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Editor: S. G. VAZE.

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WHEN the Government of India Bill was before Parliament, Col. Josiah Wedgwood urged that if Burma was to be excluded from the scope of the Bill she should be guaranteed an equal measure of self-government with Indian provinces, and Mr. Montagu promised analogous treatment,—that "Burma must get an analogous grant of self-government, a similar grant of self-government." It is to be seen if the Secretary of State redeems his pledge. The Government of India have forwarded to him the Burma scheme practically in the form which was given it by Sir Reginald Craddock. We have not yet received the *Gazette of India* which sets it out; but from the summary telegraphed by the Associated Press, it would appear to have undergone few changes of consequence. Sir Reginald's original scheme has been indignantly repudiated in Burma, and the Government of India's version of it will we fancy meet with the same fate.

ALL the essential features of the scheme propounded by the Lieutenant-Governor are retained intact—indirect election of rural representatives who number 55% of the elected members, the excessive power given to Europeans, etc. The proportion of officials among the nominated members seems to have been reduced, but with the packed council (which is ensured by the indirect election adopted in rural areas) it becomes immaterial how the proportion is fixed. The *New Statesman* put the matter lucidly in its issue of November 8, 1919: "The Craddock scheme is based upon circle boards, consisting of persons elected by the income-tax payers in a group of village tracts. This may seem democratic enough as a basis for rural self-government, but Sir R. Craddock's own comment upon it is illuminating. 'The village

headman,' he says, 'may offer himself as a candidate, and it is probable that for some years to come he will in the majority of cases be selected as the natural representative of his tract.' In other words, the scheme proposed will yield on the circle-boards a clear majority of persons who are in fact minor Government officials. This is the more serious because it is proposed to make the circle-boards the chief basis for election to the legislative council." It does not appear that the Government of India has made any change in this part of the scheme. This defect would indeed be fatal to any scheme of reforms, however liberal it may be in other respects.

NO budget power is given to the council, and there being no transferred subjects, the exceptional power of carrying legislation against the opposition of the council, which as in Indian provinces is given to the Governor, will extend over the whole range of administration. Considering the composition of the council, however, the withholding of control over the budget, etc., does not signify much. As Mr. Bernard Houghton says of the Craddock scheme: "Since in the puppet Assembly contemplated votes hostile to Government could never be passed the change matters little." The Government of India recommend an executive council, but an executive council of a fantastic character. The ordinary type of executive council has to be rejected, because "there are in fact no such Burmans (capable of assuming unaided the duties of executive councillors) at present, nor are they likely to be forthcoming for a number of years yet." The Burmans are therefore only to be associated with official councillors, upon whom avowedly the Government depend for the conduct of affairs. If the association of non-officials with officials is merely designed to afford training to former, it is difficult to understand why even of the three non-officials one has to be a European who, according to the reasoning of Government, needs no such training.

THAT, however, is a minor point. If the Burmans are unfit to wield power, why not deny it to them openly on that ground? To withhold practically all power under the guise of making concessions is a proceeding which we cannot commend. Sir Reginald Craddock favoured only an Advisory Council; we think he has successfully retained it against all the importunities of the Secretary of State. If he has lost anything, it may be that his

character for straightforwardness has suffered a little, for no fault of his. For, left to himself, he would have had none of the Board or the Executive Council. In the practical result, however, there is no appreciable difference between the two methods. The seniority assigned to the non-official members counts for little. The elaborate procedure prescribed in case of difference between the official and non-official executive councillors must break down in actual practice, and the confessedly inexperienced non-officials will not be able to hold their own against their colleagues, junior though the latter will be in official standing.

NATURALLY, great stress is laid in the Burma Government's and the India Government's dispatches on circumstances supposed to militate against the concession of equal rights of self-government with the other provinces of India, which may be summarised in one word: absence of political agitation. In punishing the Burmans for their docility, Government might have paid more regard to the circumstances in the contrary direction. "The percentage of literacy is about three times as high in Burma as in even the most literate Indian provinces. The knowledge of English is widely diffused; there has been a steady increase in the spread of higher education. Moreover, Burma is almost entirely free from some of the difficulties which hamper the development of democratic institutions in India. There is no caste system and no nobility. The Burmese are a homogeneous race, and racial minorities are small and unimportant. The Buddhist religion is almost general. No serious differences of race, religion or opinion exist to tear the people asunder." The Secretary of State has expatiated so much on illiteracy, caste distinctions, diversities of race and religion as factors which deterred him from making a fuller grant of self-government to India. Political agitation was then regarded as of little consequence and certainly did not connote the possession of political instinct. But it is now made the supreme test. Let us see what weight the Secretary of State attaches to the favouring circumstances in the case of Burma.

THE difference between Mr. Tilak's resolution on reforms and Mrs. Besant's amendment proposed at the Bombay Provincial Conference appears to the *Tribune* to be no more than between tweedum and tweedledee, because on its face Mr. Tilak's proposition seeks to exclude from the councils no candidate "whose allegiance to the Congress is beyond all question." What was left ambiguous, however, in the resolution was made perfectly clear in the discussion—that nobody's candidature was to be supported who did not swear by the reforms resolution of the Amritsar Congress. Mr. Tilak himself made no secret of his conviction that the one duty of the Congressmen in the present circumstances was to see that no one was given an opportunity to work the reforms whose

judgment as to their utility did not exactly correspond with that of the majority in the last year's Congress. The only test of a man's allegiance to the Congress was to be his adherence to the resolution on reforms passed at the last session. Whatever his past services in the cause of the Congress might have been, they were to be ignored if he could not bring himself to support that resolution. "Wrong in the one thing rare," it was not to be inquired if he was not right in the others.

MRS. BESANT pointed out that the carrying of the resolution would entail, as a necessary consequence, the exclusion of a Congressman like Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. Believing that his undoubted allegiance to the Congress would save him, the *Tribune* observes: "If a man like Mr. Sastri is not returned by a constituency which he honours by his candidature, it will be for no fault of Mr. Tilak's resolution, and certainly for no fault of his own, but will be due solely to crass stupidity on the part of that constituency, for Mr. Sastri adds this to his other magnificent accomplishments that his allegiance to the Congress is as much beyond question as that of Mr. Tilak or any other Congress leader of the first rank." Mr. Tilak's view of this matter, however, is entirely different. He told the audience in so many words that men like Mr. Sastri or Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea who did not agree to the Amritsar resolution in its entirety must be rigorously shut out from the councils, though they be in all other respects the pillars of the Congress movement. Their dissent from one resolution at a single setting of the Congress rendered them unfit (in Mr. Tilak's view) to be the country's representatives in the reformed councils. From this authoritative interpretation put upon the resolution by Mr. Tilak himself it will be seen that if Mr. Banerjea or Mr. Sastri still gets elected it will be for no fault of Mr. Tilak, but because his urgent exhortations are not heeded.

WE do not wish to give prominence to the personal aspect of the question by any means, but invite the country closely to examine the principle enunciated by Mr. Tilak. For our part we strongly deprecate the Congress organisations being mixed up in election fights, for these organisations are supposed to comprehend all parties and, therefore, if they are to retain that character, must not identify themselves with either. The Bengal Provincial Conference, which met at Midnapur, not only passed a resolution calling upon people to vote for those who were in active sympathy with the declared views of the Congress in respect of the reforms, but also appointed a central committee to select candidates. This we hold must remain outside the orbit of the Congress activities. The Congress cannot participate in the elections without reducing itself to a party organ. Mr. Tilak would deliberately make the Congress a party affair. In defence of his position, he said, "The Liberal

Association in the United Provinces has issued a manifesto soliciting votes for its nominees. Why should not the Congress be free to do what the Liberal Associations are doing?" The answer is simple enough: because the Congress is not an organ of either of the parties, but above them all. By the bye, the *Leader* has given an authoritative contradiction of the news which Mr. Tilak retailed to the conference about the Liberal Association in the U. P., but even if that Association ran candidates in the party interest, we hold that the Congress could not do it without making itself equally a party organ.

WE know that in the belief of many adherents of the Congress, the Congress is already such a party organ, but the resolutions of the Bombay and Bengal Provincial Conferences make it avowedly so. Do Congress leaders in the other provinces endorse these resolutions? Do they wish to see the degradation in the status of the Congress which the resolutions necessarily involve? If the Congress, instead of including within its fold all the parties in the country, is hereafter to be co-extensive with one of them, is it not desirable that the basis of its formation should be something wider, more enduring and more practical than the description of the Reforms Act as "unsatisfactory and disappointing." Besides, is such a transformation in the position of the Congress necessary? It is at least open to doubt if the ensuing elections should be fought on party lines. Many thoughtful people have warned us against them as perpetuating differences which are essentially of an ephemeral character and which had best be left behind. But if the existing party divisions based on the question of the reform scheme are to be carried over into times when the question ceases to be a living one, there are surely party organisations enough to carry on the campaign without bringing the Congress into the fray. If, however, in the words of the *Standard*, the National Congress is hereafter to be a Nationalist Congress, let it be so declared. The question here raised is of great moment, and we hope the leaders of thought in the Congress will consider it in all its aspects.

THUS the *Janmabhumi*: "Is it true that Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, an ardent Nationalist of Madras, said to Lord Meston that if Madras was totally exempt from a provincial contribution, it could not digest the four hundred and odd lakhs of surplus finances that would be available? . . . Does the Nationalist thinker and student of finance seriously suggest that Madras will be unable to digest an extra sum of 4½ to 5 crores? Who would finance the village roads, the free and compulsory primary schools, the schemes of land dwelling sites for the depressed classes, the growing demands for more universities, the needs of village folks in regard to sanitation and medical aid, and the thousand and one objects of legitimate expenditure which the new era de-

mands? Truly, the leading Nationalists of Madras are some of them an enigma!" After the part which Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar and his leader, the editor of the *Hindu*, took in the movement for retaining for Lord Willingdon the presidentship of the legislative council in the new régime despite the provisions of the Reform Act, one will not be surprised if the above information proves true. The independence shown by the *Janmabhumi*, which paper is a staunch supporter of the Nationalists, in showing up the leaders of its party is highly commendable.

A MOVEMENT has been set on foot in Madras for evicting the Panchamas from the lands which they have hereditarily occupied for several generations past on the payment of an annual rent. Leading members of the Panchama community, therefore, met on the 7th instant and passed a resolution urging upon the Government to pass an Act to give them permanent rights of occupancy under conditions that may be deemed proper by Government and to stay by an emergency Act all proceedings that may now be pending in courts or may be filed hereafter till the passing of such a measure. Another resolution adopted by the meeting runs thus: "If the Government be of opinion that the measure suggested in the (foregoing) resolution is not expedient, the Paracheries may be acquired in the interests of the public in general under the Land Acquisition Act, and the same distributed amongst the Panchamas on payment by them of the amount necessary for the purpose, or on such terms as may be deemed proper and necessary in their interests."

THE London correspondent of the *Leader* writes: Mr. Fisher announced yesterday (March 17) that the recently published vote on account of the civil services forecasts a contribution from Imperial revenues towards the cost of the India Office of £78,500. This amount, together with other sums totalling £40,000, which have for some time past been contributed to Indian revenues on account of certain Imperial services rendered by India, is provisionally estimated to cover the cost, during the coming financial year, of the salaries of the Secretary of State and the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, and of the administrative as distinguished from the agency functions of the India Office.

WE accord a most hearty welcome to the *Citizen*, whose first number appeared on Saturday fortnight. It is an organ of the Liberal party of Madras and commands the active help of all its leaders, whose spokesman it will be. We have every confidence that, under the able editorship of Mr. V. S. Ramaswami, it will at once take a front place in Indian journalism. We trust that it will receive the support of all who wish to keep themselves acquainted with the Liberal thought in the country. Its annual subscription is only Rs. 5.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN INDIA.

THE participation of Poona Moderates in the Provincial Conference at Sholapur and of Calcutta Moderates in the Provincial Conference at Midnapur has caused a flutter in the Anglo-Indian Press. Lord Sinha's recent speech on the mutual relations of Moderates and Extremists might also have been occasioned by a desire to check this tendency to reunion which is looked upon as calamitous in Government circles. The successful operation of the Government of India Act, 1919, is conditioned by a belief in its beneficence and a genuine desire to derive the maximum advantage from it. If the working of the Act falls to those who treat it with contempt or wish to prove it impracticable, its failure is foredoomed. The Moderate school has for its main purpose the inculcation of faith in the new order and the spread of a gospel of genuine co-operation between officials and non-officials and between Europeans and Indians. The outlook would be gloomy indeed if this faith and this spirit of co-operation were confined to the admittedly thin ranks of the Moderates. Doubtless their propaganda is bearing fruit, and many who may not own to conversion have begun to see the barrenness of chronic grumbling and the danger to the community of a perpetual and unreasoning distemper. One does not hear so much as before of the paramount duty of patriotism to fill all the seats in the new Parliaments and demonstrate the unworkability of a partial scheme of responsible government. The Nationalist Press and Nationalist orators have even begun to repudiate such a sinister purpose with indignation. Here and there a positive change for the better is perceptible. It is admitted that there is some improvement in the Act on existing conditions and that, if properly used, it must advance the people in constitutional strength. Why, the very shibboleth of the Moderate party, co-operation with Government whenever possible and opposition whenever necessary, has been appropriated by the other school, and some of its adherents express both surprise and satisfaction when they find a Moderate enunciating the creed. The vindication of the Moderates would be complete before long, were it not for the Punjab memories and the irruption of the Khilafat question into the public life of the country, both of which overshadow the reforms in Indian polity in the minds of the people. As the new electoral registers are preparing, large sections of the people will come for the first time into touch with politics; with these, the Moderates will have at least as good a chance as the Nationalists, and their propaganda will need all the organisation they at present possess and even more. We foresee a widening prospect of useful service for the Liberal Press and the Liberal Leagues in the near future.

To avoid undue elation and undue depression it is necessary to distinguish clearly between propaganda and enrolment, between the spread of our doctrine and the actual numbers that acknow-

ledge our flag. Both are important, but the first is far more so than the second. After all, the country is above party. If men will not call themselves Moderates but quietly accept the Moderate view of the Reforms Act and join in pursuing the common goal under it, that is so much gain. Let us mind the heart under the breast rather than the badge over it. As in religion so in politics, people do not change their outward denomination till long after they have changed their inward convictions. Our registers will never show our real strength.

BESIDES, the need of a clear-cut party division is by no means generally admitted in India. Unity continues to exercise irresistible fascination over earnest minds. It may be simple, it may be crude, but thousands of people ask; "Is it wise to quarrel over the spoils while yet there is so much to conquer?" Often and often the political worker hears the distressful and distressing admonition: "Settle your differences first; you will find the nation solid behind you. The Congress we understand. Other things confound and irritate us." This is a fact. Everywhere in the Punjab it is the fact. Lala Lajpat Rai, who understands the methods of the west if any Indian does, recognises it. Mr. Gandhi has steadfastly refused so far to classify himself. If an inexorable need kept the Moderate party out of the Congress once, why should they remain exiled for ever? Notwithstanding the clamour of the wilder spirits, the Moderate leaders can count on a respectful and enthusiastic welcome. They need not lose their identity. They may carry on their dissentient propaganda and seek to convert the minority into a majority by every legitimate means. Nay, more. The shelter of the Congress is essential to their growth for some time yet. So only can they avoid the suspicion, unjust without doubt, that they are playing into the hands of the outsider. Wear the Congress livery, and you testify to the unity of the nation. Nobody will dispute your title to your internal differentiation. The Moderates who joined the conferences of Sholapur and Midnapur showed true political insight. It would be a thousand pities if they were repudiated or discountenanced by the leaders of the party. Babu Bhupendranath Basu was characteristically shrewd when he admitted the need of common action in particular matters. There is a greater cause for common action than in the inauguration of the new order under the best auspices.

IF even educated men refuse to respond to the cries of moderation and extremism, what precise appeal will these have for the people at large in an electioneering campaign? They had a definite meaning as applied to their interpretation of the reform scheme. To say that they are based on the two temperaments of human nature and are therefore fundamental is to fly in the face of experience. France and Italy have not yet a bi-party system, and authorities are doubtful whether they will

ever rise out of the group system. The likelihood is we shall start with many groups too, and unless we are more lucky than we have ever been in our past history, the grounds will mostly be communal and personal, without reference to intelligible principles or policies. Some years must elapse before the true parties of the English pattern evolve. Let us hope they will soon emerge, and let us consciously work for that consummation, but, to start with, it will be playing at politics to go to the elector and say, "I am of a moderate temperament, I shall take sane and sound views of all subjects and avoid the excesses and extravagances of the other fellow." Mature deliberation before judgment, restrained expression and studious fairness in reasoning, constructive and helpful criticism—these are not the monopoly of politicians of any particular brand. They cannot be identified with a school of political thought or confounded with a concrete programme of political action.

To wait till the Hunter Committee's report is published is not the same thing as holding Moderate views on the Punjab occurrences. Mr. Fazlul Huq may in point of fact hold extremist views, but it is not proved by the circumstance that he did not disclose his plans for the reform of the police for which he claimed astounding efficacy. On the Khilafat question too most Indians hold the view sanctioned by Lord Sinha's great authority, the difference of opinion being as to the threat of contingent non-co-operation and severance of allegiance, to which all extremists do not agree. But how many of those who indulge in such a threat actually mean it? Mr. Gandhi's personality is powerful enough to get the satyagraha sentiment through at public meetings, but not so overpowering as to lead to general satyagraha action in the end. We do not approve of the laxity in the code of public morals which lets strong resolutions be passed without protest or murmur in political and social reform discussions which, however, few are prepared to carry out when actually passed. But when we come to examine the personal aspect of the matter we shall probably find that this weakness is not the monopoly of the extremists. The point we wish to urge is that Lord Sinha's typical instances break down on examination as differentia between Extremists and Moderates or as election cries for the parties.

TAKE the Punjab inquiry instance. Is it even a fact that the Moderate journals have refrained from expression of opinion? Neither the *Indian Social Reformer*, nor the *Leader*, nor this paper has denied itself the freedom to make comments from time to time whenever fresh occasion arose, though they may not pronounce final judgment till the Hunter Committee's report becomes available. On the other hand, is it not a fact that the All-India Congress Committee is likewise waiting for the same publication? Another little fact seems to

require elucidation. It is true the Moderate deputation in England has the credit of having pressed for public inquiry into the Punjab happenings. In India both parties and their organs of opinion demanded a public inquiry. It is not, therefore, absolutely correct to represent this particular matter as the achievement of the Moderate party as such.

IN a passage which has become classical, the late Mr. Lecky traced the existing distinction of Liberals and Conservatives to the fundamental attributes of courage and caution that divide mankind into types. In the first place, this distinction does not correspond exactly with that in India. Here all politicians in the Congress are progressive. Some who are more so are the Extremists, those who are less so are the Moderates—the truer description would be Liberals versus Radicals. In the second place, the prevalence of the group system in several countries is a proof that the fundamental distinction in human nature does not always work out towards the same result. No doubt each man has his own temperament, but its natural play is so modified and diverted by many factors such as education, association and interest that it ceases to be a guide to a differentiation in actual politics. They err hopelessly who seek before the first touch of responsible government to sort out Indian humanity into men of caution and men of courage. Thirdly, assuming this possible, the existing division of Moderates and Extremists affords no guidance whatever. It might have been fairly satisfactory on the question of reforms. It is no safe guide as to the attitude of individuals to the future Government in India, which will be fundamentally different from the past Government. It is no guide, for instance, as to women's education, witness the recent struggle in the Poona municipality. It is no guide as to the Hon'ble Mr. Patel's Intercaste Marriage Bill. It is no guide as to permanent settlement of land revenue. What then is its value in the future Government? The European community seek to perpetuate it as they believe it has separated their friends from their foes, but this belief is a serious blunder. Every change in the attitude of Government will reveal a new disposition of friends and foes, and there is no permanence in this more than in any other matter. Besides, the interests, real or fancied, of the European community cannot be allowed solely to determine matters vital to the destiny of the Indian nation.

ALL things considered, safety lies in fighting the first election on non-party lines and allowing the best men to be elected, provided they did not betray a desire to wreck the scheme. The councils would then be full of men who had no previous quarrel to carry on and might be trusted to co-operate with one another and support the ministers when they desired support. There would be plenty of criticism also, but it would be of a helpful kind,

not proceeding solely from a desire to get into office. There must be a general recognition of the absolute necessity of helping ministers to build up a record of good work. In later years ministers may trust the disciplined majority behind to give them the necessary support. Party elections and party opposition in the beginning would be not only a delusion and a snare, but an irretrievable disaster.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION.

It has been suggested that some contrasts and comparisons be drawn between the conditions of rural life of India and of America as a basis for a discussion of the question of Rural Reconstruction. There are, of course, many dissimilarities. Refertilization and reclamation of worn out soil were most probably acute questions in India early in the seventeenth century when the European colonists were just getting a foothold on the narrow margin of Atlantic sea-coast of the American continent. Beyond lay forest, valley, plain and upland, untouched practically, as far as agriculture goes, by the aborigines. India's land had even then sustained a thousand generations and had produced a civilization of grandeur and solidity.

America is still new. Within the writer's own memory life was of the pioneer sort, and vast new tracts of forest have been cleared and new plains brought under cultivation. Even now there are virgin tracts for sale on easy terms to the late soldiers of the great war.

The period of the "Cottage Industry" in America passed a generation ago. Home manufacture of practically every sort has given way to the machine production of the industrial centre. The farmer now produces food, favourable to his locality which he sells for a price and buys his requirements in cloth, shoes, implements, vehicles, books and other food products grown better in other localities. The era of power production in industry has had its counterpart in agriculture. The demands which a new country made upon its pioneering residents were of course most rigorous, and this resulted in a vigorous, hardy and resourceful type of settler. This resourcefulness has shown itself in the tendency of the farmer, and those who supplied him with manufactured products, to rapidly improve farm implements of every sort in order to enable the relatively small number of men to cultivate the vast areas of available land. The American farmer has perhaps been less conservative in this regard than the farmer class in most countries. As a result, every sort of implement or machine which reduces labour or increases production, by increasing the possible acreage per man, has been rather generally introduced. Rural post is now general over the country. This brings scientific and specialized agriculture publications to the farmer and makes available for him the best results of experimentation and research the world over. It also keeps

him in constant touch with the market and enables him to sell when the prices are favourable.

This tendency has likewise shown itself in matters of luxury. Windmills, telephones, electric lighting plants and motor cars are coming to be regular features of rural life. These in turn are attended by some rather serious problems of readjustment along social lines.

In his advance upon the frontiers the American settler invariably established two institutions: the School and the Church. "The Little Red School House" became the synonym of universal education and the "Pointing Spire" of the Church the synonym of the challenge to higher living. Thus simply were laid the foundations of general culture and moral character.

The rural village as known in India does not exist in America. The farmers live on the tracts of land which they rent or own and their families are isolated from their neighbours according to whether they are on a twenty or 320 acre tract. This type of life removes somewhat the problems of sanitation and congested housing conditions, but its difficulties in social organization and co-operative endeavour are obvious.

It has been quite natural that in a new country of abundant cheap land and sparse settlement there should have been little attention given to intensive farming. American farming is, therefore, on the basis of a very large acreage per man, while in India, with its relatively small tracts and congested population, the intensive method is prevalent. America is only now turning with some seriousness to the intensive principle. Increasing population and mounting land prices will greatly accentuate this tendency.

American statesmen have for many years been giving their attention to rural problems. During the administration of the late President Roosevelt there was appointed a Rural Life Commission which made exhaustive studies in the economic, social, educational and religious problems of the communities. Americans had always assumed that the health of rural people was a matter of course, because fresh air and plenty of exercise took care of health. It was a surprise therefore when the discovery was made in the operation of the draft regulations of the great war that the percentage of young men physically unfit for military service was much higher among the rural than urban population. Long hours of labour, unbalanced diet and unhygienic habits had collected their toll in the health and vigor of the rural youth.

While these contrasts between India and America are wide, there are many similarities. Agriculture is the basic industry in both countries. Both are facing the problem of greater production, both per acre and per man. Both are facing the problem of rural credits, India's being much more acute. Both must overcome the social isolation of the farmer. In this India has a relative initial advantage in the corporate life of the village. Both have the problem of rural health and hygiene

and physical vigour with India's problem the greater. Both have problems of distribution, finding India with the limitation of custom in the provincial use of food products which accentuates the problem and limits the trade constituency of the more fertile areas, and consequently the money value of the crop, to the producer.

Indian economists seem to be generally agreed as to the economic issues. Ninety per cent. of the population are rural. These ninety per cent. now produce only enough to sustain themselves and the ten per cent. of the urban population, and to maintain a small export balance. India's problem will tend to become more complex in the era of industrial development which is now certainly beginning. As the percentage engaged in industry increases, food and raw material production must increase or the country becomes an importer and the national wealth tends to decrease. Only by the scientizing of production can agriculture keep pace with industry and the economic balance be maintained. The next results of industry should be positive and reciprocal, but they can only become so by equitable adjustment to the production of food and raw material.

Thirty-eight per cent. of public revenues come from land taxes in India as compared to 3/10 of 1% in England. When we consider how basic in economics are the 90% of rural population we are struck with some very disproportionate values. We find the ryot with little credit and the debt of 25% of his income. We find him low in physical vigour with no sanitation or public health measures and a consequent high death-rate. This naturally results in a low percentage of production both to the per man and per acre basis. While basic in economics, he has been almost entirely outside of the educational system. Politically the rural population of 90% furnishes an electorate of only 8½%. He is submerged socially, and groping religiously, depending perchance much more upon the favour of his deity for good crops than upon the good manure and proper methods of cultivation.

To this need in India the Y. M. C. A. have been for several years addressing themselves. Their policy is plain and their plan simple. The policy is based on the assumption that ultimately the vital interests of the nation are intricately bound up in this 90% of its population; and that the place to serve men and the nation is at the point of greatest need. Some of the obviously greatest needs which the Association are equipped to serve are economic. Careful study and research have disclosed some very elemental needs. The Association assumes that the redemptive forces for any class or community are within that class or community, and their plan is, then, to lead the villager to self-help and progress. To this end co-operative credit is organized; higher production stimulated by the demonstration methods of the resident secretaries trained in agriculture; variety of income is provided by the teaching of remunerative cottage industries; elementary education is introduced;

public sanitation encouraged and education in the primary requisites of good health are given; social isolation is overcome by the stimulation of a definite social consciousness within the village, and the planning of inter-village social interchanges; ability in personal leadership is gained by experience in the active programme of the corporate life of the village; and further leadership is insured by an intensive programme of activities among the boys of the village, who have been hitherto without guidance and left very much to themselves during that important formative period of their lives.

In five years the number of Association secretaries in rural work has increased from three to twenty-three; co-operative societies from five to one hundred and ten; membership in these societies from two hundred to four thousand; and capital from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 1,50,000. The results obtained in the years of experimentation give encouragement for the future. There is ground for hope that economic freedom can be achieved, culture increased, a stabilizing political force created, a social atmosphere maintained and a spiritual power developed that will serve India as she takes her place in the commonwealth of nations.

GARLAND CRAIG.

FEMINISM IN POLITICS.

II.—WOMAN'S VOTE AND THE SOLIDARITY OF THE FAMILY.

SOME favour the entry of woman into politics on the ground that woman's interests in the whole sphere of legislation would be left uncared for if woman herself were not to champion them as legislator. But the whole past history belies such a characterization of the conduct of legislative assemblies. All the provisions in the Factory Acts in England securing woman from injustice and maltreatment have been passed by men's Parliaments. All that is necessary for woman to do is to place her case properly before the public through the medium of the Press and rouse the public conscience on any matter affecting her welfare. Besides, there is no compartment like women's welfare, which properly is merged into general welfare. It is unscientific to assume that men and women are separate camps and each ought to strive for its rights as if they are at loggerheads with each other. No sociologist of any repute would endorse such a view.

It may be said that in Europe this might be true, because chivalry to woman has become established there as a part and parcel of men's creeds in politics and economics; but in India where man has been the predominant partner up to this date, it is not to be expected that man would treat woman according to the western standard of chivalry. In reply to this the best answer would be a catalogue of measures passed in the interests of women by individuals and by assemblies consisting solely of male members even in India. Such a task cannot be attempted here.

but anybody who cares to ransack the statute-book can easily be convinced on this score.

The fact of the matter is that feminism in politics is a part of the wider creed of Democracy which in every case assumes that every class will cherish its own interests and that the interests of any section of the people will not be safeguarded until its representatives find their way into the legislative assemblies and administrative bodies. But this is not true as a broad proposition; there are many reservations with which such a statement must be accepted and feminism is a case in point. Woman's interests will not be neglected by any legislative assembly worthy of the name, provided that the general culture of the society has reached the point of the complete ascendancy of altruism over egoism. And India has reached that point.

The question of the woman's vote brings into prominence the question of the solidarity of the family. If the woman has a vote, she might use it according to her own discretion and this might clash with the discretion of her husband or with that of another member who is the head of the family. This contingency will occur if the voter's qualification is, say, educational. If all those who have passed the Matriculation Examination are to have a vote, it is possible that a member of a family who is a female might be qualified to vote. Under this circumstance will her independent voting injure the unity of the family? Is she bound to vote like her husband or father or uncle, as the case may be?

There is no doubt that modern feeling would insist upon the individual liberty in this matter. But it cannot be denied even by extreme individualists that her liberty to vote would run counter to the old Hindu idea of family, according to which the decision of the family in any matter is one and that one given by the paterfamilias. Similarly, the idea of the unity of husband and wife would be given a set-back, and in some cases a rude shock if both of them voted in extremely divergent ways. This case of casuistry is very common in western countries, not only with regard to voting which we are considering here, but with regard to the education of children, when both parents belong to different denominations of a religion. But the west has solved all such questions according to the principles of individualism. Are we going to follow suit?

In my opinion, individualism is against the genius of Hindu society, and individual liberty in voting might easily become the thin end of the wedge. I am not so much concerned here about the break-up of the joint family; for whether we like it or not, it has broken up already. What I am apprehending is that marital relations would be placed on a different footing and the solidarity of the family would be to that extent weakened. Considering that many sociologists are bewailing the effects of individualism in the western

countries, it is our duty to proceed with caution in this direction.

A woman should not therefore have a separate vote, unless she is unmarried and also practically the head of the family. In case a girl has separated from her father's family without marrying, and set up a separate household she may be—and must be—given a separate vote, for she is the head of this new household. A married woman should not have a separate vote unless she happens to be the head of the family.

III.—ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF WOMEN.

AS the question of woman's entry into politics is closely interwoven with the economic independence of woman, it would not be irrelevant to discuss it along with the question of woman's vote. Those who believe in the equality of man and woman naturally press for economic independence of the woman since the second is the logical corollary of the first. Equality is only nominal as long as woman has to depend on man for her very support. This dependence is unavoidable as long as woman does nothing to earn money. *Ergo*, woman must follow some occupation and earn money.

It is at this point that the teaching of Ruskin and Ellen Key has to be brought into requisition for the fixation of the moral values of feminist proposals. As I have already shown, both these writers talk of Home as the mainstay of happiness for the family. But if woman has to earn bread she must necessarily be absent from this so-called Home for the major part of the day at least. Who will do then the "sweet ordering" which Ruskin pictures? Nobody unless it be the khansama or the ayyah. Surely this is not Home. It would be well if Indian feminists fellow out to their logical consequences leading dogmas of which economic independence of the woman is one.

A second consequence of the economic independence of the woman is that women compete with men in every occupation, making the struggle of life harder and the problem of wages more acute. I don't want to deal here with the purely economic side of the question, but with the reflex effect this has on politics. As woman becomes a wage-earner she enters with all the zeal of her emotional nature into the dirty contest for higher wages with its accompanying paraphernalia of strikes and trade unions, which men themselves are finding to be intolerable. This leads in its turn to her becoming aggressive in politics all round. She insists upon more recreation, equal wages with man, more of the amenities of civilization in factories, special concessions to her as a woman, while all along she is expecting as a matter of right the courtesy which a bygone age showed to her as a delicate creature. Now this is a bundle of illogicalities. The situation is sometimes full of inimitable humour. An ardent feminist is many a time seen taking shelter under the wings

of a compartment 'reserved for females.' If woman becomes independent there is no *raison d'être* for a reserved 'anything.' She cannot have it both ways. If she asserts equality she cannot expect chivalry as well.

Thus along with economic independence woman begins to insist on a vote and a representation in all the political and semi-political associations in order to guard her rights, real as well as imaginary, in the industrial and economic sphere. The solution of the problem would lie in either of the two extreme courses. If you want woman to be economically independent you would have to grant her political freedom till ultimately you will be drawn by irresistible logic towards complete freedom. If one is not inclined to the latter admission economic independence must be withheld. In this, as in many other problems of social sciences, there is reciprocity of causation. Economic independence creates a demand for vote; the granting of a vote in its turn fosters the growth of economic independence.

The final answer will depend upon the basic question which many ignore and a few shirk, viz. what is the characteristic duty of woman in the body politic? Without entering fully into the question it would be sufficient here simply to sum up the results of modern research in sociology. A woman can pursue ideals of art, she can write literature, she can help in defence in the war time, she can work in a factory. All this is not denied, and women have shown only recently in the great European war that they can do many more things than they were thought capable of. But the primary duty of an average woman is the education of the child, to watch the soul of the future citizen with as much solicitude as a gardener watches his plants, to look after the unfolding of its mental capacities, to mould its character and to make it godly. If instead of doing that she runs after other errands the future of the manhood of the nation is sure to be compromised. Many people have a fancy that the modern school can do all that. Vain hope! No school can supplant the mother in her benign influence over the budding new soul.

In India, especially, we want educated mothers to train the future generation, because the degradation, physical, intellectual and æsthetic, of the present generation is such as to cause apprehension. It is woman alone that can effect the regeneration. It is necessary therefore that she should concentrate her energies on this task instead of allowing them to be frittered away on other tasks, that she should eschew the heavier tasks in political work and should get rid of the far from laudable ambition of competing with man in every walk of life and business of life.

An amount of nonsense is talked in India about free love, a woman's right to marry or not, her servility to the husband, her economic dependence on man. These are mere catch-phrases. Those who talk about the economic independence of woman do not realise that it means more servility to the em-

ployer. A woman serving in the Bombay mills is in servility to the mill-owner. Take a typist-girl in America who makes a living by type-writing work; is she really free? No, she is a creature of the boss in every way. I would far rather prefer a good woman's 'servility' to a good husband to her servility to unscrupulous "bosses." In England people are trying to think out how to get the women out of the factories; we in India are planning to to clap them in!

Then again if woman begins to earn it is a clear loss to the husband, because, to use Prof. Devas' words, thereby "his duty of being the main support of the family is obscured." ("Political Economy," p. 172.) If a man's wages are insufficient, the remedy is not to make his wife and sister work, but to raise his wages. The man ought to be the main prop of the household and he should bear this burden valiantly. Here lies true chivalry, and not in making the woman earn a few coins which she can call her own. If the reformed councils tackle the problem of man's wages in right earnest the need for economic independence of the woman would be reduced to a vanishing point.

V. N. GODBOLE.

(Concluded.)

THE MADRAS TOWN PLANNING BILL.

BOMBAY was the first province in India to initiate town planning legislation, and Madras is now following Bombay's lead in the matter. Quite an amount of misapprehension prevailed in the public mind on the subject when the Town Planning Bill was introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council in 1914. Some honourable members assumed an attitude of open hostility to it and indulged throughout the debate in a carping criticism against its provisions. It is to be hoped that the intervening period has brought the public to a better appreciation of the beneficent character of the measure, and that no such exhibition of ill temper and faulty judgment as took place in the Bombay Council will be repeated in Madras. In undertaking legislation to regulate the future extension of growing towns, we are but closely following the example of England, and England herself has followed, at a long interval and very slowly, the example of other European countries. As the Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board observed in the House of Commons, when the English Act of 1909 was under discussion: "Almost every civilised country is far in advance of us in connexion with this question. The least we may demand is that we should bring our level of civic development, controlled by the state as a whole, up to the level of other countries of Europe." Thus, though town planning is a new departure in India, we have at our back the experience not only of socialistic countries like Germany, but also of other countries where socialism is not in favour, and practically

of the whole civilised world. Furthermore, the provisions of the English law on which our law is based are far less drastic than those of other countries in the west, and we in our turn are still further diluting them when applying the Act to this country. We may therefore go forward without any misgiving, resolved, if anything, to stiffen the measure.

The present bill proposes to establish a system of town planning whereby an opportunity will be given to communities "of consciously shaping their own development in a better way than has occurred in the past." It is the invariable experience of those who are engaged in the task of rectifying the evils arising from an unregulated growth of towns that while, at enormous cost to the public treasury and after long processes of demolition and reconstruction, some small part of the town is put to rights, slums are being created on its outskirts. The purpose of a town planning act is to anticipate such a period and prevent the mischief. The present bill takes power to authorise local authorities to frame extension schemes on a well-ordered plan, taking cognisance of the needs of expansion in the distant future and in accord with modern ideas of health, comfort and the convenience of the community. Adequate provision is made for the laying out of open spaces, parks, recreation grounds, public buildings, drains, water supply, &c., &c., and due regard is paid not only to the requirements of sanitary science, but to those of taste and art. The whole area is thus brought under one comprehensive building plan as if it belonged to one owner, and all the interests affected are required to carry on their building operations in pursuance of it. In doing so as little compulsion is used as may be possible in the circumstances; everything is sought to be done in the first instance by agreement, compulsion being held in reserve. What a town planning act does is just this, to bring together the various interests—the estate owners, the ratepayers, the public authority, the artist, the engineer, &c.—in a conference, so to say, and get them to co-operate with one another in the development of the town from one view-point. And Mr. John Burns, the then president of the Local Government Board, said in introducing the Act of 1909, in 95 per cent. of the cases amicable agreement is successfully reached. The essence of the Act lies in this that it permits of and facilitates such co-operation and enforces it by compulsion where selfish opposition is offered. Recalcitrant owners who prevent the development of the land in the interest of the community in general are bought out on reasonable terms, but such expropriation is reduced to a minimum, exchange of land and other means of mutual accommodation being freely used. Ample opportunities are allowed to the vested interests to make representations to the proper authority at every stage. Where the local authority neglects to take

action, the state comes in and itself initiates town planning schemes.

From the financial point of view the main principle involved is the principle of betterment, that is to say, the principle that where a person has property to which increased value is given by causes for which he is not responsible, all such unearned increment may fairly be diverted from the private pocket into the public treasury. It has now come to be recognised that the public authority are entitled to recover any improvement in value which is effected by the expenditure of public funds or the taking of public action. In the Town Planning Bill, however, it is provided that local bodies may exact from owners contributions half in amount to the betterment which it is estimated their lands have received, and this full half-share can be levied when otherwise the costs would have to be met by taxes. Mr. Turner, I. C. S., remarked in the Bombay Legislative Council, "Generally this fifty per cent. will more than cover the cost of the road," for which betterment is taken. In calculating the betterment contributions, allowance is also made for worsement, *i. e.*, if an owner's property is injuriously affected under the operation of the town planning act, a corresponding deduction is made from his contribution. The Madras Bill provides the further safeguard that it gives an option to the owner, if he feels that the betterment contribution is excessive, to require the local authority to purchase his property at the market rate. This is entirely satisfactory.

On theoretical grounds an array of seemingly valid objections can be urged to the provisions of the Bill as militating against the autonomy of local government and as strengthening the autocracy of the central Government. But such objections have to yield before the present-day conceptions of state activity. Particularly because the portfolio of local self-government will hereafter be entrusted to a minister amenable to the popular legislature, such objections lose much of their force and need not be considered in detail. It is enough to say that in England the complaint rather is that the provisions are not stringent enough and that the procedure prescribed in the Act of 1909 is too complicated and dilatory. In the subsequent Act which was passed last year, therefore, a clause was inserted making town planning compulsory by the year 1923 and also giving the Local Government Board liberty to call upon anybody to prepare a scheme on certain provisional lines. The procedure also was greatly simplified, the old elaborate provisions as to the preparation of town planning schemes being dispensed with. The more important portions of the compulsory clauses are given below :

41 (1) The council of every borough or urban district containing on the first day of January, 1923, according to the last census for the time being, more than 20,000, shall within three years after that date prepare and submit to the Local Government Board a town planning scheme in respect of the lands in the borough or district

in respect of which town planning scheme may be made under the Act of 1909.

42 (1) Where the Local Government Board are satisfied after holding a public inquiry that a town planning scheme ought to be made by a local authority, as respects, any land in regard to which a town planning scheme may be made under the Act of 1909, the Board may by order require the local authority to prepare and submit for their approval such a scheme, and if the scheme is approved by the Board to do all things necessary for enforcing the observance of the scheme or any provisions thereof effectively, and for executing any works which, under the scheme or under Part II. of the Act of 1909, the authority is required to execute.

(2) Any order made by the Local Government Board under this section shall have the same effect as a resolution of the local authority deciding to prepare a town planning scheme in respect of the area in regard to which the order is made.

(3) If the local authority fail to prepare a scheme to the satisfaction of the Board within such time as may be prescribed by the order, or to enforce the observance of the scheme or any provisions thereof effectively, or to execute any such works as aforesaid, the Board may themselves act or, in the case of a borough or other urban district the population of which is less than 20,000, may, if the Board think fit, by order empower the county council to act, in the place and at the expense of the local authority.

The introduction of compulsion naturally provoked excited comment in Parliament. Major Gray observed: "A well-known worker in municipal life remarked to me the other day that, if these powers are to be given to a State Department, then we may just as well scrap our municipalities and transfer the whole control of public life throughout the country to a State Department, with Ministers, as I will say, of recognised great capacity, and a large army of officials, and abolish local government altogether." The compulsory clause was at first thrown out by the Lords, but this action on the part of the Lords' House was deeply resented by the progressive members in the lower House. Major Ormsby-Gore of cautious temperament said:

"We must make it perfectly clear to the Lords in disagreeing with the course they take and in re-inserting the clause in its new form that we on all sides of the House feel deep indignation at the rejection of this clause. . . . I feel that the whole attitude of their Lordships to this clause was most out of sympathy with the demands of the country. I was down in my constituency only recently at a housing conference of the local authority, and they attached the greatest importance to this provision. When they saw that the other House struck it out two of the councillors came to me on Saturday last and pointed out what they called the wrecking work in striking out this clause. *We never can go ahead unless we give some date at which universal town planning is to come*, so that local authorities may prepare for this great reform. It is the only chance we shall get of having towns properly developed, and I hope this House will stand firm on this proposal."

This clause was eventually restored. It will show what the current ideas about town planning are even in England, which country has lagged behind almost every other country in Europe on this question. Madras therefore must make no difficulty in placing the proposed modest measure on the statute book.

S. G. V.

MISCELLANEOUS.

CAMPAIGN IN FAVOUR OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

AT DHARWAR.

MR. V. R. SHINDE, who gave such effective assistance in the recent campaign in Poona for compulsory education of children of either sex and particularly in the grand ladies' procession, recently made a tour of the Karnatak districts in order to induce the leaders of all the important places to introduce compulsory education in their respective areas. He visited Dharwar on February 15 and gave a public address there under the presidency of Rao Bahadur Joshi. He made an appeal to all to sink party differences and give effect to the Compulsory Education Act at the cost of whatever sacrifice may be found necessary. Mr. Gokhale of Hubli endorsed the appeal in an effective speech. The president of the municipality then told the audience that the Government themselves were very keen upon the introduction of compulsory education and that he had already promised to provide for the necessary expenditure in the next year's budget. An influential committee was then appointed to frame a scheme. This committee met on 27th ultimo, and discussed the question at great length. Several members emphasised the need for making education compulsory for girls. It is estimated that the municipality will have to find an additional sum of Rs. 15,000 per year if both boys and girls are to be brought under the operation of the Act. It should not be beyond the municipality's capacity to raise so much money.

AT BIJAPUR.

Mr. Shinde then proceeded to Bijapur on 2nd March, and the next day he delivered a public lecture under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. P. A. Desai. At the end of the lecture a resolution was unanimously adopted by the meeting urging the necessity of introducing free and compulsory education for both boys and girls at the earliest possible opportunity. A committee was then appointed to frame a feasible scheme of compulsion in co-operation with the municipality, consisting of Rao Saheb Halkatti (Vice-President of the municipality) Rao Saheb Raghavendrarao Kambhavi (President of the district board), Mr. K. J. Ajeekar (chairman of the school board) and others. This committee met the very next day to consider ways and means. At present 1,200 boys and 500 girls attend municipal schools, and another 200 children attend private schools. There is thus provision for 3000 children in the present schools. The total population of Bijapur, according to the last census, is 27,000 and, allowing for an increase of 1000, we may suppose the present population to number 28,000. Taking the school-going population to be 15 per cent. of the total population, there will be altogether 4200 children to be provided for if compulsion is introduced, or roughly double the number of children attending school at present. That is to say, the expenditure on primary education will also be doubled. The municipality is at present spending Rs. 26,000 on primary education, which is shared half and half between the municipality and the Government. This means that if the municipality embarks upon compulsory education for both boys and girls it will have to find another Rs. 13,000 by adding to its own resources. Is it in a position to do so? The Bijapur municipality is exceptionally fortunate in this respect, for in order to meet the heavy liabilities it has incurred on account of its drainage and water works, it has already added to its rates to the tune of Rs. 53,000, while the annual instalments to be paid in repayment of the debt do not exceed Rs. 37,000. Within the next two years, the whole of the debt liquidated, and the proceeds of the new rates levied by municipality will be available to finance progressive schemes like that for the expansion of education. It was found that, without any fresh taxation, the municipality will be well able to make primary education universal in its area. The Education Committee therefore passed a unanimous resolution to the effect that out of the proceeds of the new rates levied by the municipality, Rs. 13,000 should be earmarked annually for compulsory education, after the repayment of the debt incurred on account of its drainage and water works, and that this Rs. 13,000 should on no account be applied to any other object. Mr. Shinde said at the meeting that, to his knowledge, there is no other municipality in the Deccan which stands in an equally favourable situation in respect of compulsory education.

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