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Editor: S. G. VAZE.

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE success of the whole policy underlying the treaty of Versailles and the political readjustment of Europe and the Near East; so much depends upon a complete harmony among the Allied nations that a serious disagreement between Great Britain and France must strike even the most superficial observer as absolutely unthinkable. With the peculiar attitude which the U. S. A. have chosen to take towards the remaking of Europe and Western Asia, the tremendous responsibility of upholding the international reorganization and of building up the League of Nations, has devolved upon the shoulders of Great Britain and France who have therefore to think and act together. Mr. Lloyd George and M. Millerand have thus been in constant consultation and have planned their programmes in mutual agreement. But the chords which hold the alliance seem to be so delicate that the slightest pull in one direction or another at once threatens dissolution. Events have occurred during the past few months which temporarily endangered Allied unity and nothing but a frank discussion and clear enunciation of policy could restore the good understanding.

THE latest and the most serious instance of this tendency has been the independent action France took in the Polish affair. The French Government declared its intention to support General Wrangel and thus to enter upon a war with the Bolsheviks without consulting England, as a retort to Mr. Lloyd George's sending the Soviet conditions to Poland with advice to agree to them without consulting France. British public opinion and the British Government were amazed at the line France had chosen to take as M. Millerand had been astonished at the attitude of Mr. Lloyd

George towards Poland. The misunderstanding has been fortunately removed. M. Millerand has declared that the unity of the Allies was unshaken. "There were inevitable divergences," he said, "due to national characteristics, but the union would continue which had been forged and wrought in severe trials." It is obvious that Great Britain and France do not see eye to eye on the Russian problem and there is a fundamental difference of view with regard to it between them. But it is equally obvious that Allied union based upon mutual understanding, is the only source of hope for the future of Europe. It is not an edifying spectacle that England and France should quarrel over matters which on cooler consideration turn out to be trivial.

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THE expected announcement of Lord Sinha's appointment to the Governorship of Bihar and Orissa has come. This appointment of an Indian to the office of a provincial Governor tends to approximate British rule to the rule of the Moghuls in one particular in which British rule was compared to the Moghul to the disadvantage of the former. Under the Moghul kings Hindus were freely appointed to proconsulships of provinces and to commands in the army. Lord Sinha's appointment removes the reproach against British rule in regard to civil administration. We have no doubt that this new departure will be attended with the most brilliant success.

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THE appointment of Dr. Sapru to be Law Member of the Viceroy's executive council has been received with great enthusiasm by all sections of Indian opinion. His sound knowledge of law joined to his independence of judgment, his broad outlook and his strong commonsense admirably fit him for the office. His translation from unofficial to official life will be a loss to public life generally and to the Liberal party in the U. P. particularly, of which he has been a main-stay. The Joint Committee recommended that not less than three members of the Governor's executive council should be Indians. Dr. Sapru's appointment is the last one to carry out that recommendation. But this does not mean that the door for more Indians being admitted to that council is closed. Indeed the Committee refer to the possibility that as time goes on 'the members of the council drawn from the ranks of public servants will be more and more likely to be of Indian rather than of European extraction.'

It is to be hoped that, suitable opportunities offering themselves, the Government will not fail to make this possibility a reality by increasing the proportion of Indian membership of the council which now stands at one-third, if we include the Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief as members, and less than a half if we exclude them. We offer our sincere congratulations and hearty good wishes to Dr. Sapru.

* * *

COL. WEDGWOOD'S endeavours to drop the rule disqualifying persons sentenced to more than six months' imprisonment for a criminal offence from standing for election to legislative councils in India have so far met with failure. The result has been that most of the Punjab leaders who suffered during the martial law days will be debarred from seeking election. This is very unfortunate. Our view has all along been that for the reforms to be successful, our best men must be returned to the councils at the forthcoming elections. If it is sought to prevent the Punjab leaders who constitute by far the most intelligent and public-spirited part of the population of that province from entering the councils on the strength of this rule, one wonders if a surer way of prejudicing the successful working of the reforms could be hit upon. Mr. Montagu has expressed a desire that 'the new Parliament should contain all the best in India.' In that case, the least that he can do is to see to it that the rule in question, will not come in the way of the Punjab leaders. Most of these were released as a result of the Royal amnesty which restores them, according to the Encyclopædia Britannica 'to the position of innocent persons.' If so, it is difficult to see how the rule in question can adversely affect them. In his letter published in a recent issue of *The Tribune*, Bakshi Tek Chand also makes out a strong case in support of the above view.

* * *

THE correspondence that has passed between Mr. Montagu and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu regarding the ill usage of women by officials in the martial law period raises a wider issue. The Secretary of State has directed the Government of India that the Government's disapproval of the improper exercise of authority by certain officials should be unmistakably marked by disciplinary action. Those whose conduct is censured by the Hunter Committee are ordered to be dealt with in this manner. But what is to happen to those others who, in the judgment of the Gandhi Committee, have abused their authority? The Government, we can well understand, will not attach the same weight to the conclusions of this Committee as they have attached to those of the official Committee. They attach to the suggestion that they should take any action, nor is it our thing recorded in the Commission's report. But surely the Government must account this report of sufficient importance to require all those officers against whom allegations of misuse of authority are made—allegations which in the Gandhi Committee's opinion are borne out by

evidence—to clear their character in courts of law, and to suspend them from service till their character is cleared. Exemplary punishment of the officers who in the recorded opinion of the official Committee were guilty of brutalities and the suspension of others against whom grave charges are made on evidence which is believed all over the country, and which on that account challenges investigation, is what the situation urgently requires.

* * *

NO one of course wishes to prolong the controversy relating to the Punjab tragedy, but it cannot be closed till deterrent punishment is inflicted on those who are proved to have been guilty of inhumanity. Nor is such a demand made from a vindictive spirit, but merely because it is regarded, and rightly so, as the most effectual means of preventing a recurrence of such deplorable episodes in future. We are glad to find that Lord Sinha, who was believed to have said that Indians do not desire the punishment of offending officials, really said that they do not want the punishment of any individuals except as giving effect to the vindication of principles. Lord Sinha was also supposed to have characterised Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement as "seditious." The word, which he in fact used, was "pernicious," which, of course, is an entirely different thing. Mr. Montagu was also reported to have called the boycott of the Prince of Wales' visit, advocated by Mr. Gandhi, "disloyal." We are unable to trace this word in Mr. Montagu's replies to interpellations in the Commons. What Mr. Montagu said was: "I think Mr. Gandhi's efforts are thoroughly mischievous"—again, a very different thing from what he was represented to have said.

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MORE members than one charged the Government of India, in the Dyer debate, of trying to palliate, if not to justify, the Jallianwala Bagh slaughter and other brutalities that happened under the martial law régime, and when the Hunter Committee's verdict went against these officials, of turning round and holding them to blame. Such an accusation is not quite groundless, for in the September session of the Indian Legislative Council, member after member on the official side rose to explain and defend these happenings. It may be urged, as it was urged by Lord Sinha in the House of Lords, that these officials did not make their several pleas as to and energy of Government. The distinction between Asthma, Consumption and rheumatism, Acute or Chronic, of all kinds, as a definite and reliable spokesman for all diseases resulting from these causes, were made between their increasing and representative capacities is too tenuous to be of any use at the time. The least that the Government of India ought to have done at the time, when General Dyer's report had been received, was to dissociate themselves emphatically from the laboured justification of the actions afterwards censured by them which was put forward by General Hudson and others. They did nothing of the kind, and if there should be an impression that the Government of India are shillyshallying with this vital matter, they must blame themselves for it.

THE AUXILIARY FORCE BILL.

It was announced a few weeks ago in the papers that the Army in India Committee had concluded its labours and submitted its views to the Army Council. It was reported that the Committee was unanimous in its conclusions and that Sir Krishna Gupta was satisfied of their progressive character. The recommendations have not been made public, but the concurrence of Sir Krishna Gupta with the other members gave rise to the hope that the Committee had proposed the adoption of the territorial system which would enable Indians to receive military training and to qualify for admission into the commissioned ranks of the Army. The official *communiqué* recently issued regarding the Auxiliary Force Bill confirms this belief.

The new force which is to take the place of the Indian Defence Force will, like the latter, consist of two sections, Indian and European. The continued application of compulsion to Europeans alone having been wisely disallowed by the Secretary of State for India, both the sections will be recruited on a voluntary basis. But if the number of Europeans who enlist under the new scheme falls short materially of the existing strength of the European branch of the I. D. F., compulsory registration may have to be substituted for voluntary enrolment.

To enable Indians to share in the defence of their country, an Indian Territorial Force, "on the model of the old militia in England," will be constituted, and men from 18 to 30 years of age enlisted for a period of six years. In addition to such initial training as may be found necessary, the units, which will be provincial, will be required to undergo 28 days' continuous training every year. A bill has been published providing for the enlistment of Europeans and Anglo-Indians. But as the recommendations of the Army in India Committee are still under consideration, no legislation providing for the constitution of an Indian militia can be undertaken at present. It were greatly to be wished that the reorganisation of both branches of the I. D. F. had been taken in hand simultaneously, but we hope that the formation of the Indian Territorial Force will not be long delayed.

As the object of the Territorial Force is, not to meet an urgent need within a short time, but to provide a source for feeding the regular army in times of national danger, it may be assumed that much ampler opportunities for training will be given than were afforded by the Indian Defence Force Act. The arrangements are bound to be tentative in the beginning, but from the very commencement the strength of the provincial units should be fixed at such a figure as to lead the people to believe that a serious attempt is being made to utilise their enthusiasm for the defence of their country. It is to be hoped that no attempt will be made to maintain between the Indian and European recruits the proportion which subsists between the European and Indian sections

of the Indian Army. The new force should be made use of to rouse the martial spirit of our young men.

In constituting the Territorial Force, Government should take care to avoid the mistakes made in organising the Indian section of the Defence Force. Under the I. D. F. Act, Indians and Europeans were differentially treated. European recruits, who were compelled to enlist, were divided into three classes. Those between the ages of 18 and 41 were to be enrolled for general military service and to belong to "active" companies; those between 41 and 50 were liable to local military service and were to be assigned to "reserve" companies; and those between 16 and 18 were simply to undergo military training and were formed into "cadet" companies, and this arrangement will be maintained under the new bill. Indian recruits, on whom there was no obligation to register themselves, were, on the other hand, to be between the ages of 18 and 30 and were to be enrolled for general military service only.

The European section was to be governed by the English Army Act, while the Indian section was to be subject to the Indian Army Act. Thus, Indian recruits, who belonged to the educated classes and whom it was desired specially to attract, were to receive the pay of a sepoy, to be liable to be punished with whipping and to be debarred from entering the commissioned ranks. It was expressly declared that the Government aimed at training regular soldiers and not officers. In the course of the discussion on the I. D. F. Bill on the 21st February, 1917, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief observed that "as far as the conduct of the war is concerned, we want from India regular soldiers in abundance, so that they will undertake the duties not only in India but in Mesopotamia, in East Africa and in other colonies. We want them from all parts of India." In consequence of representations to military authorities, the complaint with regard to liability to flogging was probably removed, several months after the passing of the I. D. F. Act by the issue of instructions prohibiting the infliction of so degrading a punishment on the Indian members of the Defence Force.

The regulations made under the I. D. F. Act, says Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer in his "Narrative of the I. D. F. Movement in the Madras Presidency," laid down that Europeans in the Defence Force could be admitted into the (1) Light Horse and Mounted Rifles, (2) Artillery Corps, (3) Electrical Engineers' Companies or (4) Infantry Corps. But they restricted the admission of Indians to the Infantry units only.

The Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council protested against the inequalities in the conditions under which Indians and Europeans were asked to serve. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Sastri, Mr. Sarma, Dr. Sepru, Mr. Shafi, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Mr. Jinnah and others drew forcible attention to them. It was urged that

the Indians should have the same status, training and prospects as Europeans. Mr. Malaviya moved that Indian youths of from 16 to 18 years of age should be allowed to enrol themselves for military training. Mr. Sarma urged that the Indian section of the Defence Force should, as far as possible, be officered by Indians. Mr. Sastri objected to the enlargement of the definition of "European British subject" by the Select Committee, which accentuated the policy of mistrust of the Indian races. But all the amendments which they put forward were lost. The Commander-in-Chief said: "We have had to take up an attitude of *non possumus*, it has been forced on us by the inexorable circumstances of the war. We feel that we cannot embark on questions, some of which really relate to very high Imperial policy and are visions into the future; we can only deal with the present and that is hard enough." And His Excellency the Viceroy in closing the legislative session observed: "The Act is confessedly a war measure and therefore temporary. Do not ask us at such a moment as this to give answers to problems which will have to be solved at a time when there is more leisure. When that time arrives, then criticise, as you will, the Government in respect of its policy. But for the moment I would assure you that all the subjects of your criticism are engaging our most sympathetic consideration."

One would have thought the stress of the European war which had led to the solution of many a difficult problem by bringing about a change in men's outlook would be regarded as providing a suitable opportunity for turning over a new leaf in regard to the military policy pursued in India. But, although Government took a different view then, it is gratifying to find that Indians are to be trained as officers now. "The new scheme," says the *communiqué*, "would necessarily involve the training of Indian officers of the Territorial Forces for the efficient performance of their duties, and for the ultimate attainment of higher rank". It is possible to put a narrow interpretation on these words, and to fear that the words "Indian Officers" mean no more than Havildars, Jamadars and Subedars. But as the Government of India may be presumed to be desirous of making the Territorial Force a success, it is not unreasonable to assume that the words will be liberally construed. The aim of Government should be to take steps to have the force officered entirely by Indians, who should be in touch with the men over whom they are placed. The requirements of the situation will not be met by placing a few Indians in positions of power and responsibility.

The retention of the present University Corps will be welcomed all over the country. But as Indians are to be officers now, arrangements should be made for forming corps for the training of officers on the lines of those existing at Oxford and Cambridge.

Again, the rule which compels Indians who wish to receive military training to join the infantry units only should be abrogated. They should be free to seek admission into any unit they like. To retain racial discrimination as part of a policy which can be successful only if it is based on trust is to violate all principles of moral strategy.

Highly objectionable as the discrimination made against Indians in the organisation of the Defence Force was, the arrangements made for their accommodation and training added to the dissatisfaction. To put it mildly, the arrangements left a great deal to be desired. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer, in the pamphlet of which mention has been made above, has described the unnecessary hardships to which the recruits were put in Madras. "The barracks were all built of mud and infested with white ants. . . . The arrangements made in the barracks for the supply of water and for lighting the premises were of a very unsatisfactory character, and the military authorities made no arrangements for messing. There was no furniture in the barracks, no chairs, tables or lights for reading purposes and no provision for any sports or games." The quality of the rations issued to the recruits was thoroughly unsuitable. It was such as to suit only the menial classes from which the regular Indian soldiers are drawn.

We believe these complaints were more or less general. So far as our recollection goes, they were acute in Upper India. In the United Provinces, the recruits received their training at Dehra Dun. When they arrived at the barracks after a march of five or six miles from the railway station, they found that no arrangements had been made to provide them with food. They were expected to make their own arrangements in a strange place. For two days they had practically to starve. The rice that was issued to them was broken and worm-eaten. The pipes were insufficient in number and so low that it was impossible to bathe under them. The recruits had to go in the middle of day in May and June to a stream about half-a-mile from their barracks to bathe. Their uniforms were such that they were supposed to belong to the labour corps. There was of course a complete absence of furniture in the mud-built barracks. The recruits were not supposed to have any but the coarsest physical needs. The military department only wanted regular soldiers, and if the recruits were educated and belonged to respectable families, it was their misfortune. Education and refinement are encumbrances to a soldier.

The military authorities refused to issue better rations to the recruits on the ground that any distinction between recruits of one class and another would be undemocratic. The crushing reply of Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer to this spurious objection deserves to be quoted. "Even in the British Army," he says, "the meals of the men and officers are not the same, and it cannot be said that there is a democratic equality of meals throughout the Army. And the scale of rations for the British

units of the Army and that for the Indian units are quite different. If racial differences in dietary are compatible with the democratic principle in the same, the recognition of differences in dietary due to social differences is no more compatible with the democratic principle."

We trust that when the Territorial Force is organised, no occasion will be given for complaints of the kind to which reference has been made above. Every attempt should be made to enlist the national sentiment in favour of the new force. No racial distinctions should be permitted in regard to the conditions under which its members will be required to serve, and Indian recruits should not be treated as if they belonged to the menial classes.

THE KHILAFAT AND THE TURKISH TREATY.

IV.

I HAD imagined that the full extent of the breach of faith committed by the Prime Minister, in the name of the British Government, was fully known by us in India. But the hypocrisy, which lies behind Constantinople, is only just coming to light. The news is slowly trickling through. It wears a most sinister aspect. It strengthens the demand for a complete revision of the Treaty a hundred-fold, and makes India's part in such a demand a duty to humanity of the very first importance.

The facts are these. The French and Italians are firmly convinced that Great Britain, by her naval power and her military occupation, is determined to rule the Straits and to remain indefinitely, as the virtual over-lord of Constantinople, with the ostensible plea that local conditions are too unsettled to contemplate any hasty retirement. The instance of Egypt is constantly cited as a precedent. In Egypt, it is remembered, Great Britain made more than a hundred separate promises to retire,—and found reasons for breaking them all. Such, it is said, will be the fate of Constantinople.

There has been one terribly revealing statement of Mr. Lloyd George, which he made in an unguarded moment. He was answering a deputation, which waited on him in order to ask him what would happen to America,—“Could not Great Britain undertake the responsibility of America's protection, if America were unwilling?” According to the *verbatim* report given in all the papers, Mr. Lloyd George answered as follows:—

“We have got Constantinople: we have got Mesopotamia: we have got Palestine.”

Even if Mr. Lloyd George was speaking somewhat casually, and only meant,—“we have got, in our own temporary military occupation, Constantinople”—even then, it was unforgettable, that he put Constantinople in exactly the same category as Mesopotamia. To state the very least construction that this word will bear, it showed that he regarded the possession of Constantinople as no

mere temporary affair, which would be over in a few months, but a long and costly business.

Furthermore, we have now the fact brought to light, that every other allied power appears to regard the British as paramount in Constantinople, just as the French are now regarded as paramount in Aleppo and Damascus and the Greeks as paramount in Smyrna and Adrianople. All the military defences of Constantinople are in the hands of the British. The Sultan himself, his vizier, and his Cabinet sign dutifully and unanimously British orders. Recalcitrant officials have been effectively dealt with. Financial control has been taken from the Turkish Government; and the Sultan has been made, not only a prisoner in his own palace,—to all intents and purposes,—but also practically a pauper and a mendicant, dependent on the hated foreigner for every penny of his income. It is this situation, which has made Europe regard the British military occupation as complete and lasting.

Mr. Lloyd George's own words, and those of members of his Cabinet—such, for instance, as those of Mr. Winston Churchill—have now become like a debased coinage. No one gives them any credit or currency. Every newspaper on the Continent assumes, as an axiom, that Constantinople has become a British protectorate. In France, this is characterised as an immense diplomatic triumph for Great Britain; and the eagerness to make certain of Syria, as a French possession, has been increased by this action of the British army and navy.

Furthermore, the feeling is now strong on the Continent of Europe, to the point of dangerous bitterness, that the English Prime Minister and Mr. Winston Churchill have over-reached themselves both in mendacity and in forcing the hands of the Allies. It is everywhere believed that secret financial aid is being given to Greece, and that the Greek Government is deeply involved in the plot. M. Venizelos is regarded as acting in closest concert with the British Minister in order to bring about the final overthrow of Turkey, and to place Great Britain permanently as guardian of the Straits and controller of Constantinople's destiny. The price paid for this has been the Greek possessions of Smyrna and Thrace.

What the French view is, in detail, may be seen from the account given in *L'Opinion*, a French literary weekly. It is written by M. Berthe Georges Gaulis, who was on the spot at the time of the British act of forcible possession, and resented it most bitterly.

“At day-break,” he writes, “a short volley awakened the inhabitants of Stamboul and Pera. It was the prologue to the sudden leap of the British Lion by which he defiantly seized possession of the prey he had imperiously chosen. Apparently it was an act preparatory to putting into effect a treaty in which England's allies came off second best.”

"We, the French residents," M. Gaulis adds, "witnessed all this with stupefaction. As the real meaning of what was happening became evident, our indignation increased. Every new arrest made by the British soldiers removed some one from our circle of friends and acquaintances—from those to whom we felt bound by those tacit obligations which one incurs towards men who rely upon one's justice and honour. Consequently, the moral position of the French in Constantinople speedily became intolerable. This flagrant violation of an agreement, made at the time of the armistice, obviously took our officials unprepared. . . . All this occurred in the glory of a Turkish spring-time. The soft beauty of the skies and the calmness of the people threw into sharp relief such acts of apparently groundless violence."

"During the next few days," M. Gaulis continues, "the subsequent stages of permanent occupation followed in quick succession. Sensational arrests were made. The Turkish Cabinet being disintegrated, the nerveless Parliament hastened towards extinction. Gradually, the physical evidences of Great Britain's military occupation became less evident. But its unseen pressure never for a moment relaxed. Every influential Turk in Constantinople, or Stamboul, was either under arrest, or else a fugitive. He was journeying towards Malta, or towards Anatolia."

We turn from this sordid and disgraceful picture to the actual Syrian and Mesopotamian mandates themselves, and the lying and chicanery of the Powers, with Mr. Lloyd George as the chief offender, stands out more clearly than ever. Open and unashamed buccaneering and plundering is surely better by far than this cunning concealment of spoliation under verbiage that has become too thin even to deceive the simple-minded. We had another of Mr. Lloyd George's virtuous phrases telegraphed out to us lately in India,—"*The whole of the property,*" he declared, "*in oil of Mesopotamia will belong to the Arab State.*" Now we find that, just as in the case of the "rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace," this promise also means nothing at all. It is "subject to any arrangements which were made before the war." This means, in plain terms, that 25% is to go to France and 75% to Great Britain, with a certain royalty to the Arab State."

Lord Welby has bluntly declared the truth in the face of all this double-dealing. "We are in the hands," he has said with terrible directness, "of an organisation of *crooks*" (*i. e.* cheats). Lord Hugh Cecil, speaking concerning another mandatory scandal in the Pacific, has given the verdict of all decent people in these carefully measured terms:—

"The British Government have earned, rightly or wrongly, the most lamentable reputation for want of sincerity. I have known a great many governments, but never one with as bad a reputation for speaking the truth and acting sincerely."

Mr. H. W. Massingham has expressed the same thing in words that burn with shame, as follows:—

"A very young student of the world and its ways, or a very bitter socialist might enjoy the facile intellectual exercise of exposing hypocrisy and untruth so crude as this hypocrisy of the mandates. Our own feeling approaches nausea. It would be pleasanter to look the other way and write about Shakespeare and the musical glasses. Until the few men in this House of Commons, who combine honesty and independence and brains, will face the Government, as the two Cecils are doing, and tell it in the plainest Anglo-Saxon words that these tricks of untruth and dishonour are smearing our repute in the world, destroying the faint hope of any working of the League, and burying idealism itself, the conclusion must be that the war has ended in a disregard of international right and good faith, meaner and more demoralising by far than the frank wrong-doing of Bethman Hollweg, who had at least the manhood to admit that he did evil under the stress of necessity. Here there is no necessity, no honesty. There is a breach of treaties, a grasping at material wealth, a disregard of others' interests and rights, rendered tenfold more odious because it is cloaked in deception."

I do not think that a single word of all this is too strong for what has recently happened at the Peace Conference and after. What it implies for India at the present juncture. I shall discuss in my next paper.

C. F. ANDREWS.

THE MADRAS AND C. P. LOCAL BOARDS BILL.

WE confess we fail to appreciate the reasons which led the non-official members of the Madras Legislative Council to defeat the motion for postponement of the further consideration of the Madras Local Boards Bill till the reformed councils came into being. We venture to think they would have, if anything, gained by the delay which in any case would not have exceeded half a year. The Select Committee of the C. P. Council, to which a similar bill was referred, have also deprecated delay in proceeding with the same; and though the C. P. Bill is much less 'illiberal' than the Madras Bill, the reasons which prompted the Select Committee to arrive at the conclusion referred to above appear to us to be far from convincing. There the Government did not try to rush the measure through; indeed the Government of India themselves suggested the holding over of the measure till the beginning of next year. It is all the more difficult therefore to persuade oneself that their decision was wise. The difficulties which the Bill tries partially to remove are not of a recent origin; they date from the time when the local bodies were brought into existence and six months' delay would surely not have much mattered. The new councils with the popular ele-

ment in a decisive majority would have given them a measure conferring wider powers on the people.

Coming to the Bills themselves, they are based on the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission and the Government of India's resolution on local self-government issued in 1918. The Commission's report was submitted in February, 1909, and much water has since flowed under the bridge. The great war has quickened our political progress much beyond our expectation, and what would have satisfied us then cannot be expected to do so now, supposing of course that all the recommendations of the Commission have been put into practical effect. Inadequacy of resources, want of independence in internal management and undue official interference were mentioned before the Commission by almost all non-official witnesses as the causes of the failure of the experiment of local self-government started by Lord Ripon. The force of arguments on the non-official side was so strong that even the Commission, which had the late Mr. R. C. Dutt as the only Indian member out of a membership of six, could not help suggesting remedies with a view to remedy this unsatisfactory state of things. How chronic and long-standing are these complaints may be seen from the following extract from the minute of dissent appended by five Indian members headed by (the then) Mr. V. Bhashyam Iyengar to the report of the Committee on Local Self-government appointed by the Madras Government in 1882 under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Mr. H. E. Sullivan, then Member of Council. After suggesting that 'the Collector should be president of the District and Taluka Boards' for some time to come, they say: 'But we think it essential that his duty should be limited to advice and criticism, and that he should interfere with the action of the Boards only in cases of emergency. To invest him with the executive powers would, we think, paralyse independence of thought and action on the part of the Boards and defeat the main object of the scheme, viz. to lead the people to take an active interest in local affairs and to give them a political education.' These words written forty years ago and intended only to apply to Madras have a wider application even to-day! It may be stated that the Decentralisation Commission also gave expression to similar sentiments in its report.

In considering these Bills, with a view to arrive at a correct estimate of their ability to improve matters, we must see if they make any substantial addition to the powers already enjoyed by these boards; and also if proper provision is made to place adequate resources at their disposal to enable them to meet their ever-increasing responsibilities. Their success also depends upon their freedom from official control and perfect liberty to look after their own affairs. Looked at from this point of view, we cannot help remarking that they do not go far enough. The Madras Bill does

not propose to make local boards completely elective, nor does it make the election of the president and vice-president mandatory. But power is left to the Government to call upon any local board to elect its own president and vice-president. While three-fourths of the members of a district board are to be elected non-officials and one-fourth nominated officials, the taluk boards are to consist of the elected and nominated element as 2 : 1. Curiously enough the C. P. Government has always been somewhat more progressive than the Madras Government or, for that matter, than other local governments, at any rate in the matter of local self-government. Their Bill as it emerges from the Select Committee provides for the election of the president and vice-president and proposes five-sixths and one-sixth as the proportion of elected members to nominated ones. The provision of disqualifying Government officials from offering themselves for elections is common to both the Bills, the C. P. measure making the election of a Government official as chairman or vice-chairman void unless it had taken place at 'a special meeting convened solely for the purpose of electing him and no other person' and had been 'supported by a majority of two-thirds of the members present and voting at such meeting.' This brief explanation about the provisions contained in the two bills will, it is hoped, show that while they undoubtedly try to strengthen these boards, there is a good deal of ground still to cover. Wholly elective boards with elected chairmen and vice-chairmen should be our goal, and efforts should be directed towards reaching the same as soon as possible. The new era that will be ushered into existence in less than six months will offer unique opportunities for the development of local self-government and time must then be taken by the forelock.

The finances proposed to be given to these local bodies under this Bill seem to us hardly sufficient to meet their growing requirements. The formidable list of duties and responsibilities mentioned in the Bill is itself enough to prove this. While some of their duties like education and sanitation and medical relief and upkeep of public roads would call for ever-increasing outlay of expenditure, their sources of income will not, we are afraid, expand at a corresponding rate. The poverty of our local bodies has been proverbial: we wonder if these measures will effect any improvement in the situation. The Madras Bill fixes the maximum limit of the land-cess at two annas in the rupee on the annual rent value, special Government sanction being necessary to any enhancement above this rate. The proceeds of the surtax, which will require the sanction of the Government of India and whose limit has been fixed at half the income-tax, and the proposed pilgrim tax will doubtless go some way in relieving the financial anxiety of these bodies. But whether the income from all these sources will be enough to enable the boards to cope with their responsibilities still

remains a matter of doubt and we shall not be far wrong if we venture to assert that the remedy proposed in the Bill cannot be looked upon as satisfactory.

D. V. A.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, JULY 29.

FORCED LABOUR IN EAST AFRICA.

ONE of the most significant features of the debate in the House of Lords on the questions relating to the treatment of the Indian settlers and the natives of East Africa was the very conspicuous absence of the group of peers, led by Lord Cranworth, having direct interests in East Africa. One would suppose that they would have attended in order to give their support to the case of the white settlers or the local Administration, but Lord Milner alone stood up for the latter, whilst the former remained undefended. It was unfortunate that two widely different subjects had to be discussed in the same debate. Both, however, were of immediate urgency, and the time of the House has latterly been very fully occupied, so that if the discussion had been confined to one of them, the other might have come up for some time, and perhaps not at all this session. As it was, the House was fairly full, and the occasion enabled various noble Lords to make a very valuable contribution to a couple of rather complex subjects. As was only natural, those who took part in the discussion were more at home on the native question than on the Indian, and, relatively, the former was a much simpler issue than the latter—it resolved itself into whether the Colonial Office had or had not made or was intending to make itself responsible, directly or indirectly, for a system of forced native labour on behalf of private employers. A simple issue of this kind would naturally make an easy appeal to the sentiment of Parliament, and a great deal had already been done, by question and answer in the Commons, to arouse feeling in the matter. Hence it was natural that though Lord Islington relegated it to the second part of his interpellation, a majority of the peers who participated in the subsequent discussion should have devoted themselves to a subject that readily lent itself to humanitarian sentiment, rather than the more complex political and economic one of the relations between the European and Indian settlers.

THE CONDITIONS OF INDIANS.

When the deputation, under the auspices of the Indian Overseas Association, waited upon Lord Milner last April, it was told that he would give its representations the most careful consideration and that if a policy were decided upon, that consideration would not be dependent in any way upon racial prejudice or particularism. At the same time, Lord Islington's proposal for the appointment of a Royal Commission, to go into the whole matter and report to His Majesty's Gov-

ernment, was put forward and Lord Milner promised to think it over. Nothing further was heard from the Colonial Office until, from a letter addressed by it to the East African delegation, it was stated that Sir Edward Northey, the Governor of the East African Protectorate (now known as Kenia Colony), had taken back with him a definite policy which he would reveal at a convenient opportunity soon after his arrival there. It was felt that this was not fair treatment, and that a statement of policy ought to be elicited by Parliament; hence the form of Lord Islington's question—asking for a statement of the policy of the Imperial Government in regard to the political and economic status of Indians in British East Africa, Tanganyka, and the Uganda Protectorate. He made out a strong case and laid special emphasis upon the two problems of franchise and segregation. On the first, he demanded an immediate settlement on lines favourable to the Indian postulants. On the second, where information might be deemed to be insufficient, he asked for its submission to a Royal Commission. He asked for information regarding the status of Indians as affected by the recent division of the East African Protectorate into the Kenia Colony and the Kenia Protectorate. He also wanted information regarding the position of Indians in the Mandated Territory of Tanganyka. He condemned the arbitrary change of currency that had been made without reference to the Indian community and deplored the unfortunate references to Indians in the Economic Commission's Report. And he protested against the policy of encouraging European emigration to East Africa when all the vast territories of the temperate self-governing Dominions are crying out for a white population. Finally, he suggested the appointment of a permanent Advisory Committee to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, composed of representatives of the Foreign Office and the India Office, an Indian representative from the India Council, and some person nominated by the Secretary of State who would speak on behalf of the interests of the native populations. To this Committee might be referred questions of status, franchise, land tenure laws and other questions where a conflict of interests on racial lines might arise. "Thinking Imperially without thinking inter-Imperially," declared Lord Islington, "will lead, under modern conditions, to grave trouble, if not to disaster." Altogether a fine effort and a constructive contribution to the discussion.

The Archbishop of Canterbury confined himself to the native question, as did Viscount Bryce, who, however, made an interesting reference to the slave-like conditions of Indians under indenture in British Guiana, thirty-five or forty years ago, which necessitated the appointment of a Royal Commission. Lord Emmott, formerly Under-Secretary for the Colonies, devoted the greater part of his speech to the same subject, but he prefaced it by a few remarks contrasting the treatment of Indians

in East Africa with that of Indians in India, and referred to Mr. Montagu's impassioned speech during the Dyer debate. "We seem," said Lord Emmott, "to be treating the Indians in British East Africa almost as pariahs. Is that the way to bind the British Empire together?" The Earl of Mayo, who followed, left the Indian problem to those who had advocated it so effectively. Lord Clwyd devoted himself entirely to the Indian question, warned the house of the ill-effects in India of the treatment to which Indians in East Africa were subjected, read a strongly-worded resolution on the subject from the Council of the Indian Liberal Federation, and asked for the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to deal with all such subjects.

LORD MILNER'S REPLY.

Lord Milner was very adroit in the manner of his reply. Having an easy answer ready on the native issue, he dealt with that problem first and so succeeded in creating for himself a favourable atmosphere. He first disavowed completely the sinister views expressed by the Economic Commission. Having shown himself strongly hostile to the European extremists, he then went on to attack what he described as the Indian extremists. Mr. Jeevanjee had offended the tender susceptibilities of the Colonial Office by describing the attitude of the white settlers as a deep-laid conspiracy to evict the Indian colonists from East Africa, and that of the local Administration, in which they had been supported by the Colonial Office, as calculated to give effect to the wishes of the white settlers. Government Departments dislike very much being called to account in this way, and Lord Milner strongly objected to the "threat" with which Mr. Jeevanjee had accompanied his communication in which he warned the Imperial Government of the certain consequences of not giving substantial justice to the Indian colonists. Having thus chastised both sides impartially, he declared his willingness, if there were anything like unanimity among the Indians for a demand for the election of their representatives to the Legislative Council and the Municipality, instead of their nomination, he would not stand in the way when the next elections came round, but he would not commit himself as to the nature of the franchise or the number of seats that would be allotted. As to the question of segregation, he entirely denied its existence. It was true that there were some small parts of the country set aside for white residence and cultivation. It was true that there was a desire to divide the towns into European, Indian and native quarters. But that did not in itself constitute racial segregation. He did not see why parts of the country, to the satisfaction of the Indian Government, should not be set aside for Indians, or why equally good plots should not be reserved for Indians in the townships. If this were done, he could not for the life of him see what Indians had to complain about. Apart from the inherent vice of the argument, which will cer-

tainly not appeal to any responsible politician in India, it is a fact that this legislative and administrative segregation has actually been in existence since 1908, for the sake of "administrative convenience," and not as Lord Milner suggested, for sanitary reasons, in spite of Professor Simpson's report which he quoted so copiously. And no areas have been set aside for Indians that Europeans might hanker after, nor have suitable plots been offered to Indians in the townships. Naboth's Vineyard is a parable that might have been written for East Africa. The significant relevance of Lord Milner's remarks lies in the fact that it is proposed to pursue a uniform policy in the Kenia Colony and Protectorate, Uganda, and so far as the mandate will permit, in Tanganyika, too. Whilst agreeing that some non-departmental body might be of help in settling some of these problems, he did not think that Lord Islington's proposal of an Advisory Committee would be suitable though he talked about the possibility of a Cabinet Committee, and he ignored the suggestion of a Royal Commission to examine carefully into the whole matter. In the main, Lord Milner's speech was not at all encouraging, and I am not surprised to learn from Lord Islington that he intends to raise the question afresh in the autumn.

RULES UNDER THE REFORM ACT.

The Draft Rules for the Indian elections and the procedure of the Councils and the Assembly and Council of State are through Parliament by a very narrow margin. Lord Amthill, "and with him," as the lawyers say, a few other reactionaries who have never loved the Government of India Act, tried to delay their passage in the Lords, but without effect. Lord Selborne intervened and showed that the whole matter had been very carefully considered by the Joint Committee, and that the House could not hope to improve materially upon the conclusions of the Provincial Governments, the Government of India, the Advisory Committees, and the Joint Committee. So, in spite of the eloquence of Lords Sydenham and Macdonnel, the Rules were adopted without a division by the Lords. But Lord Amthill was not satisfied, and moved a vote of censure of the Government for the haste used in pressing through the rules and forcing last year's Bill through Parliament. The old stale arguments were advanced very unprofitably by him and by Lord Salisbury. Lord Crewe, however, defended the Government, though he did not feel quite happy at the way in which important matters were left rather to Committees than to Parliament. In the result, the Dukes of Bedford and Buccleugh, and Lords Salisbury, Chaplin, Falkland, Erskine, Lamington, Muskerry, Sumner and Sydenham followed Lord Amthill into the division lobby but were defeated by 26 to 11.

In the Commons, the attack came not from the right but from the left. Unfortunately, Mr. Spoor was absent, in all probability owing to the death of his wife. I feel sure that the sympathy of all

Indians will go out to him in the sad loss that he has sustained. In consequence, with that courage that never deserts him, Col. Wedgwood almost single-handed took command of the forces of criticism, and most ably did he acquit himself. He held the field from the beginning to the end of the proceedings, though Mr. Montagu, with great patience, had little difficulty in demolishing many of his arguments. Except on one or two points, it was quite clear that the Labour party had no very solid convictions. At any rate, hardly any amendments were pressed to a division, mainly, I think, because the party was anxious to facilitate progress, so that the Act might immediately become effective. The party evidently does not hold the view that there should be non-co-operation. There were only five divisions during the afternoon. The first was as to whether there should be a residential qualification in the Bombay Presidency for candidates, and was overwhelmingly defeated. The second, to protest against communal representatives, met with a similar fate. The third was a protest against the exclusion of Burma from the scheme, though Mr. Montagu pointed out that the case of Burma was only temporarily postponed. It, too, went the way of its predecessors. The fourth was an attempt to prevent the introduction of blocking motions, after the good old English practice, upon his inconsistency in which matter Col. Wedgwood was good-naturedly chaffed by Sir John Rees. This resolution met with no better fate. The fifth, pressed by Colonel Yate, though no more successful, secured a much larger minority. It sought to confer the vote for the Legislative Assembly upon the ex-officers and soldiers of the Indian Army. This was after Mr. Montagu had accepted an amendment granting to them the provincial franchise. Another amendment accepted by Mr. Montagu was one by Col. Wedgwood, that supplementary questions should be reported, even if not answered. Eventually the rules were adopted as amended without a division. Col. Wedgwood, on behalf of the Labour party, looked upon the new constitution as a half-way house, and begged the Indian people to remember that this was only a temporary substitute for real freedom. They could not hope that the Act, by these rules, would work, but they hoped that it would afford a legitimate and constitutional platform from which other reforms might be advocated. It was, he declared, only by accepting and working this constitution, however faulty, that they could ever hope constitutionally to get a more perfect freedom. Mr. Montagu, in denying that the rules were unsatisfactory, stated that the total electorate would be something about six millions, of which about 900,000 would be for the Legislative Assembly. The amendments of the Commons have since been accepted by the Lords, and the elections can now proceed.

THE PRINCE'S VISIT.

In all probability the Prince of Wales will not

go to India this year. For some time, during his Australian tour, and especially since his railway accident in Western Australia, the Prince has been showing signs of the tremendous strain that he has been undergoing, and it is felt that, owing to the very short time—not much more than a fortnight—elapsing between his return here and departure for India according to the present programme, it would be subjecting him too much to the risk of a severe breakdown. It is astonishing what this young, and by no means too robust, young man has been able to undergo. If his advisers decide not to allow him to go to India this year, one, at least of Mr. Gandhi's anxieties will have disappeared, and perhaps Mr. Montagu will make friends with him again.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE HINDU'S DISTORTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

Sir,—I have pleasure in informing you that Mr. A. M. Jeevanjee has written to the *Hindu* and to the *Bombay Chronicle* repudiating the alleged interview with the special correspondent in London of the *Hindu*, in which he was reported to have criticised adversely this Association.

I have thought it proper to inform you of this at once in order that the incident may be regarded as closed.—Yours, etc.,

Hy. S. L. POLAK,

Hon. Secretary,

Indian Overseas Association.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE segregation policy pursued towards Indians by the East African Government is sought to be defended on grounds of sanitation and the sanitary habits of the Indian people; but it is hard to believe that that is the only consideration weighing with that Government in restricting the residence of our countrymen to the low-lands now known as the Kenia protectorate. If no such restriction is found necessary in the interests of the health of the European population here, why should it be so in East Africa? In this country Indians can safely have their places of residence in military cantonments, where especial attention is paid to keeping the areas sanitary and clean. They can even go and live along with Europeans in the best health resorts without any detriment to the latter's health. Nay, more, they are considered fit and qualified to be entrusted with the management of that department (under the new scheme) without the least harm. But in East Africa they must not pollute the European part of the Colony with their presence! Lord Milner recently invited the Indian Government to send out a representative 'to assure the Indian Government that land was not limited to Europeans.' We would urge that this should be done at an early date.

* * *

THE other day Mr. G. K. Devadhar in an address, under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Women's Council, gave a brief account of

the Poona Seva Sadan describing its wonderful growth within the space of ten years. The following table giving the daily attendance as it stood on July 20 might be found interesting :—

| Name of Department. | No. of Classes. | No. on the Roll. | Pre-sent. |
|--|-----------------|------------------|-----------|
| (a) Nursing & Midwifery instruction at Sassoon Hospital. Hostel No. II ... | 4 | 43 | 40 |
| (b) Medical instruction at B. J. Medical School Sassoon Hospital, Hostel No. IV | | | |
| Training College:— | | | |
| (P. S. L. Bai Motilbai Wadia) ... | 4 | 113 | 84 |
| Practising School (for girls) attached to the College ... | 9 | 185 | 152 |
| Primary Education Classes (for grown-up women) ... | 7 | 146 | 112 |
| Special Classes ... | | | |
| (a) English ... | 6 | 66 | 39 |
| (b) First Aid, Home Nursing &c. &c. ... | | 32 | 32 |
| Work-Room or Domestic industries classes (sewing, embroidery, hosiery, and weaving, &c. &c.) ... | 7 | 101 | 64 |
| Music Class:— | | | |
| (a) Instrumental ... | 10 | 83 | 56 |
| (b) Vocal ... | | | |
| Totals ... | 47 | 737 | 547 |
| Hostels | | | |
| Hostel No. I ... | | 54 | 47 |
| Hostels No. II & IV ... | | 43 | 40 |
| Hostel No. III ... | | 44 | 40 |
| Total of four hostels ... | | 141 | 127 |

Thus 74 per cent. of the pupils on the roll attend school, which must be regarded a very satisfactory proportion, considering the class of women for whom the institution is intended. It is to be earnestly hoped that those, who have the cause of the uplift of India's womanhood at heart, will not hesitate to afford the necessary monetary help to the Institution, which has great potentialities for further expansion.

GRIEVANCES of retired Government servants claimed a portion of the attention of the Bombay Legislative Council at its last meeting. The present high level of prices has made the life of the poor Government pensioner extremely difficult, and the Government owe it to themselves to see that the people who once served them faithfully get a 'living pension.' Their rates of pension were settled at a time when the cost of living was much lower than at present and their demand for higher rates of pension is perfectly justifiable. The British Government has met a similar request from their former employes with every sympathy and consideration. Is it too much to hope that our Government here will also do likewise?

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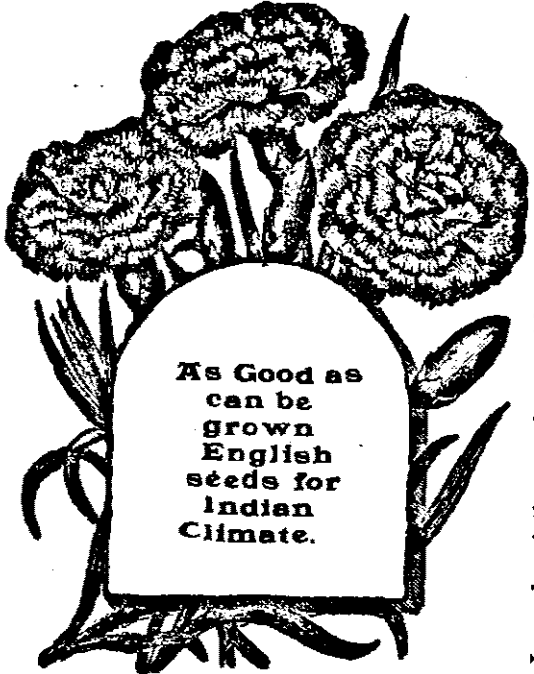
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