

# THE Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CIT.

VOL. III., No. 26.]

POONA—THURSDAY, JULY 29, 1920.

[ ANNUAL SUBSN. : R s. 6

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..	301
ARTICLE :—	
The Lords on Dyer ... ..	304
SPECIAL ARTICLES :—	
The Tragedy of the Punjab.—IV. By V. N. Tivary, M. A. ... ..	305
The Madras Salaries Committee. By R. S. Rao, B. A. ... ..	307
A Boycott of Councils. By A Critic ... ..	308
REVIEW :—	
The New Era. By R. K. ... ..	310
SELECTION :—	
The Character of the Jallianwala Bagh. By Hy. S. L. Polak ... ..	311

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

GRAVE alarm is naturally being felt all over India at Mr. Montagu's declaration in Parliament, in reply to Sir Henry Craik's question, that "if Mr. Gandhi persisted in non-co-operation after what had happened last year it would be absolutely impossible to take the same view of his action as was taken last year." This is generally understood to mean that the Government will not forbear to proceed against Mr. Gandhi, as they forbore last year, if Mr. Gandhi should launch out his movement of non-co-operation. For some time last year the public were under the impression that the Government were purposely staying their hand when Mr. Gandhi had already commenced civil disobedience, good-humouredly watching the progress of the movement and expecting it to collapse if only it was given a sufficiently long rope. However, the people were afterwards disillusioned. The Government was not at all in a mood to indulge Satyagraha. They unexpectedly encountered certain legal difficulties and were preparing to strike a blow against the breakers of law when, owing to a sudden outbreak of violence on the part of the people, Mr. Gandhi had to suspend the operation of Satyagraha.

\* \* \*

THE belief of Mr. Montagu even now seems to be that if no legal proceedings were taken against those who practised civil resistance last year, it was because the Government were exercising remarkable self-restraint at the time. That is not our information. But we are not concerned with what the Government's intention was last year; we are concerned with their intention now. Mr.

Montagu declares that there will be a change of policy. Non-co-operators cannot expect to be shown forbearance hereafter. We wonder what punitive action it is open to the Government to take against the persons engaged in non co-operation. Last year Government were faced with a movement of civil disobedience. Those who violated laws made themselves liable to penalties, and the Government were entitled to take action against them, if they so chose. Those who withdraw co-operation from a Government which is supposed to do wrong or to fail to do right in full measure commit no offence against the civil or criminal laws of the country and do not expose themselves to any of the penalties provided by the law. Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyengar, late Advocate General of Madras, gave his legal opinion that perhaps the fourth stage of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation is illegal, though constitutional, and the third both illegal and unconstitutional, but the first two are both legal and constitutional, and it is only the step of non co-operation that is now in question. There is no doubt therefore of its legality. Non-co-operators may be supposed by the Government to be lacking in the performance of civil duties, but they are not guilty in the eye of the law and cannot be awarded any punishment. Even if the Government now decide that policy requires that no tenderness should be shown towards non-co-operators, what can they do to them lawfully?

\* \* \*

IT may of course be possible for the Government to throw the law to the winds and set in motion against Mr. Gandhi and his co-adjutors the Defence of India Act or other lawless laws with which the Indian statute book is filled full. It is our duty to give a solemn warning to the Government that, should they do so, they would precipitate a crisis in the country the effects of which it is not easy to foresee. Whatever one may think of the non-co-operation policy those who believe in it must be left free to carry on propaganda in the interest of the movement. Any action restrictive of the liberties of its promoters will be deeply resented by those who are opposed to the movement no less than by those who favour it. Mr. Gandhi's influence is always exerted on the side of peace and order, and with the experience of what happened last year as a sequel to the reported arrest of Mr. Gandhi, it would be nothing short of madness on the Government's part to restrict his freedom in any way. Lord Sinha has a correct percep.

tion of the needs of the situation. He observed during the Dyer debate :

Another lesson was to be learned by the Government, namely, as regards the policy so successfully pursued in the United Provinces by Sir Harcourt Butler, in Bombay by Sir George Lloyd, and in Bengal by Lord Ronaldshay. Lord Sinha said he would not interfere too hastily or violently in an agitation of this nature, but would let it kill itself in idleness. It could not last and was against the interests of the people themselves. Ruthless repression and a coercion would result in disorder equally with passive resistance or direct action.

\* \* \*

AS the attitude of the general body of Europeans in this country towards Indians is responsible for the excesses committed by the officials in the Punjab, it was not to be expected that the European Association would utter a word of disapproval of the atrocious conduct of General Dyer at the Jallianwala Bagh. The ordinary Englishman in this country has an ineradicable belief in the doctrine of prestige and force. General Dyer was only the supreme embodiment of that doctrine. He can be condemned by the Anglo-Indians only when they are prepared to reform themselves. The memorial which the Council of the European Association has presented to the Premier describes the Anglo-Indians as "a comparatively small body living in the midst of a population of many millions the vast majority of whom are different from ourselves in training, in education and in standards of civilisation." There lies the root of the trouble. The Anglo-Indian lives in a state of ostentatious isolation from Indians. He is always claiming privileges for himself; and his aloofness prevents him from understanding the people among whom he lives. He is therefore always suspicious of every kind of unrest in the country and the slight disturbance throws him in a state of violent panic and makes him cry vociferously for blood. He imagines himself to be living in a state of siege and keeps himself in readiness to answer the slightest attempt on the part of the enemy to approach his fortress by a murderous fire.

\* \* \*

AFTER reciting the events which occurred in the Punjab and elsewhere the Council of the European Association come to the conclusion that the disorders were a revolt against British authority. Police officers in Delhi and the Punjab deposed before the Hunter Committee that there was nothing to show that there was a conspiracy to overthrow British rule. The Committee itself after a full review of all relevant facts comes to the same conclusion. But the Council hold that the Committee and Police officers were foolish in trying to obtain any evidence at all. The bare record of events, they say, leaves no shadow of doubt that the situation in Amritsar and throughout the Punjab had become one of open and organised rebellion. In other words, in times of excitement, when the most diligent effort should be made to find out the truth, the feelings of the Anglo-Indian crowd are to be allowed to do duty for facts.

In order to impress the gravity of the situation on the authorities, the Council of the European Association draw their attention to the state of things preceding the troubles in the Punjab. "Seditious agitation," they say, "had reached such serious proportions in India that after the lapse of the Defence of India Act at the close of the war, the Government was compelled to introduce and pass the Anarchical Crimes Act." The Rowlatt Committee, on whose recommendations the Rowlatt Act was said to be based, did not take it upon themselves to say that any law would be necessary after the passing of the Reform Scheme. The Rowlatt Act exceeded their recommendations. The Government of India itself wanted the new law, not to deal with alarming growth in seditious or revolutionary propaganda, but only to exercise such control as it had been able to do under the Defence of India Act. All these facts form a direct refutation of the statement made by the Council of the European Association. There is not a tittle of evidence to support it. But perhaps, in the opinion of the Council, evidence is unnecessary. The mere passing of the Rowlatt Act is enough to establish their theory.

\* \* \*

THE Council of the European Association could not, of course, omit to refer to the brutal assault on Miss Sherwood and to the poster placarding the walls at Lyallpur which incited the people to dishonour European women. No Indian can think of these incidents without humiliation. They have been condemned in the most emphatic terms by every responsible politician. One of the objects of the meeting held at the Jallianwala Bagh itself was to repudiate the acts of violence committed three days earlier. But has the Council of the European Association lifted even its little finger to protect the honour of Indian women? Has it raised its voice to protest against the foul insults heaped on them by Mr. Bosworth Smith? He addressed them in the filthiest language and ordered their veils to be torn off. The evidence on which these charges are based has been made public and has not yet been challenged either by the Government or the official concerned. If the European Association wish to be regarded as a body of honourable men it is their imperative duty to demand that the sternest punishment shall be meted out to the perpetrators of the outrages referred to above. There is no place for Englishmen who condone such deeds in this country.

\* \* \*

THE Government seems at last to have commenced taking action against the officers who exceeded the bounds of humanity in exercising their authority in the Punjab. Mr. Bosworth Smith, who conceived the very original idea of a *toba ghar* for Indians, seems to have been given a walking ticket and, according to *The Tribune*, "has either left or is about to leave India," obviously for good. The same paper is also responsible for the

reassuring information that by the time the new council meets, the remaining five officers who have been blamed both by the Government of India and the Hunter Committee for abuse of their powers "will either cease to be in the service of Government or be otherwise suitably dealt with." Generals Campbell and Beynon, Col. O'Brien, Captain Doveton, and Mr. Jacob are probably the officers in question. With regard to Mr. Thompson, it is said he will no longer be the Chief Secretary, but a mere Development Officer. Col. Frank Johnson, however, has not been retired. Our inquiries show that he was a colonel in the Territorial Army and has probably resigned on the completion of the War. We further learn that he has now set up a joint stock company in Calcutta and his recent visit to Burma was evidently in a business connection.

MR. TILAK has finally retained permanent land revenue settlement among the items of his party's programme. The settlement is to be "on an equitable basis," but this is immediately contradicted by what his papers have been writing. One would think that if the settlement is to be equitable, the pitch of the land tax will first be lowered before it is made permanent, and since that process will cost a long and bitter struggle, the mention of the permanent settlement in the manifesto of the party is more or less academical, to be given effect to in the distant future; but it is not so. The vernacular paper of Mr. Tilak declares that, although the present scale of land revenue is unconscionably exorbitant, the "Congress Democratic Party" would be prepared to make the settlement permanent even at the present figure. If we are suffering injustice because of the oppressive land tax, and on that account desire a change in the policy, would not a permanent settlement on the present basis merely result in perpetuating the injustice that is now done? It only shows that the land programme of Mr. Tilak's party is as objectionable on practical grounds, as it is on theoretical.

MARK, again, how the settlement is to be made permanent. It is now definitely asserted on behalf of the party that the produce of land revenue will be made assessable to the income-tax. It is claimed that all incomes from land, at any rate, below Rs. 2,000 will thus be rendered immune from enhancements of revenue. But is this lower limit permanently fixed? Will it never be brought down again, say, to Rs. 500? And is the rate fixed? If land revenue is to be made liable to income-tax, and if the latter is variable both in amount and range, is there anything of permanency left in the so-called permanent settlement? Again, is there any guarantee that those who are allowed to derive all the benefit of the unearned increment will not be mulcted in an indirect manner? That they will not have to pay more for their food, for their clothing, etc.? And are not these indirect

taxes more burdensome to them than if a reasonable share of the unearned increment in land be taken from them? Consider it from what aspect you will, the policy of the Deccan Nationalists, which is not endorsed by the Nationalists of any other province, is as fantastic in design as it is sure to prove injurious in practice.

EVEN so thoughtful a paper as *The Tribune* expressed the view in a recent number that a declaration of rights, if enacted, would henceforth prevent the establishment of martial law. The view is widely held, but is quite erroneous. Martial law itself being the suspension of all municipal law, no statute can prevent the use of military force in emergencies unless it also prevents the occurrence of such emergencies. This is perfectly plain, but since the error is widespread, it would be well to refer here to the constitution of America than which no constitution can be more elaborate and jealous of civil liberty. That constitution itself, in article 1, mentions the contingency "under which the central Government may temporarily suspend the constitutional guarantees of individual liberty and rule absolutely, i. e. assume the whole power of the State, the sovereignty." Section 9 of article 1 runs: "The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless, when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it." Now, what does it mean? Abraham Lincoln, who had occasion to suspend the constitutional guarantees, thus remarked, in his presidential message to Congress: "The provision of the constitution, that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless, when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it, is equivalent to a provision that such privilege may be suspended when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does require it." We have enough to do to restore individual liberty; but we must know the limits. We can never totally prevent the exercise of martial law till we are able to command the circumstances.

IN suggesting to Mr. Gandhi that he might postpone the actual inauguration of his non-cooperation movement till after the special Congress had met and pronounced its decision on it, the *Mahratta* expresses a hope that "in the meanwhile individual leaders in the provinces would make it a point to utilise the breathing time for frankly and honestly stating their views on the advisability and practicability of the non-cooperation movement. . . . A sort of symposium of clear-cut opinions should be available by the time the special Congress meets." We agree and are glad that our point in making a similar request has at last appealed to our contemporary. Our grievance has all along been that prominent leaders of the Extremist party have been shirking their duty of giving a clear expression to their views with regard to the movement.

### THE LORDS ON DYER.

IT is too much to say that the debate in the House of Lords on the case of General Dyer will be regarded as one of the most momentous events in the history of India, whatever course it may take in the fateful future. To the ordinary person it may appear as if the Lords do not matter; they may talk away and pass any resolutions they like; Gladstone was faced with innumerable defeats in the Lords but he still went on unruffled in his career; similarly the existing Coalition Government will not mind this defeat in the gilded chamber and will continue to exist until a defeat in the Commons terminates its career. Such will be the musings of an individual who is nurtured on the orthodox kind of English history as a record of the rise and fall of ministers. The average Englishman in England will probably so regard this little incident in the Lords. God grant that he is not undeceived too late!

Whatever the fire-eating Englishman might say, the Indians have been till recently believing that England won India not mainly by force; for the deeds of arms recorded in the British portion of Indian history do not certainly deserve such a large prize as the continent of India. The British won India mainly because Indians felt that on the whole acquiescence in the rule of the British was at the time preferable to the anarchy and misrule prevailing in the country under the nominal rule of the feeble successors of Aurangzeb. The British rule came as a deliverance from an intolerable condition and is still being maintained because the dread of what may happen on its sudden disappearance is unconsciously felt by the large mass of the people. The British army may crush any sporadic outburst on the part of the people even on a comparatively large scale, but it is too small to cope with a movement which has the large majority of the people consciously at its back, and the people of England also may not be prepared to undergo all the expense and worry and oppression necessary to hold India down by the force of arms. The state of Ireland is a case in point. India is not on all fours with Ireland, but the parallel may be sufficiently close if events develop.

The significance of the events of the last year in the Punjab lies in the fact that this unconscious acquiescence of the mass of the people in the British rule is not likely to last long, as the dread of the alternative to it may not be so keenly felt by those to whom the terrible events of last year were a stern reality. If the general consensus of British opinion both in England and India had unreservedly condemned the atrocities, the memory of the events would indeed not have been effaced, but the passive feeling of tolerance in British rule might have acquired strength again. But what do we actually find? In India the British opinion is almost unanimously in enthusiastic favour of General Dyer as the saviour of India with the honourable exception of *The Times*

of India and some missionaries; they are raising funds for the benefit of the notorious soldier who massacred innocent Indians by the hundred to create a sensation; they are cheering Col. Frank Johnson, another of these "heroes," to the echo; they are calling for strong action against Mr. Gandhi; they are attacking the three Indians who formed the minority of the Hunter Committee as seditionists and abettors of rebellion. The Irish in England are slightly—but only slightly—better. When the details of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy were first published in England there was a momentary revulsion of feeling such as was not seen for a long time, and people thought that a deep stain was cast on the fair name of England as the champion of justice and liberty. But the insidious poison of racial dominance so long injected by successful imperialism soon worked its effects upon a large section of the British public. The Cabinet when considering the Hunter report hardly considered the recommendations of the minority and were only basing their conclusions on the majority report. They laid down admirable principles, but, except in the case of Dyer who was only mildly punished, did not take a strong line against the other "strong" men of the martial law régime and actually went out of their way in giving a certificate to Sir Michael O'Dwyer whom all Indians regard as the villain of the piece in this Punjab tragedy, and most fulsome eulogy to the Viceroy who, to say the least, was guilty of a grave dereliction of duty in giving a free hand to his subordinates. If the Cabinet had wanted to buttress the foundations of British rule in India, which have been rudely shaken by the Punjab affairs, they should have immediately prosecuted the Dyers, Johnsons, Bosworth-Smiths and the rest of the martial law gang, and dealt sternly with Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Viceroy. With these steps the fine words of the Cabinet and the new martial law code may have restored confidence among the people; but to a distressed people mere fine words butter no parsnips.

Then when the action of the Cabinet—very inadequate as it was from the Indian point of view—came to be considered in the House of Commons the Secretary of State did his best and made a magnificent speech. But his Government were saved from defeat by the help of their opponents and a large proportion of their own supporters voted against them. The actions, the like of which, when committed by Germans in Belgium, called forth strong condemnation and found one of the grounds for regarding the Germans as Huns and outcasts from civilisation, are now being praised by a section of the British public as heroic deeds which place their authors in the rank of Clive or Cromwell or Nelson. Sir Edward Carson, the leader of the original Irish rebels, who together with his associates first raised the cry, "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right," and thus are primarily responsible for the present situation in Ireland, raised his voice in favour of Dyer and

against the very inadequate censure which the Cabinet passed on him. But on paper at least the House of Commons supported the action against Dyer though to the man who looks beneath, there is not much consolation in it. But the climax of this progress in the decadence of British ideals was reached in the House of Lords. There an ex-Lord Chancellor actually proposed a motion censuring Government for condemning—to such extent as it did—Dyer unheard. It was explained that Dyer was condemned out of his own mouth on the strength of statements made in answer to the European members of the Hunter Committee and not under cross-examination by astute "seditious" lawyers. If Sir Chimanlal Setalwad and Pandit Jagat Narain are seditious, it will take a long time before one can find a respectable loyalist Indian. Lord Curzon, now sobered by age, eloquently pleaded for right and sane imperialism. Our own countryman, Lord Sinha, took a conciliatory attitude. He perhaps thought it politic, but we feel that he would have done wisely in taking his stand firmly as an Indian and not spoken in a somewhat halting manner. The Dyer debate has added to the reputation of Mr. Montagu and Lord Curzon, so far as the enunciation of principles went. But all the pleading fell on deaf ears. The Lords, for once roused out of their fox-hunting and Newmarket races, mustered in far larger numbers than the Upper Chamber is wont to see and accepted Lord Finlay's motion by 125 to 85, and once more kept up their reputation as the champions of lost causes.

The Lords' decision has no actual significance, but it has a very pregnant meaning for the future of India. Whether India is to cut herself away from the British Empire we cannot foretell. But a few more Amritsars and a few more Lords' debates of this kind, and British rule in India would not be worth ten years' purchase. The Labour and Liberal parties in England are, to a certain extent at least, in favour of a just treatment of India. But the conservative and aristocratic party is for "martial law and no damned nonsense." It is from this class that most of the Englishmen in India are recruited. There are very few Liberals of the English type in India. Hence the Lords' debate shows better than anything else can that the future of India is dark indeed. The bureaucracy and the class of British exploiters in India have seen that they will have powerful supporters in England to uphold any of their misdeeds in this country, provided they are committed ostensibly in the interests of imperialism, the honour of British women and the safety of the English, and here they throw in also "the interests of the vast masses in this country" as words without meaning. It is hardly to be wondered at that all thoughtful Indians have begun to feel despondent, that men like Rabindranath Tagore have asked us to look to ourselves and to realise the futility and humiliation of depending upon others. He exhorts his fellow-countrymen to organise, not for start-

ing a successful rebellion, but in order that every person in our country should feel that the country is his own and that everybody should be placed in a position of freedom and self-respect. The work is difficult and can be accomplished only if our leaders realise what it is. The Liberal party in India know that for this purpose our progress must be all-sided and not merely political in the narrower sense. Will our other friends realise it? Then India can surely look to the future in a spirit of calm determination.

## THE TRAGEDY OF THE PUNJAB.

### IV

WITH regard to the Satyagraha movement and the allied doctrine of civil disobedience, I have already drawn attention to the strange spectacle of the Congress Committee and the Government of India drawing different conclusions from the unanimous findings on this point of the Hunter and the Gandhi Committees. I should have been content with merely recording their dicta and to pass on but for the utterly unjustifiable attacks that are being made on the minority report in a certain section of the Press for its alleged sin of pointing out the tendency of these doctrines, a sin shared by the members of the Congress Sub-Committee itself.

I give below the findings of the Gandhi Committee and the minority respectively, and leave the reader to discover, if he can, any difference in substance between the two opinions. The Report of the Congress Sub-Committee, which is signed amongst others by Mr. Gandhi, who was the leader of the movement and Mr. C. R. Das who had taken the Satyagraha vow, says on page 41 as follows:—

The doctrine of Satyagraha as explained by Mr. Gandhi seems to be clear and intelligible as a theoretical proposition. But we think that it is not easy, as it may appear at first sight, to reduce it in practice in every walk of life. For the practice of such Satyagraha a large amount of discipline in patience and self-control is necessary. And these are the qualities that are in practice found to be most lacking, when they are most needed. Satyagraha, to be acceptable as a doctrine of every day life by a large number of people, must be capable of being practised by the average human being; and the average man is more prone to resort to violence than to sacrifice himself, when he is chafing under a sense of wrong. (The italics are mine.)

The frankness of this avowal is later on qualified by the statement that as a result of extensive inquiries they are satisfied that Satyagraha had a most restraining influence. Notwithstanding the modifying clause, special significance attaches to a frank acknowledgment of its effect on the average man. In a subsequent paragraph (p. 41) they express their views regarding civil disobedience in the following words:—

The preaching of Satyagraha, as we have shown, could never produce violence. The preaching of the civil disobedience form of Satyagraha, however, can easily lend itself to misinterpretation and can only be cautiously undertaken. We recognise the necessity for utmost caution in advocating civil resistance. It is easy enough to undermine respect for law, but it is not equally easy to inculcate suffering involved in civil, i. e. non-violent disobedience of



*the laws of a State.* Civil resistance can, therefore, only be preached where the ground has been previously prepared for self-suffering. (The italics are mine.)

In plain language it comes to this, that civil disobedience tends to undermine respect for law, and that an average man is prone to hit back rather than cheerfully suffer violence. The following quotation from a letter to Mr. Gandhi from Swami Shradhanand who never hesitates to call a spade a spade clinches the whole argument, so far as the testimony of avowed Satyagrahis as regards the dangerous tendency of the movement is concerned: "I am, therefore, convinced that, under the present conditions in India, the civil breaking of laws without producing an upheaval among the masses, for which neither you nor any Satyagrahi is morally responsible, is impossible." The theoretical criticism of the movement as having a dangerous tendency is confirmed by what actually happened when the doctrine was put into practice, as is strikingly borne out by the following words of Mr. Gandhi on the 18th April:—"We have found by bitter experience that whilst in an atmosphere of lawlessness, civil disobedience found ready acceptance, *Satya* (truth) and *Ahimsa* (non-violence) from which alone civil disobedience can worthily spring have commended little or no respect."

Nothing worse than what has been said about Satyagraha with its doctrine of civil disobedience in the above quotations is to be found in the reference made to it in the minority report. There is, in the same way, startling unanimity of opinion on the part of the minority and the Gandhi Committee in regard to the extent to which Satyagraha *cum* civil disobedience was responsible for the disturbances in the Punjab. The Gandhi report says, "In the Punjab, however, the civil resistance part of Satyagraha was neither appreciated nor understood, much less practised. The hartal, as such, has nothing to do with civil resistance," (vide page 42). The minority in their report say, "... but the Satyagraha movement as such does not appear to have made appreciable headway in the Punjab; and we do not think that the disorders that took place there could be attributed to active presentation of the Satyagraha doctrine by organisations working in the province itself" (vide Hunter Committee's report, page 154, octavo). Further on, they are careful to add in chapter II, para 10 of their report, "It is also beyond doubt that the principles of Satyagraha as enunciated by Mr. Gandhi inculcate the doctrine of no violence and that the Satyagraha vow enjoins abstention from violence. Although the effect on the masses of the propaganda of civil disobedience connected with Satyagraha was likely to create an atmosphere favourable to violence, it cannot be said that the promoters of the Satyagraha movement themselves intended that violence should result." In the face of these facts, it is surprising to find uninformed critics indulging in baseless attacks on the Indian members of the Hunter Committee.

## V

As the subject is of more than passing interest and considerable controversy continues to rage around it, I may be permitted some further digression, with the object of tracing the origin of the unfortunate misrepresentation of the minority view on this point. For my present purposes, I cannot do better than refer to an article on the minority report, which appeared recently in *Young India* over the signature of Mr. M. K. Gandhi. In that article, an attempt is made to impugn the correctness of the findings of the minority by insisting on the non-violence part of the Satyagraha movement. With utmost deference to anything coming from so high an authority, for whom it should be unnecessary on the part of a disciple of Mr. Gokhale to protest his deepest regard and esteem, I am constrained to say that Mr. Gandhi is not quite fair. It is common ground between the minority and Mr. Gandhi that Satyagraha *per se* preaches non-violence. It may be admitted that in a society of perfect men, it would work out in practice exactly on the lines laid down by Mr. Gandhi. However perfect the doctrine in the abstract may be, the practical value of a principle is conditioned by the circumstances under which it is going to be put into practice. The Gandhi report admits that an average man is "more prone to resort to violence than sacrifice himself when chafing under a sense of wrong." The doctrine of Satyagraha was not preached as an abstract doctrine, which might have been harmless. It was put forward in a given set of circumstances as a mode of political action with a view to achieve certain definite political ends. Its necessary adjunct was the doctrine of civil resistance, which tends to undermine respect for law. Detached criticism should, therefore, not remain content with merely emphasising the aspect of non-violence in appraising the value of Satyagraha *cum* civil resistance as a principle of political action, but should insist on looking at the problem as a whole and in relation to the existing state of the society, an average member of which is prone to resort to violence when chafing under a wrong. Mr. Gandhi in his article has unconsciously been led to confuse a part for the whole. In consequence, his argument is vitiated all through on account of this underlying fallacy. The same mistake was committed by Mr. Gandhi when he embarked on a mass movement in utter disregard of the grim reality. Even Mr. Gandhi's optimism failed to liquify hard facts, and he was compelled to admit his Himalayan blunder in having underrated the forces of civil. The unadulterated doctrine of truth and non-violence was nowhere preached: it was preached in conjunction with the twin-doctrine of civil resistance. It is doubtful if more stress was not laid on civil resistance than on non-violence at a majority of public meetings. Things being what they are, there can be little doubt that civil resistance made greater appeal to the average man than the principle of non-violence. We only

perceive what we preperceive is a psychological principle of eternal truth. Mr. Gandhi and the all-India Congress Committee have lost sight of this obvious fact and, by an unconscious confusion of thought, have singled out Satyagraha for their benediction. But what about the doctrine of civil resistance which was by far the most important part of the movement set on foot to get the repeal of the hated Rowlatt Bill?

V. N. TIVARY.

#### THE MADRAS SALARIES COMMITTEE.

WHILE it is a well-known fact that no effort is being spared to satisfy the clamour of highly paid services by adding substantial sums to their emoluments little or no consideration has been shown to improve the conditions of men in subordinate services whose plight is most pitiable and calls for immediate action. The appointment of the Salaries Committee in Madras was hailed with joy, and much was expected to result from its labours. After deliberating for six months, the Committee issued its report which, to say the least, has belied all expectations, and the recommendations are so disappointing that they would in no way meet the requirements of the situation. It is but natural that the manner in which the Committee has tried to redress the grievances was strongly resented, and representations were sent up to Government invoking them to come to their rescue and give them a living wage. Now that the Government have issued orders giving relief, though temporary, to these unfortunate men, we should try and see how far the Government have paid heed to their loud protests.

For a proper estimate of the relief now afforded, it is necessary to know, however cursorily, the recommendations of the Committee, at least in regard to men who are affected by the recent order, and the considerations that influenced the Committee to arrive at such decisions. In fairness to those entrusted with this onerous task it must be said that under the circumstances they have done what they could. It must be recognised first of all that they were required to examine only certain points laid down in the terms of reference. They were not asked to examine the strength or salaries of the subordinate services in general. While no one blames them for confining themselves to the points laid down in the order appointing the Committee, it is somewhat astonishing that they should have preferred to rely on data such as dietary charges for prisoners and labour in famine-stricken areas in fixing the minimum salaries, instead of accepting the family budgets of the cost of living mentioned in the memorials submitted to the Committee. The reasons given are so curious that we take leave to reproduce them:—

"In several memorials from clerks and menials that the Committee has received family budgets of the cost of living are given. The totals in all cases are above the rates proposed by the Committee. In some cases they exceed Rs. 50 per

mensem. It is obvious that these figures must be greatly exaggerated, if they are meant to be our estimate of a minimum living wage or to be any guide as to what the starting wage should be in Government service. For, as a matter of fact, there is no lack of people ready to accept clerical service under Government on the present minimum rate of Rs. 20 plus a war allowance of Rs. 6 or Rs. 3 only. It must be remembered that the Committee's proposed rates are minima and that Government service is pensionable."

The personal opinions of the majority of the experienced officers consulted by the Committee are in agreement with the rates arrived at by the Committee. One could very well understand this reasoning if the Committee had actually examined the family budgets of the memorialists and scrutinised them before dismissing them as exaggerated, or asked some bodies interested in social service or in the study of economic conditions of the people to furnish the data required to arrive at right conclusions. So far as we could see, nothing of the kind has been done. It is no wonder then that if, in the appeal issued by the non-gazetted officers, they say that the members of the Committee "would have done well, if before doing so they had tried to live up to the figures for a month or two with their families in the way we live and see how far the money would go to meet expenses." Moreover, the Committee seems to have been influenced by the fact of the additional expenditure that their proposals would involve. 'The long and imposing calculations' set out by Government in their recent order as to the additional cost involved in the temporary allowances support this view. That was not expected of them. They were asked to consider the specific points referred to them and report to what extent "the changed conditions render a readjustment of salaries essential."

The Committee recommended that the minimum starting pay of a clerk and of a peon should be increased to Rs. 30 and Rs. 12 respectively in the mofussil and Rs. 35 and Rs. 15 in the presidency town. It was also proposed to introduce an incremental scale of pay in routine sections in all offices rising up to Rs. 60 and Rs. 65 in the mofussil and the city respectively, Rs. 1 being the rate of increase every year. That the minima fixed are hardly sufficient to support a normal family of three members needs no elucidation. The steady and abnormal rise in the prices of articles of consumption renders it increasingly difficult for the low-paid clerks and peons to incur even the necessary expenditure. There is no question of demand and supply, but merely of a living wage.

The question of salaries of teachers employed in board and municipal schools was also considered. The recommendations that the pay of qualified higher grade elementary teachers should be increased to Rs. 30 and that for the present Rs. 6 should be given as war allowance to all

existing elementary school teachers had caused some amount of satisfaction in many quarters. The additional cost that these entailed should, it was said, be met by local bodies from adequate aid received from the provincial funds. A public recognition of the liberality of these proposals seems to have had an undesirable effect. The Government in their recent order say that they cannot accept any further liability and that they hope the want of elasticity in the local revenues would be removed by the recent District Municipalities Act and the proposed Local Boards Amendment Bill. But they propose for the current year 'to divert to this purpose sums which have been entered in the budget for grants for other purposes in order to enable them (the local bodies) to add an allowance of Rs. 4 per mensem to the pay of each of the teachers in their elementary schools.' They frankly admit that the present pay of the teachers is 'admittedly inadequate,' but make no attempt to show why they should have thought it necessary to reduce the amount from Rs. 6 to Rs. 4. Nor have they said anything definite regarding the proposal to raise the teacher's salary to Rs. 30. This appears as though the Government were anxious to maintain the proverbial poverty of the school-master.

While increasing the pay of village menials and Karnams, the Committee seem to have been much impressed with the honorary character of the village headman's post and recommend that his honorarium should remain unaltered. It is not possible in the limited space at our disposal to examine in detail the theory which the majority of the Committee enunciate. We put in an emphatic demurrer and agree with Dewan Bahadur M. Ramchandra Rao, that 'whatever the theory, the village headman is regarded as a paid servant and has to be at the beck and call of every subordinate official notwithstanding any number of injunctions to the contrary.' The Government in their order recognise the existing difference of opinion on this point, but attempt to burke the question when they conveniently declare "that a different system of selection should be a condition precedent to the enhancement of the headman's emoluments" and solve their problem by granting some allowances.

The unusual delay in passing orders on the Salaries Report raised high hopes that the Government was thinking seriously to satisfy the legitimate demands of the services concerned. But that the orders of Government have further deepened the feelings of resentment and despair and have hopelessly failed to satisfy the hard-hit services is sufficiently plain from the appeal issued by the Non-Gazetted Officers' Association. The Government have passed orders (1) increasing the minimum pay of village menials in ryotwari tracts to Rs. 8, and in certain other places to Rs. 10, (2) raising the minimum pay of karnams to Rs. 15, with special rates in the case of villages with more than one karnam, (3) granting to Government servants getting (1) less than Rs. 20 an

allowance of 50 per cent. of their pay (ii) between Rs. 20 and Rs. 100 an allowance of Rs. 10 (iii) between Rs. 100 and Rs. 110 such allowance as would bring their emoluments up to Rs. 110. What the present order proposes to do appears to be to extend merely the scope of G. O. No. 146 Financial of February 18, which increased the pay of the clerks from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 and bring within its purview those getting between Rs. 20 and Rs. 100 also. Whatever may be the extent of operation of this order, every one who is conversant with the conditions under which the men belonging to these services live will have no doubt that the increments offered are utterly inadequate, and these temporary allowances have come too late to serve at least as any palliative to those already greatly discontented.

Whatever may be the reasons that prompted the Government to content themselves with some words of sympathy and partial satisfaction of the needs of the situation, we cannot help, with our knowledge of real conditions, saying that the Government have not fully realised their responsibility to their servants. We are tempted to call their action as mere perverse justice. Their remedy is halting and is hardly calculated to extenuate the feelings of helplessness, even despair, that their action has engendered in the minds of all who are suffering greatly owing to high prices. It is not too much to expect the Government, whose solicitude for the welfare of and practical sympathy for its servants is so well-known, will realise the risk they are incurring by their action and take all possible steps to remove every cause of legitimate discontent. That is the path of duty.

R. S. RAO.

#### A BOYCOTT OF COUNCILS.

A BOYCOTT of Government schools and colleges and the relinquishment of practice in law courts by pleaders are even more drastic forms of non-co-operation; still, for some reason, boycott of councils now rivets popular attention, though the former are included with the latter in the first of the four stages of Mr. Gandhi's progressive non-co-operation. "Most of the Nationalist leaders" of Madras, as Mr. Gandhi says, and, we will add, all the Nationalists in the Deccan, are disinclined to boycott the councils. I am for vigorous work being done on the councils as well by the Nationalists as by the Liberals, so that the fangs of the bureaucracy will be drawn for ever by the combined efforts of all. But I must confess that the reasons which Extremists adduce for backing out from a movement which they themselves recommended to the country by passing a resolution at a provincial conference are far from cogent; they are, indeed, pitiful excuses. Mr. Gandhi examines them in a recent number of *Young India* and shows that if the Nationalists believe in non-co-operation, nothing but their own diffidence need prevent their participation in it. Of all the flimsy arguments which are invented for the occasion, perhaps the



flimsiest is that if the Nationalists do not contest the seats, the Moderates will have the whole field to themselves, and this is a national calamity of the first order, even superior to the atrocities in the Punjab or the injustice of the Turkish settlement, redress as to which, though sure, is to be postponed to beat the Moderates. It is very queer of the Nationalists, after expressing verbal sympathy with the movement, to make *action* depend upon the participation in it by those who have already declared their disbelief in it. The Madras Nationalists could not have been unaware of the Liberal attitude when they recommended the Tinnevely Provincial Conference to adopt Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation plan or did they make a mental reservation when they voted in favour of the resolution? If it is good that all Indians should boycott elections, how could it justify the Nationalists taking part in them, on the ground that some others do not abstain? We generally advocate that it is better for men of parts to join the political life in the country than to enter Government service, and those of us who believe in the advisability of the course adopt it, irrespectively of what others may do. Or do we take up a Government job because some other fellow, whom we regard as our rival, will take it up? We inculcate the principle of self-sacrifice; do we begin practising it only when every one else takes a similar pledge? I suppose self-sacrifice will lose half its verve if everyone was prepared to undergo it. If others are not equally virtuous, we sustain ourselves by the comforting thought that virtue is its own reward and pursue the course approved by our reason with a renewed resolution because of the defection of others. Should not the same thing apply to non-co-operation? Sinn Feiners think the best way to serve the country is to refuse to participate in the British Parliament. They do not desist from the course because the Nationalists do not favour boycott. They recognise that the Nationalists also are inspired by a desire to promote national interests, according to their light. They pity the Nationalist folly, but leave it alone and go their own way, hoping that the efflux of time will render the whole country Sinn Fein. If the Indian Nationalists believe in non-co-operation as a working proposition, there is no escape in reason from active participation in it on their part.

We are told that non-co-operation in this form will not be efficacious till the Liberals as well as the Nationalists join in it, and so the Nationalists must hold their hands till the Liberals also give them their support. One may be permitted to remind the Nationalists that when the question arose of resigning the seats in the Imperial Council after the passage of the Rowlatt Act, it was not then a question of expediency, of suiting the means to the end, as it is now, but one of vital principle, of India's national self-respect. It was then pointed out that, although some members might be impelled by the outrage shown to Indian feeling to take this step—all honour to those who did what they

conscientiously felt to be right—those who were backward in taking this heroic but, what seemed to them, unfruitful action, were also prompted by the purest of motives; they were guided by their measure of the situation. How were they met with cries of execration at the time? Is it the hour, it was said, when the action of the country's representatives, to whom India's honour is committed to determine upon the course of action by setting material losses against gains; is it in such a calculating spirit that moral issues of the highest value are to be decided? What does it matter if hereafter we are not able to make anything at all of the councils? Judged by tangible results, the resignations may be an unredeemed failure. What, however, is to be valued is the moral damage done to the Government. Indeed it must be impossible for us to weigh these things; we must instinctively be moved to give in our resignations. Such was the tone then adopted. I confess I am not myself immune from such an impulse; very few are. But, if, on mature reflection some members feel constrained to repress their thoughts, their action should merit at least a charitable construction. I allude to this matter because at this distance of time we are enabled to view it in proper perspective. Material advantage the few resignations that took place had none—no one will account it a gain to have Mr. Jinnah replaced in the Council by Mr. Haroon Jaffer or Pandit B. D. Shukul by Mr. Nathumal. Think then of the void that would have been left if Pandit Malaviya had not allowed himself to be prevailed upon to return to the Council. But of course material considerations ought not to weigh at all. Are they to be the *decisive* factor now? Again, even if the Liberals should agree to boycott the councils with the Nationalists, will there be none to enter the councils? Are there none outside the ranks of professed Liberals and Nationalists? They are greatly mistaken who think that every one coming into the next council can be labelled either as a Liberal or a Nationalist. The fact is that a fair proportion, perhaps a majority, will be non-descript. What of them? If the Nationalists make it a condition of their practice of non-co-operation that there should be no one willing to go into the councils, it will not do merely for the Liberals to join them; and they must indeed wait till the Greek calends if they are to suspend action till unanimity is reached and every one else is prepared to act likewise.

While, therefore, I would not have any Nationalist to stay away from the council I would not let him go in merely because other people will not keep out. I would urge him to have the courage of his convictions and really boycott the council if, in his conscientious opinion, he thought it was the best course, without minding what others did or did not. But should the prevention of the Liberals from entering the councils be with the Nationalist a concern of more consequence than following the promptings of his reason, then

he must, at least, do what Sinn Feiners are doing—win the elections and then abstain from Parliamentary proceedings. He will thus keep out his rival, and having gained the supreme object of his existence, will then be free to discharge the minor duty of obeying his conscience. But even this the Deccan Nationalists are not determined upon. The Madras Nationalists are not even thinking of it. If it is only the fear of the Liberals being allowed a clear field that deters them from carrying out Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation, to which they have publicly pledged themselves, why not do what Sinn Feiners are doing? The Deccan Nationalists are thinking of Mr. Pal's no-co-operation—get into the councils, oppose every possible motion and bring the machinery of government to a stand-still. This is a form of non-co-operation to which both Mr. Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai are strongly opposed. Indeed, the two plans have nothing in common. Both proceed from totally different and indeed incompatible ideas. But have the Deccan Nationalists resolved upon it as a practical course of action? By no means. They only say, recourse may be had to it *if necessary*. When is the necessity to arise? The Khilafat, the Punjab and the reforms, all are supposed to require exceptionally strong action. Have not all the three yet made out necessity for such action to the satisfaction of Mr. Tilak and his followers? They say, let us go on, to begin with, with responsive, which is no more than ordinary, co-operation, and, when necessity arises, to take to no-co-operation? Surely time has arrived for some action out of the common if once it is decided that something beyond the ordinary forms of constitutional agitation is needed. Another thing to be observed is that the Deccan Nationalists, who are now themselves preaching no-co-operation, are even at the present moment, carrying on a spirited controversy with Mr. Pal on this very question of no-co-operation, which they delight in opposing even now! To signalise the inauguration of no-co-operation, Mr. Pal naturally wishes the Nationalists themselves to pledge to decline the office of ministers, should it come to them. Mr. Kelkar professes to believe that the Nationalists can never hope to be called to assume office, and yet he and his fellow-Nationalists cannot bring themselves to renounce what they aver will ever remain out of their reach. It seems a most puerile thing to contend over what is, in Mr. Kelkar's eyes, a physical impossibility. Between Mr. Pal and Mr. Kelkar, the honours of victory are all on Mr. Pal's side. He has been maintaining from the first that wholesale opposition is the surest way to obtain full self-government within the earliest possible time. The *Mahratta* for a long time assailed this position, and when it was itself assailed, on the other side by non-co-operation, merely threw itself into the arms of Mr. Pal. For the *Mahratta*, too, now says that full self-government alone will cure the ills to which India is subject, and the best way to get it is to adopt no-co-operation or wholesale opposition, just what Mr. Pal

was saying from the first and the *Mahratta* was moving heaven and earth to oppose. And the wonder of wonders, Mr. Tilak's papers are even now opposing Mr. Pal's plan. So Mr. Tilak and Mr. Kelkar both support and oppose no-co-operation! The fact is that utter confusion prevails in the minds of the Nationalists on this question.

A CRITIC.

## REVIEW.

### THE NEW ERA.

The New India. By Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. (Oxford University Press.) 12 annas.

THE present booklet, containing but sixty pages, purports to be an explanation, in simple language, of the Reform Act of last year, not of its provisions in detail, but of their effect in the gross. Anything proceeding from the practised pen of the distinguished author must be marked by lucidity of expression, nervousness of style, and freshness of treatment, and all these qualities are present in this handbook in an abundant degree. Familiar as the subject naturally is to the average English reader even in its minutest details, it is never commonplace as it is handled in this book. Certain aspects of the question are here emphasised which perhaps the reader had overlooked; certain implications are brought out which had escaped him; certain provisions whose significance he had missed are here placed in their proper setting. The reader thus sees the whole picture in right perspective whereas before he was unable to see the wood for the trees. This is exactly the function of the pamphleteer of the true kind, and Sir Narayan has discharged it in an eminent manner. This booklet is a model of what vernacular literature of this type should be and indeed there is far more need for this kind of manual in the vernaculars. On occasions, the author rises almost to eloquence, see, e. g., his likening of the course of British Indian history through generations to the zig-zag stream of the Ganges.

It must also be added that the pages of this booklet are disfigured by certain misstatements and errors. The writer seems to be under the impression, which is of course mistaken, that the so-called elected members who sat in the Minto-Morley Councils were only recommended by their constituencies and then nominated by Government, as was the case before 1909. The fact is that the change which Sir Narayan imagines is effected for the first time by the Act of last year was really effected by the Act of 1909. Since then we are having a truly elective element in our Councils. The writer also appears to be under the belief that every Minister, on being called to office by the Governor, must, within six months after his appointment, get himself elected by the legislative council. This, he says is a sure guarantee that the choice of Ministers must be such as to be acceptable to the people, for if the council refuses to elect a member who has been appointed Minister, he will cease to be Minister. But the Act does not require any such thing. What the Act does require is that when the choice of the Governor falls upon one who is outside the legislative council altogether, such a member should get himself elected to the council by the constituencies within six months. Not that the Act does not contain a safeguard that the Governor should offer the ministership only to the leader of the party which commands the largest number of votes in the house, but any such safeguard as Sir Narayan mentions is simply non-existent. The author also says on page 32 that the council will have power, under the Act, to give or refuse its assent every year to the estimated annual expenditure and revenue of the province, and that the council will control both sides of the accounts. Strictly speaking, this is not a correct representation of facts. The council will be in a position to regulate expenditure by means of the budget with certain reservations, and will control fresh additions to taxation. But the yield of existing taxes will not be subjected to the vote of the legislature. This is one of the popular grievances on the matter of reforms.

The one general defect of these pages is that the shortcomings of the Reform Act are so explained as to lead one to regard them as either necessary or perfectly warrantable by the circumstances, but never as proceeding from want of liberality of the British statesmen. Look at the limitations, for instance, imposed on the power of the provincial legislatures and the non-official executives. It is explained that they are in the interest of the growing democracy. In America, it is said, the President wields considerable autocratic power, and the use intended for it is to overcome and prevent the tyranny of majorities over minorities. In Canada the beginnings of representative government were attended with great popular upheavals, and that was why the constitution of that country was non-responsible at the start. Neither of the analogies is apt; neither explains why more power could not be conferred upon the people of India. To take the latter. If Canada began with a representative, but irresponsible form of Government, how soon did she abandon it in favour of full responsible government? After a spell of some thirty years of non-responsible government, Canada entered on her career of responsible government in full blast. India had served a much longer term of apprenticeship in non-self-government, and yet she gets a government which is only partially self-governing. If there is warrant for it, it is not found in the Canadian analogy, and there is little point in advancing it. Take again the case of the provision taking certain items of the imperial budget out of the province of discussion. This is not only an unsatisfactory, but a positively retrogressive provision which certainly detracts much from the beneficence of the new power obtained. But Sir Narayan dismisses it with the remark that "those items so excepted are of such a character that the interference of either Chamber with them at the present stage of Indian administration would be either useless or injurious." (p. 42.) The book is weak in those parts where an overzealous admirer of the British administration himself slurs over and wishes the reader to slur over the imperfections of the Reform Act. Criticism of the Act is not the purpose of the booklet; nor should it be its justification. The author leans all too heavily on the side of justification.

R. K.

### SELECTION.

#### THE CHARACTER OF THE JALLIANWALA BAGH MEETING.

The following letter was published in the *Westminster Gazette*:

SIR,—I am just in receipt of a cablegram from Mr. H. N. Kunaru, of the Servants of India Society, who was a member of the Moderate Deputation to this country last year, drawing attention to Sir Michael O'Dwyer's misrepresentation of the character of the Jallianwala Bagh meeting in his report to the Press of the 9th inst.

Mr. Kunaru points out that exhibits 7 and 8 of the Amritsar Conspiracy Case show that Hansraj, who turned approver, deposed before the Martial Law Commission that the first Resolution, passed by the meeting, emphatically condemned the outrages of the 10th April 1919, that another Resolution expressed determination to carry on the agitation for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act on strictly constitutional lines, and that the last Resolution empowered the Chairman to communicate these resolutions to the proper authorities.

In view of the importance that Sir Michael O'Dwyer has himself attached to the proceedings of the Martial Law Commission and of the real character of the Jallianwala Bagh meeting, may I ask you to give publicity to the foregoing in an early issue?—Yours, etc.,

365, Strand, London,  
June 22nd.

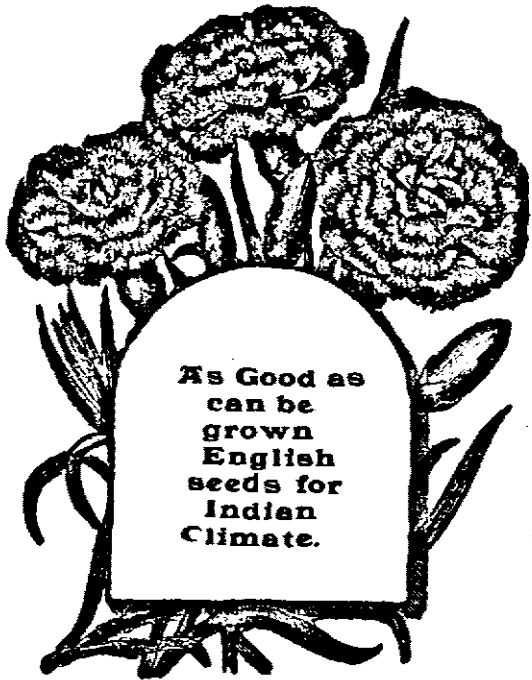
HY. S. L. POLAK.

#### Notice to Contributors.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected Mss. or any other contributions sent to him.

## GOOD SEEDS.

We have the best seeds in India—both vegetable and flower—suitable to your climate. See the right kind of seeds at the right time and save disappointment.



Large descriptive catalogue with numerous illustrations free on application. Mention this paper when writing.

**Pestonjee P. Pocha and Sons,**  
Seed Merchant Poona,  
Bombay Presidency,  
INDIA.

### GOOD OPPORTUNITY.

The India Advertising Agency are the sole advertising agents for several newspapers, journals, and periodicals in India. Rates of advertisement very moderate and reasonable. For particulars apply to—

The India Advertising Agency,  
POONA CITY

### Self-Government for India.

IN TAMIL.

The "Hindu says":—"This is an adaptation in easy Tamil of the Honble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's pamphlet bearing the same title. Mr. S. M. Michael of the Servants of India Society has done a useful service to South India by making it available to the Tamil-reading public. The book is priced at 8 as.

Apply to:—*The Secretary,*  
Servants of India Society Madras.

### The Madras Co-operative Leather Goods Factory, Ltd.,

STARTED & MANAGED BY

#### THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

Will make all kinds of Boots, Shoes, Sandals, Belts, Bedstraps, Handbags, Hold-alls, etc., to your complete satisfaction.

It is a workmen's Society. Workmanship Excellent. Rates Moderate.

THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY,  
ROYAPETTAH—MADRAS.

## Ladies and Gentlemen.

Have you ever heard of the world-renowned "Actina" instrument; the restorer of lost vision, the deaf man's best friend, the eradicator of Catarrh, and the avowed enemy of doctoring, drugging and probing? If not, just drop a post card to us, and obtain, *free and for nothing*, our 100 page illustrated Booklet called Prof. Wilson's Treatise on "Disease". It will tell you all about this wonderful Messiah of the age.

Thousands have been sold in India, and people universally acknowledge it to be a marvellous God-send boon for all diseases of the Eye, Ear, Head and Throat. It is priced at Rs. 25-8 only, packing and postage charges extra, but is worth its weight in diamonds.

Write to:—**Raj B. S. BHANDARI, M. A.**  
Batala (N. W. R., A. P. By.)

## CUT ME OUT

and mail me, with your name and address, to  
Good Luck Co., Benares City.

I will bring you, per V. P. P., one COSSI SILK SUIT length for Rs. 12 only. These pieces are economical, hard wear and handsome ever made.

Test them any way you please—Why not give it a trial?

Name.....  
Address.....

IF YOU WANT TO BE  
**IN TOUCH WITH INDIA**  
her political, social and industrial activities; her history, tradition and literature; her religion and philosophy; her hopes and aspirations for the future; and the men and women who labour for the attainment of her ideal.

## SUBSCRIBE TO THE INDIAN REVIEW

THE BEST, THE CHEAPEST AND THE  
MOST UP-TO-DATE MONTHLY PERIODICAL  
EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN, B. A. F. M. U.,  
Annual Subscription: Indian: Rs. 5. Foreign: £1.  
Single Copy Re. One. Two Shillings.  
G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers,  
George Town, Madras.

## Dr. BAILUR'S MEDICINES.

**HIVA-JWAR.**  
Ague pills.  
Price As. 8.  
Per bottle.



**BALAGRAHA  
CHURNA.**  
Epileptic powder.  
Price Re. 1.  
Per bottle.

Ask for our catalogue for other medicines & Particulars.

Liberal commission for Merchants.

**Dr. H. M. BAILUR,**  
Dispensary, BELGAUM.

## AWARDED A FIRST CLASS CERTIFICATE BY THE SOUTH INDIA AYURVEDIC CONFERENCE AND EXHIBITION, SIDDHA KALPA MAKARADHWAJA

THE WONDERFUL DISCOVERY IN THE MEDICAL WORLD.

FOR ALL "ACUTE" AND "CHRONIC" DISEASE.

Prepared Scientifically by Ayurveda Ratna Pandit N. V. Srirama Charlu, Ph. D. Sc. and Ayurveda  
Valdy N. Narasimhacharia, Retired Sub-Registrar.

This unparalleled and Ancient medicine is prepared in exact accordance with Aurvedic and Western Modern Principles, carefully tested and Standardised by expert analysis and found to be an unrivalled Elixir for the general prolongation of life, and particularly a guaranteed remedy for Nervous Debility, Skin Eruptions, Eczema, Vertigo, Loss of Nerve Power, Vigour, Memory and Appetite, Depression of Spirits, constant Mental Misgivings, want of spirit and energy. Melancholia, Rheumatism, Gout, Paralysis, Insanity, Hysteria, Dropsy, Diabetes, Piles, Asthma, Consumption, Dyspepsia all Uterine complaints, and all sorts of Urethral Discharges, Acute or Chronic, of all kinds and all men and women's ailments, etc. This is the only safe and reliable remedy for all diseases resulting from youthful indiscretions and loss of Vitality. It imparts New life and Energy, by increasing and purifying the blood. It contains such valuable ingredients as Sidha, Makradhwaja, Mukta Suvarna, Loha and vegetable drugs. This can be taken also as a tonic by every one of either sex, without any restriction of Diet Season or Climate.

Complete Directions are sent with the Phial of 60 pills (for a complete cure) Price **Rs. 10** (Ten) only. V. P. Extra.

Apply to:—**THE MADRAS AYURVEDIC PHARMACY,**  
POST BOX No 151 MADRAS. "Telegraphic Address"—"KALPAM", MADRAS.

## HEALTH IS WEALTH!

*If you have lost your health*

## "SWARNA RATHNAKARAM"

Is the only sovereign remedy of the day.

It is a Wonderful Blood Tonic and the only Genuine Cure for Leprosy Diabetes Consumption, Asthma, Paralysis, Piles, all women's ailments all Karma Rogas and other incurable diseases. Gold and Iron, Peraland Coralare the main ingredients. Prepared by the Veteran Pandit C. T. Arumugam Pillai Ayurvedic Doctor, and son Ayurveda Baskara C. T. Subramania Pandithar Author of Jeevarakshamiratham and other Ayurvedic Sastras.

Don't rely on Advertisements. Try once and thank God. 20 doses Rs. 10-8-0.

We further notify to the public that under Theria Sidhar's methods, we treat the worst cases of eye diseases such as cataract, Gonorrhoeal Opthoma and the like without any operation and pain to the patient. Cure guaranteed. Excellent unsolicited testimonials received are open to inspection by the public. Wonderful cures have been effected of late.

**BASKARA & SONS,**  
16 Vythiana'ha Mudhli Street,  
G. T. MADRAS.

Telegraphic Address:— "Baskara" MADRAS.