

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE importance of the events on the Western front and the progress of the Allies, has been for the moment thrown into the shade by the complete and sudden collapse of the Powers associated with Germany. Bulgaria was the first to drop out of the war. This rendered the work of the Allies easy in the Balkans. The Serbians have recovered most of their territory and re-established themselves in the capital. The unconditional surrender of Turkey not only improved the situation in the Balkans still further, but it has completely established the supremacy of the Allies at the other end of the war zone. The Dardanelles has been thrown open, the last remnants of the hostile fleet in the Black Sea will soon be captured or silenced, and it looks as though Turkish sovereignty to the south of Asia Minor will be a thing of the past. It has been declared that a new Arab State is going to be created with its capital at Aleppo, and practically the whole of Mesopotamia is in British hands. Armenia is an old sore and still an open one. So the Allies are not likely to allow Turkey to retain it. There thus remain only European Turkey and Asia Minor to the credit of this premier Mahomedan State in two continents. It has been claimed that the victory over Turkey has been obtained solely by British arms. All the greater reason why Indians should be proud of this achievement as the bulk of the army acting against Turkey was made up of Indian troops. We only wish that full justice would be done to them and no attempts made to boom the colonials at the expense of the Indians. Times out of number has this been done in the past, but we hope and trust that nothing

of the kind will happen at least in this war, which is being waged in the cause of justice and fair play.

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THE break-up of the Austrian Empire will cause no surprise to anybody. The wonder of it is that this heterogeneous mass could hold together so long, in spite of severe shocks. The Hapsburgs, who were the sovereigns of that Empire, lost the title of German Emperors hundred and twelve years ago. Sixty years after that they were ignominiously expelled out of Germany by Prussia. During the last century the Dual Monarchy had to bear the intolerable strain of an incessant conflict among its members. The internal struggles between the Germans, the Greeks, the Slovaks, the Magyars, the Croats, the Rumanians and other small nationalities for influence and power, or supremacy and independence, have been watched with the closest attention by the leading statesmen of Europe and have given rise to endless speculation among them. The recent events in Austria-Hungary, too numerous to be detailed here, have shown clearly that that Empire is in a state of dissolution and, if the report about the departure of Emperor Karl from Vienna is reliable, it can be interpreted only as having completed the process.

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THE situation in Germany is not quite so clear. Rumours about the abdication of the Kaiser often obtain currency, and are as often contradicted. The constitutional changes required by President Wilson have been carried out, the Kaiser appears to have changed his part and, instead of opposing reforms, to have placed himself at the head of the party of reform. It will be of interest to note what attitude the Allies propose to take up in view of this transformation. They have proclaimed so often that they could not trust the Kaiser's word that they cannot now accept his promise to be a 'good boy' in future. On the other hand there may be difficulties if they continue their attitude. However the complete isolation of Germany and the military events of the last few days would appear to have left Germany no choice, and if the German Government does not speak of complete and unconditional surrender, the terms of the armistice will substantially amount to this. The news about the uneasiness in the Rhenish provinces confirms this view. After all the terms of the armistice cannot,

now, be long delayed and may be made known almost any day.

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WE find it imagined by certain people that the abstention of the Moderates as a party from the Congress will necessarily be permanent hereafter. There was nothing in the proceedings of the Moderates' Conference to produce or lend colour to this impression. If the party forms a solid organisation of its own or determines upon annual or periodical sessions, it is independently of its attitude towards the Congress and should not preclude its participation in the latter. In fact, it is necessary, in view of the approaching Congress session, that the Moderates in the various provinces should consider the desirability of attending the Delhi sitting and arrive at a decision. If they go into the Congress, it will of course be for the purpose of urging there the views which they have formulated in their party conference, and the fact that they have previously met and considered the reforms question in the light of their principles will certainly give them added strength and invest their opinion with greater weight. It will of course be open to them to vote in a body against any resolutions, adopted by the Congress, from which they may dissent, and refuse to be bound by such resolutions. For the present, it is clear that the organisation by the Moderates of a conference of their own does not exclude the possibility of their attending the future meetings of the Congress and thus ending the separation which was intended to be temporary by many among them.

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The *Hindu*, while commenting on the proceedings of the Moderates' Conference, expresses its opinion, and claims for it an endorsement by the Congress—that the reform scheme in its present shape may prove a trap, calculated to put back the hands of the clock in Indian development. If the *Hindu* sees in the present proposals, so much reaction and so little progress, and if this view has the sanction of the Congress, we have two remarks to make: first, that, in these circumstances, there is ample justification for a separate conference of the Moderates, who hold that the present proposals mark a distinct advance on the present conditions, and the suggestion that the differences between the two views are unnecessarily magnified carries its own refutation; and second, that there is no justification for the abandonment or weakening of the policy of rejection which the editor of the *Hindu* at first advocated. Curiously enough, the *Hindu* finds the gravest defects of the scheme in provincial reconstruction, and cares comparatively little for a simultaneous liberalisation of the central Government. If the defects in the machinery of local Governments are cured, "the reform of the Government of India," it says, "is a mere matter of time," and being prepared to postpone it to the popularisation of provincial Governments, it cannot understand the insistence with

which the Moderates' Conference urged the reform of the supreme Government. We are sure that this view is not shared by any representative organ of public opinion, and that the country is unanimously in favour of introducing responsible government into the Government of India and the provincial Governments at the same time.

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WHILE the *Round Table* thinks that even the proposed changes in the Government of India are too far-reaching, making for a "dangerous weakness" in the executive, it is gratifying to find Mr. Bernard Houghton pressing for its liberalisation simultaneously with local Governments. "The least measure," he says, "that can bring about a degree of harmony between Simla and the Indian people, and ensure that it will neither let nor hinder, but truly help forward, the march towards self-government, would seem to lie in the reform of the central Government on the same lines as those in the provinces. That is to say, certain subjects should be transferred to Indian ministers, selected from the Legislative Assembly. In such a change there is nothing cataclysmal, nothing to inspire fear or to shake confidence. It forms a reasonable half-way house on the way to self-government. It gives occasion whereby the people may learn the art of ruling, and the rulers may shed the hard shell of bureaucracy." Continuing, the writer adds: "If, as none may doubt, the goal before India is federation, the Council of State may well remain as the embryo of a future Senate. The function of a Senate is to preserve the autonomy, the independent life, of the provinces, whilst the other Chamber expresses, develops and quickens the life of the nation as a whole. Of necessity the Council of State will at first have a strong official tinge. For that reason, and because the present is a stage of transition and training, its power over transferred subjects should be limited. In reserved subjects it should be supreme."

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PROF. BIJAPURKAR is to be congratulated upon the success which has crowned his efforts to secure the sympathy of the Government of Bombay for the educational experiment he proposes to carry out at Talegaon Dabhada in Poona District. It is a revival of the defunct Samartha Vidyalaya, on a new basis, as the name "Navin Samartha Vidyalaya" clearly shows. The rearrangement of the standards and the change in the medium of instruction make this experiment in secondary education worthy of the most careful attention. For our part we shall await the results of the experiment with the keenest interest. The sympathy of Government will remove any feelings of distrust that might otherwise have been entertained by the public, and the personnel of the council will be a sure guarantee that the Navin Samartha Vidyalaya will carry on its educational work on sound lines. We trust that the people of Maharashtra will support this experiment with liberal donations.

THE *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, while discussing the question of child-murder in U. P., appears to blame the law which inflicts capital punishment on a woman guilty of murdering her (usually illegitimate) child. It gives no credit to the authorities who invariably reduce this sentence to a few years' imprisonment. In its opinion, any stick is good enough to beat the law and the authorities. We should have thought that in this case at least, it would have appreciated the humanity of Government, and would for a change, have exhorted Indians to look into the causes that almost compel a woman to have recourse to murdering her illegitimate offspring, and perhaps, even advocated a betterment of the lot of widows who form the bulk of such offenders, as they are not allowed to remarry, and thus live a natural life. It might have had a word to say about the desirability of the establishment of properly conducted homes where women who have fallen victims to our bad social customs can be properly cared for. But no! "You may blame the social custom of the country if you like," says the *Patrika*, meaning, of course, that it does not do so itself. Nothing Indian can possibly be bad is its motto, and as a corollary everything done by Government must be attacked. In this connection it may be mentioned, there is in England an offence called constructive murder and a person performing an illegal operation on a woman and the woman herself are condemned to death though the sentence is invariably commuted to a period of imprisonment. It is, no doubt, hard that the law cannot differentiate between murders of different kinds; but a portion of the guilt of such crimes falls assuredly on the heads of people who will never lift a finger to improve admitted evils in Indian society and will only pour ridicule on those that do.

THE *Round Table* thinks that the proportion of Indians in the Indian civil service, recommended by the Public Services Commission, would have satisfied Indian aspirations, if the Commission's recommendation had been immediately carried out. It is therefore of the opinion that the increase in that proportion, which is proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, is unnecessary and also undesirable inasmuch as, in its opinion, the British element of the service will help forward the movement towards responsible government better, having had long experience, as a race, of this type of government. But it is surprising that the *Round Table* should not see that it is against the interests of the service to substitute popular for bureaucratic, responsible for non-responsible government, and that the Indians anticipate the greatest difficulty from this class. "It is this caste apart, trained in a tradition opposed in every imaginable way to the spirit of democracy which inhabits the institutions of responsible self-government, that is to be entrusted with the carrying out of the policy contained in the pronouncement of August 20, 1917, to which effect is to be given

by a measure based upon the proposals now before the public," and this circumstance is looked upon by Indians as the most unpromising instead of as the most promising, as the *Round Table* would fain imagine. But even assuming that the European section of the civil service would loyally nurse the democratic reforms, why should the *Round Table* forget that the Indian proportion recommended by the report is a proportion only of fresh recruitment, and that while the reforms are being worked and Indians are obtaining experience of the new policy, the present members of the service will be available to guide our organs of self-government, if they are better qualified to do so. The disapprobation by the *Round Table* of the increased Indian proportion is thus utterly indefensible.

WHILE the world is moving forward by rapid strides in the direction of solid progress, the bureaucrats in India stick to their old shibboleths and formulæ of experiment and procrastination. The reply of the Punjab Government refusing to sanction the scheme of free and compulsory primary education planned by the Multan municipality is an instance in point. Being fully aware of the reluctance of the Government to bear even a fraction of the cost of such a measure, the Municipality had offered to take up the whole and undivided responsibility of the financial burden. In these circumstances, one should have expected that Government would lend its enthusiastic support to the scheme forwarded to them for their sanction. But it is astonishing to find that the Punjab Government could not see their way to sanction such a simple measure. We fail to understand the necessity of awaiting the results of a similar experiment in the District Local Boards.

IN the present storm and turmoil over the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, the opposing forces of its enemies occasionally seem to gain in strength. The Sind Mahomedan Association, whose views on the Indian constitutional reforms have been recently published, has added one more name to the list of its detractors. In their representation, which is in the main a plea for communal electorates, the committee of the Association declares that the Chelmsford-Montagu scheme has been considered and framed without proper understanding of the Muslim point of view. Their verdict on the scheme as a whole is that "they would rather reject the scheme *in toto* than accept it in its present form as hostile to the last degree to Muslim interests and threatening the community with permanent ruin." The exaggeration in such a statement is too gross to need correction. Further on with regard to the subject of education, the committee remarks that "if education is to be a transferred subject in Bombay, they regard it as absolutely essential that it should be in charge of a Mussalman-minister, chosen from Sind." Further comment on this suggestion is superfluous.

## MODERATES IN SESSION.

CONSIDERING the conditions in which the Conference of Moderates met, it was a distinct success. A great many men, some of these well-known throughout India, would have attended the session but for the influenza epidemic, still at its height in parts of the country. Either the would-be delegates themselves or their relations were down with an attack. The number 500, which the President mentioned in his concluding speech, was certainly larger than was at one time anticipated. If the conditions were more favourable, it might easily have been half as large again. The quality of the attendance was high and it included several of the best known and most influential Congressmen. We have heard it observed that the proceedings were not marked by much animation or enthusiasm. Surely, the same exuberant and demonstrative vitality could not be expected at the gathering of Moderates as could be expected at a large assembly, which looked forward to lively scenes and excited debates.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha pitched his welcome speech in a moderate and dignified key, avoiding details and enforcing the fundamental principles of his party. It was a timely reminder to the public, his reference to the need of what Mr. Hume called the parliamentary spirit and to the advice of Mr. Bradlaugh never to expect more than a part, not to be downhearted if we got only a part, of what we demanded. The address of the President abounded with wise reflexions and practical suggestions. Perhaps the judgment was correct, which made him dwell with emphasis on the excellences of the scheme and touch but lightly on the necessary modifications. But many amongst the audience might well have thought that the President allowed this judgment to carry him too far. He left no doubt as to his willingness to take the scheme as it was, supposing it was not improved in any direction. This is one of the points upon which the attitude of the Moderates is most separated from that of the other party. Lest, however, the British authorities should take advantage of this admission on his part, he wound up with a most solemn and impressive note of warning to the British Cabinet as to the dire consequences of undue delay in passing the reform bill, or of a whittling down of the specific proposals of the scheme. To the Anglo-Indian community he had a hortatory word. He bade them join in what he called "the holy work of inaugurating responsible government in this ancient land." We hope, but dare not expect, that the counsel will fall on willing ears. The average Englishman in India has looked on our political activities and those engaged in them with a feeling either of hatred or contempt. For co-operation a feeling of respect is essential. Unless a moral miracle takes place, this feeling of respect will not come into existence till some time after the Englishman has submitted to the inevitable. We were much

struck by the President's contention that the scheme was not vitiated by undue mistrust of the people. Caution, due to the novelty of democratic institutions in India, there was, and properly enough. But he refused to admit, and in this opinion we agree, that mistrust of the people as "a moral distemper" has led the authors of the report to make mock of our aspirations or put forward suggestions injurious to our self-respect. Practised disputant as he is, we fear he gave too fine a point to the plea that the British Government stood pledged in many indirect ways to Mr. Montagu's scheme. There is no doubt that the position taken by the Cabinet is ambiguous; but seeing that the Anglo-Indians, both in England and in India, are shouting forth this very charge, the President of the Moderates' Conference need not have been anxious to press the argument from appearances home. We know eminent men in India and tried friends of ours in England deprecate the delay in the Cabinet's decision in the matter. The idea apparently is that it affords both time and encouragement to the opposition. At the same time it must be borne in mind that a premature committal might jeopardise the necessary expansion and improvement of the scheme. The delay so much complained against may turn out in the end to have been a blessing in disguise. Special attention deserves to be paid to the warning given by one who is no stranger to political strategy that we are not yet out of the wood. The scheme has many and strong enemies. The recent debate in the Lords' House has deepened the uneasiness as to its fate. Sanguine spirits have too readily assumed that the scheme *must* come; the requirements of the Peace Conference, the pressure of the American President, the fine phrases of the Premier have combined to produce a sense of security, which may prove to be false. It has always seemed to us that the forces in our favour might not prove fully efficacious if a strong volume of Indian opinion were not added to them. We have seen it urged that fulfilment of the declaration of 20th August 1917 is a solemn duty, the discharge of which does not depend on the friendliness or unfriendliness of Indian opinion. True, but what if the British Cabinet or the British Parliament pleaded that while they were anxious to fulfil the pledge, Indian opinion did not help them find out the precise measures necessary? It is this plea which the public of India, or any large section of it, should not put into the armoury of the Sydenhamites. We are not yet out of the wood.

## II.

THE resolutions adopted by the Conference bear evident marks of a desire, first, to save the scheme, and, secondly, to improve it in real compliance with the conditions of the famous August declaration. The approval of the scheme is thorough and wholehearted. To many critics a general verdict on the scheme is irrelevant. They profess to concentrate on its criticism or modifica-

tion. To others, however, such a verdict is of the utmost importance. These will find a complete contrast between the verdict of the special session of the Congress and that of the Moderates' Conference. Other material differences are to be found on the question of complete provincial autonomy and the time limit, the institutions of the grand committees and the Council of State, and communal representation. The Congress asserted the immediate fitness of the people of India for full responsible government, and it was only to save the delay involved in a controversy that it agreed to any restrictions of autonomy, which, however, should be removed within six years in the case of the provinces and fifteen years in the case of the central Government. The Conference refrains from any assertion of fitness and the fixation of a time limit, abiding in both these respects by the August declaration without question. The Congress said nothing on the question of communal representation in the legislature, but the Conference accepts a compromise between contending views suggested by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and agreed to by the spokesmen of the backward communities and non-Brahmans of Madras and the Deccan, who were present. The representation, according to this compromise, is to be obtained not through special electorates but through the device of reserving seats in multiple constituencies, and even this device is to last only till the first periodic commission comes out. The Congress condemned, in the first instance, both the grand committees and the Council of State; the Conference acquiesces in these institutions.

These differences, however, should not be allowed to obscure the large measure of agreement between the resolutions of the Congress and those of the Conference on certain vital issues. Both parties want the Government of India liberalised. Both parties demand fiscal freedom for India. Both parties ask that the Indian element should form one half in the executive Government of India. Both parties ask that the popular houses should elect their presidents and vice-presidents. Both parties protest against the phrases "good government" and "sound financial administration" in the viceregal formula of certification. Both parties require that the elective majority in the legislatures should be four-fifths. Both parties wish the reserved list to be as small and the transferred list to be as large as possible. Both parties would have ministers placed on a footing of perfect equality with the members of the executive council. Both parties ask for a complete separation of the judicial and the executive functions and other administrative improvements. Both parties wish the ordinary constitutional rights, such as freedom of the press and public meetings and open judicial trial safeguarded, though in different ways. We trust that these numerous points, upon which enlightened Indian opinion is unanimous, will be pressed on the attention of the authorities in England by the deputations that

will proceed from the different bodies and that most, if not all of them, will find embodiment in the final enactment.

A new principle, which the Conference has affirmed for the first time, is that although a community may have a special electorate of its own, it should be open to any individual belonging to it, to enrol himself in the general electorate, if he prefers the latter. We suppose that the reason of the principle is that the more cosmopolitan members of a community should have the freedom to act according to their convictions. At first this option may not be taken advantage of by a considerable number; but in course of time the number is bound to increase and hasten the day when the community, as a whole, will be prepared to merge its interests in those of the nationality. There is another new suggestion adopted by the Conference of which we are unable to write in similar terms of approval, i. e., that exceptional repressive legislation should not be carried through the Council of State alone, or in spite of the declared opinion of the Legislative Assembly, without the approval of the Select Committee of the House of Commons proposed to be set up under the scheme. Our hesitation in regard to this suggestion is based on the character of this Select Committee. It is intended only to assist the House of Commons and not to exercise any executive or legislative authority, whether in the first instance or by way of appeal. There is probably no precedent for giving such authority to a Select Committee, and it is difficult to say whether it will have the desired effect, even if Parliament could be persuaded to accept it. It was explained that the approval of the Select Committee would take the place of the approval of the Secretary of State to legislation in India. The approval of the Secretary of State is, we believe, given in exercise of the function of the Crown. Can such a function be exercised, except through the accustomed constitutional channel? We have our misgivings as to the propriety of another proposal which has found favour with the Conference, but in this case the misgivings are not constitutional. The Council of State is devised for the purpose, among others, of enabling the executive to legislate for the reserved subjects, if such there be, and for subjects certified by the Viceroy. Its constitution must make it therefore possible for the executive to carry such legislation without doubt or uncertainty. To raise the elective element in it to one half the total strength, is practically to hamper the executive. The elected European members no doubt support the Government in all essential matters at present. Can it be assumed that they will do so in future also? More and more, as real power gets into the hands of the people's representatives the European section of the Council will be obliged in their own interests to treat with the majority. The official element is to number 25, the elected element 21, and the nominated non-official element is to comprise the remaining 4. Doubtless this gives a safe margin

for Government. We may push the elective element a little farther and fix it at 23, for example; but to squeeze out the nominated non-official element altogether and establish an equality between the official and elective elements is, to all intents and purposes, to abolish this margin.

### THE SINGLE VOTE AND THE CUMULATIVE VOTE.

WE showed last week that one of the greatest uses of proportional representation was to secure the representation of substantial minorities if they are keen about it, and in India these minorities are mainly religious and communal. There are several other ways which can to a certain extent secure the same end, but they are accompanied by such fatal defects that it would introduce new evils into the representative system. We propose to describe these and discuss their merits and demerits.

The first method is that of the *limited vote*, which was tried some years ago in some British constituencies. In this method a constituency returns three members, and each voter has only two votes which he must give to two separate candidates. It can be proved that by this method an organised minority, slightly greater than two-fifths of the constituency, can under any circumstances secure the return of one candidate and may secure that of two or even three, if the remaining voters are not properly organised. The possibilities of this method were thoroughly investigated and actually realised in Birmingham by the Liberal party in the olden days of Chamberlain and Schuadhorst; but it requires such perfect discipline among the supporters of every party that no reasonable person now advocates its adoption. The ballot also is a sure enemy to such perfect discipline, and we need not consider the limited vote any more.

A second method is the single vote in multi-membered constituencies. Thus, a constituency returns several members, but each voter can only vote for one of the candidates, and those candidates that secure the highest number of votes are declared elected. Thus it does not necessarily follow, and generally does not happen, that each successful candidate secures the necessary quota of votes. Thus if in a six-membered constituency there are 12,000 voters, and fifteen candidates stand for election, it may happen that the votes obtained by them may be as follow:

5000, 4000, 2000, 300, 180, 160, 70, 60, 50, 40, 30, 30, 30, 20.

The first six will then be elected. In this election the quota is 1715 so that three of the candidates only have that number of supporters. But it will be seen that the 160 voters who voted for the last successful candidate have secured one representative, while the first man represents 5000. In the assembly each of the former voters thus exerts greater influence than

each of the latter. If there were no ballot this method may prove more successful; but with the ballot every candidate will try to secure as many votes as he can. Hence it is very disadvantageous for a party to put forward a too popular candidate, for all the voters of that party will vote for him; while therefore that party will secure the first seat, a comparatively much smaller party may secure several seats. Thus in the illustrative figures given above, if the fourth, fifth and sixth candidates belong to a single party, it will follow that 540 votes out of 12,000 have been able to secure half the representation. This is evidently an absurd state of things. On the other hand, a party that has a quota of votes may not secure a seat at all if two or three candidates from that party stand for election and split its votes. This method of the single vote is now in practice in municipal elections in India. The evils attending it are well known. There is a great deal of back-door negotiation going on between several candidates, and very often many are induced to retire by several kinds of hardly legal means. When vote is so valuable, a great deal of encouragement is given to corruption and any system of representation must minimise these incitements to corruption and other undesirable consequences. If the voting were open and the number of voters actually voting were known beforehand, the system would not result either in a waste of votes or in a very small number of votes securing a seat. But all this is remedied by the system of the single transferable vote as sketched last week. Of course the work of the count is very simple in the single vote, but it is only a trained man that has to do the counting and the ordinary voter need not trouble about its difficulties.

A third method for securing the representation of minorities is the *cumulative vote*. In this system there are again multi-membered constituencies, and each voter is given as many votes as there are seats to be filled, but he can distribute these either singly among the candidates or give more than one, all if he chooses, to any one candidate. Theoretically, this system is equivalent to the preceding one, with each of the votes of that system multiplied by five, if there are five seats to be filled, but the value of each vote is also reduced to one-fifth. The quota would be five times the quota under that system, and the same evils of wasting votes, &c., arise in this case also. To take the same case as before there would be altogether 72,000 votes and the quota will be 10,286. The only advantage of this system is that a voter is given some choice. A minority that has 1715 supporters only may, by asking each of them to give all his six votes to the candidate that it is running, secure his return for a certainty. But if the party has two candidates and neither of them is willing to retire in favour of the other, it may go without any representation at all. The evils attendant upon strict party discipline, corruption, &c., will continue under this method. Under this method a too popular candidate may not

be such a great evil; for his supporters may perhaps feel that they have sufficiently given their testimony to his popularity by giving him one or two votes and then proceed to give their other votes to other candidates. It is also possible that a very popular candidate may under both these systems run some danger of rejection altogether. For his rivals may represent to the voters that he is sure in any case and then ask them to give their votes or cumulate their votes in their own favour. Thus six years ago, in the election of two members to the Imperial Council by the non-officials of the Bombay Council, under the cumulative system the late Mr. Gokhale was in imminent danger of being altogether rejected in this way. If the voters had been asked their opinion, as in the single transferable vote, they would almost unanimously have made Mr. Gokhale their first choice, whatever may be the second. He would then have headed the poll, as everybody felt he should have, but in the actual election he only scraped in by the skin of his teeth. In many actual elections, carried out under the cumulative system, the votes secured by the highest and lowest successful candidates show a very great disparity; and the principle of the quota is altogether disregarded. The counting of the votes under this system is also more troublesome; for each voting paper has to be carefully examined to see if the voter has registered more than the proper number of votes, in which case the paper is invalid. The numbers to be taken into consideration are larger and the actual count would take longer time. The cumulative vote also postulates literacy on the part of the voter and is therefore no easier than the single transferable vote, which does the same. The single vote may be registered even by an illiterate voter with the minimum of tuition.

It will thus be seen that, though it is possible for a substantial minority to secure representation with both the single vote or the cumulative vote, the object can only be attained if the voters are all properly organised and if they as well as the candidates are ready to obey the party caucus. The system of the single transferable vote secures every desirable result that can be secured by either of these systems and has the further merit of securing to each party or minority representation just in proportion to its strength, neither more nor less.

R. P. PARANJPYE.

### THE FOREST DEPARTMENT IN KANARA.

I BEG to point out in this article some of the broad results of the working of the Forest Department in Kanara. No apology is required as the matter is an important one and seriously affects the interests of the people.

The first thing that strikes us is the increase in the forest area. I take figures from 1904-1905 for two reasons, first because they are more modern, and secondly because the area of the district has practi-

cally remained unchanged since then. The forest area in 1904 was 20,02,955 acres and rose to 20,71,065 in 1916—an increase of 68,110 acres. In a recent answer to the Hon'ble Mr. Belvi's question, Government stated that 55 whole villages have been absorbed into forest. Indeed this process of afforestation has been going on for a very long time, and that too against the expressed wishes of Government. In G. R. of 1902 on the Land Revenue Settlement of Sirsi Taluka, Government have distinctly stated that they regard with disfavour the process of afforestation that is going on in Kanara. But the resolution remained unheeded. Again in their resolution of 1910 on the Forest Settlement of Ankola Taluka, the principles of which were meant to be applied to similar conditions in Kanara, Government is still more emphatic.

"It is observed that in several instances old cultivation has been absorbed into forest. This result is not in the opinion of Government, altogether satisfactory. Relinquishment of land has probably been due to the pressure and troublesomeness to the people, of the surrounding forest, the ravages of wild animals and so forth, combined with deterioration of climate also due to the spread of forest. The policy which Government prefer is to maintain and extend permanent and good cultivation such as rice and garden, wherever the soil and conditions are suitable. In order to encourage the resumption of cultivation where it has been abandoned, and the extension of it elsewhere, the Collector should be authorized to give out lands, in consultation where necessary with the Divisional Forest Officer, on easy terms, attaching to the land so given out, sufficient areas of wood-land hadi as may be required to provide Soppu and other necessary facilities." And again: "The extent of forest in Kanara is such that some curtailment will not injure them appreciably for either productive or protective purposes."

But still the process has not stopped. Corresponding to this increase in forest area, there is a steady decrease in the total population. In 1901, the population was 4,54,490 which, though apparently a slight increase on that of 1891, was thought by Mr. Enthoven to have fallen short of the estimate formed by him by about 20,000; and he remarked: "The effect of the next ten years on the population of this most picturesque corner of the Presidency should be closely scrutinised." The population in 1911 fell to 4,30,548—an actual decrease of 23,942 since 1901. According to Mr. Enthoven's idea of estimate, the population since 1891 must have increased by 1911 to more than 5,00,000; but it has actually fallen below the figure by about 70,000. And we see that whereas in the below-ghat talukas, where the proportion of forest to the total area is about 75 per cent., the population has decreased only by 25 per cent., in the above-ghat talukas, where the proportion of forest to the total area is about 85 per cent., it has decreased by more than 13 per cent. The death-rate also of the above-ghat talukas exceeds the birth rate much more than in the below-ghat talukas. The cause of this is plain enough—malaria. The authors of the Census Report of 1911 say—"All the Talukas situate above the Sahyadris have declined while the coast population has varied only a few hundreds; the cause of this is-

malaria." Malaria is the direct result of the forest coming to the very door of the cultivator. I am told by a competent authority that if forest round Yellapur Taluka town were cleared for a mile or so, Yellapur would not be the uninhabitable place that it is now.

Another cause of the decrease in population, though to a smaller extent, connected with the forest is that, on account of the withdrawal of many forest privileges and especially the stoppage of Kumri (wood-ash tillage), many of the cultivators have emigrated to Mysore where lands are given out to them on very advantageous terms for cultivation (*vide* article on Kumri Cultivation in the *Mysore Economic Journal*, June 1918). The process still continues, as we learn from the Bombay Administration Report of 1915-16. Wherever Kumri rights have been re-introduced they have arrested emigration. Referring to its introduction in Bhatkal Petha in accordance with G. R., Revenue Department, No. 5203 of 22nd May 1907, Mr. Maxwell in his recently published report on the Revenue Settlement of Honavar Taluka says:—"This measure has to some extent locally arrested the emigration of Marathas to Mysore." We see, therefore, how far the Forest Department has been responsible for the decrease in population. And this in the case of a district in which the population is quite insufficient. The remark of Colonel Anderson that Kanara cannot spare population is as true to-day as when it was made in 1874.

Next, regarding agricultural stock. Look at the following table:—

Year of Cattle Census.	Plough Cattle.		Milch Cattle.	
	Oxen.	He-buffaloes	Cows.	She-Buffaloes
1905	83,333	22,983	76,574	27,517
1915	80,514	21,300	67,101	23,556

We see there is a general decline in the number of cattle. When the last revision settlement was being introduced in the Haliyal Taluka, this fact of the gradual decline in agricultural stock was brought to the notice of Mr. McGregor, the settlement officer, who appeared puzzled over it and said "Why, I don't quite know except that as cultivation improves, the number of cattle always decreases!" But there need have been no puzzle. There can be no doubt, that the serious curtailment of the grazing rights has much to do with it. The poor quality of the cattle too, is due to that. In the papers relating to the first revision settlement of Kumtha Taluka, which have been just published, Mr Maxwell, the settlement officer, says: "The cattle for want of good grazing and fodder are exceptionally poor." So again the Commissioner, S. D., in his remarks on the Forest Department Report of 1916-17 says: "The lack of grazing in Kanara is accentuated by the fact that a very large proportion of the cattle are unfit for -abour."

Concurrently with this the net cropped area of the district has declined. In 1904, it was 2,25,287 acres, and in 1916 it fell to 2,11,899—a decrease of 13,388 acres. Here again the same cause has been at work, the large curtailments of forest privileges including the stoppage of Kumri and a stricter enforcement of forest restrictions. Not only this, but greater restrictions are being imposed. Since 1912 a special fuel cess of 2½ annas per guntha of sugar-cane cultivation is being charged, and the sugar-cane area, which, as observed by Mr. Swift in 1908, was already declining owing to the then forest restrictions, has still further decreased. And while cropped area has decreased, the available margin for increase of cultivation consisting of the assessed waste land has also decreased from 47,080 acres in 1904 to 40,265 acres in 1916.

But mark. While population, cattle, cropped area and available margin for increase of cultivation all decreased, fallows show a progressive increase. In 1904 the area under fallows is, 1,11,832 acres, but in 1916 it has increased to 1,27,530 acres—a big increase of 15,698 acres within 12 years. How can this be accounted for except on the hypothesis that the larger the forest, the greater the fallow? And we know, as a matter of fact, that even in Kanara itself the proportion of fallows to the cultivable area is larger in the above-ghat talukas with a higher percentage of forest area than in the below-ghat talukas with a lesser percentage.

So then we see that in Kanara population decreases, cattle decrease, cropped area decreases, the available margin for increase of cultivation also decreases. Forest area alone increases and along with it our hardy fallows. I do not mean to say that the decrease is all on account of the process of afforestation or curtailment of privileges, but a great part of it undoubtedly is. And if that is so, can the administration of the Forest Department in Kanara be pronounced a success?

S. G. WARTY.

### IMPRESSIONS OF THE MODERATES' CONFERENCE.

WHEN I left Madras to attend the Moderates' Conference, I was painfully aware that our Congress leaders, who are generally known to hold sober views on politics, were not going to attend it. They had attended the special Congress and influenced the proceedings to a great extent, and though they were not quite satisfied with the result, they still considered themselves not free to join the Moderates' Conference or to communicate their sympathy with it. It was therefore no surprise to me that our Presidency, which is usually very well represented at Congress meetings, was here represented by only about ten delegates. It was believed that some supporters of the non-Brahmana movement who, while advocating communal re-



presentation, are not prepared to join hands with reactionary Anglo-Indians, would attend this Conference with a view to support the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms and also to press the acceptance of communal representation, for Madras at least, upon the Conference. At the last moment, however, they seem to have changed their mind as only two of them were present. It is now a truism to say that the Moderates in their present unorganised condition form a minority in Indian politics. If they were not in a minority, there would have been no need for a separate conference. When with this are remembered the self-restraint of the special Congress resolutions and the odium meted out to seceders by the powerful hostile press, no one could reasonably expect a very large gathering. It was therefore an agreeable surprise to me that as many as 500 delegates should have been present and no less than 160 persons should have telegraphed their regret at being unable to attend, on account of influenza attacking them or their nearest relations. Among the latter were men like Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pandit Jagat Narain, Sir R. N. Mukherjee, Sir B. C. Mitter, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Dr. Manoharlal of Lahore. Under the circumstances the attendance of delegates was satisfactory.

A feature of the Conference was the orderly and dignified conduct of the proceedings throughout. There was no confusion of any kind, no selfish disregard of authority on the part of speakers, which makes the position of the President so irksome and delicate, no party recriminations, no cries of shame, &c. Will it therefore be inferred that there was no enthusiasm? Those who make such an inference do not know the difference between noise and emotion. To me this Conference was a model of what an assembly of educated men should be. The level of speeches was very high—not only of the movers of resolutions who are generally well-known public men, but of seconders and supporters also. On one or two occasions the deepest and tenderest emotions were stirred. The closing scene was certainly one such. After the vote of thanks to the chair was carried, Babu Surendranath rose to make his concluding speech. He reached the highest summit of his Himalayan eloquence and called up such enchanting visions in such enchanting language that the audience was for the moment swept off its feet. To enjoy a moment of such sublimity, I thought, it was worth traversing the ends of a continent.

Of the resolutions themselves little need be said. The Conference was called to give emphatic support to the M.-C. scheme, and it has done so. Modifications are urged, especially in the Government of India, but our support of the scheme is not made conditional upon their being accepted. Of course our opponents will say they expected nothing better of us, and we are prepared to listen without a blush. Though it is not my object at all to refer to individual speeches, I shall make one or

two exceptions. Sir Narayanrao Chandavarkar declared boldly (he said he had intimate talks with many anarchists) that repression had always been the cause of 'Bhadralog' dacoities and anarchism in Bengal and that they had generally disappeared when liberal reforms were granted and the administration made sympathetic. Principal Paranjpye showed up Lord Sydenham in his true colours. While Governor of Bombay, he opposed Mr. Gokhale's elementary education bill, Mr. Basu's civil marriage bill on the ground that the fusion of castes would be a political danger to British rule in India, and the bill for the protection of minor girls; but now he was urging want of education and the existence of castes as an argument against the grant of reforms. A resolution of special importance to us of Madras Presidency is that relating to franchise. The Conference has expressed the opinion that to allay the fears of the backward classes, who in Madras and the Bombay Deccan are demanding special communal electorates on the ground that members of those communities would otherwise have no chance of entering the legislative councils for a long time to come, large plural constituencies should be formed and some seats reserved for the members of the backward classes till the first Parliamentary enquiry takes place. There are some among us, who are opposed to communal representation on principle; for they believe that the very demand for such representation means that we have not risen above communal feeling and therefore are unfit to exercise national responsibilities. But politics does not deal with abstract principles, nor is it guided by logic chiefly. It deals with feelings which are sometimes positively wrong. The practical politician makes compromises in the hope that further education and enlightenment will soon create right feelings in the place of wrong ones. One useful suggestion made by this Conference, which is calculated to minimise the evil of communal feeling, is that an individual belonging to a community which is granted special representation should have the option of enrolling himself as a voter either in the general or the special electorate. It is hoped that the best men will be constantly enrolling themselves in the general electorate, so that very soon the communal electorate will get into disfavour and disrepute. Such advocates of communal electorates as were present expressed themselves satisfied with the resolution as amended, of course, by way of a compromise; and it is hoped that it will have the effect of putting an end to the bitter class recriminations that are disfiguring the platform and the press in Madras Presidency, and of weaning away from evil influences that section of our countrymen who are imbibing poison at the hands of Anglo-Indian reactionaries. I may mention here that there were half a dozen *panchama* delegates to the Conference, and one of them sat on the Subjects Committee.

Many people of my persuasion in politics and many of another persuasion will be eager to know

what attitude the Moderate party has decided to adopt towards the Congress. It is not explicitly defined, but what most of us feel is that we absented ourselves from the special Congress on account of our wide divergence of views from the majority regarding the reforms. In other respects we are in the Congress. Our aim is to organise ourselves as a party within the Congress. The party could not decide its attitude towards the Congress, because a good deal depends upon those who at present happen to be in the majority. If they contemplate disciplinary measures, as the *Bombay Chronicle* was good enough to suggest some days ago, or things are deliberately made intolerable for us, we will have to take steps dictated by self-respect and not accept the position of slaves under a tyrannical majority. Let us hope matters will not come to that pass.

A word about the volunteers. They were trained members of a permanent organisation called 'the Deccan Volunteer Corps' with a uniform of their own. They were a very polite, quiet and willing set of workers. I could discover no shirker, no pushful member eager to occupy a post of ease or honour, none that forgot his first duty of service and obedience. I understand that most of them are clerks in the mills and the railways. My respect for them has greatly increased since learning that for about a month they have worked day and night by batches in several burning grounds of Bombay, supplying fuel, keeping order and in other ways rendering service during the influenza epidemic. Can we not have such a set of permanent volunteers in Madras?

In conclusion, I should say that the Conference has left a very pleasant and hopeful impression on my mind.

A MADRAS DELEGATE.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### GOOD STRATEGY OR BAD ?

SIR,—The criticism uttered in certain quarters against the attitude of the Moderate party towards the reform scheme that, whatever be the excellence of the modifications required by them in that scheme and however insistent they may be about such extensions and improvements, they practically render their advocacy of them infructuous by according, in advance, a general support to the official scheme. If they declare, even before the Cabinet has accepted the broad policy of the Secretary of State's proposals and long before it gives any thought to any of the modifications which Indian politicians consider necessary, that the scheme, as formulated at present, is good, but will be made better by the suggested improvements being incorporated in it; if they let the British Cabinet know that a large section of the National party is prepared to accept the scheme in any case, though of course it will not be satisfied unless all the modifications proposed by it are introduced and will declare itself free to agitate for them till they form part of the statute; if in the course of negotiating the final settlement, the Moderates put the other party to the bargain in possession of the knowledge of the lowest terms which they will agree to in the last resort; if they show their hand in this way, there is no possibility, it is urged, of any of their suggestions of expansion being adopted, nor is there any guarantee of the scheme not

being whittled down by the Cabinet. These critics urge that, whatever the inherent merits of the official scheme may be, the Nationalists have shown better strategy in declaring the scheme unacceptable unless it is modified in the way suggested by them. This method of dealing with the reform proposals, according to them, has a better chance of securing some of the improvements and will at any rate effectually prevent any serious curtailment of those proposals.

There is no doubt a strong apparent contrast between the positions of the Centre and the Left of the National party on this question; but it cannot be argued by any who dare estimate to himself the liberal advance on present conditions which the scheme marks that, considering the totality of circumstances, the course adopted by the Left is the right one or will do us more good. If the Cabinet had only to treat with Indian politicians on constitutional reforms, if it did not encounter strenuous opposition from those who wanted no change whatever in the present administration, if the passage of the reforms bill were safe otherwise and the opponents could be disregarded, there would be force in the reasoning of the Nationalists. But is it true that the reform proposals are in no manner of peril from the uncompromising hostility which the Sydenhamites and the Indo-British Association have assumed towards it? Many are tempted to assert airily, though with imperfect knowledge, that the fear of the scheme being shelved altogether, is idle. On this matter, however, the opinion of Indians counts for nothing, when all our English friends, whose sympathy with India's aspirations for political reform is above question, unite in warning us that our efforts for the present must be concentrated in saving the scheme from the assaults of the reactionaries in England. The testimony of the London correspondent of the *Hindu*, whose editor was for total rejection of the scheme, should be decisive on this matter. He has been insisting in letter after letter that, in full and lively recognition of the fact that there is no practical alternative to this scheme, which either this or the next Parliament can pass, Indians here and English friends in England must first secure the general policy of the scheme from the attacks of the Tchinovniks, and then address themselves to the unsatisfactory provisions in it. Speaking of the progressives in England, he thus describes their attitude, on which all are agreed. "Let us first prevent the principle of the scheme being torpedoed by the Sydenham party and then turn our attention to the task of getting the details improved—that, I think, sums up the attitude of those who are most in sympathy with the Indian Nationalist demand. The only critics we have to deal with at present on this side are those who regard the new policy as a betrayal of British interests. It will take us all our time to circumvent these opponents, and we are devoutly hoping that the task will not be complicated by a development of unbending hostility from the opposite side." The correspondent has repeatedly said in tones of earnest entreaty and grave warning that Indian opinion must generally endorse the basic principles of the scheme, for "the passage of the necessary measure may be endangered, if real support is not forthcoming from the popular party in India." What then happens to the reasonableness of the Nationalist attitude in presence of such a situation in England? Does it not in the circumstances become the primary duty of an Indian patriot to give in a general adhesion to the scheme and thus co-operate with our tried friends in England in saving it from our enemies? And after all, what is the nature of the scheme which we are invited to support—a scheme which, such an independent and Radical newspaper as the *Nation* thinks, will give us as much home rule as the suspended Irish Home Rule Act would have given Ireland, had practical effect been given to it? That is why the London correspondent of the *Hindu* says of the unsatisfactory details in the scheme, that they are not fatal to the scheme as an instrument for the attainment of ultimate home rule. "Even of these objectionable features should unfortunately be re-

tained," he says, "India will nevertheless be set going along the path towards full self-government, and nothing in the scheme or out of it can seriously affect the impetus with which she will move in the direction of that goal."

I could understand the wisdom of the Nationalists' attitude if they really felt that it would be better to go without reform altogether than to have such an 'utterly inadequate instalment of reform as is embodied in the scheme. Then their duty would be plain. If the Sydenhamites, by their forceful and influential opposition wrecked the scheme, they would lose nothing, for even otherwise they would have none of the scheme if it were saved from the onslaught of our opponents but were left unamended in the particulars they wanted. In these conditions no harm would result if the Nationalists united their attacks on the scheme, in its present shape, with the attacks of the dug-outs in England, reckless of the consequences. But if they are really anxious to have the scheme for a basis on which to develop full self-government but adopt an attitude of opposition merely as a matter of tactics, hoping to get more thereby, then they are grievously mistaken. Then strategy itself requires, as well as other considerations, that you should declare, in order to counter the opposition of our enemies, that you will not lose the scheme in any event but have it improved with the help of the better minds in England. Nor can it be said that the Nationalists have not in one way or other given the British Parliament their real mind on this question. Has not Mrs. Besant declared that rejection of the scheme is fraught with peril? Now what does this mean except that there is something of value and substance in the scheme which she would not endanger by an unreasoning attitude of opposition on her part? There would otherwise be no meaning in the fight which she put up against Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar and his party at the Madras Conference. Has not Mr. Tilak declared that whatever reforms came, he would work them and make them a basis for further reform. This is an eminently sensible attitude, but does it not give an inkling to the British statesmen that the reform proposals, put forward by them, though not considered adequate and satisfactory by the Nationalists, would be accepted by them as something to go on with, though outwardly they repeat the formula that the scheme is unacceptable? Is not this attitude at bottom and in substance the same as the attitude of those who avowedly welcome the proposals as making a distinct advance on the present position and call for certain modifications with a view to making that advance adequate to the needs of the situation? Where then is tactical advantage claimed for their policy by the Nationalists, unless they suppose that, however bitterly they may oppose the policy of rejection as 'suicidal' and 'worse than suicidal' to the country's interests, the British Cabinet and Parliament would not have the sense to infer therefrom that these politicians consider the proposals as valuable? The more violently Mrs. Besant condemns rejection, the more clearly she betrays her anxiety to save the scheme, even in its present draft, and any tactical superiority that may be supposed to belong to the policy of withholding consent and even general acquiescence from the scheme till the last moment vanishes altogether. If this policy is to succeed, then we must assert our unwillingness to entertain the scheme at all. Sure of its passage through Parliament, as we profess to be, why should we not threaten to reject it, as was done by some in Madras, whom Mrs. Besant thought it necessary to oppose? But the game is utterly spoilt when, condemning rejection, we show to the outside world that we consider the shelving of the scheme as highly perilous, and that the British Statesmen we desire to go forward with it, whatever imperfections we may discover in it. Only we do all this in an indirect manner, which, if done squarely, would oppose a serious and effective obstacle to the dangerous propaganda of Lord Sydenham. Too feeble and roundabout to serve this purpose and strengthen the hands of these English friends of ours who need strong support from

India, the policy actually adopted is yet compromising enough in its naivety to make it clear to the Britishers that the scheme, even in its present unamended form, will be worked out by the Nationalists as much as by the Moderates. Which then is the better policy?

S. G. V.

### THE HINDU MARRIAGE BILL.

SIR,—I crave the courtesy of your columns for a few observations re: the Hindu marriage validation Bill, which is now before the Government, and the people, especially the Hindu community.

The summary of the debate that took place on the day of its introduction in the Imperial Council, as reported in the "Leader" of September 7th, is by no means an agreeable reading.

Not many objections are, and were actually, possible against this bill being made into a law, and those too do not stand much reasoning. As Sir George Barnes explained, the Shastric law on the subject is not against the sort of marriages sought to be legalized by this bill. In 1913, so great and typical a Hindu, as the veteran Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, a famous scholar, did submit a memorial to the Indian Government to this very effect, though, of course, without success.

Surely there is much in wishing "to uphold the time-honoured traditions and customs," but then one has to make a distinction between what is "time-honoured" and what is "time-worn." As the Honourable Dr. Sapru thinks, the customs of *sati* and forced widowhood were also held to be "time-honoured" once, but if, at that time, the Government thought it necessary to become a party to innovations in ancient Hindu customs and usages" and did courageously enact the healthy measures, has that in any way acted prejudicially to the interests of the Hindu religion or community, and does not the whole thinking India now feel deeply grateful for those two most sound pieces of legislation to Bentinck and to the great Vidyasagar? If, in any country, a particular form of government—say bureaucratic, for this is the word most prominent in the present day vocabulary of Indians—becomes old and long-established enough to deserve the high-sounding epithet of "time-honoured," then from the point of view of the Honourable Mr. Shukul and other Hon'ble Members of his way of thinking, it necessarily follows, that it should be preserved intact and not cried down, notwithstanding that the community or the country may have outgrown it.

And then if this bill is made law, where is the occasion for agitation and controversy which the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjee apprehends? As has been well explained by Dr. Sapru, "it is not really an invasion upon orthodoxy." "It is but a permissive" measure. "If orthodoxy is entitled to protection, so are those who do not subscribe to orthodoxy; and surely there will be clear occasion for "agitation and controversy" if "dissenters" are refused by the legislature the sort of protection so long enjoyed by votaries of orthodoxy.

The bill, as the "Leader" justly observes, has a national as well as social aspect, and the followers of a religion as "imperial" as the British empire, will, it is hoped, give some serious and unselfish thought to the Bill before arriving at a decision. The considerate and intelligent attitude of the Government also deserves no ordinary thanks.

For social reformers and conferences, having the abolition of "the watertight compartments" as one of their missions, such an opportunity will not often recur, and everything must be done to make the best of it, by cultivating public opinion in favour of a successful passage of the bill as much as possible. Indians cannot too soon learn to profit by the very pregnant words of their poet and seer of Shantiniketan: "We must remember whatever weakness we cherish is our society will become the source of danger in politics. The same inertia which leads us to our idolatry of dead forms in social institutions, will create in our politics prison houses with immovable walls. Have we an instance in the whole world, where a people, who are not allowed to mingle their blood, shed their blood for one another, except by coercion or for mercenary purposes?" —Yours faithfully

MURARISHARAN.

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प्रकाशित:—“अब्राहाम लिङ्गन” मूल्य ॥) “भारतीय शासनमन्व-  
सम्बन्धी सुधारोंका आवेदनपत्र” जिल्द १ मूल्य ॥३)।

छप रही हैं:—“जापान का राजनैतिक विकास” “इटली के वि-  
धायक महात्मागण” “भारतवर्ष का प्राचीन इतिहास” “भारतीय  
शासनमन्वसम्बन्धी सुधारोंका आवेदनपत्र” जिल्द २ और ३।

प्रचारित:—स्वर्गवासी अध्यापक लक्ष्मीचंद्रजी रत । १ “रेश-  
नाई बनाने की पुस्तक” ॥) २ “सुगन्ध साधुन बनाने की पुस्तक” १)।  
३ “तेल की पुस्तक” १) ४ “हिन्दी कमेस्ट्री” १) ५ “सरल रसा-  
यन” २) ६ “वार्निश और मेण्ट” १) श्री मुकुन्दलाल रत “मानस-  
मुकतावली” मूल्य १-)

उक्त मूल्य में डाक व्यय सम्मिलित नहीं है । जो सज्जन १) भेज  
कर स्थायी माहकों में नाम लिगा लेंगे । उन्हें मण्डल द्वारा प्रकाशित  
पुस्तकें पौन मूल्य पर मिलेंगी । रुपया नीचे लिखे पते से पत्रव्यवहार  
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