

# THE Servant of India

Editor: V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

VOL. I, No. 45.]

POONA—THURSDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1918.

[ ANNUAL SUBSN. : RS. 4

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..	521
ARTICLES :—	
The Reform Scheme for Burma ... ..	524
The Right of Public Meeting ... ..	525
POETRY :—	
Outcastes. By J. H. ... ..	526
SPECIAL ARTICLES :—	
India's War Finance and Peace Time Problems.—	
VI. By Prof. V. G. Kale ... ..	526
A Successful Administration. By R. S. R. ... ..	529
A LETTER FROM LONDON ... ..	530.
CORRESPONDENCE :—	
The <i>Kesari</i> on Mr. Patel's Bill. By J. ... ..	531

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE arrangements in connection with the Peace Conference are in full swing. Hereditary sovereigns and elected Presidents, Prime Ministers and high Diplomats are moving backwards and forwards in Western Europe. France is the great centre of interest. Paris is to be the scene of the momentous discussions and negotiations that will settle the terms of the Peace. The prominence of England is not less marked. Exactly one century ago, Great Britain took a distinguished part in freeing Europe from one military tyrant. To-day she stands forward as Europe's deliverer from another. By a curious irony of fate Britain's former Ally has become the world's foe, and the country against which she then fought, has stood by her side in the recent struggle as the champion of freedom and justice. The position of Great Britain is unique. In the beginning of twentieth century, as in the nineteen, she stands for the same high ideal of justice and fair play, and the liberty of nations.

THE United States will hold a peculiar position in the coming Peace Conference. They had up till now religiously followed the advice of George Washington and kept out of the current of European politics. But circumstances have swept them into it and they seem to be intent upon playing their part with all the earnestness and enthusiasm of a new nation. Their President—Wilson the Just as he has been called by the Vice-Rector of the Sorbonne—appears for the moment as a hero of the day. It was the intervention of America at the instance of the great President that gave a decided turn to the course of events in the theatre

of the war, and this is being fully recognised by the nations of Europe by doing honour to him wherever he goes. The idea of the League of Nations is peculiarly associated with him, and it will be the highest memorial to his statesmanship, when it becomes an accomplished fact.

THE trial of the ex-Kaiser and its preliminary, his extradition—is exercising the wits of international lawyers in Europe. On the one hand, their desire to try the Kaiser before an International Tribunal as the cause of all the misery and bloodshed caused by the war is intelligible; but on the other, there is the right of asylum extended to political culprits for which none fought harder than Great Britain. In fact, when democratic revolutions and popular outbreaks was the rule, many a martyr had a place of honourable retirement in England. By a strange turn of events an ex-emperor is seeking an asylum in a small state, and however strong our sympathy may be with the desire to bring the Kaiser to trial, any attempt to bring pressure to bear upon Holland to surrender him, cannot but be regarded as going against the spirit of the principles for which the Allies have been fighting.

THE memorandum presented by Sir S. P. Sinha to the Imperial War Conference in July last has been published. It would appear from it that a draft Bill has been prepared with a view to giving effect to the resolution of reciprocity adopted by the conferences, as regards future emigration. But the far more important and practical question is the removal of the many and serious difficulties in the way of the Indians who are already settled in the Dominions. On this question, this year's memorandum is much fuller and more outspoken than that of the last year. The disabilities of the South African Indians, as regards trading licenses, municipal franchise, railway regulations, etc. have been set out at length, and though Mr. Burton, the spokesman of the South African Government, remarked that "perhaps the complaints had been somewhat exaggerated," Indians know that the representations embodied in the memorandum are perfectly just. The remedies again that have been proposed are very modest. In the matter of trading licenses, it has been suggested that in all cases of refusal, a right of appeal should be given to the courts on questions of facts, which is not the case at present. An abrogation

of the prohibition against Indians owning landed property is required; and it is demanded that the policy of social segregation on the railways, which has now been extended from the Transvaal to the whole of the Union, be abandoned. None of these are extravagant demands, when we consider that are objective is, in the words of Mr. Montagu, that "Indians throughout the Empire will have all the rights and privileges of British citizens."

AT a meeting of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee the question of appointing Mr. S. R. Bomanji as a delegate to the Congress again came up. A dawning sense of fairness was seen there, as after speeches by Messrs. Patel, Jayakar, R. P. Paranjpye, N. M. Joshi and D. G. Dalvi, he was after all appointed a delegate. An attempt was made by Messrs. Venkat Ram and Jamnadas Dwarkadas to oppose this, because Mr. Bomanji has made allegations in the press about the personality of Mr. Jinnah. It was pointed out that the personality of Mr. Jinnah has nothing to do with the qualification for a delegate, and if everybody who has at any time attacked a Congress leader is to be disqualified, men like Mr. Motilal Ghosh will be some of the first to be kept out. Mr. Jayakar, while pouring abuse on Mr. Bomanji, pointed out that the cause alleged was not sufficient to disqualify Mr. Bomanji and the Committee would be doing wrong to refuse such elemental privileges to Congressmen. The opponents saw that opinion was heavily against them and the proposition passed with Mr. Venkat Ram as the solitary opponent. At the same meeting the members of the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the Provincial Committee were elected. These elections went according to the ticket and not a single moderate was elected. Still the extremists advocate unity—when it suits their purpose!

THE Jinnah-Bomanji controversy grows apace. In an interview Mr. Bomanji had made two charges against Mr. Jinnah, one that he palmed off as his own at the Ahmedabad Provincial Conference Mr. Gokhale's scheme for a political advance, and the other that while he was acting as the President of the Home Rule League an attempt was made to secure his appointment to the Bombay Executive Council in succession to Sir M. B. Chaubal, and Mr. Bomanji concluded that Mr. Jinnah's opposition to Lord Willingdon was due to this personal disappointment. The second charge was repudiated by Mr. Jinnah though, when he announced that he was not a *candidate* for the post, the word might perhaps carry a legal and technical meaning and the fact of the attempt might still have some foundation. As apparently legal proceedings are being talked of in connection with this matter, we may hear more about it later on.

THE other charge is more serious. Here is a man charged with plagiarism; he sits quiet over this charge for over a year; and when it is again

brought to notice he claims that the scheme of Mr. Gokhale was really hatched in consultation with Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Bomanji in a second letter gives a pointed and connected history of the scheme which H. H. the Aga Khan published as Mr. Gokhale's last will and testament. The formulation of the scheme according to Mr. Bomanji's statement—in which we from our own knowledge substantially agree—took place during the last month or two of Mr. Gokhale's life. Mr. Bomanji called upon Mr. Jinnah to produce the notes which he says he took of his conversations with Mr. Gokhale, but no reply has been given to this query; nor have the notes been produced by him. Mr. Jinnah is silent about this in his second letter to the Press, in which he says that Mr. Gokhale's Scheme was seen by several persons and was not so confidential as Mr. Bomanji tries to make out. Whatever that may be, the main fact remains that at the Ahmedabad Conference he palmed off as his own a scheme which was really Mr. Gokhale's. Mr. Jinnah in this letter now appears to have shifted his old ground that Mr. Gokhale had consulted him in the formulation of the scheme and that in reality the scheme was a joint Gokhale-Jinnah scheme. The charge Mr. Bomanji makes, is indeed very serious and ought to detract considerably from the reputation of a man in public life in any country in which there is a high moral tone in politics. For the sake of the tone of public life and also for the sake of his own reputation Mr. Jinnah is bound in honour to refute this charge of plagiarism from a dead leader, and he ought to clear himself in a court of law from the character of a "political imposter" which Mr. Bomanji does not scruple to lay on him.

THE opposition to the excess profits tax is steadily gathering greater strength. When Sir James Meston was recently in Bombay, the Committee of the local Indian Chamber of Commerce urged him to drop the bill in view of the improved financial situation and the detrimental effect the measure was calculated to produce upon industry and trade. In our opinion, the decision of this question should be made to depend upon two considerations: If the Finance Member can meet his obligations with the existing resources at his disposal, he need not press the point of a new tax. But if he is not in a position to do so, he must obtain additional resources. These will be rendered necessary by the liability India has assumed with regard to the cost of the war, and the burden of any taxation that may have to be imposed for the purpose, must be made to fall upon those who have earned profits during the war. Sir William Meyer had given the assurance that the new burden of military expenditure would be regulated by the duration of the war, he had also promised that it would be made to fall upon those wealthy people who had benefited by it. Assuming that fresh taxation is unavoidable, we could not see how there is an escape from the excess

profits tax. The Finance Member will, of course, have to estimate how much he will require and how much he will not be able to obtain from the proposed tax. We must strongly object to any impost that may fall upon the mass of the people who deserve greater sympathy than big manufacturers and merchants.

\* \* \*

IN his reply to the Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Sir James Meston promised to consider several valuable suggestions, which had been made to him in connection with the details of the excess profits tax bill. As regards the tax itself, he asked the Chamber if it had any substitute to propose. A loan was suggested, but that means only transferring the burden, in an indirect way, to the ordinary tax-payer. The existing scale of taxation is already heavy enough and some of it which affects the living of the poorer and the middle classes will have to be remitted in the near future. The alternative methods of raising more revenue, for instance, increasing the rate of the income-tax, enhanced import duties and the like, will be unjust to the bulk of the people whose voice will not reach the Government and will be drowned in the clamours of the few wealthy who wish to escape additional burdens. No sensible person would like to see Indian industries crippled by a new tax, but no one will be impressed by the plea urged against the excess profits tax when the alternative to it is the imposition of an additional burden upon the ordinary tax-payers. We are not enamoured of the excess profits tax and should be glad to know that existing sources of revenue would suffice for the needs of the exchequer. We should also like to be furnished with more information than has been vouchsafed to the public as regards the financial position and prospects of Government. But after everything is said and done, if a new tax must come, excess profits earned during war-time cannot be allowed to escape.

\* \* \*

A PITEOUS wail comes from a distant part of India. It appears that, in Cranganore a taluq of Cochin State, orthodox Hinduism displays itself in crude forms. Distance pollution is still the rule. Public schools are closed to the children of the depressed classes, the use of public roads is denied to them, they may not enter even some of the bazaars! The poor creatures do not obtain any redress for their grievances from the authorities. This is an intolerable state of things and the sooner it is ended the better for all concerned. We cannot talk of social and political advance and allow such dark spots to remain in our social structure. We extend our fullest sympathy to the Sahodara Sangham of Cranganore in its efforts to secure justice to these social outcasts.

\* \* \*

AT a time when everywhere the old order is changing and yielding place to the new, it is but natural that the question of the constitutional

reforms should be engaging the attention of the public of Ceylon. While moving a resolution on this subject in the Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. P. Ramanathan did well to speak at length on the defects of the present system, and showed how, among other things, the manner of selecting unofficial members, the practice of nomination, the habit of official information being refused to the members, have rendered the Council incapable of inspiring public confidence. We are surprised to learn that the President, Sir W. Manning had not a word to say in reply. Anyhow, we trust that when the representation of non-official members reaches His Excellency, he will give due consideration to what all the representatives of the people have to say in the matter.

\* \* \*

WRITING on Lord Midleton's motion, the London correspondent of the *Hindu* says, "The vote on the Midleton motion must be regarded as a sort of first reading division. As I have said, the figures do not encourage us to expect an easy passage for reforms. When the Lords come to vote on the concrete proposals the opposition of the irreconcilable extremists among them may be expected to harden, and this will be all the more marked if the democratic forces are weak in the next House of Commons. Mr. Montagu will want all the support he can secure from other quarters, and that is why we are so anxious to get the principle of the scheme accepted. Once that is done we can hammer out the details to a shape that will approximate to Indian ideas, and if this cannot be achieved all at once the full results can be obtained by subsequent stages, the measure of which will be increasingly determined by the people of India themselves."

\* \* \*

A tentative scheme for the creation of an independent department of public health by combining the present sanitary and bacteriological departments was suggested for discussion at the Sanitary Conference. After a succession of waves of virulent epidemics, like influenza, plague, and cholera, nobody can deny that the fittest psychological moment has certainly arrived for making a great advance in scientific medical research in India. The reorganisation of research and public health on broad lines is indeed a problem of reconstruction, and it is expected that one of the first items in the practical programme of the new Government in England will be the establishment of a Ministry of Health. In the report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, the subject "Medical and sanitary" is placed not only in the list of provincial subjects, but in the list of transferred subjects as well. If these recommendations in the Report are to be given effect to, we think, that the system of provincial organisation on independent lines must be maintained. - The suggested constitution of a Central Health Board will certainly ensure greater co-ordination and harmony in the working of the Sanitary department.

### THE REFORM SCHEME FOR BURMA.

ONE could tell without knowing it that the scheme of political reforms for Burma prepared by Sir Reginald Craddock is the product of a bureaucratic mind. Its outstanding characteristic is a patronising attitude and an intolerance of everything that might look like collegueship. Sir Reginald refers to the acceptance by the Burmans of the existing administration and 'their confidence and trust in the guidance of British officers.' We wish that in the year of grace 1920, Sir Reginald had exercised at least to a certain extent the virtue of self-restraint, and realising his position as the responsible head of a provincial administration, had not aggressively put forward such views. We would ask Sir Reginald who are the people in India that do not accept the existing administration. If that administration is capable of improvement, even according to Sir Reginald himself, in a backward province like Burma, it is much more so in India. As regards the guidance of British officers, within certain limits people are ready to accept it, and if there is any unwillingness to do so, it is because this guidance is forced upon them and too much is made of it. In the same manner, the absence of a provision in the scheme for an Executive Council shows predilection of an official for uncontrolled power. When all the important provinces in India are to be given a council form of Government, one should have thought on this point there would be no need for a differentiation between India and Burma. But Sir Reginald thought otherwise, and he has turned his back upon the idea of an Executive Council for Burma.

Being based upon the announcement of the Secretary of State of August 20, 1917, the scheme bears a good deal of resemblance to that proposed for India with this difference that almost on every point it is less progressive. While in India the reforms deal mainly with the machinery for general administration, in Burma they are given with the lowest point, the circle boards. These are said to be so completely official-ridden that any scheme worked on that basis is sure to be more of a bureaucratic arrangement than a popular one. From the telegraphic summary of the scheme available so far, it appears that direct election is to be the exception. This is in direct opposition to the principles laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford report that elections shall be direct, and the franchise shall be as wide as possible. The proportion of nominated members 22/75 is much more than what is generally proposed for India. In regard to resolutions, the procedure is to be almost identical. Ordinary resolutions are to be considered as recommendations only, while financial ones would be binding if carried by a two-thirds majority. It is also laid down that certificated measures shall become law unless opposed by a majority of two-thirds of the assembly. It has been claimed that the procedure of the

Grand Committee is "unnecessary for Burma as there are no grounds for misapprehension that the existing mutual trust and confidence between Government officers and the people of all classes will be demented in the future." This statement looks very innocent. But it is the innocence of a powerful man who is sure that his weak antagonist has his hands tied behind his back! In the Burma Council, as proposed to be constituted by the scheme, there would be 22 nominated members out of 75. For a two-thirds majority 50 members must vote against the Government. So that if only four elected members voted with the Government the defeat of a piece of certificated legislation would be an impossibility. Now it is clear from the constitution of the Legislative Council that a considerable number of Europeans would be returned by election. They may be expected to vote with the Government almost on any measure. Thus the certificated legislation of Government is safe in the Council as proposed to be constituted. We should make it clear that we are not unfair to the elected Europeans in making the above statement. The growing tendency of Europeans elected or nominated to vote with the Government has been noticed even by the Secretary of State and the Governor-General in their report.

As has been said above there is to be no Executive Council and so no members of the Executive Council. In the absence of the division into reserved and transferred heads, there can be no ministers as well. So the whole administration will centre in the L. G. who will be assisted by four Boards. They will have officials for their members, and their Presidents will be nominated by the Government generally from among the elected members. This arrangement appears to us to be eminently unsatisfactory, but we reserve further criticism until the detailed scheme becomes available. But the most retrograde and reactionary feature in the whole scheme is the attempt made to secure the separation of Burma from India and to make out that Burma has its own independent interests. We wish to enter a most emphatic protest against this proposal. We would oppose this on the ground of the injustice to India in this arrangement; and we would oppose this also in the interests of the Burmans themselves. From the time Burma was annexed, India has been meeting the deficit in the Burma budget, both for administration and development. It is only for a few years that Burma can be said to be paying its way. In these circumstances, it is unfair that whatever advantages can be derived by the developed resources of Burma should be denied to India. Besides, the Burmans themselves stand to lose by such a separation. The association of a backward province with advanced ones is calculated to secure its progress, to create a new life among the people, and to give a higher tone to its administration. Reactionary bureaucrats may, therefore, favour separation. But it would be a most unwise step to be taken by the Burmans

Re. 1, the increase of the invested portion of the Paper Currency Reserve from £ 9·3 million in 1914 to £ 41 million, and India's reliance on her own markets for capital borrowings, £ 46 million having been raised in this country in the four years ending 1917-18 against £ 5·9 similarly raised during the four years ending 1913-14. Sir William regretted that the provision for capital expenditure had substantially decreased, and there was a setback here instead of progress, and wished better luck to his successor, mentioning at the same time the investment of £ 20 million in British Treasury Bills made in view of the future demands on behalf of railways. The innovations of the postal section of the war loans and the cash certificates had proved a fruitful, and Government had succeeded in effectively getting into touch with the small investors who had lent to the State out of current savings and hoards as much as £ 10 million in three years through the Post Office.

There were three well-marked stages in the history of India's war finance. The first stage opened with a shock which the out-break of the conflict dealt to the currency and trade and public confidence in India. There were heavy withdrawals of postal savings banks deposits, and a panicky demand for encashment of currency notes and for sterling remittances to London. Sterling drafts to the extent of £ 8¾ million had to be sold between August 1914 and January 1915 to maintain the fixed gold value of the rupee and £ 14 million of temporary debt had to be increased. Then followed the second stage when public confidence was restored and the consolidation and conservation of Indian resources was undertaken. Additional taxation was not regarded as wise under the circumstances and retrenchment was resorted to in order to keep off from the London market. The third stage was reached when trade was revived owing to a large demand for Indian commodities for war purposes, and in the budget for 1916-17, additional taxation was imposed. The import tariff was revised save as regards piece goods, export duties were imposed on jute and tea, the salt duty was enhanced, and the income tax was enhanced and graduated. The temporary debt was, in the mean while, paid off and the London money market was not drawn upon. Indian finance now became more confident and bold and met all the demands which were made upon it by war conditions and the resolution to help the Empire at all costs, to the fullest extent. A special capital contribution of £ 100 million was made to His Majesty's Government towards the cost of the war, and to defray the charges due to the interest on this sum, additional taxation was imposed.

Since the out-break of the war the Imperial revenue receipts had increased by £ 22 million out of which £ 9½ million was due to additional taxation and £ 5¼ was contributed by railways. The Imperial expenditure had likewise increased and was £ 19 million higher than in 1913-14. Out of this £ 9 million was due to increased military charges and £ 6 to interest and sinking fund charges on the war contribution. To this must be added the new burden of the military charges undertaken which was estimated to amount to £ 8 million during 1918-19, but the calculations about which must have been disturbed by the sudden cessation of hostilities. In the course of the third stage of war finance, the Government of India was embarrassed chiefly by the large disbursements it was called upon to make on behalf of His Majesty's Government and the provision of funds needed for this purpose in this country. Apart from the

£ 100 million of the war contribution more than £ 100 million will soon have been transferred to London and invested there on behalf of the different reserves. India's financial assistance to the Empire meant higher taxation, prevalence of higher prices, the expansion of rupee and paper currency, the transfer of funds to London, increased public debt, curtailment of expenditure on public works and the retardation of reforms. Looking back upon the troubled waters over which he had voyaged, Sir William Meyer said:—"But I have done my best to serve India in these troublous times; and I think I can claim that her interests have not suffered at my hands; that the difficulties which beset us have been adequately met; that our financial structure has well withstood the storms which have beaten upon us; and that efforts have been successfully made to strengthen its walls and foundations."

One's sympathies would naturally go out to a Finance Minister whose lot was cast in times of the most intense anxiety and one would not like to quarrel with the account Sir William has given of his own stewardship. But we cannot help feeling the absence of a single allusion in his summary to the needs of India, moral and national progress, the aspirations of the people and their insistent demands in that behalf on the Finance Member. It was not his ambition to find means for financing schemes of reform, and there is no expression of regret that he had not been able to meet the wishes of the representatives of the people in the Vice-regal council. He had not a word to say about the impending constitutional reforms which would involve important changes in the financial machinery of India, nor had he any inspiring allusion to make to the banking currency and industrial developments in post-war times. This shows the wide gulf fixed between the official attitude on the problems of progress and the popular earnestness about it. The official is wrapped up in his routine and says 'this is enough for any time.' He does not look ahead and is content if his day to day work goes on smoothly. We do not wish to judge Sir William harshly and are prepared to set down his faults to the system under which he worked and of which he was the product. But then this means that he was not above the average and only displayed the qualities of an expert who does not look beyond his job. Sir William could have found the money that was required to keep up and even to accelerate progress of the country. He could have allowed the Provincial Governments to draw upon their balances and to spend them on their schemes of development. He could have made larger grants to them and supplied funds for other useful purposes. Additional taxation could have been imposed earlier and more could have been extracted from the huge war profits which were being made. Schemes of social and material development could have been formulated and a beginning could have been made with them. Sir William was certainly firm in carrying out the projects he had formed and the way in which he effectively met the opposition raised against his policy in connection with foreign exchange, currency and taxation, showed the toughness of the man convinced of the wisdom of his measures. If only this firmness and resourcefulness had been directed also to the initiation of reforms desired by the people and to the satisfaction of their natural and legitimate aspirations!

Sir James Meston has not a clean slate to write upon. When his predecessor entered upon his career of Finance Member, he complained only that he would have no surpluses to distribute as

liberal grants to the Provinces, and had no idea that the calamity of the war would soon overtake him. Happily, Sir James has to navigate in calm waters but his ship suffers from the effects of the storm through which it has emerged. Though peace is in sight, the war account will not yet be closed for a long time to come. On the conclusion of the armistice, recruiting was stopped and the additional military expenditure undertaken in September, will be materially reduced. But the process of demobilization will be slow and a return to normal conditions will take time. This is true of readjustment in every department and its progress will have to be carefully watched. Very soon after Sir James became Finance Member hostilities ceased and war finance assumed the aspect of the transitional period standing midway between war and peace. This period will still continue to show some of the features of war times and will slowly broaden and soften into a time of normal conditions. The restrictions upon trade and other matters necessitated by the war, will be steadily relaxed and removed and all emergency legislation and regulation must be reconsidered. Now that the war is over, people expect that there will remain nothing that will remind them of the struggle, and that life will be smooth sailing.

That this cannot take place is seen from the fact that the very first important question Sir James Meston had to tackle was that relating to taxation. The legacy of an excess profits tax was left to him by his predecessor along with that of additional military expenditure, and though the latter was reduced owing to the conclusion of the armistice, the need of the former did not apparently disappear. A chorus of disapproval has been set up all over the country by the mercantile and manufacturing classes of the Finance Member's resolution to proceed with the imposition of the excess profits tax, and the bill has been attacked as much on the ground of principle as on that of details. It is contended that it was a temporary war measure, and in any case, as its proceeds were not necessary for the current year, the war having ceased, no case can be made out for the imposition of the new tax. Those who will be subjected to the impost, have suffered and will suffer heavy losses on account of the sudden cessation of hostilities and the consequent collapse of prices and if an attempt is made to extract money from them, it will have a seriously detrimental effect upon the industries and trade of the country precisely at a time when these ought to receive every encouragement and assistance from Government. The measure, if proceeded with, it is said, will likewise affect the success of the loan which Government will have to raise in this country and that, therefore, the game will not be worth the candle. There is some force in these arguments as Sir James Meston himself has admitted, but their importance is only relative.

The crucial question is, can the Finance Member do without the new tax? Has he resources enough to enable him to tide over the difficulties that will still surround him in the near future? If the answer to this question is in the affirmative, excess profits tax is not to be imposed for the fun of the thing. But if the resources of Government are likely to be strained, the military charges are going to be heavy, and the capital and current requirements of the treasury cannot be satisfactorily met with existing resources, there will be no alternative to the excess profits tax. The impost should have been levied long

before this and the Finance Member should have made hay while the sun was shining. And he cannot give it up unless there is a suitable alternative. Famine will cause distress to the mass of the people over a large part of the country, and the armistice has not brought to them favourable economic conditions with it. It will be unjust to impose any tax which will directly or indirectly fall upon the common consumer who has already suffered a great deal, and the revenues of the State will be reduced by the prevalence of famine. The alternative of a big loan has been suggested, but it will only help the wealthy who have reaped huge profits during the war to escape and place a comparatively heavy burden upon the shoulders of the poor taxpayer. The landed and commercial interests in the country are vocal and powerful. Even the strength of Sir William Meyer quailed before the opposition of the landlords and their friends, when it was proposed by him to take their agricultural incomes into account in determining the rate at which they should be taxed with respect to their non-agricultural income. The same fate seems to threaten the excess profits tax, and Sir James Meston will require all his strength and firmness in deciding the course to be taken.

A famine and a legacy of liabilities left to him by the years of war confront the Finance Member at the very beginning of his career, and we hope he will not shrink from taking whatever measures are necessary for the initiation of the work of economic and social reconstruction that lies ahead, in the face of the opposition that may be offered from different quarters. He has already relaxed the vigour of the control exercised by the Government of India upon the expenditure of the Provincial Governments, and the latter have been given freedom to draw upon their balances according to their immediate needs. It is difficult to say if it will be possible to remit any large amount of the additional taxation imposed during the last three years. But there is no doubt that some of the imposts e. g. the enhanced salt duty and the surcharge on railway rates will have to go. Commercial and manufacturing interests will also press for the remission and abolition of other imposts, and here an attitude of firmness will become necessary. Sir James will have to make a decent provision for capital on public works and for the rapid promotion of economic and social reforms. He will have to tackle the problem of exchange and take steps to restore it to normal conditions, but it will depend upon the price of silver and the course of trade. Then there is the question of the large funds which have been transferred to London and which will have to be brought back to this country as opportunities offer. The paper and rupee currency which has enormously expanded will have to be gradually contracted, and the readjustment must be cautiously but effectively made. Steps must be taken to pay off the short term debts in the course of the next few years, and the question of a State Bank must be immediately solved. The constitutional reforms will mean an overhauling of the whole financial machinery of Government, and full advantage must be taken of that opportunity to make India's financial policy up to date and progressive. We have every hope that Sir James Meston will rise to the height of the occasion and make the best use of the splendid opportunities that will open before him. In one sense, his task will be more difficult than that of his predecessor, but if he achieves success in the work of reconstruction that has fallen to his lot, his tenure of office will

in their own interest as it means continued stagnation and official domination.

### THE RIGHT OF PUBLIC MEETING.

THE town hall meeting in Bombay has been discussed *ad nauseam* in the papers, and we have already expressed our opinion that reasonable opponents of the memorial movement should have held a counter meeting elsewhere and let the people to judge of the relative strength of the requisitionists and anti-requisitionists. But the latter had some formal excuse, at any rate, for the requisitionists professed to speak in the name of the citizens of Bombay. We are much inclined to think that this was a mere excuse, for the representatives of the same party followed methods in Poona last week which left not a shadow of an excuse for them. One of the prominent followers of these methods was an orator of Shantaram's Chawl; for though Mr. S. M. Paranjpe was not present there at first himself, he was at hand in the neighbourhood ready to preside at an opposition meeting in the same place.

The public meeting was called to express support for Mr. Patel's Bill. It was signed by about forty gentlemen of weight in Poona, and it was distinctly stated that it was a meeting of the supporters only. But long before the scheduled time the theatre was occupied by the opponents of the measure who, supported by a large number of boys, had evidently been organised to turn the meeting into a fiasco by shouting and hooting every supporter and making the proceedings impossible. It appeared that the opponents of the bill were not in a decided majority but were numerous enough to cause mischief. After the first meeting had been dissolved, the other party wanted to hold another meeting there, but this was found impossible and that party adjourned to the head-quarters of the Deccan extremists, the *Kesari* office. At that time it was seen that it is the easiest thing in the world to break up meetings. Some of the persons who were in favour of the bill being exasperated at what had happened in the Kirloskar Theatre went to this improvised meeting and followed the same tactics and made that meeting impossible also. Thus the lion of orthodoxy was bearded in his own den in the person of Messrs. Paranjpe, Gadre and others, and had to take shelter in cowardly flight.

In this manner though the lesson has been bitter and almost instantaneous, we all the same think that the tone that these incidents have given to public life in Bombay and Poona is altogether unhealthy. No self-respecting man would be able to take part in any public movement if such things are to go on. Mr. N. C. Kelkar who generally goes with the extremists was on this occasion with the reformers, and he came in for special attention from *antis* as he was considered a renegade in their camp. The extremist party who have captured the Congress organisation are never tired of

talking of self-determination, liberty, freedom, right of free speech and such other high-sounding words. In a resolution at the last Special Congress they passed a theatrical declaration of rights in which the right of public meeting was insisted upon. Apparently, in the opinion of these Poona extremists, this right is to be enjoyed by themselves and is to be denied to their opponents. One can very well picture the kind of repressive measures that the Cantonal Government of Poona presided over by the leaders of the reactionary party, under a Home Rule regime will enact. Nobody is to grow hair, no English School is to be allowed to exist, no newspaper but the *Kesari*—or will it be a more violent edition of the same, like the old *Kal*?—is to be allowed to circulate. Of course, we do not expect anything of this kind to happen as these people will not get the power in their hands. But it shows their mentality. The home rule which they are thinking of is the Peshwa rule again resuscitated. We have no hesitation in saying that we do not mean anything of the kind when we talk of self-government or home rule. If that is the meaning in the heart of hearts of these extremist leaders, well, we had better not have home rule and we are better as we are.

As we have said we do not expect power to go into the hands of these revivers of old *Peshwai*. For the lesson of the 20th December can be read in another way also. The backward classes who form the vast majority of the population of India are getting awake. They have begun to see that the so-called home-rule extremists are not their friends but that they are a set of selfish, bigoted revivalists of the old days of priestcraft. These men talk of self-determination with a lie in their throat. They are not prepared to grant self-determination to their own backward countrymen while claiming it for themselves as against Englishmen. The far-seeing leaders of the backward classes now see that their friends are really the so-called moderates who want progress all along the line. The men who now masquerade under the name of democrats are nothing but the most reactionary coterie of autocrats to whom it would be dangerous to trust with the smallest shred of power.

We appeal to these orthodox extremists to mend their ways. The plan of breaking up meetings can be worked by both sides. Let them realise that the vast majority is against them, that the very principles of liberty and justice which are ever on their lips are really their own condemnation. Otherwise they will have perpetually to eat of the same fruits of which they had a taste on the 20th December in the Gaekwar Wada. The attitude our people take on Mr. Patel's bill is really a test of our fitness or unfitness for self-determination or home rule. Other nations before whom we lay our case will see, and will rightly see, how we are likely to foster individual liberty, whether India, the land of great religious thought but also the land of much greater superstitious practice

and religious bigotry, is likely to conform to the accepted principles of justice and freedom. An ounce of practice is worth more than a ton of theory, and our whole future progress depends on the way in which we conduct ourselves in this matter. In spite of any amount of tall talk to the contrary Mr. Patels' bill is a mere permissive bill which does not interfere with the liberty of anybody else. Unless a nation realises that in a free country such legislation ought to pass without opposition and as a matter of course, that nation is not fit for complete freedom.

## POETRY.

### OUTCASTES.

Here in the mire and slime,  
 Despised and rejected of men,  
 India, see thou thy sons,  
 These that were born of thy womb,  
 Nurtured with milk of thy breast,  
 These lie accursed and forlorn,  
 Disowned of their brethren, bereft  
 Of birthright, of manhood, of hope.  
 Lower than beasts are they sunk,  
 Driven in shame from thy door,  
 Fed with the husks of the swine.  
 Yet, land of the fire and ice,  
 Thou shalt not be saved without these—  
 These shall determine thy fate.  
 Sunk in the pit of despair,  
 Helpless, forsaken and foul,  
 If these that are flesh of thy flesh  
 Fester for ever and rot,  
 Poisoning deep at its root  
 All in thy life that is fair,  
 Godlike, and dowered of the dawn,—  
 Then shall that dawn be a dream,  
 Fade and be lost in a night  
 Darker than drowned thee before :  
 Then shall thy beauty and grace,  
 Thy future of freedom and hope,  
 Waste and decay and be foul  
 Tainting the world with its stench ;  
 Even as these thy own sons  
 Are wasted and marred in thy midst  
 Tainting with death all thy life.

J. H.

## INDIA'S WAR FINANCE AND PEACE TIME PROBLEMS.

### VI.

#### RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT.

THOUGH hostilities have now happily ceased and a definite and final peace is not very distant, the effect of war conditions will continue to be felt for a long time to come. The process of demobilization, restoration and recuperation will be slow and the financial burdens of the war, though materially reduced in dimensions, will still be large. We have brought the history of India's war finance down to the conclusion of the armistice

and before discussing immediate prospects, we shall briefly review the situation as it developed from stage to stage, and indicate its salient features. Sir William Meyer himself took such a retrospect at the close of his speech made in presenting his last financial statement and gave a short summary of the events which had marked his term of office. It will be convenient to follow him through his review so as to notice what the Finance Member considered as his contribution to the country's progress. As we remarked in the first article of this series, Sir William proved himself to be a skilful mechanic who manipulated the machinery in his charge with resourcefulness when it threatened to break down under the strain of war conditions. But he failed to display any originality of conception and courage and resolution in carrying out new projects. All national reform requires financing, but Sir William's machinery of finance was not worked so as to promote schemes of progress. He kept it going in war time—and for that he deserves to be complimented—but that is all that can be said in praise of his financial administration.

The art of the finance minister is three-fold. First, he must be able to supply funds required for the efficient discharge of the functions of the Government of which he is a member; second, that he must raise these funds from the most productive sources of revenue in the most equitable manner; and third, he must strengthen and temper his tools in such a way that they will do their work effectively. Sir William started on his career with the hope of being able, before he laid down office, to solve three problems. The first of these problems arose out of the periodical monetary stringency which characterised the busy trade season in India, and it was to be solved by the policy of Government making loans out of its balances to the Presidency Banks during the busy months. The second object in view was the expansion of the note circulation, and the third, was the prosecution of a vigorous programme of capital expenditure on railways and irrigation and the consequent indispensable condition of a courageous policy of extensive borrowing in this country. Without minimising the importance of these reforms, we may point to the total absence in this programme, of even a reference to the need of finding funds for expenditure on educational, economic, and social advancement of the people. Nor is the Finance Member anxious to improve this system of taxation so as to make it more productive and equitable. He has his heart set only upon what, after all, is a subordinate part of his art. Sir William should have known that the leaders of the people had been clamouring for funds to finance schemes of educational expansion and economic and social reform, and that he was expected to attempt to devise suitable means for securing this all-important object. The want of funds had frequently been pleaded in justification of the slowness of progress. And yet while solicitude is shown for a vigorous railway programme, a courageous policy in favour of finance for social and economic advancement finds no place among the aims placed before himself by Sir William Meyer.

Among the achievements of the Finance Member are mentioned the success of the measures taken to relieve monetary stringency by a more liberal utilization of state funds with the co-operation of Presidency Banks, the satisfactory public response in the matter of the war loans, the expansion of paper currency, the gross circulation of which had risen on 1st February, 1918 to £70 million, the issue of small notes of Rs. 2½ and



mark an important stage in the history of this country. We wish Sir James godspeed.

V. G. KALE.

### A SUCCESSFUL ADMINISTRATION.

SIR M. Viswesvaraiya laid down the office of the Dewan of Mysore on the 10th instant. Though the fact of his retirement has not been officially announced, no one who carefully studies his address on the last occasion, will doubt the reality of it. So, we do not like to let go this opportunity without paying our humble tribute of admiration for all that he accomplished during the period of his stewardship. In judging of a man's work, we believe we should always take into account rather what he has done than what he *ought* to have done. Judging with that standard, Sir Viswesvaraiya's achievements are so many and so important that even the worst critic of his administration cannot but have a word of unstinted praise to offer. That he always had high ideals before him and endeavoured to live up to them to the best of his ability, will be clear to all who have watched with eager eyes the wonderful progress that Mysore has made in all directions during his tenure of office.

Efficiency was the key-note of his administration, and to achieve it he spared no pains. Re-organisation of services was the outcome of his desire to bring about administrative efficiency. He was also never tired of insisting on the necessity of the 'efficiency of the people,' which alone he felt would be helpful to the Government in carrying out its forward policy. Towards that end, every desirable reform was effected. To stimulate interest in the people for a more active participation in the civic and industrial life of the country by providing all facilities for their education and by developing 'the life and capacity' of the people, 'by encouraging in them self-help, power of initiative, courage to change, courage to create new things, spirit of co-operation and capacity for organization', was the ideal he undertook to attain. The task was by no means ordinary, and the achievement, though not complete, has been well nigh brought into the orbit of practical realisation.

We shall notice briefly the efforts he made in the direction just now indicated. An event of outstanding importance which will ever be associated with his administration is the well-known Mysore treaty which, in the words of Lord Hardinge, placed the relations between the Mysore State and the British Government 'on a footing more in consonance with your Highness' actual position among the Feudatory Chiefs in India.' The reforms in the Legislative Council, which included the grant of the privileges of interpellation and discussion of the budget, are quite in accordance with the general tenor of his administration. As the work of administration increased, the desire to associate the representatives of His Highness' subjects 'in the Councils of Administration and bring their influence to bear, for all good ends, on the policy and activities of the Government,' found ample recognition when large powers were given to the Council and the Assembly, and half-yearly session of the latter was instituted. The franchise of the Representative assembly has been widened and simplified.

The progress made in the domain of local self-government has been remarkable. The Village Improvement Scheme, which has conferred great benefits on the rural population, has not only been instrumental in spreading enlightenment and stimulating co-operative action, but has

also revived village autonomy, fully conscious that the apathy of the non-official members of the local bodies was due to various defects in the scheme, considerable increase in their functions and powers was made. The Mysore Local Boards and Village Panchayats Bills were placed on the statute book. Believing as he did that wide extension of education was essential for promoting the 'efficiency of the people', he pursued liberal educational policy which has greatly benefited the subjects of His Highness. Despite obstacles, the progress of education has been substantial. The creation of the University of Mysore is the crowning act of his educational policy. The public is aware how indefatigably he worked for its completion undaunted by adverse influences. The Malnad scheme is being successfully pushed through in spite of insurmountable difficulties, for the benefit of a few lakhs of population, suffering under adverse conditions. The Economic Conference which has been made permanent, and whose activities are under the control of a semi-official organisation has become an important factor in the promotion of the material and moral progress of the people of Mysore. Taluka and District Conferences have become the order of the day. The growth of communications, which is clearly seen in the extension of two hundred miles of new railways, has brought the people in the interior into closer contact with more civilised people to enable them to profit by their example. The increase in the production of existing industries and the starting of new ones, the project of Kannabadi Reservoir and the construction of other major and minor productive works, the more utilisation of water-power, spread of knowledge of improved methods of cultivation, the starting of the sandal wood oil factory, the Bhatkal project, the Iron scheme, are a few of the many important schemes in which he was greatly interested and for the completion of some and furtherance of others, he strenuously laboured. Reform in the excise policy of the State, and the trial of the system of separation of executive and judicial functions in certain areas,—reforms for which people in British India have been clamouring for more than a generation—have been undertaken in a liberal spirit. It is not possible to say what all remains to be said within the small compass of an article.

Speaking in October last, Sir Viswesvaraiya laid down three or four well-defined standards he had in view, which he wanted to achieve at an early date. They relate to the doubling of agricultural produce of the school-going population, and the increasing of persons engaged in industries and trade to 25 per cent. of the population. These are ideals great in themselves. We feel sorry that Mysore could not retain the services of such an enlightened Dewan for some time more till all the schemes on hand were complete. Six years is after all not a great period in the life of a people. But in that period, Sir Viswesvaraiya did for Mysore what is quite unsurpassed in the administration of any other State till now. He incessantly worked for the economic, social and civic progress of the people committed to his charge. Sir Viswesvaraiya has rendered to Mysore and to India inestimable services in labouring hard to raise the efficiency of the people. He was always animated by a high sense of duty and lofty patriotism. For all that he has done, he has won the deep and abiding love of millions of his countrymen. It is said of a British statesman that he so identified himself with the interests of the people, that he was ever proud to say 'I am the people.' Really

Sir Viswesvaraiya, though an official, was a people's man. He completely identified himself with all that concerned the people of Mysore. Whenever Indians are taunted by Anglo-Indians on their incapacity to protect the interests of the mass of the population, we can always point out with legitimate pride to the splendid work of Indian administrators like Sir Viswesvaraiya in refutation of that baseless charge.

R. S. R.

## A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

LONDON, NOVEMBER 11.

### THE ARMISTICE AND AFTER.

I AM writing to-day at noon. The air is vibrant with feeling. The streets are filled with cheering shouting crowds; bells have been ringing; flags flying; guns firing; civilians, soldiers, sailors and airmen British and Allied, men and women, are thronging the streets, trying to express the joy that is in them. For less than two hours ago, the Prime Minister stated that the Armistice bringing the war to an end was signed at 5 o'clock to-day and that hostilities would cease at 11 a.m. The last shot of the war was, therefore fired an hour ago. So has the world's night-mare ended. The ex-Kaiser is in flight and an exile. As Mr. Lloyd George said at the Guildhall Banquet on Saturday night, "The leaves of autumn are falling; but these were not alone. Empires and kingdoms and kings and crowns were falling like withered leaves before a gale." It was a remarkable week. Revolution is wide-spread throughout Germany. Dynasties have fallen like rotten fruit. The whole bureaucratic, militarist system of Germany has decayed from within and has been destroyed from without. By one of those marvellous coincidences that history sometimes gives, the ruin and defeat of the German Empire have been consummated by America, at Sedan, where it took its origin with the capitulation of the last of the Napoleons, and the British Army, which, as a fragment of the 'old contemptibles' a little over four years ago commenced the historic retreat from Mons, which saved Europe, is back again in overwhelming vigour and numbers at the same place, as the war is brought to a dreadful but victorious close. Dynastic ambitions, Imperial blasphemies, militarist triumphs are all cast upon the muck-heap of an outworn age. Once more Europe is taking a deep breath of invigorating air, is standing erect and gazing fearlessly into a future bright with hope. Who shall say how the new Europe will be born? That its travail will be painful and difficult, none can deny. Russia is still in the throes of a re-birth. Germany and Austria are in dissolution. Turkey is no more. The Balkan States are reconstructing their fate. New States are appearing in in what was once the Austrian Empire. How Germany will crystallise out has yet to be seen. To-day it is a matter of republicanism. No one knows whether order or Bolshevism will emerge. If the latter, whether and if so, how soon, it will sweep throughout the Continent. He would be a bold man, who would prophesy the events of the next few months.

### INDIA AND THE PRIME MINISTER.

Already on Saturday, when the Lord Mayor's show, a military spectacle two miles long, passed through the centre of London, a holiday feeling was in the air. For people knew that the end of the war was at hand and the Prime Minister, at the

Lord Mayor's banquet, gave the world to understand that it could be a question of only a few hours at most, for Germany was already faced with irreparable disaster, military, economic and social. To-day though nominally we speak of an armistice, we believe in peace, and a holiday atmosphere again prevails. No one feels like work. I hear that in the City, offices and institutions are closing. This afternoon in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister will read the conditions of the armistice, which are known to be stringent. But after all that the world has suffered, who can say that they will be too stringent, if justice is to be assured? And now come the preparations for peace. You must have already had by telegram the Prime Minister's assurance of India's representation with the Dominions at the Peace Conference, and that the interests of "the great Empire of India, which has helped us materially to win those brilliant victories, which were the beginning of the disintegration of our foes..... must not be forgotten, when the Peace Conference is reached." It has since been stated that Sir S. P. Sinha has consented to return here to represent the Government of India once more in the Imperial War Cabinet. India has many interests to be consulted in the matter of the conditions of peace, and already it is evident that the Indians of East Africa are anxious that the late German colony shall not revert to Germany, but shall fall to be administered by the Government of India. If, as in all likelihood will be the case, South-west Africa comes under the political control of the Union in South Africa, it should be made a condition of India's consent that Indians, at any rate from South Africa, should be free to enter and reside on exactly equal terms with Europeans. Another white preserve like the Orange Free State ought not to be tolerated.

### THE GENERAL ELECTION.

The Prime Minister has announced that he has advised the King to dissolve the Present Parliament on the 25th inst. The election will take place on Dec. 14, and before the end of the month, when votes are finally counted, the constitution of the new Government should be known. A sweeping victory of the Coalition Government is anticipated, but there is strong resentment in influential Labour circles that practically no time is given to enable candidates to make their appeal to the men at the front. In any event, official Labour has withdrawn from the Coalition and together with a small Radical element will form His Majesty's Opposition. I was present at a conversation between two eminent members of Parliament a few days ago, and they agreed that the largest single party would be the Unionists, who would come back about three hundred strong. The Liberals would be divided into Asquithians and Lloyd-Georgians almost equally. The majority of the Asquithians would informally support the Coalition. There would probably be about a 120 in each group. It was not expected that Labour would return more than about 80 members. The Labour itself sets its expectations higher. The fact is nobody knows how the soldiers will vote or what the women will do. It looks as though the Irish party will be practically wiped out of existence by Sinn Fein. Ulster stands where she did, or, rather, she wishes definitely to regard herself as part of England.

### PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION.

How heavy the work of reconstruction will be in the immediate future can be gathered from the following heads set out by a special Commis-

sioner of the *Daily Chronicle*:—Demobilisation, provision for the housing of the demobilised, position of women, commercial policy as between different parts of the Empire and towards the Allies and the world in general, supply of raw material, mineral resources of the Empire, conservation of coal, maintenance of new and especially "key" industries, supplies of oils and fats, agricultural policy, shipping policy, and relations of employer and employed. Our ordinary revenue as a State has been swollen from £ 200 million to £640 million, and besides the ordinary work of internal reconstruction the whole of Europe has to be reconstituted, including the feeding of Germany. The report of the Working Classes Cost of Living Committee which has just been issued, is a very interesting document. It shows that while the expenditure of a "standard" urban working class family has gone up by about 80 p. c., earnings have risen to an extent sufficient to enable people to obtain food equal in nutrition to that before the War and children are better fed and better clothed. One thing is certain, that wages can never fall to the pre-War level, which undoubtedly did not permit large classes of workers to live in anything like decency. Mr. Sidney Webb, in a lecture the other night, showed that the average pre-War weekly wage of an adult male in this country was 25 shillings and of an adult female 10/5. Such figures are a disgrace to our civilisation and Labour will not tolerate the vile economic conditions of the past. There is going to be a real revolution in British industrial and social conditions. If the rulers are wise, the revolution will be a peaceful one through the ballot-box, and it is in that direction that the Labour leaders are working. Anything that impedes that peaceful revolution will drive the people into the path of violence.

#### RIGHT ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE REFORM SCHEME

So far as India is concerned, the next Election is unlikely to make any material difference to the prospects of the Constitutional Reforms. No Indian reforms will pass save by consent, and extreme demands on either side will do no good, but rather harm. It is generally felt here that so far as possible every attempt should be made on your side to create a new unity on the basis of genuine acceptance of the spirit of the declaration of policy of Aug. 20, 1917, a frank acknowledgment of the general merits of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, and a determined and reasoned attempt to improve it in matters of "detail." Whilst people here are distrustful of bureaucratic methods, having especially suffered from them during the War, no one wishes to see in the difficult days to come a weak Central Government in India, and it will have to be shown very definitely how division of functions in the Central Government will go rather to strengthen than to weaken it, and also to improve the chances of success of devolution of power in the provinces. It is felt that it is not sufficiently understood on your side that the consensus of opinion among thoughtful constitutionalists here is in favour of a two-chamber legislature, or how difficult it will be, even with powers of vote and certification, for any Government in the future, whether Central or Provincial, to proceed in the face of general opposition in the councils. The Government of India and the provincial Governments will in future, like all other Governments, have to work in the lime-light and their actions will be constantly submitted to rigorous criticism and examination, both by you there and us here. You may be perfectly sure

that, with the growth of democratic influence here, administrative abuses in India are less and less likely to be tolerated, and at the same time public opinion here will be strengthened and informed in proportion as sane public opinion on your side is generated and practical political experience gained.

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

##### THE KESARI ON MR. PATEL'S BILL.

SIR,—Mr. Tilak's paper, the *Kesari*, sets up for a champion of the orthodox people in opposing Mr. Patel's Hindu Inter-caste Marriage Bill and endeavours to set the current of popular feeling against it by representing that the limitations of *gotra* and *pravara* will be universally violated if the bill is allowed to become law.

1. In the first place it should be noted that Mr. Patel's bill does not seek to amend the prevailing law as to *gotra*; whatever restrictions in that regard be recognised in law at present will continue to be in force hereafter. So it is a sheer misrepresentation to say, as the *Kesari* does, that the present bill will pull down all barriers both of caste and *gotra*. The former, it no doubt completely undermines, but the latter it does not touch. Then what will happen to those, the *Kesari* asks, to those *S'udras* who once had *gotra* but have now lost? The same thing will happen to them under the bill as happens now. *Gotra* having become extinct for them, they will not be able to observe the restrictions in the future, as they are not at present. But it should be observed that no change will be effected in this existing situation by Mr. Patel's Bill. If we are to argue that inter-caste marriages should be forbidden because of the possibility of their taking place in the same *gotra*, we may as well maintain, as you have shown in your trenchant editorial notes, that marriages even within the same caste should be equally prohibited, for the possibility of *sa-gotra* marriages remains just the same among castes in which *gotra* has died out. But is the *Kesari* prepared to go to this length? The difficulty which orthodox people feel on account of the shastric prescriptions about *gotra* is certainly not enhanced by Mr. Patel's Bill.

2. The *Kesari* certainly goes beyond its depths when it seeks to find justification for the *gotra* limitation in medical laws. The prohibition of the Shastras against *sa-pinda* marriages is much more rational than that against *sa-gotra* and *sa-pravara* marriages, but in actual practice we find the former completely disregarded even in very near degrees of consanguinity, while the *Kesari* insists upon a literal observance of the latter. One may marry, according to the present custom, the daughter of one's maternal uncle, although the cousins have inherited the same parts of the body, according to the traditional view of the matter, from their grand-parents. Similarly one may marry one's sister's daughter, and the law allows it, but marriages between persons supposed to have sprung from the same common ancestor several thousand generations before are to be prohibited. If medicine forbids anything, it should forbid such consanguinous marriages, as described above; but you cannot certainly invoke medicine to prove that *sa-gotra* marriages should fall into the same category. As a matter of fact orthodoxy is more indulgent to what is positively harmful and unreasonably strict against what is perfectly innocuous from the rationalist point of view. Whatever one's opinion may be about marriages within the same *gotra*, the question does not at all arise in connexion with Mr. Patel's bill, as the latter does not interfere with the provisions of the existing law in regard to them. It is only a clever though disingenuous move on the part of the *Kesari* to discredit Mr. Patel's bill and those who lend their support to it.—Yours, etc.

J.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

BY  
**VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA, B. A.,**  
*Manager of the Bombay Central Co-operative Bank,*

AND  
**V. VENKATASUBBAIYA, B. A.,**  
*Member of the Servants of India Society.*  
Pages 191. Price Re. 1.

The Mysore University Magazine  
calls it "useful" and "creditable."

It says:—*The book is extremely well written, and is easy and interesting to read, and advocates well the principles which it wishes to bring home to the general public. . . . The history of the co-operative movement in European countries and India is carefully traced. The fulness of treatment which India receives is very satisfactory.*

*If it were issued at twice its present price, as it deserves to be, it would probably find an equally ready sale, and would certainly be more appreciated by those who desire to give it a permanent place among their books on the subject.*

THE ARYA BHUSHAN PRESS, POONA.

### Sanskrit Books for Sale.

Priyadarsika with Commentary, Notes and Trans. ...	1 0
Ratnavali with Commentary, Notes and Trans. ...	1 8
Naganandam with Commentary, Notes and Trans. ...	1 8
Mahaviracharitam with Com., Notes and Trans. ...	2 8
Mrichakatikam with Com. and Trans. ...	3 0

Apply to:—**L. V. RAMCHANDRA IYER,**  
*Publisher, MADRAS.*

### NEW BOOKS.

- Is India Civilized:**—Essays on Indian Culture by Sir John Woodroffe ... .. Re. 2-0  
**Indian Nationalism:**—Its principles and personalities. From the vivid pen of the great Indian orator of the day, *Babu Bepin Chandra Pal.* Re. 2-0  
**Dr. Sir S. Subramania Iyer:**—His Speeches and writings Re. 2-8

Apply to:—**M. Radha and Co., MADRAS.**

## GANDHI'S

### SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

By **Mr. C. F. ANDREWS**

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MR. GANDHI & ACCOUNT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN STRUGGLE

By **Mr. H. S. L. POLAK**

Second Edition, Revised, Enlarged, Up-to-date.

Many new speeches and English translations of Hindi & Guzerati speeches are included in this volume.

With numerous portraits, illustrations & cartoons.

Cloth Bound 500 pages. Indexed.

Price Rs. Three. To Subscribers of "I. R." Rs. 2-8.

### THE HON. PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA'S SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

A COMPREHENSIVE AND UP-TO-DATE COLLECTION

This contains also full text of his Delhi Congress Presidential Address.

Cloth bound. Price Rs. 3.

To Subscribers of "The Indian Review," Rs. 2-8.

(Ex.) **G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Madras.**

### "Swadeshi Shirt Buttons."

MADE OF WOOD: STUDS ONLY

Strong! Nice!! Durable White; tip coloured: 250 per rupee.  
Other colours; tip coloured: 400 per rupee.

**Maddala Subbarayadu & Sons,**

VIZAGAPATAM, (S. India.)

A few copies.

A literary Treasure  
Every page improves your knowledge and learning.

### GEMS OF WISDOM

Including Idiomatic Phrases, Witty and Pithy Anecdotes, Bits of Humour, living thoughts, choice thoughts in choice Language and Riddles.

COLLECTED AND SELECTED

BY

The Rev. Abednego David, W. M. S., compiler of the Treasury of illustrations. Neatly bound in full Calico Rs. 2 per copy. Postage extra. Highly spoken of by the leading Newspapers as the Hindu, New India etc., and also by the Principals of Colleges and Public speakers.

THE SHANMUGA VILAS BOOK DEPOT.,

G. T., MADRAS.

### Best Soap made in India.

This soap has an excellent perfume and can very well compete with any best article of the kind imported from foreign countries and besides it is very cheap. For further particulars send an half-anna postal stamp.

V. G. & Brothers,

564, Sadashive Peth, Poona City.

## JUST A WORD

or two to remind you to send your order To-Day for our famous  
**COSSI SILK SUIT PIECES**

Worth the price, and a piece guaranteed for one suit complete.

Price Rs. 8 per piece.

Order from:—**GOOD LUCK COMPANY, BENARES CITY.**

## THE EASTERN PHARMACEUTICAL WORKS.

### ANTI-FEVER.

An excellent preparation which can be used with great success and safety as a Curative or Preventive of Influenza, Malaria, or any other Remittent Fevers.

Guaranteed to contain no quinine, or any poisonous agents, which in the hands of laymen may lead to harmful after-effects

### HEMATIC COMPOUND.

An ideal bone and nerve tonic, an excellent blood regenerator and purifier. Invigorates and rapidly recoups lost health in convalescence from Influenza, Pneumonia, Typhoid and other tropical fevers.

Guaranteed free from alcohol.

Sole Agents:—

**Sane Bros.**

Madhav Agency, Mohan Buildings,

BOMBAY 4.

## New Books.

### 916 The Psychology of Music

by H. P. Krishna Rao, B. A. ... Re. 1-4-0

### Legends of Vikramaditya

retold in English Prose by T. Rajendrasingh ... Re. 2-8-0

### 976 The Life of Ranoji Rao Sindhia

by M. W. Burway ... Re. 1-0-0

### 844 Maharana Kumbha

Statesman, Soldier, Scholar by Har Bilas Sarda ... Re. 2-0-0

(Ex.)

**G. A. Vaidya Raman & Co.**

(S) Kondi Chetty St. Madras.

Now is the opportunity for Novel Readers

### A NEW NOVEL "MYSTERIES OF PARIS"

BY

**EUGENE SUE**

The Great French Novelist. Neat get up. Good paper. Neat get up. Complete in 1 volume of 400 pages. Price Re. 1-8-0.

Address:—**SEN'S ADVERTISING SERVICE,**

13, Krishnappa Naick Agraaharam, MADRAS.