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Acting Editor: S. G. VAZE.

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Government of India are as intransigent as ever. Sir James Meston appeared for the third time before the Joint Committee on their behalf and declared that they were averse to making any concession to the popular demand. They held to the separate purse plan, though Sir William Duke, who at first favoured this device, has now come to reject it in favour of the joint purse. Even Sir James Meston had agreed in his previous evidence that, subject to the power of restoring items of expenditure cut out by the legislature on a certificate to that effect by the Governor-General, the budget of the central Government might be voted upon by the Legislative Assembly; but, alarmed at such a dangerous concession, the Government of India issued telegraphic instructions to the Finance Member to say that it was a power which could not be safely conferred upon the popular chamber.

NOT to speak of introducing dyarchy into the Central Government, the Government of India do not support even the differentiation of subjects into Groups A and B, as suggested by Sir James Brunyate. It will be remembered that Sir James recommends in his minute on the Crewe Committee's report that in respect of group B subjects the Secretary of State should not normally interfere where the Legislative Assembly and the executive Government are in accord, that his previous sanction should not be required to the introduction of legislation and that the Government of India should not employ the certification procedure except with his sanction. The Government of India, however,

are not prepared to accept any of these proposals. They insist that the Secretary of State's prior sanction is necessary to all bills introduced in the legislature and that his interference should not be debarred where the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly are in agreement. They are also opposed to an increase of the Indian element in the Viceroy's executive council. They thus wish to choke up, every possible avenue to the liberalisation of the Central Government in even a modest way. Sir James Brunyate's moderate proposals at least must be carried into effect, if no element of responsibility could be immediately introduced into the central Government.

SO Sir James Meston is Lord Meston now, and no longer the finance member of the Government of India. It is not exactly with a sigh of relief that we learnt of his dramatic retirement and no less dramatic elevation to the peerage, but we neither regret the one, nor grudge him the other. As the apostle of the divided purse, he has latterly been very much to the fore and had the singular distinction of being examined thrice by the Joint Committee, and it is as the apostle of the divided purse that he will be remembered by posterity and not, we are afraid, as one of the great financiers or benefactors of British India. His successor, Mr. Malcolm Hailley, is an administrator of undoubted ability, but he has yet to make good his claims to be regarded as a financier.

AT the first Oriental Conference held in Poona last week, which owed its great success to the devoted efforts of Dr. Gune and his co-adjutors, about 120 papers were read. A score of them at any rate broke new ground on various subjects. For want of time no discussion could be held, but the papers, when published, will prove a good record of research made, which will not be inferior to the record of any oriental conference held in Europe. Some of the papers—and those that attempted to fix the age of the Brahmanas and traced the relations between Aryas and Dasyus may be quoted as instances—were notably free from bias of excessive reverence for the past. Our orientlists must learn more and more to care only for truth, whether it flatters or wounds our national vanity. Why, e. g., should we take umbrage if scholars trace our ancestral home to Asia Minor? We must acknowledge that at one time we were foreigners in India, that our word "sura" is

priestly invention, that Indians, Parsis, Assyrians had a common religion or at least a few common tenets." Research workers must be above all prepossessions.

UNLIKE Babu Bhagawan Das' speech at the last U. P. Social Conference on the subject of social reorganisation, the recent address of the Hon. Justice Seshagiri Iyer in Madras on the same theme is characterised by clearness of thought, consistency of logic and lucidity of exposition. Instead of beating about the bush and indulging in obviously futile talk about restoring caste to its pristine "purity," oblivious of the fact that no simple four-fold arrangement will suit modern conditions and that even if such a rearrangement were practicable (which we deny) the caste system will deteriorate and degenerate in the course of time and human nature exactly as it has done in the past, Mr. Seshagiri Iyer plainly and roundly stated that the caste system must go, and give place to a more intelligent, sensible and equitable social arrangement. He pointed out that the sooner the Brahmans and other "born monopolists" give up their privileges of birth, spiritual or material, the better it will be for them, as otherwise it will rather go hard with their posterity. This is true, no doubt, but so long as we have thinking and earnest men like Justice. Seshagiri Iyer, Justice Sadasiva Iyer and the Hon Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, we have nothing to fear.

"THE presidentship of the Madras Social Service League" said Mr. Seshagiri Iyer, "has been a revelation to me. It has opened my eyes to many things; not the least of them is the undug quarry of Panchama life. It is a crime to neglect the bringing out and clearing of the excellent material that lies there. We have thrown heaps of dust and dirt over it. We have kept it from the light of the sun and the sweep of the healthy breeze. This material is more essential for building the national edifice than the bright tinsel that lies on the surface." It may be of interest to our readers to know that Mr. Justice Seshagiri Iyer is "a very orthodox and very pure Hindu," according to the Hon. the Advocate-General of Madras. He himself declared: "Very few people can accuse me of heterodoxy. I conform to the orthodox observances more than any other man in my station of life." But orthodox as he is, he emphatically condemned the blind acceptance of the Shastras and Smritis, impugned their infallibility and charged some of the latter-day commentators on the Smritis and the Shastras like Vignaneswara with "intellectual dishonesty," and showed that Hindus had no business to follow musty old books written (or rather compiled) 2000 years ago literally. The Hon. Justice Sadasiva Iyer's declaration that he would give up calling himself a "Hindu" in the next five years, if "the rotten caste system" and the Hindu religion are not reformed within that period is highly significant and we hope it will serve as an eye-opener to all

Hindus. "If we do not abolish the caste system," said he "it will abolish us as a nation."

IN view of the criticism made in some quarters that the dualism in the Reforms Report has been accentuated in the Bill and that all provisions for joint deliberation and decision have been eliminated from it, it would be interesting to find that Sir William Duke in his evidence laid great stress on both halves of Government jointly considering all important questions. Sir William told Lord Islington that he wished to see the Government as much unified as possible without doing away with responsibility or weakening the value of what they were doing.

Lord Islington.—Would you go so far as this, that in all matters outside purely departmental questions, which are decided by collective decision, these matters should come before both branches of the Government sitting as a Cabinet where they would be fully discussed before final decision was made?

Sir William Duke.—This is what I should like to see, and I say that in nine cases out of ten a decision should not be taken until both parties have dealt with them. I am not prepared to say that there might not be exceptions.

LORD ISLINGTON seems to be particularly solicitous about ensuring a thorough discussion of all questions of policy by the whole Government before either its official or popular section comes to a final decision on them, as will be seen from the following questions he put to witnesses:—

Lord Islington.—I gather from your remarks that you visualise this (dyarchical) scheme with two perfectly separate Governments working in complete watertight compartments, the ministry on one side and the executive council on the other, the Governor presiding over both. Would you say that it might diminish difficulties that would arise from that system, if it was laid down quite clearly that, in all matters that came up for deliberation other than purely departmental matters, by the whole Government deliberating as a single Government the Governor should first of all place that before the combined Cabinet for full discussion or transfer?

Sir Michal O'Dwyer.—I think that would produce a much better administration and avoid many serious blunders which an inexperienced ministry would be led into.

Lord Islington.—Assuming that you had laid down that a Government which I call Government by gradations had to go through the full deliberate discussion of the united Government before a decision was come to, would you feel that the vices of the dual system would be to some extent mitigated?

Sir John Hewett.—I presume that the great majority would carry their point in any circumstances if they made up their minds to do so.

HIS EXCELLENCY the Viceroy reminded the Princes at the Chiefs' Conference of the spirit of freedom and liberty generated by the war and which could not be shut out from the Indian States. He also exhorted them that any reforms they might introduce must be "substantial," but proceeded to urge upon them caution, as though the princes were in too great a hurry to bring about cataclysmic changes in their administration. His speech also seems to lend countenance to the plea that responsible government to be introduced in British India may not suit the States.

THE I.C.S. AND THE REFORMS.

AT a time when the fate of the M.-C. Reform Scheme is about to be decided in Parliament, it may seem a sheer waste of energy to examine a scheme of reforms outlined by some members of the Indian Civil Service and published by Mr. Ernest Barker under the title, "The Future Government of India." It is, however, valuable as showing the frame of mind in which the I.C.S. approach the question of reforms. The scheme deserves particular attention at the hands of Indian publicists, because it claims to be only a slight variant of the Congress-League scheme and as such, likely to be "widely accepted" in India. It no doubt resembles the Congress-League scheme in proposing advance on "horizontal rather than on vertical lines" and eliminating dyarchy of the M.-C. Report (though the modification of the latter scheme adopted in Delhi did accept dyarchy at the centre), but the limit of resemblance is reached at this point. In the cumulative effect of the provisions recommended in them, the two schemes differ as widely from each other as possible. Briefly, what the civilians' scheme suggests is that the Indian members of the executive council should be selected from the legislature, and that they should be jointly responsible with other members for all departments of Government. Ordinarily, it is assumed, the executive would carry the legislature with them, but where the legislature did not support the policy decided upon by the executive collectively or where individual members of the Government felt unable to accept this policy, then the latter would resign. Such an understanding would, in the eyes of the authors of this scheme, be sufficient to secure the amenability of the executive to the legislature and the electorate, and the gradual increase of the Indian element in the executive council would give India, they think, a progressively increasing share of responsible self-government, so that when the executive council came to be composed entirely of Indians, India would have a full measure of self-rule.

It will have been seen that the proposed arrangement does not differ from the arrangement now in force, so far as the ability of the legislature to enforce its will is concerned, except in the fact that the executive is drawn from the legislature, which by itself obviously will not achieve the desired end. If the executive can be depended upon hereafter to bow to the will of the legislature, why did it not do so till now, and how is one to prevent its going on in the same old way? The one effective means whereby the responsibility of the executive is secured, *viz.* control over ways and means, is withheld from the legislature. And yet it is claimed on behalf of the civil service scheme that, under it the control of the legislature over their representatives in the executive would be "far more real" than under the Congress-League scheme, in which the executive councillor, when once elected, is irremovable for his five years' term of office! The I.C.S. men who formulated the scheme evidently ignored the two

small clauses in the Congress-League scheme whereby the legislature was given complete control over the purse, and the executive was made to give effect to its decisions. Here is a complete equipment for the assertion of the popular will; in the civilians' scheme, however, the absence of either of these features leaves the control of the executive in a no more satisfactory condition than at present. Indeed, the one aspect of it which recommends itself to the civilians is that under it there will be no deadlock such as is possible under the M.-C. scheme. A deadlock may happen under the latter scheme, because the two branches of Government are invested with equal or nearly equal powers; the best way to get over it is not to deprive one branch of all power and to concentrate it on the other half. We shall thus know how to rate the claim made by the authors of the scheme that "it would be widely accepted as a reasonable modification of the Congress-League scheme": the latter made the legislature supreme, the former makes it utterly impotent.

The attitude of the civil service to the reforms is best seen in their demand for "special measures of protection." Under the M.-C. Scheme they find that they must transfer their allegiance from the Crown to the people of this country in respect of certain departments, and this fact, *viz.* that for the master whom they elected to serve another is to be substituted, appears to them in the light of a grievance, which is of too grave a character to be satisfied by the sweeping increases of pay which the authors of the Scheme have recommended. The conditions of service which will now come into existence are so fundamentally different from those which they expected on entering service that they think they are entitled to a release. Now, it must be remembered that no one had guaranteed to them a perpetuation of the old conditions; and if the new conditions are felt derogatory, they can certainly get a release by resigning. The new conditions are in no way different from those that obtain in other countries. Only the privileges which they owed to the non-self-governing character of British rule in India are being gradually taken away. If this position is intolerable to the English officials, well, they must be freed. What they want, however, is not freedom to resign, but the option "of retiring on a pension proportionate, not only to the length of the service which they have rendered, but to the pecuniary prospects of which they have been deprived." As well may the Crown Colonies which were till now in receipt of Indian indentured labour ask for compensation for all their prospective loss in future years, entailed by the stoppage of that labour. They had expected the continuation of that labour, just as much as the English officials had expected the continuation of the conditions under which each one of them could play the Nabob in his district. The civilian critics of the M.-C. Scheme say:—

It is difficult to find an analogy to the position in which the Services are placed. But let us suppose that the

Generals and Colonels of our army were informed that, inasmuch as the trades union leaders understood the working classes best, it was desirable that in future the posts of Generals or Colonels should be entrusted to trades union leaders; that the latter would be responsible for strategy, tactics, promotion, and discipline, but, inasmuch as they knew little of the details of army life, while the present Generals were accustomed to train and discipline men, the latter might continue to enjoy their emoluments and train the rank and file, and their advice, if asked for, might be given; and that in the initial stages the present Generals would be responsible to Parliament, and the trades union Generals responsible only to their trades union—and some idea may be formed of the position in which the Imperial Services in India will very shortly find themselves.

No more is being asked of the services in India than in other countries, and the argument advanced above has no force.

CANCELLATION OF INDENTURES IN FIJI.

IN view of the proposals made in the legislative council of Fiji for the termination of indentures, the recent request made by the Colonial Secretary that the indentures should be closed down by the end of this year on plantations on which certain reforms had not been effected, does not seem to be much of a triumph for us. For a member brought up a motion in early July in the Fiji council, asking for a cancellation of *all* indentures by the beginning of August next year, irrespective of the fact whether the planters had carried out the improvements or not, and this motion was carried unanimously. It was calculated that the cost of releasing the four thousand odd Indians now under indenture would be nearly £20,000, but by August, 1920, only 1600 would have to be released at a cost of £7000, which the Fiji Government undertook to bear in the interest of the colony. The avowed object of this early release was to win the goodwill of the people of India and to convince them of the *bona fides* of the Fiji Government in proposing measures for the introduction of free labour into the colony, as they intend to do. The Acting Colonial Secretary of the Fiji Government, in seconding the motion for the cancellation of the indentures, established the necessity of that measure on this very ground. "The Indians here," he said, "would not agree to a resumption of immigration until the indenture system had been cancelled." Mr. Scott, K. C., observed, "the position now was that, unless they agreed to voluntarily cancel the indentures, worse was in store. . . . If the council passed this motion, . . . he believed it would go far in helping the representative of the colony in approaching India." Whatever the object, the Fiji Government, it is clear, proposed of their own motion to close down all indentures by the beginning of August next year; we need not therefore exult overmuch, if the suggestion of the Secretary of State for the colonies to cancel indentures on a few of the plantations is carried out. It is surprising how the Colonial Secretary, who must have been in possession of the proceed-

ings of the legislative council of Fiji, made such a request to the Fiji Government. It is more than probable that they would have agreed to terminate all the indentures by the end of this year, if only the proposal were pressed upon them with sufficient vigour. That it was not so pressed by the Indian authorities shows that they are not as alive to Indian interests as we have a right to expect. Anyhow, what the Fiji Government now propose to do in response to the Colonial Secretary's request is not an unmixed advantage in view of what they were prepared to do of their own accord.

Miss Garnham of the London Missionary Society, Calcutta, who was deputed to Fiji by several women's organisations in Australia, has presented a report on the social and moral condition of Indians in the colony which lays great stress on the fact that the abolition of the degrading system of indentured labour will not of itself see the end of the evil results that have already flowed from it. "The evils arising from the indenture system," she says, "are not likely to be eradicated for many years, and only then, if some special means are taken to accomplish reform in the social, moral and religious life of the people." And Miss Garnham has made some constructive suggestions to remedy the evils, chief among which are equalising the sex proportion, improvement of the housing accommodation for married people, improvement of the medical and nursing arrangements, and extension of educational facilities. All these topics were discussed in the Fiji legislative council in July last, though it is not known what specific measures found favour with the Government. Miss Garnham has suggested that single men in Fiji should be encouraged to go to India to find wives, and that the Fijian Government should provide them with free passages and also return passages for them and their wives. It is calculated that the cost would be nearly a quarter of million pounds. "The evils arising from the disproportion of the sexes are so great," writes Miss Garnham, "and the danger to the colony so serious that any cost involved in finding a remedy would be warranted." She also pleads for a change in marriage laws so as to make all Indian custom marriages valid. The education of Indian children has been utterly neglected by the Fiji Government. The total expenditure on education in 1914 was £3312, but no part of this amount was spent on Indian education. While almost all Fijian children attend school—small thanks to the Government, the whole burden being borne by missionary societies—only 1·5 per cent. of the Indian population attended school in 1917. We are told that arrangements are being made for a large Government School for Indian boys near Lautoka and that the Fiji Board of Education is attempting to get teachers for this school from India itself. Miss Garnham suggests that a suitable course of instruction be devised for Indians and that separate schools be established for girls. She also emphasises the suggestion of Mr. Andrews that women doctors and certi-

ficated nurses should be appointed to all hospitals and dispensaries where women are treated.

MR. REDDY ON WOMEN'S EDUCATION.

THE Government of Mysore in its memorandum to which the SERVANT OF INDIA referred a few weeks ago has not yet made up its mind definitely on the question of women's education. There are two schools of thought, one represented by Mr. Reddy, the Inspector of General of Education in Mysore, and the other championed by Mrs. Rukminiamma. It is probable, however, that Mr. Reddy's views are not perfectly understood and that the opposition to them is due to a vague idea of what he was likely to have said rather than of what he actually did say. Mr. Reddy's object was to devise a scheme for a wide spread of education, of all grades among women and not simply for the higher education of a few women only who are bound to be of a very exceptional character, somewhat divorced from the ordinary social life of the people. The very large majority of women, it must be borne in mind, do not carry on their education after the age of fourteen or fifteen and early marriage and motherhood are soon awaiting them. While a fair proportion of boys who complete the secondary stage are bound to go in for higher education, the case would be different with girls if they begin to take to secondary education to anything like the same extent as boys. A large number of them would have to marry and leave their education unfinished, for parents of girls are not likely to let a chance of a good match for them slip from any great love for higher education which they think is an economic necessity for boys but not for the generality of girls in our society. Girls must therefore pick up as much education as they can by the time they are fourteen or fifteen. Does it therefore seem politic to add to their difficulties the great difficulty of a foreign medium which in the initial stages is but imperfectly understood? Even the most pronounced Anglicists do not say that our boys are capable of imbibing knowledge through English thoroughly in their school stage, but they accept this disadvantage in view of the large benefit they think they can derive in the cause of their college education. In the case of the boys it may at least be a balancing of advantages; in the case of the vast majority of girls it is only the disadvantages that have to be reckoned.

The framers of a scheme for the education of women have a cleaner state to write on than those who are considering the education of men. The economic factor is not so important while the social pressure is far grater. Mr. Reddy, therefore, proposes that the acquisition of knowledge should in the case of girls proceed through the medium of the vernaculars while English should be taught only as a second language. I do not suppose that it is intended to frame new technical terms for ideas which have been imported from the west, though these English terms may be adapted to the spirit

of the vernaculars. The knowledge of English that the girls are expected to acquire on the completion of their secondary school course will be of a fairly practical nature; they ought to be able to read an English book, understand spoken English and carry on ordinary conversation in English. They will not be expected to write English with ease and facility. Such an experiment is being conducted in the Indian Women's University at Poona. The girls are set books in English of the same difficulty as for the corresponding men's examinations, and it is intended that the actual attainment in English should be the same. Mr. Reddy proposed a complete recasting of the course as the two systems working simultaneously would wreck each other. Mr. Reddy is convinced, and I agree with him, that this experiment will be a success in the case of women and that ere long it will also be accepted in the case of boys. He delivered a very trenchant address in Madras the other day on the medium of instruction and, so far as secondary education is concerned, I believe, the change is imminent. Mr. Reddy also proposes some changes in the curriculum of girls' schools, domestic science being given some prominence, teaching being made an optional subject in order to increase the supply of qualified teachers, and some training in music, &c. being also included. These are all very desirable changes for an extensive scheme for the widespread education of girls who are soon to be members of an Indian household.

It is probable that a girl who completes a course of studies like this will not be immediately at home in a class in a college for boys where English is in use as a medium; but there is no doubt that she will be able to do this in one year at the utmost. Of course, Mr. Reddy does not propose to exclude girls altogether from institutions of a higher character mainly intended for boys; but he would sacrifice even a year of such exceptional girls rather than, in pursuit of a formal uniformity for both boys and girls, give a meagre amount of knowledge to the vast majority of girls who are bound to stop their education soon. The later education of girls will be acquired at home more than in the case of boys. The main thing is to fit them for this acquisition while giving them useful knowledge at school. We hope a time will come when the present social conditions will alter; but this is sure to be a long process and before that day arrives, either the vernaculars will have so improved as to be a suitable medium for every grade of education, or English will have spread so much as to be almost a common vernacular in India. On the whole, it seems to me that Mr. Reddy has taken the right line in formulating his scheme and I trust that his Government will act upon it. We in British India will watch the effects of such an experiment on a large scale. Native States are in fact large social laboratories to British India, just as British India is a vast political laboratory to them.

R. P. PARANJPYE.

PARTY DIVISIONS.

MR. C. P. RAMASWAMY AIYAR did well, in speaking of the "Nationalist" Conference held last week, to utter a warning against helping by our acts to stereotype the existing party divisions and "to bring to the front undesirable and entirely futile aspects of party controversy." It is vain to justify the strengthening of the disintegrating forces already at work on the ground that responsible government to be introduced under the new régime necessarily presupposes a diversity of views organised in rival camps. One need not feel alarmed at the formation of healthy political parties, but the present groups, with all the difference in outlook they convey, cannot be said to answer that description. Nor can we at all expect that the evolution of parties in future will take place along the lines of the present party cleavage. If we can positively assert one thing about the uncertain developments in the coming era, it is this, that parties will reshape themselves on entirely different principles in future. Hitherto the only work open to a political reformer was to loosen the hold of the English official class upon the government of his own country and to transfer part of the power concentrated in their hands to the people. All other objects occupied a subsidiary place, and any differences that happened on their account had naturally to yield to the need of uniting all available forces for the one supreme object of winning home rule. Hereafter, however, for the first time in British Indian history, we shall have it within our power to do constructive work in specified spheres of administration. It is clear, therefore, that the differences which separated the national workers when they were all playing the rôle of critics will not be of the same kind as those which will emerge when it comes to using the power they have succeeded in winning. The departments, again, which will be made over to popular control will be predominantly those affording great opportunities of social reform and social service. This factor alone will be enough to prove that the resulting differences when the reform bill is carried into effect will be very unlike the present political differences—they will resemble the differences that divide social reformers from conservatives more than those that separate political reformers of different complexions. Anyhow the dividing lines of parties will evolve themselves only in course of time, and it is futile and even mischievous to accentuate the present differences in the belief that the future politics of the country will also fix itself into its present orientation. It will not. It is true that, to a certain extent, the development of parties in time to come will also have the existing groups for its starting-point; in so far as it is so, it is an unavoidable necessity, but it behoves all well-wishers of the country not to overemphasise the phase of politics which holds our attention at this moment. I do not object to the holding of a party conference

as such, but the Nationalistic Conference of Madras is sure to bring to the surface aspects of political life, which everyone had better keep from the public view. It is best to obliterate our memories of them, if we can do so.

The conveners of the Conference were naturally compelled, in justification of their move, to define the difference in aims and methods between themselves and the Liberals. Considering the fact that the Conference owed its origin to those who declared an uncompromising hostility to the reform scheme which is now being given the force of law, one would think that it was the purpose of the Conference to advise the 'Nationalist' party to hold themselves aloof from the reforms. Mr. Horniman, who in this matter is seconded by Mr. Satyamurti, had led us to believe that the one distinguishing mark of a Nationalist is that he will let the Montagu scheme alone, till by a turn of fortune he can lay his hands on full self-government. The Liberal, Mr. Horniman said, would use the present inadequate reforms in the hope of gaining complete autonomy in the future: the Nationalist, however, will stick out for all he is entitled to. Those politicians who were for the rejection of the scheme as one formed on essentially wrong principles and unsusceptible of improvement by any conceivable modifications in it would, at any rate, be expected to support Mr. Horniman's plea. Those who realise all the implications of the policy of rejection and are true to themselves would certainly favour that line of action. Else, if they enter the reformed councils they must do so with the only purpose of proving the reforms an unquestioned failure. They have really no place in a scheme of government which, they honestly hold, is doomed to fail. I have no desire that any section of the people should in sober earnest carry out this wild-cat idea. My only object is to show that the rejectionists who now shrink from carrying to its logical consequence the doctrine they proclaimed in their pretended heroism, fail miserably when put to the test. They can, like Sinn Feiners, enter the councils only to keep out the Liberals, but not to make the reforms a success in which they do not believe. "The Nationalist party may decide, but has not yet decided," says Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, "to declare, in respect of constitutional reform, civil resistance or a self-denying ordinance." Those who are aware of the material of which the party is compounded know perfectly well that this line of action is beyond the bounds of possibility, though consistency to principle requires nothing less. Indeed, the editor of the *Hindu*, who presided over the conference, and was loudest in proclaiming rejection, gave it as his unalterable conviction, without waiting for the party's decision, that any such self-denying ordinance was not for him; and, as if to enforce the demand for self-determination, added that beggars cannot be choosers.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari now tries to place the Nationalist position in a new light, but this at-

tempt has grievously failed. He argues that the rejectionists are not bound to keep out of the councils; they can, consistently with their advocacy of the rejection policy, take advantage of the reforms just as much as the Liberals; and the only thing their views on the reform scheme require of them is that they must at once set about agitating for a larger measure of reform. The Liberals are, according to him, bound by their acceptance of the scheme to desist from agitation and secure any widening of the reform scheme that they desire only through the machinery of the statutory commissions. This is an entirely fictitious distinction. The Liberals certainly welcome the provision made in the scheme for future changes as giving point and direction to the agitation they may carry on in the meanwhile, but it is ridiculous to argue that the door of agitation is closed to them. All serious-minded politicians will realise, when the reforms come into operation, that the constructive work which is now open to them for the first time will claim more of their time and attention than the securing of further reforms, for the reason that rights now to be conceded, if well exercised, will of themselves develop into full self-government, as surely as an unwise exercise of them will retard the development. But it is not correct to say that any section of politicians is debarred from carrying on agitation at any time and of any kind he likes. Those who accepted the scheme have made it clear from the beginning. But what about the rejectionists? Is it their only part to cry 'reject,' 'reject,' thus adding strength to the elbow of the Sydenhamites and then, when their attempt proves unavailing, to quietly drop into a position of acceptance?

A CRITIC.

WOMEN ON WOMAN'S FRANCHISE.

III.

TWO committees were appointed last year to investigate the suggestions put forward in the Reform Scheme, and to place them on a workable basis. The one which looked into the question of elections was called the "Southborough Franchise Committee." This Committee has published its report recently, and it is very disappointing for us, women. Any man of the age of twenty-one or more who pays land or income tax or municipal rates will be given the right to vote. A man who possesses such qualifications but who is under twenty-one years of age, or is a foreigner, or is of unsound mind, is disqualified. In addition to these, all women are debarred from this right. A woman may be paying hundreds of rupees as land, or income tax, or municipal rates; she may be managing her property worth lacs, and she may be highly educated, but she has no right to vote.

The reason for disqualifying minors, foreigners and demented people is apparent, but to debar qualified women from exercising so simple a right is a serious check to the growth of the country. Government is showing anxiety to promote the growth of education, but if it is going to place a

check like this on half the "people" of India, it will mean a serious hindrance to their advancement. In these days of civilisation, all advanced countries are making attempts to remove the inequalities between the rights of men and women; and to accentuate such differences in this country on the eve of introducing reforms, is indeed a retrograde step. The more men and women cooperate with each other in their work through life, the better is it for both.

In the family, the man and the woman have separate functions. The man's chief function is to provide for the family, while the woman is principally concerned with keeping the home and bringing up the children. But besides earning for the family, the man takes an interest in all other things concerning its welfare and does not leave it to the woman alone. Questions about the education, health and the feeding of children and everything else concerning the welfare of the family are settled by mutual consultation and co-ordinated effort. In those families where such is not the case the conditions are unsatisfactory. By thus taking an interest in woman's functions, the man does not neglect his special function of earning, but performs it all the more earnestly, owing to his love for the family. In the same way, the woman, after fulfilling her special function in the home, ought not to be debarred from doing her duty as a citizen and as a daughter of the country. Rather than keep her in ignorance and let her waste her superfluous energies in petty quarrelling, I am sure all my countrymen will prefer to guide them into this path of usefulness.

We know that for the present very few women in the country are likely to come forward to take advantage of the privilege of voting, and there is really no reason to fear that it will be difficult to make arrangements for them. It has been said that in this country even men to a large extent are unfit to vote, and hence it is useless extending the right to women. It is the misfortune of our country that many men are yet unfit to vote, and by refusing the right to qualified women, this misfortune will only be enhanced.

A Parliamentary Committee is sitting at present in England to consider all the suggestions made about the Reform Scheme and to arrive at a final decision. The members of this Committee have been selected both from the House of Lords and the House of Commons. These men have seen the benefits of giving rights to women in England. We appeal to this Committee to take into consideration our point of view on this subject before coming to a final decision. We trust that England, one of the most advanced countries of modern civilisation, will not do an injustice to the women of India.

JAIJEE J. PETT

IV.

THAT Indian women, like Indian men, should enjoy the franchise needs no special pleading in

modern times. There were days even in enlightened Europe when women were kept in subjection by the naturally stronger men. But men's eyes have gradually opened. They see now that where brains are concerned there is neither male nor female. It is true that child-bearing places women at a slight disadvantage. But in modern Europe there are large numbers of celibate women who pursue almost all the callings of men. As education spreads in India, the number of female literates is steadily on the increase, while hundreds of young women are students in Colleges. There are also other cogent reasons why the vote should be granted to Indian women: (1) Every sensible husband consults his "better half" in matters concerning the general welfare of the family. Children's education, their up-bringing, all domestic concerns, the nursing of children and such-like duties are entirely in the hands of the wife. She has an inborn tact and aptitude for grappling with such domestic problems. Similarly, in the political family or the state, women are capable of exercising their innate judgment in matters concerning the education, sanitation and even finances of the tax-payers and the voiceless millions. The statesman would, therefore, do well to consult the women of the land. (2) It is now universally admitted that woman is man's equal. Therefore, if voting is fitting for men it is equally fitting for his partner. Wherever a woman possesses property of her own, she is not excused the payment of tax on account of her sex. If she commits a crime, her sex does not step forth and shelter her against the sections of the Penal Code. She is hanged, imprisoned or fined just like her stronger partner. Where there is responsibility of this sort, privilege naturally follows as a corollary. (3) The enfranchisement of women will prove a mighty impetus to female education. No one believed in the existence of America until Columbus discovered it. So voting will lead to the discovery of many a latent gift and virtue in the female mind. It will lead to the rapid enlightenment and elevation of India as a whole. Many a great cause and many a clamant reform will, by the pleading of women, receive an intensity of zeal which is unknown in male efforts. The achievements of women in the fields of literature and art, and even politics, are too well-known to be quoted in proof of their capacity. (4) For enfranchisement will give them a glorious opportunity to be of service in the world abroad instead of confining their duties to the narrow limits of a house. She has her training for politics in the family circle which man sadly lacks, and, with a broad education, she will turn ever superior to man. (5) And, lastly, it is simple justice to give the vote to women. The old doctrine of the inferiority of the softer sex has long since been exploded. These are days of the perfect equality of all the members of the human race. To deny the vote to woman is to deprive her of her birth-right. To refuse to let her vote, under is to dishonour God, her maker.

(MRS.) E. LAZARUS.

BABU KALINATH ROY.

A STUDY IN JOURNALISM.

MR. ROY'S eminent position in the Indian journalistic world is due to a rare combination in him of those qualities and virtues which mark the savant and the sage, and he fully satisfies the conditions laid down by Mr. Gandhi in the famous exhortation contained in his message to a new newspaper in February last. Mr. Gandhi observed in the course of his message: "May I further hope that to a robust independence you will add an equal measure of restraint and the strictest adherence to truth? Too often in our journals, as in others, do we get fiction instead of fact, and declamation in place of sober reasoning." Mr. Roy has set an example to Editors of daily Newspapers, whether Indian or Anglo-Indian, which it should be confessed has not been approached by any other editor of a Daily in India. But what will rivet public attention on their opinions and exalt their character is the sincerity of their aims and the purity of their methods. Mr. Roy's robust patriotism and independence are well-known and his readiness to give credit when credit is due even to the Government or his adversaries. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the recent incarceration of such an editor has shaken the faith of India in what is called British Justice to its foundations. How often do we not notice in our newspapers a marked hesitation to say a good word of their opponents—either the Government or individuals—when the occasion demands it and how halting and half-hearted is such recognition if, at all, it appears. Mr. Roy has never understood that graceful appreciation of an opponent connotes either weakness or involves betrayal. Mr. Roy is known to hold views regarding Indian Politics which are generally radical, but he is never found lacking in fairness, charity, and chivalry, those ancient virtues which in certain quarters are looked down upon as oddities and superfluities, but which in reality render the exciting game of politics bearable, though not loveable.

No reader of the *Tribune* during Mr. Roy's editorship could have failed to notice the self-restraint and the dignity, and the uniform fairness of his writings. He quickly discovered and exposed lapses in logic, faults in reasoning, unfair criticism and unworthy attacks either by friends or opponents. If he finds others tripping, he points it out in language which leaves no irritation behind; and what is more, he is no less ready to correct his own mistakes than those of others; he handsomely apologises when he realizes that he has erred. It appears almost to be a creed with a certain class of persons—not of course confined to India—to never admit mistakes and apologise for them in a manly way, and of a large body of newspaper editors, this is true. They do not generally care to confess; or if they do, their retraction is so halting as to rob it of all grace. But Mr. Roy has always considered such admissions not as a sign

of weakness, as weak and uninstructed minds may take it to be, but as an indication of real strength, and of what is called *character*.

Mr. Roy's complete freedom from prejudices and prepossessions was a distinguishing feature of his journalistic career. He was never in haste to come to conclusions, but he suspended judgment till he was in possession of all the facts of a case. His equable temperament could not of course lead him to hysterics—that screaming frenzy which is so often considered to be the only indication of patriotism. Mr. Gandhi's attitude towards the Punjab Inquiry Commission which he saw no reason to distrust or discredit in advance has excited the admiration of a few, surprised others and pained many. Whether Mr. Gandhi is right or wrong, you see instinctively in a person who expresses such a view, a courage and a freedom from the besetting sin of prejudice which raises him immediately above the common run of editors. It is difficult to keep to this high level, but Mr. Roy has succeeded in doing it.

For instance, no one in the Punjab had better opportunities to know Mr. Shafi and realize his shortcomings. Yet he was readily willing to give even Mr. Shafi credit where he deserved it. When a certain print with its characteristic and notorious antipathy to the moderates affected to bemoan what it was pleased to call the fall of some of the leading lights of that party in joining Mr. Shafi, in regard to the reforms and Rowlatt legislation, it is well-known that Mr. Roy promptly rebuked it by pointing out that it was Mr. Shafi who had changed his views which had become more liberal and not the others who had ever held the same opinions.

Mr. Roy has defended even those opposed to him against reprehensible and unscrupulous attacks indulged in, time in and time out, by persons and newspapers of his own way of thinking. He has never believed in the morality or even in the tactics of the favourite pastime of ink-slinging.

Cheap sneer and ridicule, the constant vilification of the other party, the relentless and vindictive pursuit of political opponents, are abhorrent to Mr. Roy's gentle nature. He has been entirely free from that cowardly frame of mind which seeks refuge in foul and bitter attacks on their own countrymen for the ills the community is suffering from owing to the misdeeds of the bureaucracy. The *idee fixe* that their opponents should necessarily be betraying the country fills their mind and they are unable to see things in their true perspective.

No man worth his salt can always manage to float on the crest of the popular wave and the person who always trims his sail to suit the ever-changing direction of popular opinion forfeits his claim to be regarded as a disinterested and intrepid public worker. A newspaper editor, who wields great power and has unrivalled opportunities to lead the public aright has special responsibilities in this respect. His individuality

should permeate the paper of which he is in charge and he should boldly and fearlessly express his views regardless of the effect it would produce on the public. The theory of the dual personality of the editor is based on a thoroughly mistaken view of an editor's duties and if it is held widely it is an indication of the danger which threatens to eat into the very vitals of *honest* journalism. In a provincial centre which Mr. Gandhi visited when the Satyagraha movement was at its height, the people remarked on the beneficent influence exercised by his stay on a newspaper which was not known to be overburdened with scruples in the criticism of its political adversaries. The editor was a "Satyagrahi" and he could not but observe decorum in the presence of Mr. Gandhi. But it was a seven days' wonder and on the subtle theory that an editor as an individual was different from the person who was in charge of the paper and owned a responsibility to the public, the relapse into the old ways immediately followed Mr. Gandhi's departure. Another editor had the very convenient habit of managing to disappear at the time of taking votes or engaging himself in earnest conversation at some distance when there was a doubt as to the result of voting, in order to ascertain how the wind was blowing. Mr. Roy was too noble-minded and too thoroughly permeated with the qualities of rectitude to allow himself to become a victim to this abject dependence on the prevailing and ever-changing moods of the mob.

An ideal editor is one who possesses character, courage, independence; who is fearless both of official displeasure and public odium, who always directs his efforts in promoting mutual goodwill and brotherly feeling, who is above petty jealousies, personalities and prejudices which mar the beauty and integrity of public life, who avoids the vulgar temptation to ridicule or sneer and who values a reputation that endured above monetary profit or popularity which is fleeting. Mr. Roy embodies in himself these qualities in a liberal measure and that he may long continue to shed lustre on the profession of which he is such a noble ornament is the earnest prayer of his numerous admirers.

A. B. C.

FUN AND FACT.

SAID Mr. Silas Wegg: "With the single exception of the salary, I resign the total and entire situation." "With the sole exception of the Council seats and the Ministerial posts, we reject the reforms *in toto*," say the extra-ultra-super-hyper-Nationalists of Madras. Gammon, say I.

AND thereby hangs a tale. Once upon a time Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar, the editor of the irreproachable *Hindu*, who presided over the "Nationalist" Conference, put his signature to a certain celebrated manifesto in which it was stated, among a variety of delectable things, that the Reform Scheme was

unacceptable, undiscussible, etc., etc. I recall it there merely as a curiosity of literature—classical literature if you will—and as a sample of the courageous way in which, amidst a perfidious and ever-changing world, the editor of the *Hindu* alone remains true and steadfast to his “principles,” with heroic consistency.

OUR “Nationalist” is like Iago (in a certain respect, I mean). “He is nothing, if not critical.” But “for a’ that and a’ that, he’s a politician for a’ that” (with apologies to Burns), and he has ever an eye for “the main chance.” He would wade through fire and water (or much worse for that matter) in order to “get at” the hated Moderates and punch their wicked heads. But all the time, you may depend upon it, he is only too willing and too ready to snatch the fruits that may accrue as a result of their labours, and to walk away with the prizes.

THAT is why, beneath ever so much of verbiage and persiflage about organising his forces, promoting the country’s interests (my goodness! Which party does not promote the country’s interests if it comes to that?) and supporting the Delhi Congress, beneath all this comouflage, I say, he is simply preparing to contest the elections and capture the ministerial places under the reformed administration, though all the while he affects to be scoffing at the Moderates who are striving with all their might and main to “save the scheme,” as he calls it with well-simulated scorn. That is the fact about the matter, the naked, unvarnished truth, and I, for one, approve of the Nationalist’s shrewdness and admire his cunning.

THE Nationalists’ attitude (on the question of reforms) may be summed up as follows: “We will never admit that there is any good in the reforms. We would heap no end of hatred, calumny and abuse on the heads of those well-meaning simpletons—the Moderates—for admitting so much openly. We consider that all such nice scrupulosity is a weakness and that in politics honesty is *not* the best policy. But, if and when in spite of all the vials of wrath that we pour on their devoted heads, they toil hard and succeed in securing the reforms firmly and finally, we shall do our honest best to knock them down and carry off the trophies of victory: and lo! here we are already making our preparations in intelligent anticipation! But, for goodness’ sake, do not imagine that we will give up abusing the Moderates even after that. Oh no, no, no! For, if we did, our occupation will be gone!”

WELL, well, “Human nature’ is sich,” as Mr. Sam Weller senior sagely observes. I heartily congratulate Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar and his Nationalists on having turned Moderates (strictly on the question of reforms), however much he and they may dislike being told so. As Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer truly says, there can be only two parties

now in India—those who accept and work the reforms and those who do not, and no amount of cant can disguise this essential fact. Before taking leave of this subject, I must also congratulate common sense on having won so many and such distinguished adherents in Madras (after all!).

MR. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI for whom I have a warm corner in my heart and who (honest soul) is furiously trying to imagine all sorts of flimsy differences between himself and the Moderates much as a drowning man clutches at straws, explained his late arrival on the second day of the Conference thus: his chauffeur had joined the Moderate party and fallen ill; the toll-keeper at a road-crossing had joined the bureaucracy and shut the gate in his face for a considerable length of time; and hence his delay. Quite so, but how is it that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari did not dash through that gate, car and all, with that fine impatience which brooks no delays, that lofty idealism that chafes at all restraints and that noble disregard for consequences which ought to mark the true Extremist? Phœton (who upset Apollo’s car) was a true extremist. You know *he* would brook no delay.

WHATEVER the objects, ostensible or real, of the Nationalist Conference, one thing is certain. We have it on the highest conceivable authority that “not to listen to eloquence” was one of the fundamental planks in their platform, and, so far as an unsophisticated spectator in the street can perceive, that seems to be the only plank in it about which there can be no two opinions. Although the welcome address and the presidential “speech” were of portentous length each running to the length of a few columns in the *Hindu* (in small type), they were strictly and entirely devoid of eloquence, any semblance of eloquence and even the shadow of a suspicion of eloquence, religiously and heroically so. There can be no doubt of that.

BEFORE the American Foreign Relations Committee, Citizen Malone had a simple explanation to offer concerning the much boasted-of “original membership” of India in the League of Nations. “Great Britain wanted her six votes down,” said he, “and so she got India also elected as an original member of the League.” I myself have a shrewd suspicion that that way the truth *lies*, as the Irish might say. He pleaded that the Peace Treaty should not be ratified as it stands “as it will break the heart of the world,” but that it should be so “rectified” as to make every member of the League of Nations grant self-determination to its subject races. I daresay he pleaded vainly.

HERE is President Wilson’s—or rather his private secretary’s—cryptic reply to Mr. Tilak’s letter on the subject of India. “The question of granting self-determination to India will be considered by the proper authorities in due time.” This reads

remarkably like the replies which are usually vouchsafed to applicants for jobs in Government offices. We all know who the proper authorities, are, but, in the name of wonder, when will "the due time" fall due? Any day between to-day and Doomsday? And it is by no means certain that Doomsday will arrive at the end of Eternity. In sooth, a brave prospect!

A CORRESPONDENT writes that my note on the Hon. Rajah of Ramnad's presidential address at the last Madras Provincial Conference has been misunderstood by some of my readers. The Hon. Rajah is one of the most enlightened and public-spirited of Zamindars in all India. A man of extensive reading, he has an admirable command of English (though I must confess that his presidential address was not at his best). I did not mean to suggest, as it would have been manifestly absurd to suggest, that the backwardness of Ramnad was his fault. I only wished that the Hon. Rajah who takes such deep interest in politics and gives so much of his time and money to public causes, would infuse some political life into the dry bones of the valley.

PUCK.

SELECTION.

EXTREMIST EXCLUSIVENESS.

MR. ST. NIHAL SINGH writes as follows in the *Commonweal* of the way in which extremists in London frustrated attempts at unity:—

While strenuous opposition is being offered to the liberalisation of the measure, and even an attempt is being made to whittle it away, Indians do not see, even at this, the eleventh hour, the necessity of joining their forces to resist such an endeavour. To my great sorrow, another effort in the direction of unity has failed. The resolution that was to be moved at the Britain and India Conference, of which I wrote in my last letter, asking that the improvements unanimously demanded by the various Indian deputations should be made in the Bill had to be withdrawn, because the presence of some men in the audience made it clear that it would be obstructed. The other resolutions that I also mentioned were withdrawn because of the same fear. Prominent attention should be called to the fact that Colonel Wedgwood told the people present at the Conference that Indians should accept the Government of India Bill as it may be passed, his reason being that a Labour Government is sure to come in before, very long and it will liberalise the measure. Lest that advice be open to misrepresentation, I should add that I feel quite certain in my mind that the man who tendered that advice will use every possible effort to bring about the liberalisation of the Bill when it comes before the House of Commons.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WITH that strict regard for truth and love of fairplay which the public have learnt to associate with him where the Moderates are concerned, Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, the editor of the *Hindu*, who presided over the conference of "Nationalists" (new style) in Madras, quoted a resolution of the Madras Liberal League in which that body had urged that before any steps were taken to enforce the deposit of security by owners of presses, "due warning should be given to them," and from this he left it to be inferred that the

Moderates were full of "callous indifference," respecting the Indian Press Act. This, he gently insinuated, was "a typical instance," of the general supineness of the Moderates. But this identical suggestion was made at that time by all the "Nationalist" journals. Was it then, we ask, an indication of the supineness and indifference of the "Nationalist" party to the Press Act? We shall illustrate our meaning by an analogy. During the Martial Law régime in the Punjab, Indian journals made a number of suggestions that the accused should be allowed counsel of their own choice, that due warning ought to have been issued to the mob before fire was opened upon them, and so on and so forth. Now, would it be honest in an Anglo-Indian editor to turn round upon us and say that by these suggestions we had betrayed our "callous indifference" to the Martial Law régime?

THE Madras Liberal League's resolution quoted by Mr. Iyengar was passed at a time when, in his own words, "securities had been forfeited and securities were on colourable and flimsy grounds demanded from leading Indian-edited English and vernacular journals in Madras." Therefore that particular resolution was wholly designed to meet the situation that had then arisen and restricted solely "to the needs of the times," to borrow Mr. Iyengar's own phraseology. It did not travel beyond that, nor was there the least necessity for doing so, seeing that the attitude of the Moderates on the general question of the Press Act had been already defined time and again—an attitude of uncompromising opposition to all its provisions. We had supposed that all this was too well-known to require any reiteration at the hands of the Madras Liberal League until we read Mr. Iyengar's amazing misstatement. There are many other misstatements in this address, but we need not stop to notice them.

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