beyond description, wandering alone with big loads of papers on his head, sometimes without food, for miles together from Jodhpur in the North to Tanjore in the South. Such a personality is unique! Such sacrifice un-

paralleled. He is a veritable ornament to Maharashtra. He has restored to its people their history—the very basis on which to build up the future.

From Sane to Rajwade we count more than 75 volumes of materials or about 20 thousand pages leaving aside the mass of material bearing on old Marāthi literature, searched and published by these and other agencies. This work of publishing old Marāthi literature was commenced early in the forties and fifties of the 19th century and since then mountain loads of old poetic and bardic productions have been brought to light, only a fraction of which has been published upto now. Madhav Chandroba, Parasharam Pant Tatya, the Kāvyyetiḥāsa Sangraha, the Kāvya Sangraha, (Sane, Modak, Vaman Daji Oak and others) Tendulkar and others in the 19th century and Bhave, Rajwade, Paradkar, Pangarkar, and many others in the present quarter of the 20th century have collected together, preserved and published such a mass of old literature that one is sometimes bewildered at its sight. To this must be added the sustained efforts of a few devoted workers of the Satkaryottejaka Sabha of Dhulia, headed by Deo and Chandorkar. All these volumes of old literature will easily go beyond one hundred.

The work of collecting and publishing all these literary and historical "documents" is growing larger every day and beyond the limited scope of individual workers. The necessity was therefore keenly felt of making a combined and organized effort to cope with the heavy task. The Bhārat Itiḥāsa Sanshodhaka Mandal was the outcome. The Mandal was started in 1910 and since then it has been steadily working and progressing. It has published nearly 25 volumes or about six to seven thousand pages of materials. It has made a collection of over 50 thousand papers, five thousand manuscripts, hundreds of old coins and pictures &c. It has united a band of young devoted workers. Its membership will soon go up to 1000. It is catholic in aims and is supported by all classes of people irrespective of caste, creed or color. It has a small unfinished building of its own. It has collected and spent over 50 thousand rupees over its cause. It is a thoroughly democratic institution. It has a bright future before itself. It rightly aspires to be a sort of an Academy in its own field. We wonder how all these years the University of Bombay has shown such supreme indifference towards such an important work. The University is considering schemes of post-graduate education and research, forgetting all the while the immense work that is being done on similar lines in institutions like the Bhārat Itiḥāsa Sanshodhak Mandal. The University aims at encouraging the vernaculars. The Mandala has done all its work in Marāthi and has thus paved the way for the University. The sooner the University rises equal to the occasion and does its part by inviting co-operation from such bodies, the better. The race belongs to the one who works, not to the one who sits in grim silence vainly pondering over his false dignity !

We shall just now mention some of the novel discoveries that have been recently made by the

Mandala. The most important is the deciphering of the Mānbhavi script which has opened up a new and delightful vista particularly for linguists. Many old sanads and firmans of Shivaji, Maloji, the Bijapur Padshahis have been discovered. This gives us a peep into the most entertaining and inspiring periods of Maratha history—the period of the foundation of Swaraj at the hands of Shivaji the Great. Tukaram's Abhangas written by his writer Santaji Jagnade have been discovered and published thus bringing us very near to Tukaram's original text. An exhaustive and minute calendar for the Shivaji century has been prepared by Mr. G. S. Khare and is ready for the press. An elaborate analysis of the judicial system of the Marāthā Government has been attempted. Poona has been traced back to Krishnaraja Rashtrakuta. Many original letters of Bālāji Vishwanath, the great Brahmin statesman, who brought 'order out of chaos' as well as those about the affairs of Sambhaji, till now shrouded in complete darkness, have seen the light of day. Every day we are being taken a bit further, by new rays of light thrown upon the unknown period of the times of Shivaji and his ancestors. Persian manuscripts and documents, hitherto neglected, are also now being collected in thousands. Almost the whole of the Peshwa's Persian correspondence with the Nizam and others has been now available. It consists of nearly 30 thousand papers. There is thus no field of the activity of the people of old times which the penetrating eyes of the researchers have not viewed and their active hands not touched! Yet they feel sure that they have as yet hardly broken the crust. They have not restored one hundredth of the vast ocean of materials that lie scattered all over the country. What do they know as yet? Leave aside the distant Dnaneshwar and Ramdeo Raja of Deogiri; come nearly to Shivaji. But there too darkness prevails. We do not yet know even the names of many heroes of those times. The families of many whose names are known have not yet been traced. Needless to say that of their doings we are hopelessly ignorant. Great effort is necessary to rescue from oblivion every scrap that will enlighten us further and add to our knowledge of the past. It is a Herculean task and requires men first and money next, for it primarily wants such men as bring money and not such as money brings. The responsibility on the shoulders of us all is very heavy and we as dutiful children of our soil must resolve to discharge it honourably, come what may.

DATTO WAMAN POTDAR.

### THE TATA BANK.

(Contributed).

THE rather unusual occurrences which marked the proceedings of the recent annual meeting of the Tata Industrial Bank have an interest for a wider public than is represented by the shareholders of that concern and ought not to be dismissed, as they have been dismissed in certain quarters, as the ebul-

lition of the undisciplined feelings of a few misguided persons or the workings of a handful of busybodies bent on the easy attainment of cheap notoriety. There are indeed people who have specialised in the art of disturbing the peaceful proceedings of meetings and who delight in ignorant, irresponsible and destructive opposition. But it will be wanton calumny to suggest that the majority of the shareholders who heckled the chairman of the Directorate of the Tata Bank at the recent meeting, were actuated by any but an honest desire to make those who are responsible for the control of the management of the Bank realize the very strong feeling that exists in the public mind with regard to certain aspects of the policy pursued by and under the eyes of the directors. It is notorious that many of the big joint stock companies of our times, which are apparently democratic bodies, owned by a large number of shareholders, small and great, are in reality, autocratically managed, and it is in rare instances that the board of directors elected by them can be held to account or controlled. A general meeting held once or twice a year provides the only occasion for such of the shareholders as care to or can attend, to elicit information from and criticise the policy of the board of directors. Under these circumstances, the determined opposition which the shareholders put up at the meeting of the Tata Bank must be said to have done a lot of good by shedding a much-needed light upon some features of the management of the Bank which had roused indignation and created dissatisfaction in the public mind.

The fire of criticism was concentrated on the preference shown by the directors of the Bank to European employes in receipt of high salaries and the discouragement from which Indians suffered on account of the cold neglect with which they were alleged to have been treated. The statistics which were supplied with respect to the number of and the salaries received by the European and the Indian staff of the Bank, were calculated to vindicate completely the charge brought against the directors. The salaries of the European employes were shown to be many times larger than those of the Indians and it was a matter of curiosity and painful astonishment that the directors should not have been able to find competent Indians to fill several of the highly-paid posts occupied by the European employes. The practical exclusion of Indians from the more responsible and well-paid posts in the public services has been a subject of prolonged agitation in this country, and the bar against the Indian in European-controlled firms and concerns is perfectly intelligible. But that the doors of concerns started, managed and controlled by Indians should be shut in the face of Indian aspirants is something which it is not easy to stomach. In any case, the high regard in which the Tatas are held in this country, the patriotic enterprise they have shown in starting and successfully conducting vast industrial concerns and the princely philanthropy which is associated with their names have raised

in the hearts of their admiring and grateful countrymen the hope that the undertakings controlled by them would be conducted in such a way as to prepare a growing number of Indians for commercial and industrial pursuits and commercial careers by direct encouragement and patronage. The assurance which Sir Dorab gave at the meeting of shareholders, appeared to be halfhearted and unconvincing and the justification he offered of his Board's policy failed to make the desired impression. The Tata Bank is undoubtedly not a philanthropic institution. It is a business concern, and to be successful, must be run on business lines. It is, besides, a venture in a practically unexplored field in this country and the responsibility of making it a success is tremendous. But we do not think that any reasonable man objects to the employment of European or American experts on liberal salaries when their employment is indispensable. But the question in the present instance was; were so many highly-paid European employes in the Tata Bank indispensable? Could not competent Indians be found to take the places of many for them? Sir Dorab's answer to this question was not, frankly speaking, satisfactory. The common idea about the prestige and the efficiency of the European appears to have taken a firm hold of his mind and the minds of his colleagues; and Indians have had to suffer on account of the prejudice. It is not a compliment to Bombay whose commercial and industrial greatness is not, to a small extent, due to the genius and the practical capacity of Indians that she should not be able to supply the necessary number of competent Indians to manage the Tata Bank. Small wonder that the shareholders of the Bank refused to be convinced by the plea advanced by Sir Dorab.

It is contended by some that the main business of the directors of a concern like the bank is to run it as a profitable enterprise and that the management ought not to be made a racial question. Successful working and reasonably high dividends are no doubt an important consideration in the conduct of a business. But we must emphatically say that we are not much impressed by the argument of racial feeling. It is a racial question, we affirm, and we do want that Indians should come to occupy the industrial and the commercial field to as large an extent as possible. Economic competition is extremely keen all the world over. Indians are not wanted in the Dominions on account of their competition with white enterprise and labour. It is a law of self-preservation that every race or nation should try to push itself forward. European managed firms are not partial or favourable to Indian aspirants. "No Indian need apply" is the legend commonly found on their doors, so far as posts of trust and with high salaries attached to them are concerned. It is the duty, we venture to think, of Indian leaders of business to encourage Indian aspirants even at a sacrifice, to give them a generous chance and to train them for responsible work. Unequal and unfair treatment is galling to the



Indian. His self-respect is deeply wounded if he is passed over in favour of a European on the plea of the latter's supposed superiority. We hope the directors of the Tata Bank have now realized what the public expects of them and every Indian employer of labour ought to profit by the experience of the Tata Bank meeting. Indians have too much respect for the name of the Tatas to say or do anything which will be derogatory to their splendid record of achievements. If critics have used hard language in speaking of the management of the Tata Bank, it is solely due to the high expectations people entertain about their patriotism and solicitude for the rapid economic development of their common motherland. The Tata Bank meeting has a lesson to teach to Indian directors and shareholders and to employers and employes, and it is to be hoped that the lesson will be taken to heart by all parties concerned, our aspiring young men, about whom Sir Dorab had to utter some plain truths, included.

#### EDUCATION IN BOMBAY.

IT is a common experience that most of the Government reports dealing with the activities of their different departments are as a rule, not a day, but a full year, after the fact. This practice of issuing them at a time when matters dealt with therein have to the general public only a historical interest has been in the past severely criticised, but without avail. Coming out as they do several months after the period to which they relate, they cease to attract any attention and even the good work the Government may have accomplished goes practically unnoticed. This is to be regretted, especially at the present time when a campaign to discredit the Government by an unceasing reference to some of its most unpopular measures is in full swing. Whatever may have been the sins of Government in the past in this matter, people have a right to expect the popular ministers to show some improvement in the future. The Bombay Education Report for 1919-20 is an interesting document, though the above criticism is justified even in its case. Its special interest lies in the fact that it is the first report since the educational interests of this province came to be entrusted to the safe keeping of the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye.

The small proportion of Indians in the so-called *Indian Educational Service* is rightly represented by the public. In our province, only 7 out of 43 posts in that service have gone to Indians. The disparity in the numerical strength of the Indian and European elements in this case is unjustifiable, in view of the fact that there is at present no dearth of properly qualified persons, who could be trusted to equal Europeans in the discharge of their duties. It is a matter for satisfaction to note that steps are being taken to improve this unsatisfactory state of things, and we may in the near future hope to see the European element reduced to the minimum. There is good ground for hope in the fact that the present Education Minister has been all his

life a staunch advocate of a complete indianisation of all the Indian services, and especially of the Educational Service. The women's branch of the Educational Department also requires to be developed in the interests of the rapid diffusion of female education. Miss Brooks who was placed on special duty for the formulation of proposals for the development of female education goes further and suggests that the Director should have a lady as his personal assistant who should concern herself with measures to promote the spread of female education. Her idea to have female legislators both in the central and provincial legislatures might sound a bit too ambitious in the present stage of our political development; legal difficulties may even put the proposal out of the pale of practical politics for a few years more; but there can be no doubt that the presence of ladies in our councils will act as a great stimulus to the educational advancement of the softer sex. Strenuous efforts should, therefore, be made by our local legislature to make women in the first instance voters at Council elections, and ultimately legislators themselves.

In educational matters Bombay is popularly believed to be the most advanced province. A comparison with other provinces in the matter of university education however reveals a different state of things. In this respect Madras stands first with the largest number of arts colleges, viz. 45; while Bengal is a good second with 36. U. P. comes third with 19 and Punjab follows next with 13. Bombay stands fifth with 10, which number has remained stationary since 1918-19. Even in regard to the provision for separate arts colleges for women, the same deplorable state of affairs exists in this presidency. Here U. P. stands first with 4; Bengal and Madras come next with 3 each and Punjab follows with 1; while Bombay like Bihar and Orissa and other small provinces cannot boast of a single woman's arts college! It cannot be contended that the existing provision is enough to satisfy the requirements of the presidency in the matter of higher education. The number of those seeking admission to the arts colleges has been steadily increasing and is bound to go up as time passes. The number of lady students seeking higher education has nearly doubled itself during the last decade; and looking to the prevailing prejudice against receiving instruction in mixed classes, there is reason to believe that it would have gone up still higher if there had been a separate women's college located at a central place in the province. The time has, in our opinion, arrived when the establishment of a women's college can no longer be delayed if the province is not to remain woefully behind other advanced provinces in the matter of female education. Before this is attempted, it may perhaps be convenient to revise the present course of education with a view to make it more suitable to women and so as to involve less expenditure of time and money.

As for secondary and primary education, some people detect in the policy of the Education Minis-

ter a desire to foster the former at the cost of the latter. An editorial note in a recent issue of this paper has with the help of statistics conclusively proved that the suspicion was totally unfounded. The Government is definitely committed to a policy of rapid expansion of primary education, and if the new year's budget does not show any substantial provision for this object, it is due to financial difficulties. They had to choose between consolidation and expansion of primary education, and as practical-minded people they naturally decided in favour of the former. It is to be noted that such improvement as they have been able to effect in the pay of the primary teachers is not regarded as altogether satisfactory even by the Director of Public Instruction himself, who considers the permanent rates of pay of these teachers "obsolete" and recognises the fact that "there is an insistent demand on every side for substantial and final improvements." Under these circumstances few will be disposed to doubt that their case admitted of no delay at any rate in partial settlement.

The Boy Scout movement does not appear to be making much headway in this province. It is long since the Government declared its intention to further its growth by every means possible. But nothing tangible seems to have been the result. This year's budget contains a provision of Rs. 24,000 for this purpose and a European officer has very likely been placed on special duty in this connection. It would have overcome a good deal of popular prejudice against the movement, which by the way has suffered by its rather too close association with the Government, if they had appointed an Indian to do that work. If an Indian with the requisite knowledge and experience was not available, they might have followed the example of the U. P. Government and selected a native of this province to proceed to England to undergo training in Sir Robert Baden-Powell's institute in Gilwell Park. Such a course of action, though apparently costly, will prove economical in the long run and may be relied upon to yield better results and facilitate the organisation of the movement on a stable basis.

Even among the officers of the Education Department themselves, a difference of opinion exists as to the utility of Puranic stories and *harikirtans* as a means of raising the moral level of the boys so treated. If the task had been so simple, it would have been accomplished long ago; and we would have had fewer knaves and rogues in India. It is, however, a curious fact that some of these at any rate, if not the majority, are found in the ranks of people who make it a point of saying their prayers thrice every day and engage themselves in their spare hours in a recitation of sacred works like the Bhagavad-gita. Far from making them good people, this has served in several cases as a cloak for their worst sins. The problem of moral instruction in schools is a complicated one; and much depends upon the personality of the teacher. He can by personal example do much to inculcate on young minds the

value of the principles of morality and to prevent them from going wrong; but it is permissible to doubt if the present staff of teachers in Government high schools is in every way fitted to undertake the responsible position of moral instructors. Their conditions of service are hardly such as to inspire their students with respect and veneration for them.

The following extract from the report indicates the state of free and compulsory education:—

"At local board primary schools, no pupil is refused admission for the inability to pay fees. General exemption from primary school-fees has been allowed to children of cess-payers in Sind. A similar concession has been granted to children dependent on combatant soldiers who enlisted since the outbreak of war and remain in service. Primary education has been made free during the year by the municipalities of Haliyal, Matheran, Panwel, Athani, Honaver and Bhivandi. In Sind it is free in the municipalities of Shikarpur, Sukkur, Kambar and Larkhana. The municipalities of Surat, Bandra, Dakore and Byadgi, have been permitted to make education compulsory as well as free. At Surat and Bandra compulsion is applicable to both girls and boys. Satara, Dhulia and Hyderabad are considering the application of compulsion. With not a few municipalities the main difficulty is financial: the municipality is too often unwilling to find its share of the necessary extra cost by additional taxation and looks to Government to provide an undue proportion from provincial funds."

This will be regarded as satisfactory, so far as it goes. But it is equally true that the whole field of illiteracy cannot be covered without a general resort to compulsion in the near future. How soon this will come depends mainly on a more satisfactory condition of the provincial treasury. This year's budget has showed a considerable deficit and it will be a piece of rare good fortune if at the end of the year it is not found to have increased. The provision for the improvement of the salaries of primary teachers already made by Government being generally regarded as insufficient to meet the requirements of the situation, a further revision to meet their hard case will soon have to be made. The secondary school teachers are also agitating for an increment and their demand deserves to be favourably considered. Then the scheme of intermediate colleges which will shortly come up for consideration before the University will require a large outlay of expenditure. More facilities for girls' education are urgently called for and special steps for the encouragement of secondary education among the depressed classes cannot long wait. As a party pledged to spare no effort in the cause of their uplift, the leaders of the Liberal party who are now in office as ministers have fine opportunities of carrying out these promises. It is satisfactory to note that the scheme which the Hon. Mr. Paranjpye has prepared and which, it is to be hoped, will soon be put into execution will go a long way in promoting their educational advancement. The main difficulty in the the path of free and compulsory primary education is thus a financial one. It would be wrong however to suppose that because the ideal is unattainable in the near future, all Government activity for the expansion of primary education would be suspended. In this connection they

would do well to consider the possibilities of the system of double shifts, which was the result of the collaboration of several well-known educationists in Poona. The great virtue of this scheme is believed to be a considerable saving in time and money, and if it serves as a workable basis for Government's attempts at educational expansion, last year's fight in Poona over the question of the simultaneous education of boys and girls could not have been undertaken in vain.

D. V. A.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### THE INDIAN PRINCES AND THE INDIAN ARMY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—The Committee appointed by the Government of India for investigating into the recommendations of the Esher Committee is holding its sittings in Simla. We understand that one of the terms of their reference is, or will be, the consideration of the cost of the army in India. In this connection it will be proper to discuss an aspect of it, to which it seems much attention has not yet been paid. The heavy expenditure on the army may or may not be justified on military grounds, but the burden of the expenditure must be reduced for the Indian ratepayer. All those who are benefited by the army maintained by the Government of India must contribute equally towards its expenses. The States of the Indian Princes who are either in subordination to, or in alliance with, the Government of India are interested equally with, if not more than the Indian ratepayer, and get the benefit of the army maintained by the Government of India. Some of the army maintained by the States of the Indian Princes or by the Government of India is no doubt meant to supplement the police for preserving internal peace and order, but the greater portion of the army and the high efficiency which it is desired to attain are for external purposes. Then, in justice, to the Indian ratepayer why should the Indian Princes not be asked to contribute in proportion to their revenues and population towards the cost of the Indian army? It will, perhaps, be said that the Indian States maintain the Imperial Service Troops and pay for them. It may be pointed out that these troops cannot by any means be called part of the Indian army. They should be left out of account altogether. The principle of contribution by the Indian States to the Indian army was recognised by the Government of India and the Indian States when the Imperial Service Troops were organised. Conditions have undergone a considerable change since then and therefore the maintenance of the Imperial Service Troops on the lines on which it was originally organised has no force. During the last war whatever contributions were made in men and money by the Indian Princes, were made as part of the burden which they ought to have borne and they did bear it. Under the circumstances it will be better if the entire army of India is maintained under one organisation and command, with the Commander-in-Chief at its head. The recruitment for the army may be made in the various Indian States, but the Princes should be asked to contribute towards the Common Army Fund; and the joint fund for the army should be administered by the Government of India. Let us hope that the attention of the Government of India and the army Committee will be directed to this object also.—Yours, etc.

GOPINATH KUNZRU.

Obhili Int, Agra, May 29.

### TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

DR. A. B. KEITH, in his recent monograph on "Dominion Home Rule in Practice," published

by the Oxford University Press, refers to the disabilities from which Indians suffer in self-governing colonies. After detailing their grievances in South Africa, he adds: "New Zealand also in 1920 has found it necessary to increase the stringency of her legislation against Indian immigration, on the ground that Indians have succeeded in learning enough English during residence in Fiji to pass the language test which has hitherto been the mode adopted for purposes of exclusion, and the new method adopted is certain to wound Indian susceptibilities. In Canada labour agitators urge the deportation of all resident Indians, and all these issues can be dealt with in conference, where some solution may be evolved more easily than by correspondence." Let us hope the Imperial Peace Cabinet will reach a satisfactory solution, but if "the time is clearly past when the United Kingdom could profitably seek by exercise of the power of disallowance to control Dominion legislation in these matters" and if the matter must be fought out between India and the Dominions, no permanent solution is possible till India also attains the status of a Dominion. In the meanwhile a possible leverage may be obtained in the fact that "the Dominions have accepted the position that India is entitled to apply to immigrants from the Dominions the same rules as are applied in the Dominions to immigrants from India"; the possibilities of such a policy of reciprocity, to be applied only when the Dominions prove recalcitrant, have never been properly explored.

It will be remembered that, in the discussion of reform proposals, that for the constitution of standing committees on the lines of the French Commissions occupied a prominent place. In the following passage in Mr. T. P. O'Connor's speech (May 5) in the House of Commons will be found arguments on one side very forcibly put. He commends the example of France in regard to the formation of committees as diffusing the knowledge of administrative problems among the members of the legislature and thus establishing democratic in the place of bureaucratic control:

In the French Chamber they have a series of what are called Commissions. All the great departments of State—War, Munitions, the Foreign Office, and the rest, each of these departments has a Commission of, I think, 25 members. These Commissions are formed by proportional representation, and in the fairest and most equitable manner. . . These Commissions have the right of summoning the Minister and asking for papers, and they have the duty of being in constant consultation. The result is that every single act of the Foreign Office (this speech was made on the Foreign Office vote), as well as of other Departments, before it is finally taken, has to be submitted to the consultation, and to a large extent the direction, of its particular Commission. That has two consequences. The first is that there is control of the Foreign Minister. . . The second result. . . is that every member of the Chamber of Deputies or of the Senate has his due share in the conduct of the business of the country.

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