

THE Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Our Viceroy. THE Viceroy's reply to the deputation which waited upon him on the 19th inst. can but enhance Lord Reading's reputation as a sincere and true friend of India. With fine irony he reminded his hearers that he happened to know Mr. Lloyd George pretty well and that he was also not exactly unfamiliar with parliamentary tactics and exigencies. In fact he went as near saying it, as he could with propriety—that it was an excess of naivety to look for the considered and weighty utterance of a statesman ("to be interpreted like an Act of Parliament"), when there was nothing but the transparent effort of a politician, to placate some section of his variegated and uneasy following—in this case, the Die-hards and their I. C. S. friends. So much was obvious from the very first to all, who did not allow their natural irritation to get the better of their sense of perspective. And may we here address "a word" to our friend *The Tribune*, which in its issue of the 15th addressed "a word" to ourselves, and twits us with not having faced the true question and having dismissed Mr. George's speech too lightly: the question being, how we can go on supporting a Government of which Mr. George is the head? The answer is that we do not aim at supporting Mr. George or any other English Government; our aim is to get Dominion independence. To do so we co-operate with what we consider the best interests of England herself, represented by such men as Lord Reading, Mr. Montague etc., who realize that the control of the machine had best pass speedily into Indian hands. With such "chauffeurs" we co-operate, as in fact we would "co-operate" with any others, not for the sake of making that kind of co-operation per-

manent, but for enabling us to drive ourselves in future. All we say is that tootlings on a Georgian bugle are, for all their noise, quite irrelevant to the real matter at issue.

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India's Status. BUT it certainly was statesmanlike of our Viceroy not to leave it at that, but to go further and make Mr. George publicly eat his words. To obtain an official, explicit and definite disavowal of his foolish speech from the British Premier direct, smacks little of a "subordinate government", but shows, not only how jealous Lord Reading is of the rights of the country he represents, but of the pressure that he is able to exert. Neither General Smuts nor Mr. Hughes could have done more or hoped to be more successful in any case affecting their own Dominion status. As far as the other point goes, to which Lord Reading naturally had to refer and upon which he had to put the best construction in the light of the Premier's general disavowal—there is of course nothing served at this stage by speculating on a hypothetical and, we believe, very remote danger of the Reforms being sabotaged by N. C. O. obstructionists swamping the Councils. For even if at the next elections there were returned neither Liberals nor "Responsive Co-operationists" but only intransigents shouting, as did the Ephesians of old, "Great is the Mahatma of the Indians"; can anybody seriously contend that such calamitous deadlock is at all capable of being permanently and successfully met by the I. C. S.—and by them alone?

* * *

Management of State Railways. IT is over a year now since the Ackworth Railway Committee published their report as to the most suitable method of managing in this country State Railways, which form two-thirds of the entire railway system, and are at present mostly run through the agency of companies of English domicile. The Government of India have not decided as to which of the two methods suggested by the two almost equal parts of the Committee should be adopted in the future—management by State directly or by companies of Indian domicile. Nor has the Indian Legislature discussed the report in all its aspects. But it is necessary that it should do so without any further loss of time because the present contract with the E. I. Ry. Company expires in Dec. 1924 and that with the G. I. P. Ry. in Dec. 1925, and if these contracts are

not to be renewed, full two years' notice has to be given to the companies concerned. At the end of June last the Government invited the opinions of the various Chambers of Commerce and other bodies on this question and the Bengal Chamber has already given its emphatic opinion against State management. The Indian public on the other hand is decidedly in favour of the State managing its own railways as three big lines are now being successfully managed. We hope some non official member of the Assembly will move at the next session that the Government adopt the Majority report which the Chairman has signed.

* * *

Woman Franchise in Bihar Council. EDUCATED women have been given the franchise at municipal elections in the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Act just passed. In the Bill as originally framed, women were altogether excluded from the franchise but the Select Committee removed the sex disqualification to a limited extent by admitting matriculates or women of like educational qualification to the vote, but still retaining the disqualification so far as property qualification alone went. Even this restricted proposal met with opposition in the Council on Friday last, and some of the bitterest opponents of the measure were men who hold advanced views on politics in general—not a rare phenomenon in these days. But, thanks to the pertinacity of the Hon'ble Minister, Mr. Madhusudan Das, the hostile amendment was defeated by 39 votes to 20 and the Select Committee's recommendation carried. Babu Devaki Prashad Sinha tried to improve upon this victory and moved an amendment conferring upon women the right to vote in virtue of their property qualification. But the Council did not treat this motion seriously, regarding it merely as a counterblast to the opposition movement, and rejected it with a sweeping majority. It is noteworthy that in this division those who ordinarily take a moderate line in politics or are even regarded as reactionaries were almost the only people who supported this "revolutionary" proposal. This fact will cease to be a wonder if it is remembered that those who hold what are popularly accounted backward political views often arrive at these views just because they realise the necessity of an all round development of the country and are as keen on social, religious and economic, as on political reform. It is too much to hope that until the purdah is broken through even the limited vote given to women will be generally exercised outside of European and Indian Christian circles, but that is no reason why a disability should be continued against women, few though they be, who can and will exercise it. The Council therefore did well to remove the disability, though it did so only partially.

* * *

White Australia Policy. IN his letter which we published last week Mr. S. E. Stokes took very strong objection to certain views contained in Mr. Franks' articles, the last

of which is published today. Mr. Franks has put before our readers the Australian point of view which it is useful to understand, though one may not agree with it. We do not propose to embark on a critical examination of the views expressed by Mr. Franks as we are not addressing a public that holds those views. Mr. Stokes very properly objects to India being referred to as a 'tiny link' in the chain of coloured peoples surrounding Australia, India's population forming nearly a fifth of the entire human race. Inappropriate as that phrase is, we need not be upset by it. Mr. Stokes does not believe the statement that there is no feeling in Australia against Indians and sneers at the explanation that Australians, having to exclude people of one colour—Japanese—are obliged by a sense of justice to exclude people of another colour also—Indians. That colour prejudice does not exist in Australia as it exists in South Africa and the United States of America, is proved by the fact that many Indians and Chinese have married white women and are living there quite happily. That Indians have been recently exempted from certain disabilities to which other Asiatics are still subject and that there is every hope of Indians soon enjoying full rights of citizenship, should convince us that we are receiving special consideration for being fellow-citizens in the Empire. Mr. Stokes indignantly asks what right the paltry five millions of Australian settlers—not even original inhabitants—have to keep out overgrown neighbours from an empty continent. None, if the whole world should be treated as one unit. But if we are to recognise states and nations, we must admit the right of a state to regulate its emigration and immigration. Some nations may be more lucky than others just as some individuals are more lucky than others. We may persuade the more lucky ones to share their fortune with others but until we have got a universally recognised, supranational authority, we cannot say that the lucky shall have no control over what is their own.

* * *

Mulshi Compensation. OUR local "Satyagrahis" have appealed for just Rs. 10,000 a month to enable them to resume their obstruction of a nationally important work at Mulshi, on the plea of safe-guarding the interests of the Mavlas there. The Director of Information, Bombay, informs us simultaneously that the villagers themselves are eager to take the liberal cash compensations now fixed for their lands and that not even one of them has offered to go—at Government expense—and see the lands in Nasik District, suitable for rice cultivation, which Government offered to give them in exchange after making all necessary improvements. This does not look as if the Tata Company were erring on the side of parsimony, though one is sorry that the villagers have not availed themselves of this very good offer of land but have preferred a cash compensation, which they may or may not use prudently.

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

WE are obliged to Mr. O. Rothfeld, whose letter we print on another page, for having put before our readers the views of the I. C. S. If he had discussed the difficulties of the Service in somewhat greater detail, perhaps we could have appreciated them better. As it is, they seem to be all avoidable, if not imaginary.

Mr. Rothfeld is of course right in not concerning himself with the question whether a poor country like India can afford to pay such high salaries as the I. C. S. are demanding. But to Indians it is a most important consideration. It is that more than anything else that made the Indian Legislature press for a larger recruitment of the Indian Services in India and urge the creation of suitable educational facilities for it in India. It is for trying to ascertain the opinions of Local Governments on that resolution of the Assembly, as the Government of India was bound to do, that the Die-hards in England raised all this discussion about the position and prospects of the I. C. S. — the *Morning Post* demanding the recall of Lord Reading! — which led Mr. Lloyd George into making that foolish speech. But on this occasion we will discuss only the points raised by Mr. Rothfeld. He says the recent increments are illusory and that the I. C. S. are about the only service in the British Empire whose salaries have not been raised in accordance with the rise in prices. We do not know how he could call the recent increments illusory while admitting in the very next sentence: "It did fortunately improve salaries in the lowest grades of the Service." He seems to have given a magnificent sweep to the word 'lowest' and made it include all the ordinary appointments. Only last month ~~in~~ reply to a question in the House of Commons, Earl Winterton said that a substantial increase had been made in the pay of officers in the ordinary line below the higher selection appointments—that is, about 75 per cent. of the whole cadre. In other words, all those who had put in less than 21 or 22 years' service and were getting less than Rs. 2500, have benefited by the increase.

Mr. Rothfeld says that the I. C. S. is about the only Service on the British Empire whose salaries were not revised "in accordance with the rise in prices." We do not know how much stress he lays on the last phrase. Even the wages of unskilled labourers do not rise in the exact proportion in which the cost of living rises. And those whose salaries give them a considerable margin for comfort and saving, should not expect that margin to be maintained in tact in hard times. The general rise in prices does make an encroachment on that margin; it no doubt imposes some self-denial but does not entail a real hardship. Surely, Mr. Rothfeld does not argue that the salary of a Lieutenant-Governor or an Executive Councillor should be raised in the same proportion as that of a clerk? In the recent revision,

increments have been given to salaries up to Rs. 2,500. To have drawn the line there, we think, is quite liberal. It may even be called erring on the right side.

We confess our inability to understand the difficulty of a senior civilian with a salary of Rs. 2,500 to live in health and comfort with a wife and two or three children. We leave out of consideration the fact that almost every senior civilian gets one of the selection posts which carry a higher salary. A monthly salary of Rs. 2,500 is equivalent to £ 2,000 a year. In England, where the cost of living is very much higher than in India, it would not be considered insufficient by any means, and few salaries are placed so high as that. Heads of departments and other distinguished civil servants in England generally get a salary under £ 1,500. The explanation seems to be that the Englishman in India has chosen a very unsuitable mode of life. Europeans who have tried the Indian style of living tell us that a person living in the accepted Cantonment style on a salary of say Rs. 500 a month is worse off than one living on a third of that amount in Indian style—in the matter of health, comfort and even savings. Convention makes the European spend hundreds of rupees, so we are told, month after month on useless servants, useless furniture, useless rooms, useless food, useless recreations. He "cannot live like a native." Why? Because of course prestige forbids it. Not only in India but wherever they may be, Englishmen insist on having the things they are used to and refuse local equivalents. They pay exorbitant prices and get poor stuff withal. It is indeed not for us to preach to Englishmen how they should order their life or spend their money. But if on £ 2,000 one cannot maintain a small family, there must be something rotten in the State of Denmark.

When Mr. Rothfeld speaks of the "bitter contemplation of great poverty after retirement," we confess we find it difficult to be serious. Great poverty on 1000 a year in addition to such savings as one might have made! If we are not mistaken, the I. C. S. pensions are much more liberal than other Indian pensions or the pensions of the Civil Service in England. There a person gets one eightieth of his retiring salary for each complete year of service, subject to a maximum of forty-eightieths. That is, only those who have served for forty years and have risen to a salary of £ 2,000 can get a pension of £ 1000, and such people must necessarily be very few. If retired British civil servants can live on a pension of even less than £ 1000 a year, what makes it impossible for the retired Indian civilian to live on £ 1000 a year, unless it be his imaginary wants or an unsuitable mode of living, probably acquired in India? With regard to the 4 p. c. contribution towards pension Mr. Rothfeld is mistaken. It does not now go to decrease the State's responsibility, according to Earl Winterton, but is being funded for the benefit of officers on retirement.

We are glad to have Mr. Rothfeld's emphatic

assurance that not a single member of the Service has ever even remotely objected to being a subordinate of Indian Ministers. From its general opposition to the Reforms, the fuss made about retiring on proportionate pensions and certain incidents said to have occurred in some of the provinces, we had inferred the existence of such a feeling. Nothing gives us so much pleasure as to know that it does not exist. We are also glad to know from a person of Mr. Rothfeld's inside knowledge of the I. C. S. that the majority of them are here more on account of their spirit of adventure and love for India than for the sake of pay and prospects. Such men will always be honoured and welcome. If they mix more freely with Indians and share in their feelings to a greater extent, instead of appearing to be always fighting for privileges and emoluments, not only will they be better appreciated but they will get more enjoyment from their spirit of adventure and love of India.

We may say a word about incomes. The incomes of public servants should not be compared with those of business men. A public servant can never become a millionaire even in America. Public service is a profession, having the service of a section of humanity as its object and not commerce where the motive is money making. It is no doubt irritating that while a highly cultured individual is barely able to have the necessaries and decencies of life, a clever swindler or an un-read Marwadi should be making many thousands a month. But it is wrong to give so much value to the possession of money. As we have said above, Indian salaries compare favourably with those in England and living ought to be much cheaper here if ordered rationally. In fact, the standard set by the I. C. S. has had a very bad effect upon Indian public servants. They naturally want equal salaries with Europeans and live in much too costly and pompous a style. They too spend all their salaries and would be glad to have an increment. Everywhere expenditure has the tendency of growing with income. Those who were content to travel by tram purchase a motor car as soon as they can afford it, and wonder how they ever lived without one. It is always easier of course to increase expenditure than to decrease it, but all the same it adjusts itself finally to income.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE "WHITE AUSTRALIA" POLICY.

VI. HOW AUSTRALIA CAN HELP INDIA.

IN the foregoing quintette of articles it has been shown that despite the apparently antagonistic nature of the "White Australia" policy, the average resident of that country bears absolutely no ill-will towards the people of India. Although Australians at the present time are adamant on retaining this national "closed door" policy, they are however, perfectly agreeable, nay, anxious, to do

all in their power to manifest in a practical way their feelings of friendship towards the other members of the Empire, India included.

Of course the writer recognises that if Indians were asked how Australia could help India, the suggestions would not find favour with Australians owing to the certainty of such suggestions interfering with the "white" policy so definitely laid down and so stringently adhered to (in theory). For instance, a very general suggestion is that only Indians of capital be permitted in, thus abolishing the fear of cheap labour being allowed entrance. To the Australian, however, capital from eastern lands would presuppose a later influx of cheap labour to work in the ventures commenced by that capital. Moreover, at the present time Australia wants all the incoming capital to be invested on the land as being the most favourable and productive undertaking, and experience has shown that what is known as "coloured" labour does not take kindly to, or prove successful in, agricultural work. And, finally, any capital that goes into Australia should be permanent. Transitory wealth is a poor staff for a nation to lean on.

Another suggestion is that education be made part of the passport of entrance. There again, however, the difficulties would themselves prove disastrous to an "open door" policy. For practical purposes a university degree or a college diploma should not be the standard of intellectual attainment, for certain branches of knowledge, particularly in the realm of science, are never obtained from an ordinary scholastic course. Again, most successful criminals are the best educated criminals; while in direct opposition to this, there is the common fact that, speaking generally the cleverest inventors (real inventors, not research scientists) are the least "educated" men. Without doubt mere literacy is no criterion of suitability for citizenship on the part of any man, while the test of education as a condition of admission to any country not only standardises (and therefore limits) brain power, but also devitalises specialisation. And such results, as history can prove dozen times, are disastrous for the progress of any nation and decidedly unfair to those seeking entrance to that country. And finally, there is such a divergence of opinions as to what constitutes "a good education", that it is doubtful whether a definite (let alone a just) policy could be framed. Why, one leading teaching professor declared a few weeks ago that the capacity of confessing ignorance should be the test of an educated man!

Another plank in the "white" policy of Australia is that of racial purity, which is declared by many of the opponents of the doctrine to be a foolish and false argument, inasmuch as legislation could be introduced to stop any inter-marriage between the races. But those who put forth this suggestion show a lamentable lack of knowledge both of history and human nature—or, if not an actual lack of knowledge, then a very sad mis-

understanding of those two subjects. No nation yet, even when its sons and daughters are uncoloured, has ever been able, with all its legislation, fully to regulate marriage and sexual intercourse. When love and passion work upon the stage then propriety, parliamentary laws, and scientific warnings make an immediate exit. This is not saying of course that these forces exercise no control whatever, but the alarming increase in immorality and the consequent venereal diseases reveals the comparative impotency of any legal machinery to control, or even regulate, this particular phase of the subject.

What, then, can Australia do to help India and to show her friendship? In reply let us look to the commercial and agricultural potentialities of that great Pacific continent. In short, Australia even though its population were sixty times what it is to-day, could be absolutely self-contained, and then have sufficient to export on a large scale. There is no food or fruit or grain but what will grow there in abundance; there is no metal of any utilitarian importance but what is to be found there in great quantities; there is no better place on the earth for cattle and sheep rearing than the bosom of Australia. Even with its present small population of five and one-half millions its production is extraordinary. In 1918, for instance even though affected by the war, the value of the Commonwealth's productive activities was as follows:—

Agriculture	£ 58,080,000
Pastoral	£ 98,297,000
Dairying	£ 33,738,000
Manufacturing	£ 75,261,000
Mining	£ 26,156,000
Forests	£ 7,137,000

This gives a total of £ 298,669,000, of which £ 113,963,000 was from export trade. India's quota of this was about £ 4,000,000, made up roughly as follows: Gold specie, £ 2,000,000; horses, £ 147,000; coal, £ 14,000; wool, £ 78,000; copper, £ 270,000; preserved fruits, £ 70,000; wheat, £ 1,000,000; flour, £ 300,000. On the other hand Australia imported from India goods to the value of about £ 6,250,000.

That was three or four years ago. Things have changed considerably since then; and today Australia is standing at the dawn of a new commercial era. The value of wealth production is increasing at a much more rapid rate than the population, and, if we take a recent conservative estimate, we are faced with the extraordinary fact that those mere fifty five lakhs of people are producing annually £ 400,000,000 worth of goods. Australia, moreover, is fast becoming the arbiter of eastern trade, a fact which India will soon have to recognise—and, if it chooses, recognise to its own material advantage. Think what it will mean, for example, for India, in case of famine, to have within a fortnight's steam boat reach a huge granary producing already £ 20,000,000 worth of wheat a year in addition to large quanti-

ties of oats, barley, maize, hay, and potatoes. But it must also be remembered that so far as possibilities are concerned, Australia has hardly commenced to cultivate her soil, there being barely 21,000 sq. miles cultivated out of a total area of practically 3,000,000 square miles, fully a half (probably two-thirds) of which is capable of being cultivated or used in pastoral activities which means that, on a very conservative estimate, the wheat crop could be increased twenty-five fold. Just what it could mean to have this huge food store so close in time of famine, the reader can imagine much better than the writer can describe. Moreover, no people are so large-hearted and so quick to respond to a call of need than the Australians; and within a couple of days from receipt of a wireless appeal, a whole fleet of wheat-carrying vessels would be speeding across the rolling deep laden with the golden food which is always kept stored in great quantities in that huge continental granary.

But what Australia would do in time of need is merely what she is willing to do at any time. Her markets are primarily at the Empire's disposal, and India could obtain therefrom practically all her needs, whether they be food, fruit, machinery, fuel, leather, wool, clothing, butter, milk, meat, gold, copper, timber, jams, tallow, books, cameras, medicines, fertilisers, cattle or horses. In all of these commodities—and many others—Australia is laying the foundation of an extensive market, and millions of pounds are being invested in factories, agriculture, and business. It is not for us here to weary the reader with more figures, for surely sufficient have been used to show that Australia is fast becoming a commercial power with whom India can well afford to retain that friendship already established. Indeed, to strengthen that friendship should be the aim of every loyal Indian and Australian. No policy would be more advantageous to either country than that of commercial fraternisation; indeed it is the only course to pursue under present conditions. The abolition of the "white" policy would, as things are at present, be disastrous to both India and Australia. Not immediately disastrous, it is true; but sooner or later disaster would come as surely as floods follow abnormal rains. And true statesmanship includes long sightedness; true patriotism includes looking at important questions from the viewpoint of all concerned. As a leading editor so aptly expressed it recently: "Much of the bitterness that exists, undisguised, or hidden, under the surface of social civility, would be permanently removed if only [we took the trouble to understand each other's point of view, and tried a little bit more to put ourselves in the place of those who differ from us. It would remove mountains if only we could see them and appraise them by their standard. . . . A method that differs from the one which the accidents of life had led us to adopt is not necessarily either wrong or inferior, and to understand why

people do things in different ways, to appreciate their methods, and to be tolerant of them is the first step toward the solution of many of the problems that embitter life and set the world at war".

Therein lies the aim of this series of articles—to place before the thinking class of Indians the principles which have dictated the closed door policy of Australians. In the eyes of the majority of those who have read the articles, these principles or the conclusions drawn from them may be partially or entirely wrong; but nevertheless the fact remains that the writer has outlined the Australian viewpoint. If he has succeeded in persuading his readers to see the problem from Australian viewpoint then his task will not have been in vain; for it is an acknowledged fact that when we stand in the other man's shoes, then we at least are ready to manifest sympathy (if nothing else) toward him in his perplexities, trusting that time and experience will one day succeed in getting him to see our perplexities from our side of the problem. If, further the writer has succeeded, even to a slight degree, in cementing the bond of friendship which should (and does in many cases) unite these two southerly colonies of the great Empire, then he will indeed feel as though his flood of ink has not been flowing in vain. And so his final word is, "Banish for ever the idea that Australia is either afraid of or at enmity with India; remember that the poorly-named White Australia policy is based solely in principles to ensure that aim of every nation—self preservation; and lastly, endeavour to make commercial activities take the place of political jealousies, for it is only along road of commerce that either land can even hope to be prosperous, peaceful, and of benefit to the world at large and as the years roll by, the limits in this chain of colonial friendship will then grow stronger and longer until under the pressure of amicability and fraternity all hatred antipathy and jealousy will be crushed out of the national minds. Let India fill its niche in international affairs, and let Australia fill hers; each having the advice of her neighbouring sister member of common Empire, to which each owes so much.

H. GEORGE FRANKS.

THE LATE JUSTICE K. T. TELANG.

KASHINATH TRIMBAK TELANG, in whose memory a meeting was held in Bombay last week, was one of the most prominent leaders of Bombay between the seventies and nineties of the last century and died in 1893 at the early age of forty-three. He was one of the founders of the Indian National Congress along with the late Sir P. M. Mehta, Justice Ranade and others. He was its General Secretary for the first four years till he was raised to the Bench of the Bombay High Court in 1889. In the great Ilbert Bill controversy of the eighties, during the iceroyalty of Lord Ripon, it was Telang, Taya bjee

and Mehta that won for this Presidency its reputation for sobriety, dignity and impersonal criticism. Out of the Ilbert Bill controversy arose that united sentiment and common public life which soon assumed visible form in the Indian National Congress of 1885.

Telang's was a role wider than that of the rest that made a common cause with him on the political platform. He was as much interested in the social and moral improvement of his people as in their economic and political regeneration. He worked actively for many causes which made his work rather diffusive. But it gained in breadth what it lost in intensity. The condition of India in those days resembled in certain respects the age of the encyclopædists in Europe. Every public man was, perforce, an encyclopædist. He had to attend to and interest himself in many fields of work that the ray of light might penetrate everywhere. Thus Telang stood for his times as an emblem and pattern of an all round culture and light. These had to spread first before men could come forth to work in their specially marked out spheres and show tangible results. Ranade and Telang were thus reformers, literateurs, educationists, economists, politicians, who summed up in their work and outlook the full-orbed life of the India to be. Their role was that of critics, exponents, reconcilers and ambassadors. Every one sought their advice. And every one went back better-guided and better able to map out his work and show results as the fruit of their guidance.

Telang and Ranade, for one would like to put both of them in the same category, were scholars full of sweetness and light. Joined to spaciousness and a full-orbed view of the Indian problem there was a personal purity of motive, character and action, and an amiability that made them magnetic. Hence workers easily gathered round them and became attached to them by ties of personal friendship. Coming under the influence of the very best of English teachers that India has received from England, a large hearted spirit of patriotism and civic duty born of the union of the two cultures was nursed in their hearts from their early youth. And later association and friendships broadened and deepened that sentiment. They never chose to work in isolation. There was an intellectual brotherhood in those days such as we miss in the life of to-day. There was a reverence for elders among the young. And there was a corresponding willingness among the elders to teach. There was respect on both sides.

They might have been lacking in *other* gifts of leadership. Perhaps they had not as much spirit of sacrifice in them as some others. Perhaps they strike us as weak and halting in certain directions. Some may deny them courage, though that is a very hard point to decide. Perhaps they were not so go-ahead as some of their reformer friends desired. They had not sufficient tough fibre in them. But even when all this is granted, much remains, in

their life and work, of purity, strength, devotion, dedication and hard work which entitles them to the homage of posterity. If those of us, who feel inclined to blame them for not being this or that, really tried to work up the programme of intellectual and moral discipline which they had imposed upon themselves, and shouldered even a fraction of the burden of public life they bore, we would not only be infinitely the better for that discipline but would cease to be carping critics and would work more like responsible men. What is most necessary in these days is the cessation of irresponsible talk and drifting existence. We are too much prone to be critics and too little inclined to be real and silent workers in our allotted spheres. The life of Telang was, in a striking measure, a life of hard work, of responsible work, and of work calculated to build up his country's future on solid and comprehensive lines. If he was averse to anything, it was to shallowness of character, aim, criticism and action. In that he was really great. He had solid moorings both in home and public life. He was a man loved and revered by all those whose love counts. He was a good man, and he was great because he was good. Ranade compared him to a rose the beauty and fragrance of which were shed all around him. Himself pre-eminently a man of the first rank, he yet thought it worth his while to pay Telang the tribute of having founded a distinct school of thought and action. And Ranade was proud to say that he belonged to the same school.

V. N. NAIK.

CONTINENTAL LETTER.

BRESLAV, JULY 24th 1922.

THE tale goes of a chancellor of Sweden, Oxenstjerna, who is said to have exclaimed to his son: "You have no idea, my son, with how appallingly little prudence the world is being ruled." Posterity has seen the most remarkable part of this *dictum* in the large capital of authority which it presumes to have been in those days in the hands of the rulers. If to-day this Capital has been exhausted to the last cent, nobody has latterly played so much the spendthrift with it, as the gentlemen ruling France.

Its latest triumph is the collapse of the Hague Conference, which was to have settled with Russia the terms, which the Genoa Conference was unable to agree upon. The Russian problem is of course a thorny one. The Soviet Government has seated itself on a rampart of corpses composed of its educated classes and is not exactly going out of its way to inspire confidence and sympathy in the rest of the world and thus facilitate a solution. The manner, for instance, in which latterly the case against the so-called Social Revolutionaries is being conducted, with its cynic and complete disregard of the most elementary principles of justice, has again led throughout Europe to an indignant outcry against the Soviet Government. But did

not people before the war put up with the Tsar's blood-stained government? Is it possible to fasten responsibility for the starving peasantry of South Russia on the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has—since nature makes no jumps—put itself in the place of the dictatorship of the Tsar? But above all, has not the economic blood circulation of the whole world been very gravely impaired by applying the tourniquet to so important a member of the body and thus placing it in immediate danger of dying off? The French Government of course is not troubled by any such considerations. The attitude of a merciless victor, which it adopted at Genoa towards the Russian delegates, has been its attitude at the Hague too. Seconded by its ally Belgium, France refused to meet any Russian wish and insisted on the very points, which Moscow could not possibly concede. For Moscow is never without a clientele of foreign capitalists, hungering after profitable concessions, and it therefore believes that it has still enough trumps in its hand not to need to let itself be forced into denying the most important principles of its economic system, and that it may yet get the desired credits by coming to terms with each country separately. The Hague Conference at first was a regular childish game, in which neither side would be the first to come out of hiding. Eventually, on the axiom that the most sensible should give in, the Russians suggested, subject to approval by their government, that the latter should recognize its liabilities towards foreigners and indemnify them by adequate new concessions. But to the great surprise of everybody, the other side declared under French pressure that even these conditions were insufficient—so that when the door which the Russians had hitherto so anxiously kept locked was at last opened by them, it was only to have it banged into their faces by others. Thus even the last remnant of the policy inaugurated by Lloyd George at Genoa has disappeared and with it any official help from Europe to a Russia, which is so ruined that according to reliable authorities the peasants in vast districts have not even a scythe left wherewith to harvest their corn.

For such result the main responsibility attaches to the French infatuation about the state of Russian politics, and this infatuation in its turn can be traced to the promptings of the Russian émigrés who still babble of a fall of the Soviet Government, which, if it is not imminent, at least could be brought about with ease. The same extraordinary French blindness to facts shows itself in regard to Germany.

The German *mark* has once more furiously dropped; and since every depreciation of German currency is in the countries of the Allies traced back to German machinations, the German Government has declared its readiness to go to the uttermost limits of what self-respect will permit a sovereign state to do. To obtain a moratorium of its payments, the Reich allowed the Guarantees

Commission to see its whole system of finance in all its details. For four weeks this committee was installed and worked in the Finance Minister's office; asking question after question; demanding (and receiving) information of every kind; and so completely and profoundly investigating the finances of the Reich, as probably has never yet been done and permitted in the history of any sovereign country. Before its departure the Guarantees Committee formulated a number of demands which amount to a current and detailed control of the German finances by special Allied officials. Even this demand the German government conceded: who has become bankrupt cannot object to having his pockets gone through and an inventory made of its contents. But if he is himself a willing party to this process, at least he might expect to hear no doubts as to his *bona fides*. The Guarantees Commission indeed has apparently not expressed any such doubts: but not so Monsieur Poincaré. Since for the sake of his imperialistic plans a verdict of fraudulent bankruptcy on the part of Germany is necessary, he has quite frankly asked the Reparations Commission to declare that Germany's insolvency is Germany's own fault, and that therefore there could be no question for a moratorium, except for quite a short time, say months. And even such alleviation is to be purchased at the cost of important political concessions. English public opinion is obviously and increasingly opposed to such attitude, but being powerless, can but helplessly watch the Mark's further drop and the consequent further increase of unemployment at home.

The result of this policy on Europe is frightful. The proletarianizing of the German middle classes and the perpetual moral humiliations of the country combine to foster a mentality of bitter discontent or apathetic resignation and prevent the growth of contentment with the new republican constitution. There are measures of French policy, which seem to have only the one purpose of keeping alive the feelings of revenge and hatred in their neighbour. Some noble French pacifists have recently been addressing crowded mass-meetings in various places in Germany, impelled by the desire to bring about between the two countries an understanding upon which the safety of the world depends—and the one interruption they everywhere met with, was the word "Avignon." For in that city of Southern France there are still today—four years after the war—numerous German war prisoners languishing in close confinement, because during attempts at escape they had stolen eatables and, for this theft, had been condemned to many years' imprisonment! The French pacifists, thus heckled, never hesitated to admit and condemn this morally unjustifiable cruelty and their own impotence of setting right a matter, which alone would suffice to poison the relations between the two countries. But the attitude of the French Government in this is but symptomatic. The militaristic mentality intensified by

war psychosis such as the world has seen during the German military rule in Belgium and elsewhere, has apparently become a permanence in France. Its characteristic is the contempt it has for all law, written or unwritten.

And this militaristic mentality thrives even in law courts. Only recently the so-called Arbitration Court at Paris has come to a decision which is simply a denial of every established principle of international law. This Court has to deal with such claims of Frenchmen against Germans, as do not come under the Versailles Treaty provisions, and the recent decision in question was on the claim of an Alsatian in which connection it laid down the rule that even during the war all Alsace-Lorrainers must be considered to have been "virtual Frenchmen." This decision has of course a tremendous practical consequence, since it amounts to nothing but an additional war indemnity. For once the decision was made Alsacians—of whose legal German citizenship until their country was ceded to France nobody of course could or did doubt—have in large number registered claims for indemnity; claims, amongst which there are such naive samples, as that of owners of German war bonds, who claim to be indemnified because they had taken up these bonds under German pressure and now find that the value of these bonds has dropped to pretty well *nil*. Threadbare as such pleading is, the claimants have every reason to hope for their success before this Parisian Court of Justice.

The German reader who has just perused the details of this frightfulness has hardly had time to recuperate from this shock, before news of some new imminent rape assails him. There is the great plan of the *grand canal d'Alsace* which is to divert 80% of the water of the Upper Rhine and thus not only to provide the whole network of French canals with more water, but also to produce electric power for the greater part of France. Should that plan ever mature, it would of course change completely the role hitherto played by the Rhine as the principal transportation system of Central Europe and rob the millions of people who inhabit its banks of their livelihood. Still, such plans are fortunately rather futuristic, and for that reason less provocative and productive of less indignation and deep feeling than the daily reports of French excesses in the occupied districts. It is generally agreed that whilst it is the policy of the English military authorities in these districts to apply their rules and regulations as considerately as possible, that of the French is to do so as inconsiderately as possible. Now, it is impossible to overrate the effect of all this on German domestic politics. It creates a mentality, especially amongst those unable to think and judge clearly, which is nothing but a form of insanity, a mania, an irrational desire to get even with somebody. And since it is not possible to do anything against the oppressor himself, this fury is directed against those of its own compatriots who have got

to carry on the necessary negotiations with these oppressors—not as if they had any positive programme which could be substituted.

Latterly this state of affairs has led to the formation of murder-associations amongst the numerous elements of the *déclassés* and socially uprooted in this overpopulated and yet by the exchange completely isolated land. The senseless butchering of the Minister Rathenau has proved to the world the real nature of these organizations. True, the immediate consequences of this shocking event have meant a strengthening of the republican idea, since even the most tepid advocates of the democratic regime could but feel burning indignation against all those whose indifference or secret sympathy had allowed the seeds of madness to ripen into such deeds of horror. But as the tide of the Left rose, it unfortunately had also the dangerous result of washing away the bridge which since the Revolution had stretched between Socialists and the bourgeoisie of the Left, and of widening visibly the chasm between these two social groups—a most unpleasant and deplorable development.

No less sad effects are wrought by the general depression in Italy, where at one time it looked as if the country would by its own effort get out of the economic bog of a general financial crisis. Unable to meet the deficiency of its budget, the position of the government became untenable. But here too the clash of opposing policies has now taken the form of ferocious violence and there are to-day several lakhs of *Fascists*, whose main programme consists in fighting socialism by violence and whose armed tyranny extends over ever widening portions of the Italian Kingdom. The Italian government has tried to bolster up its weak position by getting into that closer touch with England which the Genoa Conference had already indicated. But the Italian Foreign Minister Schanzer found in London so little response—mostly out of British consideration for French sensitiveness—that his visit became a regular political defeat.

That such considerate attitude is in the best interests of Europe, can hardly be maintained. The French government of course registers its "success abroad" and makes capital out of it at home. But France which by an insensate press is being kept in complete ignorance of the true position, ought by every possible means to be enlightened as to why she finds herself so completely isolated. For the remedy which alone can cure the delirious Europe is only to be found in one place—the *Chambre des députés* at Paris. For this remedy consists in the substitution for the present militaristic and imperialistic majority there of one which will adopt instead as its guiding policy the solidarity of all human interests.

But, alas, for any change in such a direction there are unfortunately no indications.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, AUGUST 3rd 1922.

THE enquiry into the loss of the P. & O. liner "Egypt" has been a prolonged and searching one. Evidence has been given by the captain, the officers and passengers and this has been reported at length in the daily papers. All the evidence, without exception, proves that the Lascars were panic-stricken and that the enormous loss of life was due to the lack in discipline shown at the time of the accident. The enquiry is not completed, but in a partial summing-up speech by Mr. Cotter yesterday the P. & O. Company was slashing attacked. The policy of this company, said Mr. Cotter, one of the largest shipping companies in the world, if not the largest, in the manning of their ships seemed to be employ the smallest possible number of British seamen, and to exploit the cheap labour market of Bombay. In the conduct of the lascar crew there was not a redeeming feature, for all they thought about had been the saving of their own lives. The traditional British order "Women and children first" was totally ignored by them. Half the "Egypt's" boats, properly manned and handled, could have comfortably saved every soul on board. The disaster would never have occurred with a properly qualified crew of British seamen. Native seamen cost less than a third of what British seamen cost, and he hoped that the Court would tell the P. & O. Company that human life must be higher than dividends.

It is fairly evident from all that has transpired at the enquiry that lascar crews will be tremendously modified on all British passenger carrying ships for the future. The scandal that has attached itself to the crew of the "Egypt" will not die easily. People are talking about it everywhere, and while the dangers of war travelling were accepted philosophically, a wreck during peace time, with an appalling avoidable loss of life strikes the imagination in a new way. Mr. A. T. Bucknill represented the Government of India and the lascar members of the crew at the enquiry.

NO MORE WAR.

During this week end the country has listened to a crescendo of organised appeal against war. But this country was not alone in its demonstration, for fourteen other countries arranged similar proceedings. The first steps in the matter were taken by the No More War International Movement, a British organization consisting of people who, believing war to be wrong, have signed an affirmation against war service. But a great number of other organizations joined hands and co-operated in the present demonstration, including the League of Nations Union, trade unions, the Joint Standing Committee of Women's Industrial Organisations, the Women's Co-operative Guild, and many others. Processions started from various points and all met together in Hyde Park. Speeches were delivered from the many platforms erected for that purpose, and

fraternal greetings were sent to the other gatherings of a similar nature which were being held throughout Europe and in the United States of America. Just before the resolution of the day was put, a roll of drums heralded its coming and a great silence fell upon the assembled crowd. After this was duly carried, the many thousands with bared heads sang a hymn commencing with the lines; "When wilt Thou save the people, Oh God of Mercy, when?"

I. C. S.

A very important debate took place in the House of Commons yesterday, when an opportunity was taken by Sir Samuel Hoare to raise the question of the administration of the Government of India Act and its effect on the Indian Civil Service. Sir Samuel pointed out that there was a general feeling of insecurity sapping the efficiency of the service and suggested that the Government should institute a short special enquiry into the matter. The Premier acknowledged in his reply that there was a considerable amount of uneasiness, and said that it was quite natural that the great constitutional change which had taken place should provoke uneasiness in the minds of those who worked the old system. That is the effect of every great change in every establishment. "These changes," continued the Premier, "were in the nature of an experiment. India had never been governed on these principles before, the native states are not governed on these principles now, and it remains to be seen whether a system of this kind adapted to Eastern needs, perfected by centuries of experiment and marked at many stages, in fact every stage, with repeated failures, a system which the West has perfected for its own conditions and its own temperament, is suitable to India. . . . Up to the present, in spite of drawbacks, there has been a very satisfactory measure of success. On the other hand, we must realise that the most serious and testing time has probably not yet been reached. . . . Very powerful elements in India refused to associate themselves with the experiment at all. . . . I think that in another year or eighteen months there will be a new election. The non-co-operative movement at the present time is in a state of collapse. What part it will take in the next election we cannot tell." Later on, he said: "We must make it clear that Great Britain in no circumstance will relinquish her responsibilities in India. That is a cardinal principle, not only of the present Government, but of any Government that will command the confidence of the people of this country and it is important that should be known in India. We stand by our responsibilities and we will take whatever steps are necessary to discharge or to enforce them."

Then Colonel Wedgwood rose, and, as usual, went for the Premier, prefacing his speech by saying that he wondered what evil genius inspired the Prime Minister to make this speech, and asking what the Premier meant. "How is it possible," he said, "for the Civil Service, when once there is

Dominion Home Rule in India, to be able to carry on without a change of functions and a change of powers? When the Assembly has complete self-government, it is inevitable that the whole status of the Civil Service in India must change, and the civil servants in that country must be, even as the civil servants in this country, the servants, and not the masters of the people."

Sir D. Maclean, who contributed to the debate, recalled the House to the spirit of the matter under debate and explained, with approval from the Premier, some of the sentences Colonel Wedgwood had evidently been irritated by, and said most emphatically that the Civil Service existed for the sake of the country and that the progress in India could not be stopped, for it was part of a world movement to a different, and, he hoped, a better state of things. Earl Winterton also spoke, but said nothing very new. He deplored an appeal to the emotions, when matters requiring great and calm statesmanship were under discussion, and said India had the tools of statesmanship in her hands. It is true they bore the stamp of British made goods, but it was for India to use them and work out her destiny on her own lines.

REVIEW.

THAKORE, B. K.: INDIAN ADMINISTRATION to the Dawn of RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT. 1765-1920. Bombay, 1922. pp. iv & 471. 6 x 4, (Taraporewala Sons & Co. Rs. 4.)

We warmly welcome Prof. Thakore's book. He himself says in the preface that "with the introduction of responsible government the creation of a living school of constitutional history and political philosophy trying to understand and appraise laws and institutions, events and movements, historically by going backward to their causes and forward to their actual effects," has become necessary. His book is a very creditable attempt to supply the need. He has read widely, and he has thought a great deal on what he has read. He is careful to look at both sides of a question; he appreciates the difficulties of the administration, but he is not afraid to criticise it where criticism seems necessary. Above all he writes in a clear, nervous style, which bears witness to his thorough grasp of the subject and which occasionally rises into real eloquence. Illustrations might be given by the dozen, but a few will suffice. Section 7 (pp. 19-22) gives a masterly analysis of the causes of the British success in India. On p. 173 there is a beautiful description of justice "in the days of Sleeman and Meadows Taylor"—how the English officer in those days appeared on the spot only a little while after the dispute arose; and the complainant, the defendant, their witness, the elders and repositories of custom, the learned in the law, public opinion and social and religious influences—were all there, every detail came out and was checked, and in that full glare of the Indian sun beating equally upon all the gods whom Indians acknowledged were also present the pieties and chivalries Indians responded to were also felt" etc. etc. Finally, we may allude to the description of the unsettling effect of the contact of East with West (p. 133) and of the birth of Nationalism (p. 382).

It is not to be supposed but that in a volume of more than 450 pages, a searching critic could pick a few holes. Such a critic could say that in some places Prof. Thakore suggests a problem but offers no solution. This is so for instance, with regard to the problem of relieving the congestion of Bombay. The key to the improvement of Bombay, Prof. Thakore says, lies not inside that area at all but outside; the human drift towards Bombay must be stopped; production must be so organised as to induce people to stay in their villages. All this is true, and obvious. The real problem is how to keep the people in the villages. Prof. Thakore thinks that for this greater powers must be given to Municipalities and Rural Boards, (does he wish to introduce Settlement Laws of Medieval England among us?) but "this is a problem so complex and difficult that our legislatures will not be able to solve it in a hurry" (pp 326-329).

Again, speaking of the supremacy of Parliament, Prof. Thakore remarks (p. 80)—"Although Parliament is of course the supreme authority, even as regards Indian policy, checks and obstacles have been deliberately interposed between the Indian Executive and Parliament. . . . Parliament is of course the supreme authority whenever it chooses to assert itself, but the constitution it has deliberately framed for India is that it does not choose to assert itself, except under exceptional circumstances." (Italics ours.) Now, the non-interference of Parliament in Indian administration seems to us not a matter of "checks and obstacles deliberately imposed" nor of a "constitution deliberately framed" but simply of practice. India is too distant, the House of Commons is too much overworked and the average M. P. has too little knowledge of Indian conditions for Parliament to take a continuous interest in Indian affairs.

We hope Prof. Thakore will consider these and other points, and furnish his book with a full index in preparing the second edition, which we trust will soon become necessary. We may add that the last two chapters are not the least interesting part of the book, and in the last section, "key to real Swarajya" he seems to us to have hit the nail on the head: "Indian self-government can only become a reality in proportion as a really Indian Army is built up."

R. P. P.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—In an article entitled "Our Civil Servants" published in your issue of 10th August, you have, I regret to notice, given currency to statements about the Service to which I have the honour to belong, that are, I can assure you, erroneous. Your paper is in general so fair and moderate in its views that I feel sure you would not like to repeat assertions, however widely made in other quarters, which are not valid and correct. I trust, therefore, that you will allow me to reply and that you will be willing to place some reliance on what I venture to assert in contradiction.

The first point relates to our "bloated salaries," as you call them. I am not here concerned with the question whether, as you put it, "a poor country like India cannot afford them without painful sacrifices". The decision of that question depends upon wide consideration. But I think I am entitled to discuss the question of salary as it touches the individual. Now, first of all, the 'ready increase' of salaries by the Secretary of State to which you refer was almost illusory. It did fortunately improve salaries in the case of the lowest

grades in the Service. It did not do so in the higher ranks. Broadly speaking it is a fact that the Indian Civil Service was the only service within the British Empire whose salaries were not revised in accordance with the rise in prices. Further it must be remembered that, though our "bloated salaries" are certainly enough for the comfortable maintenance of a bachelor, yet they are insufficient for a married man, especially if he has two or more children, except at a serious loss not only of comfort but even of health. What is important and relevant to the present issue is that men with the same qualifications can now-a-days readily obtain incomes in England that are at any rate relatively, if not absolutely, higher, and on which they can live in more comfort and with their families, without that tribute to steamship companies that falls so heavily on those who serve in India.

The main financial question, however, from the point of view of the Civil Servant himself is not that of salary, while in India, but of pension after retirement. First of all, may I ask you to bear in mind that we contribute about a third of our pension ourselves and that our pension actually costs the tax-payer less than the corresponding pension in other services? Moreover, as things are, with high prices and high income-tax it is difficult for a bachelor to live in England with any reasonable comfort on his pension; for a married man it is absolutely impossible. Hence a married Civil Servant knows that, whenever he retires, he will be condemned to a life of miserable shifts and exigencies, unless he either has a large private income or else is able to earn an additional salary. But for every additional year he stays in this country and grows older, so much greater will be the difficulty of finding other employment. Unless, therefore, either the pension is increased or we are allowed to retire on the full pension about five years earlier, it can hardly be expected that men with the desired qualifications of brains and training will be willing to enlist.

You have also repeated the allegation that the real dissatisfaction of the I. C. S. is due to the loss of power and that individually we do not wish to occupy a position of subordination to Indian Ministers. May I first point out that in these allegations there is a logical confusion between the relations of the individual to his environment and the relations of his service, regarded abstractedly as an entity, to its functions. The Service as a whole may have lost in power: that is to say the actual business of Government is no longer as greatly in the hands of the Service as a whole as it was. But in this sense "the Service" is not an actual concrete thing: it is an abstraction. The individual member of the Service on the other hand has certainly not lost in power. On the contrary as a representative of his district with all the support of the local bodies and non-officials with whom he has to be in constant contact and whose wishes he voices, he can stand in a stronger position in relation to the central offices of Government than ever before. And in this matter it is the feelings of the individual that count. That abstract entity, the Service, has no feelings.

The further allegation that members of the I. C. S. do not wish to be subordinate to Indian Ministers was, I believe, originally the fantastic figment of a journalist's dreams. It is, I am certain, without any foundation whatsoever. I can assert without hesitation that I have never from any single member of my Service heard any word which could even remotely justify such an inference.

Finally, may I ask you to believe, what is after all the truth, that, unpleasant as money difficulties are, bitter as the contemplation of great poverty after retirement must be, the best men any how, and I think and hope they constitute the greater number in the Service, come out to India because they are tempted by the adventure and are in love with the temper and colour of her thought and spirit, and stay because they like the people and want to guide her future in the path of progress and wise government.—Yours &c.

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