vant of India

Acting Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY.

Vol. II., No. 29.]

POONA—THURSDAY, AUGUST 21, 1919.

ANNUAL SUBSN. : Rs. 4

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

PUNDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU has sent the following cablegram from London under date 15th August: Sastri appeared (before) Joint Committee (on) Wednesday. Advocated strongly introduction (of an) element (of) responsibility (into the) Government of India; equality (of) Indians (and) Europeans (in the) Executive Council; grant (of) fiscal autonomy. Asked (that the) Statutory Commission be expressly directed (to) make proposals (regarding) liberalization (of the) Government of India. In provinces salary (and) position (of) ministers, when Governor disagrees with them, should be same as those (of) executive councillors. Laid great stress (on) joint purse. Opposed proposals (of the) Government of India concerning Grand Committees. Imperial (and) Provincial Councils should have elected presidents and full power (to) pass standing orders. Criticized (Governor's) instrument (of) instructions. Asked (that) draft rules be made known (and) pressed (that) rules not (of) constitutional importance should be alterable by councils. Favoured abolition (of) India Council. If retained, half (the) members should be Indians. Ramachandra Rao supplemented Sastri; effectively demolished charges brought (by) non-Brahman witnesses; asked transference (of) Land Revenue; submitted able memoranda dealing (with) finance (and) provisions which should be made in rules. Memoranda understood (to be) receiving serious consideration (in) Committee. Sastri's statement highly impressive, informed, dignified. Made deep impression (on) Committee. (I) expect (it will) considerably strengthen (the) Indian case. (Lord) Sydenham asked him if (the) Servants (of) India Society. which Gokhale had assured him would never be political, had become so. (!!)

London on 14th inst, says: "Messrs. Samarth and sentences which he has recently ordered as an act

Chintamani gave able evidence before the Joint Committee. Both spoke out for Bombay and the U. P., Mr. Samarth fearlessly championing (full) responsible government for Bombay and responsibility in the Central Government. Mr. K. C. Roy was reactionary. Two non-Brahman witnesses broke down. Mr. B. P. Wadia, representing Labour, proved formidable. Mr. Jinnah was fairly good. Mr. Sastri's evidence was characterized by phenomenal mastery, independence, outspokenness and dignity. Mr. Ramachandra Rao, ably supplementing, was helpful."

A SPECIAL New India cable says: "The unanimity in pressing essential reforms, i. e. fiscal autonomy, and responsibility in Central Government. and the conciliatory attitude shown by the evidence of Hon. Babu Surendranath Banarjea, Mrs. Annie Besant, and Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, as heads of three Indian deputations, made a great effect on the Joint Committee. The atmosphere was very favourable. Mr. B. G. Tilak also was reasonable and conciliatory. But, unfortunately, the effect was largely destroyed by the extremely hostile attitude assumed by the Congress delegates, the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel and Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu produced a good impression by her evidence. You may disregard Mr. Satyamurti's foolish outpourings, although he poses as a Congress delegate here."

WE are happy to see that the Moderate deputation is doing all it can to bring the official excesses in connection with the Punjab disturbances to the notice of the authorities in England. Writing on July 24, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao says: On the subject of the situation in the Punjab, representations were made to the Secretary of State. We, the Moderate deputation, passed a resolution yesterday to the effect that the situation is such as to be fatal to the success of reforms. Mr. Montagu has already taken action. I may assure you that everything needful has been done.

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"Now that order has been restored," said Sir Edward Maclagan at Gujranwala, "I feel sure that in the case of many of the convicted persons justice can safely be tempered with mercy." It is natural that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Pun-MR. JAMNADAS DWARAKADAS, cabling from | jab should regard the substantial reductions of

of mercy with which to temper justice, but the general public will scarcely be expected to regard this "clemency" in that light. With them it is a firm conviction grounded not only upon the inherent impossibility of some of their respected leaders being implicated in lawlessness but also upon a reasoned analysis of the judgments in some of the more important cases, that several among the martial law prisoners must be suffering from a grave miscarriage of justice, and the reduction of sentences is valuable to them only as betokening the rise of a true perspective among the Punjab officials. Indeed the judgments of the martial law courts cannot be regarded from their very nature as exemplars of scrupulous justice. For, as an authority on constitutional usage observes (we may be permitted to quote this passage once again): "The so-called sentences of the so-called courts martial held under a proclamation of martial law are not judicial sentences at all; that is to say, they are not founded on any precise law, but are merely acts of a peculiarly solemn nature done in the course of repressing disorder." Nor was the case otherwise with the judgments of the martial law tribunals in the Punjab. As Sir Edward himself acknowledges, their discisions were too much influenced "by a sense of the terrible dangers which the province had so lately experienced" to be in consonance with the dictates of strict justice. It is only as partial redress of the wrong which must undoubtedly have been done in a number of cases that the remission of sentences is welcomed by the Indian public, and they cannot afford to relax their efforts to secure a full measure of justice on account of the recent exercise of "mercy" by the Lieutenant-Governor.

THE Indian Imperial Association of Fiji has cabled to Mr. Gandhi that the Fiji Government intends to postpone the cancellation of the indenture system in force in that colony. One of the last acts of Lord Hardinge's Government was to announce a total abolition of this noxious system, only subject to the reservation that reasonable time be allowed to the colonies now in receipt of indentured labour to adjust themselves to the change, and Lord Hardinge gave an assurance that "what has been promised will be performed to the letter." Surely three years and a half is a sufficient period for the Crown Colonies in which to adjust themselves to the new conditions of labour, and any further postponement of the stoppage of indentured labour is without justification. It is true that no scheme has yet been worked out which will replace the system of indenture; the plan for aided emigration which was elaborated by a departmental committee of the Colonial Office is viewed with keen disfavour both by Indians and colonials and no further attempt has been made to solve the question. It is not right, however, to prolong the life of the indenture system pending a satisfactory solution of the question of supplying labour to the Crown Colonies. As Lord Hardinge observed in a despatch on this question, India is under no obligation to provide labour to the colonies and it is not for her to devise a system in substitution for the system of indentured labour. The Indian public will await with grave anxiety a statement on the subject from the Government of India.

"By inadvertence" promises to become a memorable phrase in contemporary political discussion.. The capital provision in the M.-C. Report regarding provincial finance, which secured to the legislative council control over the whole range of financial dispositions, save for those items which the Governor might certify as essential to the dischage of his responsibilities for reserved subjects, the Government of India in their despatch of 5th March dismissed without scruple as being made by the authors of the Report probably by inadvertence. It is a pivotal feature of the scheme on which the whole fabric of provincial reorganisation is made to turn and those who credited the Government of India with ingenuousness expected them to express open disapproval of the feature if that was their feeling on the question, instead of pretending that such a measure of popular control was never intended by the framers of the scheme. The ridiculous character of the Government of India's plea could not remain unexposed in the Joint Committee, and Lord Sinha had no difficulty whatever in getting Sir James Meston to admit that it was wrong to describe the recommendation of the Report as made by inadvertence, but, that, in the view of the Government of India, the control of the purse inplied by that recommendation was much in excess of what the Government thought should reasonably be conceded. That is a position one can well understand, though one does not see how the Government of India, having accorded a general support to the scheme, could now object to a fundamental feature of it. In the light of Sir James's admission the Indians know how they must appraise the Government's protestations that in their modifications they do not seek to nullify or whittle down the scheme but only to make it a working plan.

HAVING suspended civil disobedience for the time being, Mr. Gandhi naturally turns to orthodox constitutional agitation for the repeal of the Rowlatt law and expects the co-operation of all who are opposed to that legislation. He thinks he has a special claim on the help of those who, having disapproved of his passive resistance movement appealed to him not to revive it. All India is united in reprobating Rowlatt legislation, and to constitutional agitation of the usual type no one will in the least object. But passive resistance having been once in the field, it has, we are afraid, driven all other methods of agitation from it. As the Indian Social Reformer once beautifully put the point, Satyagraha "has meanwhile like Aaron's rod swallowed up all other methods and brought public life to a standstill." It is true that civil

tance is temporarily put away, but we are id, the contempt for other methods of constiunal agitation to which was mainly due the pularity of passive resistance persists in the 'ic mind, and we must confess to a feeling that ill be difficult to restore public life from the alysis which has overtaken it. Mr. Gandhi rs that all methods of agitation were exhausted fore he launched out on passive resistance. This tement will not facilitate the restoration of po-- ular faith in constitutional agitation, and we annot help feeling a doubt that the work which vir. Gandhi now urges upon all will not evoke nough enthusiasm in the country. The time for such work was before rather than after the commencement of passive resistance, and although we would very much desire an intensified agitation on the question, we are doubtful if after repeated declarations as to its futility it can be carried on with sufficient vigour. In any case such agitation will not have a fair chance in the circumstances that have arisen.

THE 'specially well-qualified publicist' whose lengthy contribution in reply to our criticism of certain erroneous statements of the Indian Social Reformer in connection with the currency situation, has been printed in the last issue of that paper, has gone one better than our contemporary in perpetrating fallacies, as we shall presently show. The question at issue is so simple and of such an elementary character that it will be an insult to the intelligence of our readers to inflict upon them any further lengthy remarks on it with special reference to the contribution appearing in the Reformer, and we shall content ourselves with only a few observations, particularly as our contemporary thinks that, 'it is hardly worth while pursuing the point. ' We take the liberty of pointing out to the Indian Social Reformer, however, that there was absolutely nothing wrong with our interpretation of the passage we quoted from the report of the Fowler Committee who knew, like every one else, that when the mints were closed to the free coinage of silver and the gold value of the rupee was sought to be maintained at a fixed level by the policy of controlling the supply of that coin it ceased to be a standard coin and became a 'token'. Howsoever small the difference between the metallic and the artificial values of a coin may be for the time being, it is a 'token' if it is not freely minted and a nominal value is put upon it, higher than its intrinsic value. There is no getting away from this elementary principle and our contemporary is not right in holding that the rupee is not a 'token' because it is full legal tender. It is catching at a straw in seizing a sentence or two from the Fowler Committee's report, under the impression that they support its statements, and in throwing them at us in fancied refutation of our view. Our contemporary is obsessed with the full legal tender character of the rupee, which, however, cannot save the coin from being a token.

Now as to the 'specially well-qualified publi cist, we are surprised that the Indian Social Reformer, should have commended his effort in spite of the crudities and puerilities betrayed in the contribution intended to be a reply to our article. The publicist asks if we would be willing to be paid in rupees if silver became as cheap as the sands upon the sea-shore, provided its quantity were limited, and our reply is, 'most certainly.' Did not the 'specially well-qualified publicist' receive payment in rupees when the metallic value of the token was only 10 annas as against its nominal value of 16 annas? And would he not have continued to receive the rupee even if that token had declined to 4 annas? The publicist is under a curious delusion when he thinks that manipulation of value is 'far more essential in the case of a standard coin than tokens because of their full legal tender. ' What manipulation did the Government of India practise in the case of the rupee when it was a standard coin before 1893? What measures have been taken under the British currency system to manipulate the value of the sovereign? The fact is that the function of Government with regard to standard currency is to do absolutely nothing. It has only to testify to the weight and the quality of the coins issued. But in the case of tokens like the rupee, Government must maintain the fictitious value imposed upon them by special measures taken for the purpose. The French silver frank, under the limping standard, and the peso in the Philippines, the dollar in the Straits and similar tokens in other countries under the exchange standard, are kept at parity with gold by the limitation of their supply. But why speak of metallic money alone? Even inconvertible paper money, mere 'scraps of paper' will do duty as full legal tender currency quite successfully if their quantity is properly controlled and regulated. The 'specially well-qualified publicist' has exhibited such a hopeless lack of acquaintance with even the A. B. C. of political economy that it will be sheer waste to argue such points with him or to quote authorities on currency problems.

A SECURITY of Rs. 1000, has been demanded from the keeper of the Star of Kanara press for the reason that the tone of the Kanara Vritta printed at it, is not satisfactory and that the criticism that appeared in the paper regarding the recent disturbances in the Punjab was such as " to excite disaffection towards Government." The paper, we understand, has been doing much useful service in a backward district and by keeping a vigilant eye over the administration, has been serving both Government and people with helpful criticism. The press is a poor one and we hope the inhabitants of Kanara, considering the useful work that the paper has done so far, will do their best to keep it alive. Nor is it to the interest of Government to crush such a paper out of exis-

UNIVERSITY REFORM.—I.

THE Calcutta University Commission presided over by Sir Michael Sadler has published its report. The report is a bulky document of which five volumes are out; the remaining eight will contain the evidence and appendices. It is a very important publication and will vitally affect the progress of university education in Bengal and the whole of India. The personnel of the Commission was very strong and was not official. The report can therefore be considered on its merits, and its recommendations are not subject to a preliminary discount as such recommendations are in but too many cases. Though we may perhaps have to differ from the views of the Commission on some points, it has to be cordially acknowledged that the members set about honestly and without any parti pris to find out the defects of our educational system and to suggest remedies. It is always desirable to subject the most cherished institutions to renewed analysis; and, the Calcutta University, and other Indian Universities to a lesser extent, can only gain by the discussions to which this report will give rise.

It does not appear that the report lends any support to the view, often held in many official circles though not perhaps so often expressed, that the introduction of English education was an unmixed evil, and that if it were possible it would be desirable to retrace our steps. Western education has come to stay, and none but the veriest cranks are found to advocate a purely eastern culture. The problem before all is to adapt western education to Indian conditions. In the process of transplantation several new defects have arisen in addition to many inherent in the original system as worked in England. Indian universities have been modelled on the scheme of the London University of the old days as merely examining bodies. The London University has itself recently changed considerably, but Indian universities have not changed to a corresponding extent. The Universities Act of 1904 attempted to make a beginning and it is to the credit of the Calcutta University, guided by the superb energy and driving power of Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, that it set itself energetically to develop a post-graduate school. Mistakes have doubtless been made, but it does not appear that the Commission has in its report passed a sentence against the moving spirit of the Calcutta University, as was fondly hoped in some quarters.

If there is one thing clear from the report, it is a renewed assertion of the fact that bricks cannot be made without straw; in other words, that a proper system of university education cannot be established without expenditure on an unheard of scale for the purpose. So far the expenditure on this branch has been very small, though people have been met with who grudged even this small amount. If the various proposals of the Commission are to be carried into effect in the proper spirit, Bengal will have to find several crores vernaculars. It is hopeless to expect our average

every year to spend on secondary and higher education. Other provinces will have of course to follow suit, and the education budget of the various provinces will tax the inventive genius of the new ministers who will have to deal with this question. Primary education to be universal; secondary education to be widespread and efficient; intermediate education to be good enough and extensive enough to serve the needs of everybody who wishes to go in for professional courses or for higher education in arts and science; higher education to be really of the university standard and to lead to real culture and research; the State to pay for all this, for private donations on the extensive scale required can hardly be expected to be forthcoming. All this is enough to take the ministers' breath away. New sources of revenue will have to be tapped, and this work will tax all their energies.

It is not enough to lay down a proper system and to sing the praises of education for its own sake. This is no doubt necessary. But it is also necessary for the statesman to see that the products of this system have useful careers before them. So far many classes have gone in for such university education as we have had, because it was felt by the young men that it opened to them honourable and fairly lucrative careers. As such careers became fewer and fewer in proportion to the numbers that went in for education we have the problem of the discontented B. A. and still more of the failed B. A. We often hear that young men must have enterprise and should make their own careers. True; but put the average English, French, or the German graduate in the same surroundings, stop him from going abroad to the various colonies to make his fortune, close the principal posts of honour and responsibility in his own country to him, shut him out of all military careers, let the principal industries in his land be in the hands of an alien race, and we would like to see whether the average graduate will rise superior The unenterprising Into all these difficulties. dian graduate is to a very great extent the creature of his surroundings, and to some extent the product of his heredity and past civilisation. The Commission had of course nothing to do with the wider problem thus sketched. But the educational, political and social problems hang together. For the complete solution of one of them, the others have to be also completely solved. You can't certainly wait for the complete elucidation of one before tackling the others; the solutions will in any case be merely tentative and will require to be revised The Sadler Commission at suitable intervals. deals with the educational problem in the present circumstances. Fifteen years hence, with perhaps a fairly developed autonomous Government in the country and a much more industrialised state of society, we may have to revise its conclusions.

It is a pity that the Commission appears to have given no final answer to the problem of the undergraduates of eighteen to be the equals of their confrères in England, France or Germany when we expect our young men to get a mastery over another tongue which the latter never get. This is one of the fundamental conditions of our educational problem. How are we to give a sufficient mastery over English to our students without at the same time diminishing the amount of his acquisition in other subjects? What non-essentials in the European carricula can be dropped to make room for the requisite study of English? These are only a few preliminary remarks suggested by the report, to the detailed consideration of which we shall soon return.

ECHOES OF THE KAIRA CASE.

In his minute of dissent attached to the Government of India despatch on the Reforms, of 5th March, 1919, Sir C. Sankaran Nair had referred to the Kaira and Champaran affairs to controvert the familiar official view that the officials "best understand and protect the best interests of the masses and that the transfer of power to the educated classes may result to the detriment of the masses." The opponents of political advance in India have always blocked the path of reform on the plea that officials are the best guardians of the interests of the ignorant and the voiceless masses of India and that the educated classes, and the political 'agitators' in particular, will use power, if conferred on them, for their own benefit to the utter neglect of the well-being of the teem_ ing millions of this vast country. Any one who knows the history of the Congress movement in India and of the work its leaders have attempted during the past thirty years and more must regard the official claim to the guardianship of the interests of the masses as absolutely unwarranted and the view that the educated classes are indifferent to the welfare and progress of the general population as entirely baseless and misleading Sir C. Sankaran Nair very naturally felt it to be his duty to draw special attention to this matter and to refer to the recent events in Kaira and Champaran with the view to point the moral. The Government of India did not think it fit to allow Sir C. Sankaran Nair's statements to go unchallenged, and they have given their own account and the versions of the local Governments concerned in their tenth despatch to the Secretary of State, dated 5th June, 1919.

The Government of Bombay considered that "the account given by Sir C. Sankaran Nair is so misleading that some authoritative correction of the views therein conveyed is essential before communication to the Secretary of State or to Parliament" and therefore they placed their own views regarding the Kaira controversy before the Government of India in their letter of 28th May.

opinion and of public agitation or acted upon its own initiative and its own settled system unaffected by what was going on round them, are, to our mind, not very important points. What is of the greatest interest to remember is that both in Kaira and Champaran, political leaders championed the cause of the rayats and that in Behar, in particular, it was their efforts made in the most unfavourable and difficult conditions that ultimately contributed to the redress of the long-standing and serious grievances of the helpless cultivating classes. In their letter to the Government of India, the Government of Bombay are anxious to "correct the impression given that the political agitation referred to had any considerable effect on the measures of relief actually sanctioned or that the ultimate result was to leave the decision as regards payment of the Government demand to the rayats themselves." It is the very essence of popular complaint that public opinion does not and cannot exercise any influence upon the policy and measures of the executive Government in India and that is why constitutional reforms have become an urgent necessity in this country. But at any rate the fact that the cause of the masses has been championed by educated people and political agitators in Kaira and Champaran is undisputed, and the allegation that the interests of the rayats will not be safe in the hands of educated Indians has been proved to be utterly baseless.

The Government of Bombay have laid special stress upon Sir C. Sankaran Nair's inability to grasp the fundamental principle underlying the land revenue system of this presidency, and they have attributed to him the misconception that an individual rayat has a claim to suspension of revenue if his particular crop fails. We wonder how the Bombay Government could deduce this conclusion from Sir C. Sankaran Nair's statement, and in his minute of dissent appended to the Government of India despatch of 5th June, 1919, the latter has convincingly shown how they have attributed to him certain conceptions which were never present to his mind and which could not be extracted from his presentment of the Kaira case. What Sir C. Sankaran Nair actually stated was: "It is a feature of the revenue rules that individual cases of hardship are not attended to, or in other words, an individual is not exempted from payment for failure of crops in his holding only, but if there is a failure in the locality he might get relief with others." It is difficult to see how the Government of Bombay could find in these words the alleged misconception of Sir Sankaran Nair that "an individual rayat has a claim to suspension if his particular crop fails." Sir C. Sankaran Nair's minute of 5th June, is a crushing rejoinder. In it he places his finger upon the peculiar features and the serious defects of the Bombay land revenue system under which, in conformity with the theory now lar Mr. Gandhi's efforts to secure relief to of State landlordism favoured by Government, the Kaira rayats were successful and whether officials fix for a period of thirty years what they Government yielded to the pressure of public | think will be a reasonable rent that different classes of land in each locality will be capable of yielding and under which the rent so fixed must be paid by holders of land in bad years as well as in good, unless Government thinks it necessary to suspend or remit the revenue in accordance with rules made by itself. The rayat cannot get exemption from the payment of land revenue though his crops may have failed and yielded him no income, and when suspension is granted, it is conceded to a locality as a whole as a grace by Government, and it cannot be claimed as a right.

It was this Bombay system upon which Sir C. Sankaran Nair commented and his words in the rejoinder are most telling: "This is the system responsible for the destitution of the rayat. My statements as to Kaira destitution and necessity of relief have not been and cannot be denied. They can be proved by the direct testimony of respectable witnesses. The fact of collection of revenue is not evidence of capacity to pay. It is, in Kaira, proof of the rigour of collection. It is admitted that, in these circumstances, it was the representatives of the educated classes who laboured for the relief of the destitute rayats in Kaira. That there was no valid ground for their agitation, according to the rules of the revenue system, only proves the necessity of the radical alteration of that revenue system. That their agitation did not fully succeed in its object is true, but it proves only the necessity of constitutional reform." The position could not have been described in more expressive, illuminating and courageous language, and Sir Sankaran Nair must be heartily congratulated upon the valuable public service he has rendered.

EUGENICS AND MR. PATEL'S BILL.

It should be remembered at the very outset that eugenics is a comparatively new science. Indeed, it is still a moot point among savants whether eugenics can be classed as an exact science at all. If we accept the dictionary definition of a "science" as "a department of knowledge reduced to an exact system," it is more than doubtful whether eugenics can be dignified with that exalted appellation as yet. For, it is only a new department of knowledge. Its subject-matter is one of infinite variety embracing the whole of humanity, its data are necessarily incomplete, and it may take a long time before it is reduced to the position of an exact science like physics, chemistry or mathematics. If we speak of the science of eugenics in the meantime, it is just as we speak of the science or the philosophy of history. Therefore, in appealing to the authority of eugenics, we should be very careful not to make the mistake of accepting any of its deductions as the very last word on the subject. But though eugenics may not be a science in the technical sense of the term, its conclusions are just as valuable to us as those of history. Herein lies the importance of all eugenic studies. Just as we often appeal to the lessons of history in order to point a political moral, we may appeal to the authority of eugenics | tion by marriage of a higher type of individual.

to prove the worth or worthlessness of a social doctrine. The Sankaracharya has appealed to the authority of sugenics; well, he shall have the authority of the whole of eugenics in its entirety.

But though eugenics as a system of knowledge is a comparatively new thing, the idea of eugenics itself is a pretty old one. It is an exceedingly simple one too. Reduced to its elements, it is only the commonplace idea current amongst mankind and finding expression in every day language such as "the like produces the like" or that a child is like its father or mother or some collateral relative, its uncle or aunt. It is only the immemorial protest of mankind against the mingling of the good and the base, known to every breeder of plants or animals. It is simply the grand old doctrine of "heredity" shorn of its unscientific crudities and made scientific to the extent possible. Indeed, there is some truth in the contention that our own caste-system defended so warmly by His Holiness of Karveer Peeth was based by those who founded it on some such idea of "heredity,' however crude and however unscientific. To this point I shall return later. Theognis, an ancient Greek poet who lived before the time of Plato, is said to have propounded the "eugenic" idea first amongst westerners. Plato amplified it in his Republic and Aristotle gave it his weighty support. The idea persisted in More's Utopia and Companella's City of the Sun, written towards the end of the 17th century. Lamark and Darwin gave it its first scientific treatment by their theories of natural selection, though they themselves had no conception of any "science" of eugenics in their day. Nor had Herbert Spencer, though he was one of the first of philosophical writers to discuss the idea seriously. It was Neitzsche who elevated it to the rank of a gospel and the dignity of a religion. The apostle of the Superman was the first to treat of marriage as a means for the production of a nobler type of individual—and that is the whole scope and aim of modern eugenics. That is why some of his admirers have hailed Neitzsche as the founder of the "science of eugenics," a title to which in reality he has but little claim and which belongs of right to Sir Francis Galton, who died in 1911. But not even Galton has defined the scope and object of his "science" as lucidly and fully as could be desired. In my opinion, it is the greatest poet-philosopher of all time, Neitzsche, that has defined it clearly and completely. In his greatest book "Thus Spake Zarathusthra," no chapter is more striking or more captivating than the one on marriage. I have not got the book before me, and am quoting from memory. Says he, "why should you and I marry, my love, but that we may create one greater than we both?" Here in a nutshell is the whole philosophy of the science of eugenics and I know of no definition more ample or more beautiful than this in the whole range of literature.

This, then, is the end of eugenics—the produc-

To this end, eugenics has laid under contribution the various sciences—biology, anthropology, ethnology, sociology, pathology, etc. Philosophers like Neitzsche, Spencer and Bergson, naturalists like Lamark, Darwin and Alfred Russel, and ethnologists like Gobineau are to that extent at least as much of "eugenists" as avowed eugenists like Francis Galton and Gregor Mendel. While all of them have collected a mass of statistics, made experiments and indicated what may be termed the general principles of eugenics, none of them has been so bold and cocksure about the results attained by him as to lay down, any hard and fast rules for the social control or state regulation of the laws of heredity. Indeed, all of them have united with a singular unaminity in deprecating all generalisations tending in that direction.

That is exactly where our ancient sages made the mistake of their lives and brought on our poor Motherland all the untold misery which she has suffered and is still suffering. Poor fond men! They imagined that they could with impunity lay down hard and fast rules for the control of birth! They generalised too much; they thought they had mastered all the secrets of "heredity" the most elusive thing in the universe. They instituted caste and rendered it as rigid as steel. The result is before the world. The Indian caste--system is the greatest and most glaring mistake in history which proves what disastrous consequences will follow on any attempt to bind "the laws of heredity" in a cast-iron fashion by rigid and inelastic rules of "caste." It is a beacon-light upon the rock of time warning over-adventurous scientists of to-day against imitating the foolish example of the ancient sages of Hindusthan.

The truth is, heredity is the most difficult and subtle of principles. It is, as I said, the most elusive thing in the whole universe—as elusive, say, as the mystery of life or the charm of the Infinite. It cannot be caught and touched. It will not be bound. It operates in an infinite number of cases, in an infinite variety of ways. Perhaps the time will come when its characteristics and eccentricities will be as clear to us as propositions of Euclid, when sugenies will hold them all at its mercy and can do with them what it pleases. That will be the time when eugenics shall be called an exact science. But that time is not yet, Meanwhile, we have got to be satisfied with the experiments which it has made so far and the general indications of policy for our guidance that follow from them. And these are quite enough for our present purpose. If, in the light of the known truths of eugenics, Mr. Patel's Inter-caste Marriage Bill seems to us a desirable and necessary thingand I shall prove that it is both desirable and necessary—then it is the bounden duty of all honest men to accord it their utmost support.

Imperceptible even to the eyes of the most expert of eugenists are the ways in which heredity Genius, defined as "the most complex manifesta- our jaded nerves.

tion of the infinitely complex human consciousness," its sudden appearance and disappearance from the stage of life. It is a well-known fact that great geniuses have often come and gone in worldhistory leaving behind them unworthy and commonplace progeny or no progeny at all. There is a popular saying in Tamil and another language that 'the son of a Pundit is a dunce." While courage, ability or even talents of a high order may or may not be transmitted from parents to their children in accordance with the other popular dictum that a child takes after its father or mother, genius has invariably baffled all attempts to catch it and bottle it, so to speak, and transmit it to successive generations. Now what does this prove? If it proves anything, it proves what I said that laws of heredity are as mysterious as the ways of God are said to be. But let it not be supposed that even ability or talents are always transmitted hereditarily. If Galton put forward this view in his work on "Hereditary Genius," we have it on the authority of Saleeby, the foremost of his disciples, that he lived to regret it towards the close of his career and that he even wanted to change the title of his book so as to make it less sweeping and more tentative. Even Schuster, Cyril Burt and Karl Pearson, who are among the supporters of the view of hereditary inheritance of average ability have not ventured to lay it down as an axiomatic truth, but have merely contented themselves with saying that it is "probable." I shall give an instance. Edgar Schuster writes: "As mental capacity is largely the expression of physical characters and as it may be supposed that all physical characters are inherited, it follows that mental capacity is probably inherited also." I would invite the reader's attention to the large number of suppositions and probabilities which this single sentence contains. It is a sample of their style whenever they write in support of the theory of hereditary ability. As against this, we have the clear and emphatic opinion of Saleeby, whom I have justly called the greatest of Galton's disciples, who inveighs with the fervour of a Hebrew prophet against all those eugenists who seek to make much of this unproved theory of hereditary ability and seek to perpetuate the domination of "the upper. classes," on this flimsy basis. He calls them "amateur eugenists" and "pseudo-eugenists." He denies that the upper classes or "castes" are really "upper." He denounces them as being more or less degenerate and barren mentally, physically and morally. He declares that the "upper" and upper you ascend in the social scale, the barrenness and the degeneracy become more and more marked. All his writings are so many tirades against those who "prostitute the sacred name of eugenics" for perpetuating the domination of any of these upper classes and for keeping the "under-dogs" always under. I would recommend to everyone a perusal of his books, "Progress of Eugenics" and "Methods works. The most striking proof of this fact is of Race—Regeneration." It will act as a tonic on

Now, none can gainsay the fact that the overwhelming mass of available data and evidence supports Saleeby's view. It is one of the bestknown facts of history that the greatest poets, artists, philosophers and scientists of the world have almost invariably sprung from the lower classes and often times from the lowest strata of society and that the so-called aristocracy in all ages and all countries has been noted for indolence and intellectual emptiness, though it has always excelled in what Saleeby has termed "the evil kinds of ability" which make for worldly success and prosperity. It has been so in all countries including our own. Now, if all this proves one thing rather than another, it proves that what we call "upper" and "lower" are not really so and that we should effect "a transvaluation of values" as Neitzsche calls it, if we want to arrive at the truth. And intermarriage seems to me to be a very good way of effecting such a transvaluation and ensuring a more equal distribution of talents, wealth and also health.

I shall now enumerate the proved truths of eugenics. In the first place, "no one knows fully what heredity is." Secondly, so far as we know it, though deformities, diseases and other physical attributes are often transmitted hereditarily, it is problematical whether mental qualities are so transmitted and it is positively certain that ability of a high order or "genius" as it is called is not transmitted hereditarily. Thirdly, talent and ability are not the monopoly of any one class or caste however "upper" it might be placed, but they are more or less equally distributed among all classes of mankind and indeed among all races so much so that even an upholder of the "inheritance of ability" theory like Edgar Schuster has been constrained to admit that the mental capacity of backward races (such as Negroes) is in no way inferior to that of the advanced races (such as Europeans). The capacity is the same; the difference is in the "opportunity" and the circumstances. The Homo Genus is one: its differences are accidental; Hindus, Muhammadans, Buddhists and Christians are all one species. If this is so, I refuse to believe in what some of my countrymen blindly and unquestioningly believe that there is a natural disparity between one kind of Hindu and another kind of Hindu, and that an intermarriage between them will mean the mingling of "the golden with the base" against which humanity has always protested and rightly protested. I suppose this is what is at the back of the mind of His Holiness the Sankaracharya of Karveer Peeth and all those who oppose Mr. Patel's Inter-caste Marriage Bill. They fear though they do not say so that if it is passed into law, it will throw the door open to all sorts of hybrid unions which, in their train, will involve race degeneracy. I respect their fear, but I submit that it is uneugenic (or dysgenic). It is opposed to the whole of known eugenics. If for instance, the Brahman had a monopoly of physical and mental capacity and if | cided to wait for something decisive to take place

the other castes were inferior to him in inherent qualities, then their fear might be considered justifiable. But if eugenics proves anything, it has abundantly proved that capacity of all kinds are common to all men, whites or blacks, Brahmans or Pariahs; and a commingling of them is not in itself un-eugenic. On the contrary, it is compulsory endogamy (or endogamy as a binding sociallaw or institution) that is un-eugenic and criesaloud to Man and Nature for redress. To put it concretely: the forcible wedding of an over-intelligent and physically weak Brahman maiden to an equally intelligent and equally frail Brahman youth is luridly un-eugenic; but getting the same Brahman girl married to an intelligent and healthy Reddi or Naidu is essentially eugenic. To enablethat Brahman girl and Reddi to marry if they choose to do so-that is the whole aim and scope of Mr. Patel's Bill, and therefore it is wholly eugenic. The Sankaracharya has appealed to the authority of eugenics. Here is eugenics for him.

In conclusion, I would appeal to His Holiness. and all those who are of his way of thinking toconsider this question dispassionately from the standpoint of eugenics and to say whether or not intermarriages are necessary for our salvation at this stage of our collective existence. I would remind them again of the pond and the well that become dry by endless pumping. Our society is in. that position. It is like a stagnant pool, rotting and stinking and soon it may be reduced to mere rottenness and putrefaction. It is our duty to save our society from such a fate. It is high time that there was some purification, some renewel of our blood—some infusion of fresh blood into our old stock, if we are to live and succeed as a nation: Or, as surely as the world moves, we shall degenerate deteriorate and die out in the race sooner than some of us think. This is the first and elementary teaching of biology and also history. I think it is Gobineau who says that the true cause of the decline and fall of the great Roman Empire was race degeneracy entailed by endless endogamy. Others ascribe a similar cause for the decline and fall of ancient Greece. Let us beware lest such a fate should befall us and that before our budding national consciousness has been perfected and consolidated. Cement it by blood and no power on earth or in Heaven shall overcome it. The gates of hell shall not prevail against it, otherwise, it will collapse like a house built on sands.

S. M. M.

FROM A WANDERER'S NOTE-BOOK.

THE big war has ended; but fighting of a desultory though of a most desperate and destructive character is still going on in the eastern parts of Europe. Very few have an idea of what is happening in Russia. Confloting news of Bolshevik victories and defeats arrives every day and most newspaper readers must have given up looking at it and de-

before resuming their interest in affairs Russian. Things are not much clearer in Hungary and Rumania and one does not know when peace is going to be restored in those unhappy parts of Europe. The treaty of peace does not seem to have given satisfaction to large sections in European countries. This was to be expected as it was not possible for the Big Four to please every body. Italy is making a grievance of the treatment meted out to her by the Allies and the neutrals have many holes to pick in the treaty. Germany cannot, of course, reconcile herself to the terms imposed on her and even in Allied nations grumbling is heard from various quarters. President Wilson himself is hard put to it to secure the ratification of the treaty at the hands of the Senate. The Republicans are moving heaven and earth to discredit the covenant of the League of Nations and some of the terms of the treaty and Dr. Wilson is appealing to the nation to take a calm and reasonable view of the matter.

How long will the Coalition Government in Great Britain pull together? is the question that is being asked on all sides. Mr. Lloyd George has exhibited matchless courage and skill in riding the political storm which has threatened to sink his bark every moment. He has yet a large solid majority behind him and the Asquithian Liberals are gnashing their teeth in impotent rage at his wonderful success in meeting each emergency as it arises. There are some prophets foretelling an early general election but in the case of most of them, the wish is the father to the thought. Mr. George's opponents are challenging his Government on different issues like those of protection and free trade, conscription, the Russian situation, Ireland and so forth; but the serried ranks of his followers give no indication of wavering or thinning. The police strike, the coal crisis, the Irish difficulty and the unrest due to high prices are sorely trying the Coalition Government, which, however, goes on with its business with a confidence which is all its own.

THE coal trouble has raised a very important issue which goes to the very bottom of the social and economic organization of Great Britain. The Government has just got Parliament to pass a seven hours day bill for the benefit of coal miners whose demands, however, go much further than those of any workers in the past. State control of industry and trade had become a very common thing during the war, and the apparent success of that system has encouraged socialists and laborites to demand that State ownership and management should become a normal feature at least of the coal industry. The Coal Commission presided over by Justice Sankey recommended the nationalization of coal mines and the miners insist upon the recommendation being adopted forthwith

supremacy largely depends upon its prosperity. It is believed that nationalization will lead to increased cost and decreased output in the coal industry but the miners seem resolved upon putting up a stiff fight with capital on this issue. The fate of many other industries hangs upon the solution of the problem and if Government yields to the claims of labour in this case, the triumph of socialism will be complete. Mr. Bonar Law has so far taken a firm stand and though his Government will be prepared to adopt some of the recommendations of the Sankey Commission the complete nationalization of the mines seems a tall order. The country will not stand it.

THE ghost of the Irish difficulty has once more made its appearance upon the stage. The Coalition Government has promised to take up the question after the Parliamentary recess, but the prospects of a solution are none too cheerful. Mr. de Valera, the President of the 'Irish Republic' is in America securing loans for the new adventure and Sir Edward Carson is rattling his sabre and threatening to call out his Ulster volunteers again. Sir Horace Plunket is working at a Dominion Government scheme for Ireland. Unhappy Ireland! Sinn Feiners, Unionists, Nationalists and Dominionists are all going their own way and the chances of agreement on any plan of Government are as small as ever. Sir Edward Carson's nasty speech of last month produced an extremely bad impression all round. He is not prepared to budge an inch from the position he occupied before the outbreak of the war and is ready for the worst. 'We will not have Home Rule!' is his cry and he has the whole of Ulster behind him. Sir Edward has learnt nothing from the war and has forgotten nothing about Ulster's opposition to Home Rule in any form or shape.

THE question of high prices has become a world problem and people in America, France and England are no less afflicted by scarcity and dearness than are in this country. Food control is to continue in England. Government is taking all measures possible to pull down the rising prices and food supplies are being conserved and assured for months to come. But when everything is said and done, the advice that the Food Controller can give to the people is 'Produce more and consume less: therein alone lies salvation!'

A Wanderer

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, JULY 23.

THE PEACE CELEBRATIONS.

nationalization of coal mines and the miners insist upon the recommendation being adopted forthwith by Government. Coal mining is one of the vital industries of England and Great Britain's industrial

hundred other adverse circumstances, there can be no doubt that London, at any rate, thoroughly celebrated the occasion. The streets were thronged with eager sight-seers, tribute-payers, and heroworshippers from early Saturday morning to early Sunday morning. Never have such huge, overhappy, well-behaved crowds been whelming, known. Though the labours of the police, from a merely physical point of view, must have been arduous, they never had, in all their experience, a better-ordered gathering to handle, and it must be confessed that they did their duty with conspicuous success. It was singular that, at the very time that all this was happening, the Daily Herald, which announces Bolshevik successes in large type, dwells joyously upon the latest strike, and sings on the key of the utmost class-friction, was explaining that the people really did not want to celebrate peace, which the workers considered to be no peace, but it was constrained to print detailed instructions to its readers where to see the procession and how to get there. And on Monday it devoted the major part of its front page to show what enormous throngs gathered in the streets and how tremendously they enjoyed themselves. If one may judge from the evidence of one's eyes and ears, the worker in the mass does not read the Daily Herald, or, if he does, he does not take its Cassandra-like warnings seriously. The procession took two hours to pass any given point. It was completely characteristic of the occasion, and it was received by the crowd-one would rather call it the multitude-with tumultuous joy, the people welcoming war-leaders, soldiers, sailors, and warworkers with a never-ceasing roar of cheers, the mightiest being received for Pershing, of America. Foch, of France and the Allied Armies, Haig, the typical Briton, and Beattie, the characteristic sailor. The cenotaph erected in Whitehall to the memory of "the glorious dead" was a reminder of the solemnity of the occasion which had robbed so many homes of those near and dear, who had made the greatest sacrifices of all. It was one of the two saluting-points, the other being the Royal Stand, outside Buckingham Palace. In the afternoon, dancing and rejoicings on a great scale were held in Hyde Park, and even the dismal weather could not damp the enthusiasm of the people then, or late at night, when the marvellous firework display was given, of the still greater masses that had congregated in the Park. Undoubtedly the King was the most popular figure of the day. He was the true centre of the celebrations, and the people instinctively felt that, in rendering homage to him, according to their varied temperaments, they were rendering homage to the embodied spirit of the whole nation. Whether Republicanism, as Mr. Neill McLean hopes, will soon come in this country, one does not care to prophesy, but there have certainly been no signs of it these last few days. What is positive beyond dispute is that no crowned head lies more securely than that of the British Sovereign.

MRS. BESANT AND BRITISH INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA.

The following day, certain sections of the Labour Party held an open-air meeting at Trafalgar Square to protest against British intervention in Russia. Among the speakers was Mrs. Besant. In my opinion and that of others with whom I have spoken, this was a great pity. Mrs. Besant claims to have come here to advocate a great cause, that of Home Rule. It is not doing any service to that cause to associate it, through herself, with other causes, however great and valid, with which she may have legitimate private sympathies, and with the advocates of those causes, however honest and well-intentioned they may be. And this is especially so when, in the eyes of many, the causes are so closely identified with political and industrial Bolshevism and with men and women of unbalanced judgment and harmful influence. The claims of India are so great and various and the work on her behalf so all-absorbing, that it is felt that Mrs. Besant and others of the same way of feeling, would be better employed in devoting their whole energies to this grand task, instead of dissipating any portion of them upon others not nearly soexigent.

THE JOINT COMMITTEE.

The Joint Committee is continuing its sittings, for the present, daily, and yesterday it sat all day. So far, neither Sir Donald Maclean nor Mr. Ben Spoor has been able to attend, and the Committee yesterday morning finished with its first witness Sir James Meston. Cross-examination commences from the extreme left of the Chairman, where, as it happens, Major Ormsby-Gore sits, and proceeds at wearisome length in this order-Mr. T. J. Bennett, Sir John Rees, Sir Donald Maclean (when he is there), Lord Islington, Lord Sinha, Lord Selborne, Mr. Montagu, Lord Midleton, Sir Henry Craik, Lord Crewe, the Duke of Northumberland, Mr. Spoor (when he is present) and Lord Sydenham. By the time that he had been finished with—and the irrepressible Sir John Rees had a second turn at the toasting-fork-Sir James Meston must have felt glad to go away. He was very thoroughly handled by Lord Sinha and Mr. Montagu, who elicited some very damaging statements from him, going to show that the Government of India had whittled down the Reform Scheme, apart altogether from the popular criticisms or those of the provincial Governments, that their fears of friction might be exaggerated, that the divided purse would not necessarily remove the sources of friction, and that other methods, better liked by the people, might have more satisfactory results. Sir James's handling of Lord Sydenham was deft and effective. It was plain to see that most of the members of the Committee do not know what questions to ask and what lines of argument to pursue. Perhaps, when they get into stride, they will do better. At present, Lord Selborne is anxious that the world should know that the Committee cannot, in any circumstances, go outside of the terms of its refer-

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ence or hear superfluous, garrulous, or irrelvant witnesses. It is working on a time-limit, and the amount of evidence that it can take is accordingly strictly limited. It is to be hoped that the hint will be taken by those who wish a speedy result of its labours.

DEATH OF DR. T. M. NAIR.

Dr. T. M. Nair is no more. He died during the week-end at a nursing-home in Wimpole Street, and his remains were cremated on Monday at Golder's Green Cemetery. Thus passes a strange figure from the Indian horizon. He was a man of great ability and many parts, and all his compatriots here regret his untimely death and the fact that, at the last, he did not see eye to eye with them. That his loss will be keenly felt by the Indo-British Association cannot be doubted, and it will not be compensated by the arrival of a -couple of non-Brahman gentlemen from South India. Lord Sydenham, on Mr. Montagu's intervention, failed to get from Sir James Meston an affirmative reply to his inquiry if the main reason for the absence of more than one or two non-Brahman deputations was not the poverty of the non-Brahman communities.

GENERAL SMUTS ON INDIA.

In his farewell address to the British people, General Smuts made a special reference to the need to approach the problem of India "in an open mind and with the fixed determination here, too, to realise those principles of freedom and selfgovernment without which the Empire cannot continue to exist in the new time. " Speaking of the immediate methods to be adopted, he said that "the Dominion situation will obviously not apply, but it may be found possible to reconcile native self-government with a system of expert advice and assistance, which will replace the dead hand of bureaucratic domination by the lighter but no less effective touch of the friendly hand." It is not without interest, however, that the distinguished statesman had no word to say of the relations of India and the Dominions, or of the tragical situation of South African Indians that is now developing rapidly.

BRUTAL SENTENCES.

The brutal sentences that have been imposed upon Lala Harkishen Lal and the well-known Punjab leaders have horrified thoughtful public opinion here, and Mr. Montagu is being hard-pressed to nominate his Commission of Inquiry at an early date. Meanwhile, steps are being taken to bring some of the cases to the notice of the Privy Council. An appeal is being brought against the conviction and sentence of Babu Kali Nath Roy, and the application for leave to appeal against the death sentences imposed upon Bugga and Ratan Chand, two of the Amritsar accused, was to-day disposed of, leave being granted.

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

"IF the kind and degree of self-government proposed to be given to us for the present do not appear satisfactory to us and if the givers practically say, 'Take this or you get nothing,' should we run the risk," asks the Modern Review, "of losing the little that is offered by standing up for a substantial measure of self-rule as the first instalment, or should we make a very respectful salaam and say, 'Garib-parwar, you are very merciful'?" Mr. Tilak has repeatedly stated that he would adopt the latter alternative. As Dr. Subramania Aiyar recently said: "If he (Mr. Tilak) cannot get more than an anna (of self-government) he will take it," and the wonder of wonders is that the venerable doctor who counselled an incontinent rejection of the scheme merely on the ground that it was devised by foreigners has now come to view Mr. Tilak's position with entire commendation. Indeed, he cannot even understand how any other course is possible. For our part we have never been able to appreciate the attitude taken up by Mr. Tilak. It may of course be necessary on occasion to accept a fairly large measure of reform as a compromise for the time being, if it becomes impossible to secure a larger instalment. It was this spirit which actuated Lala Lajpat Rai, for instance, when he deplored the rejection of the Council of India Bill in 1914. But we cannot understand the general proposition which Mr. Tilak lays down that whatever small modicum of reform is granted must be accepted, and there is certainly no tactical advantage in publishing in advance your determination to accept the reforms, however meagre they may be. In Mr. Tilak's view, the M.-C. Scheme is shadowy in the part relating to provincial Governments and reactionary in the part relating to the central Government, and yet he pleads for its acceptance. The Bill is worse than the scheme, and yet he is for accepting it. The Bill may perchance be further whittled down in the Joint Committee,

INDIAN REFORMS.

and still the acceptance will remain! Such an

abject acceptance we cannot commend.

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