

# THE Servant of India

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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..	533
ARTICLES :—	
Self-Government in the Congress ... ..	536
The Extremists and Social Reform ... ..	536
SPECIAL ARTICLES :—	
Another Tribute to the late Dr. Deva by Hy. S. L. Polak ... ..	537
The Industries Commission's Report—V by L. S. ... ..	538
The Forest Department in Kanara— A Solution II, by S. G. Warty, M. A....	539
A LETTER FROM LONDON ... ..	541
CORRESPONDENCE :—	
Lord Bryce on Franchise by R. S. R. ... ..	542
The Health of Dr. Jivaraj N. Mehta ... ..	543

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

EVENTS in Germany are taking a form which might have been expected in the light of past experience. When once the revolutionary spirit is aflame, there is no knowing when and where it will stop. According to an Amsterdam telegram, the Grand Duke of Hesse is the only Federal Prince that has retained his throne. The results of the elections for the National Assembly are expected by the 25th January. A forecast of the new constitution says, that the elected President will have powers between those of the American President and the English King. He will have a cabinet responsible to Parliament and will be assisted by a Federal House to be called the Staaten House. Along with this talk about Parliament and constitutions, there are scenes enacted which recall to mind the Bolshevist scenes in other countries. The Chancellor is reported to have been a prisoner for a time in his own house. The Kaiser's palace is at the disposal of soldiers and sailors whose blood is profusely spilt and whose corpses are piled up in the private rooms. We cannot afford to prophesy the course of events, but must wait and see.

THE Bolshevist regime is in full swing in Russia. The Anti-Bolshevists are finding it too hot for them to remain there and are leaving in large numbers for Siberia, which is their headquarters. Some of the more important of them are also going to London and Paris to be at hand for the Peace Conference. When the question of Allied intervention was mooted, the

Bolshevists boasted that they would convert Allied troops to Bolshevism as they had done the German, and thus bring about an international revolution which is their only means of safety. In the mean while, the Allies appear to be meditating no military intervention for the purpose of establishing a stable government. They are trying to act mainly on the defensive, drawing a cordon round centres of Bolshevism and not allowing it to spread. The circumstances are, however, so peculiar that there is no knowing when these precautions and defensive measures may transform themselves into active interference. For the present everything appears to be drowned in confusion and chaos. It is a pity that the splendid natural resources of Russia should not be available at the time of world reconstruction that is before us.

THE presence of President Wilson in Europe has raised the tone of the discussions in connection with peace. The actual details are not yet published, nor are they likely to be. For, even if the Peace Conference is held with open doors, the preliminary discussions are bound to be secret. But there appears to be substantial agreement about the general principles among the important Allied Governments. It is significant that the attitude towards a League of Nations is becoming more and more favourable. Forecasts of the principal articles of the League are being published. They include:—(1) limitation of armaments; (2) compulsory arbitration; and (3) stipulation for a world conference to regulate the new relations between the peoples. We hope the League will extend its activities to all peoples without distinction and not confine its attention to the whites only. Our experience in the past is very bitter indeed: the Congo atrocities are forgotten while the Belgian atrocities rouse the virtuous indignation of Western nations.

It was a splendid reception that awaited President Wilson in London. This is the first time an American President has set his foot on British soil and the character of the reception was commensurate with the importance of the occasion and the personality of the President. We think that all this marks a new era in the history of the human race, because the President is on a high mission and he finds his noble sentiments reciprocated by all the important persons in

England, Great Britain and America working hand in hand for settlement of Europe, is the best guarantee for the maintenance of the peace of the world and with these two Powers as its sponsors, the League of Nation is bound to prove a complete success.

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MR. LLOYD GEORGE has obtained a splendid victory at the polls. The clear majority of 300 over all parties that the Coalitionists have obtained marks a record. The highest majority so far obtained by any party in Parliamentary Elections was that of the Liberals in 1906. But it was a composite majority of 354, the clear majority of Liberals alone over all the others combined being 283 only. So the country has declared itself in unmistakable terms its confidence in Mr. L. George and its appreciation of his services. The return of Mr. Montagu is of special interest to India, and we hope he will now try his utmost with such a majority at his back to obtain legislative sanction for his proposals of reform regarding the Indian constitution.

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THE discussion on the Self-Government resolution mostly turned on the amendment which the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri moved. They were to the effect that the unfavourable judgment "disappointing and unsatisfactory" passed by the special session of the Congress should be dropped, that the time-limit for the completion of Responsible Government should be abandoned and that immediate Responsible Government in the provinces should not be demanded. The speech in which he moved the amendments was brief, mentioning a few of the points of difference of opinion between the two sections of the Congress and was listened to with but few interruptions. In fact, considering the circumstances of the occasion the treatment accorded to Mr. Sastri was very considerate, and he gratefully acknowledged the patience and courtesy that the Congress extended to him. The last mentioned amendment was supported by Mrs. Besant and two or three other speakers, but it shared the same fate as the two others, though it had somewhat larger support amounting to something between two and three hundred votes.

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INDIA is still a subject nation, and the subjection entails upon her certain disabilities, one of which is her exclusion from the Peace Conference, composed of representatives of independent countries. This result follows naturally from her present condition, and the Congress in asking for the right to send an elected representative to the Conference has laid itself open to the objection that it seeks to prevent the result, while the root cause remains. It is only recently that India has obtained entry into the Imperial Conference, and following up that precedent, she is now to be represented at the Inter-Allied Peace Conference by a nominee of the Government of India. It is difficult to understand how we could ask for a popu-

larly elected member to represent India at this Conference, which is to consist of the representatives of the Governments of the respective countries. It is true that in the case of the self-governing colonies the representatives of the people are already elected by the latter, but that is the consequence of their self-governing position. How can India demand on that analogy to be represented by one who is elected by the people? Is it imaginable that the popular representative should speak in one sense and the Government's nominee in another at the Conference-table? That, under the present arrangements India's true interests might not on occasions be properly protected in virtue of her representative being a nominee of the non-popular government, is very unfortunate. But it is the result of her existing political condition and cannot be cured until the latter is changed. But the Congress not content with the demand for an elected representative at the Peace Conference at Versailles, also demands entry into the League of Nations. If the command of an international army and navy to bring a recalcitrant member to reason is an essential feature of this project, the countries which do not control the independent armaments have no place in the proposed League.

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ANOTHER resolution passed by the Congress on an allied topic related to the application to India of the principle of self-determination of nations. If here the choice of India's allegiance is not involved and if the purpose is only to reinforce our demand for a substantial measure of self-government, as was explained by the President of the Congress, no objection can be raised to the substance of the demand. It is perfectly legitimate to call into service the term "self-determination" to promote our aspirations and one may, if one chose, support each one of the popular rights claimed in the several resolutions of the Congress on the additional ground of the principle enunciated by President Wilson; but the right to self-government which the Congress has been demanding ever since the foundation should not be made to rest, as was observed by Mr. Vijiara-gava Chariar, on an interpretation of the expression 'self-determination,' as if the idea underlying it has risen on our political horizon for the first time and we do not see much propriety in giving this subject a resolution to itself embracing in its scope matters which are also the subject of the other resolutions passed by the Congress. The establishment of self-government at an early date and the removal of restriction on individual freedom, for instance, are included in the resolution dealing directly with them and no particular purpose is served by having another resolution on them except to use a phrase which is becoming current in world politics.

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WITHIN the last few days there have been several conferences for the promotion of education in various parts of the country. Thus the Panjab

held its first Educational Conference at Lahore under the presidentship of Lala Hans Raj. The president has taken a leading part in the educational advancement of the northern province especially in connection with the Arya Samaj. In his presidential address, he dealt mainly with the free and compulsory Education Bill now before the Panjab Legislative Council. One of the defects of this bill is that it makes the period of compulsion one of four years only viz. from six to ten years which Lala Hans Raj rightly points will not do much good. In the draft Bombay bill also, the period was one of four years, but the Select Committee altered it to five years and the Council passed the bill so amended. We trust that the same will be done in the Panjab. The president further considered the subjects taught in the primary schools and protested against the continual changes introduced according to passing fads of educational officers. But he himself to a certain extent committed the same mistake when he advocated the formal teaching of civics and manual work or agriculture in primary schools. The former, we think, altogether unsuitable and the latter almost impracticable, though something of the kind may be done in well-organised schools. The president also made the usual, but well-founded, complaint about the low salaries of primary teachers who cannot be expected to work well under unsatisfactory conditions.

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ANOTHER important Conference was the All-India Mahomedan Educational Conference, which met at Surat and was fortunate in having Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah as its president. The high official position of the president lends special importance to his remarks. In the first part of his address, he controverted the popular Muslim view that English education was opposed to the interest of Islam and brought forward a large number of authoritative sayings in support of his own view. Before a Hindu audience, such a disquisition might have been necessary forty years ago, but is not so now. The backward state of education among Mahomedans hardly requires any other proof than the necessity of dealing with this topic in a presidential address. He again brought forward his idea of utilising some of the charitable religious funds for educational purposes, especially for the founding of scholarships under a scheme somewhat like the Tata scheme, in which the scholars are bound to return the money received when they are in better circumstances, though in the present state of Muslim education these scholarships may have to be given to college students and not merely as under the Tata scheme to students intending to go abroad for study. He referred appreciatively to various education societies in other communities, paid a special tribute to the Fergusson College which he said "is a standing monument of the spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of education in India," and trusted that young educated Mahome-

dans will be found to follow the example and devote the best part of their lives to the cause of imparting knowledge and thus at the same time do what is pleasant in the eyes of the Prophet and of God. At the Conference itself, among others, a resolution was passed urging the speedy completion of the scheme of the Muslim University at Aligarh which has been hanging fire for several years. The conference appears to have raised great enthusiasm and was a signal success.

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LORD SYDENHAM expressed a doubt in his speech in the House of Lords whether ministers responsible only to the Indian legislatures, could issue orders to the members of the I. C. S., and whether the latter were at all bound to yield obedience to them. Now the noble Lord goes a step further in his article in the *Contemporary Review* and asserts, without beating about the bush, that the service will refuse to carry out orders which are abhorrent to it. Could effrontery go further? And, to add insult to injury, Lord Sydenham of Coomb says that such disobedience, when it occurs, will be in the interest of the enslaved millions whose emancipation is the chief concern of the British services in India! "A point will be reached (in this conflict) at which conscience and an earnest desire for the welfare of the dumb masses will irresistibly assert themselves." When men like Lord Sydenham threaten disobedience on the part of the services, which give, as he himself says, "ungrudging obedience," the necessity will be realised of definitely placing under the popular part of Government these services which administer transferred departments. Verily, the reform proposals will then bring about to use Lord Lansdowne's phrase, "the destruction of the I. C. S.," as we know it, and without mincing matters, let it be said that it is just what Indians desire. They want to bring the I. C. S. to its bearings, and to reduce it from its present position of masters to that of servants, which properly belongs to it.

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ALL those, who have to travel third class on Indian Railways, have personal experience of the hardship and inconvenience they are put to owing to over-crowding. But in an article contributed to the Annual Supplement of the *Hindu*, Mr. C. F. Andrews brings to the notice of the public a worse case of over-crowding of third class deck passengers across the Bay of Bengal. It is with painful interest we have read the woeful tale of the sufferings endured by these unfortunate passengers. We are surprised to learn that this is permitted by the Government regulations. Mr. Andrews complains that, though this was brought to the notice of the Government of India, nothing has been done in the matter. We wish the Government to realise that the growing tension of public feeling cannot be expected to tolerate this disgraceful state of things any longer, and the sooner this is put an end to, the better for the good name of the Government.

### SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE CONGRESS.

THE most important resolution adopted at the last session of the Congress was the one that affirmed the resolution of the special session in Bombay on the subject of self-government. The unfavourable judgment on the official scheme of reforms and the drastic modifications that came so near to violation of the terms of the famous declaration of August, 1917, were all, of course, reproduced. The one departure that was made was in the direction of stiffening the resolution. The clause fixing the period of six years for the completion of provincial autonomy was replaced by one demanding full provincial autonomy immediately in all the provinces. Three reasons were adduced as a justification for this revolutionary change. First, the non-official members of the Legislative Council of Bombay had recommended unanimously that Bombay should start with the popular control over the entire administration, and elsewhere in India a similar desire had been expressed, though not on such high authority. Secondly, the Moderate party whom, the six years' respite had been intended to conciliate, had not returned to the fold. Thirdly, the Congress was to express the opinion of the people of the country, whatever it may be, without seeking to shape, regulate or modify it in any way.

The recommendation of the Bombay legislators has been given exaggerated importance. In our opinion, this need not have been done. While we grant that the capacity of the public men of Bombay is high and may well bear the responsibility of the whole Government, we think that the demand for the establishment of complete popular control, at the outset, was a transgression of the spirit, if not of the letter, of the Cabinet's declaration of policy which postulated a period of necessary training. But the non-official Bombay Councillors seemed to have recognised this themselves, and in their fear that their recommendations might be impracticable, proceeded to suggest in the alternative that certain subjects might be reserved. Moreover, they considered not unnaturally that if the new reforms were to be tried with a variety of experiments, Bombay, if any province in India, might be chosen as the scene of the most developed form. To represent this qualified expression of an ideal as a definitely formulated demand and then to extend it to every province in India on the flimsy ground that the whole country is homogeneous in public spirit and enlightenment, is to commit gross distortion and make the legislative councillors of Bombay to appear in the light of political inciters which they would emphatically repudiate.

The second reason rests also on a misapprehension. The bulk of the delegates at the special session, it is alleged, would have adopted a resolution demanding full provincial autonomy, had they not been deflected from the straight course by the advice of some persons who held out the hope that

the Moderate party would rejoin the Congress if a transitional period of six years were provided for. Who gave the advice was not divulged. We are not aware of any undertaking to which any leading Moderates were parties. Apparently, however, Mrs. Besant's version of the matter is correct, namely, that the compromise, if it may be so called, was between the advanced and the less advanced sections of the delegates who actually attended the special session. If this be the case, the compromise must be preserved and the less advanced section had a right to expect it. This argument, however, will have validity only in the Subjects Committee or the inner councils of Congressmen, but it cannot be advanced before the country for resisting the progress of opinion, if this be really sound and called for by the circumstances. No wonder Mrs. Besant lost the case by putting forth this plea. But Messrs. Sarma and Govindraghava Iyer who opposed the demand for full provincial autonomy on its merits, met with no better fortune.

The Congress really placed itself on the 29th December in the hands of those who think that the most uncompromising opinion is the opinion of the country, that the newest idea is also the wisest idea, and that the greatest political organisation of the country, which after thirty years came to be recognised as representing the statesmanship and the political wisdom of the land, should now change its character and figure as the exponent of the unbalanced judgments, the incoherent utopias and the thoughtless extravagances of youth. A speaker of this school roundly declared that the Congress had no business to negotiate with the authorities or take their difficulties into account, but must merely enunciate the people's demands. He did not say, however, who was to negotiate on behalf of the people. Would the members of the deputation, which is being organised, be left any discretion when they are dealing with English politicians or would they have to regard the Congress resolutions as a mandate? We have reason to believe that the latter view will prevail. Democracy begins in India with mistrusting its leaders and is unwilling to give them any latitude even when a regular bill is on the anvil and several important details have to be settled. By and by, we hope it will learn better. Meanwhile, the lot of the deputation is not enviable.

### THE EXTREMISTS AND SOCIAL REFORM.

THE *Hindu* of Madras does not evidently know the conditions in Poona. The *Hindu* does not think that there was any justification for our remarks and says "that the occasion of these comments is the opposition to Mr. Patel's bill of some orthodox Hindus of Poona some of whom happened to be members of the National party." It was no such thing. It was the much more serious fact of these nationalists organising themselves to break up a meeting of *only the supporters* of Mr. Patel's bill and

showing such a height of intolerance of opposing views. The *Hindu*, with its proclivities against the Moderates, may not think this sufficiently serious; but we do and most sane men will agree with us. It also appears to think that we were wrong in identifying the extremist party as a whole with the opposition to the meeting of the supporters of Mr. Patel's Bill. It is quite true that opposition to Mr. Patel's Bill is not one of the planks in the extremist platform. But there is such a thing as circumstantial evidence and we shall produce some (i) The forty or fifty conveners were, except for a few names, men identified with the Moderates of Poona. (ii) Mr. N. C. Kelkar was the only important extremist leader among the requisitionists, but those who know Poona intimately are quite aware of the amount of weight and respect attached to him with his liberal views on many points in the heart of the extremist camp (iii) At night after the break-up of the meetings there was, we hear, a disgraceful exhibition in front of Mr. Kelkar's house in which he was foully abused and was branded a renegade (iv) Two of the orators of the Shantaram's Chawl at the exciting period of the Willingdon memorial controversy, are the leaders of the oppositionists. Of these Mr. S. M. Paranjpe was conveniently at hand for having his opposition meeting in the same theatre and took a leading part in the opposition meeting afterwards till it also was broken up, and the other Mr. K. P. Khadilkar is the editor of the *Kesari* which is conducting a campaign of vilification writing articles against the supporters of the bill. (v) In one of the hand-bills people were adjured to oppose the meeting in the name of Mr. Tilak who is in England and who is said to be opposed to the bill (vi) Some of the so-called leaders of the extremist party were, it is said, directing the opposition from the platform by pre-concerted signals to the volunteers who are generally associated with the extreme its party. (vii) When the opposition meeting in the theatre could not be held, the whole opposition mob was immediately asked to go to the *Kesari* office which is the extremist headquarters in Poona. (viii) Although the editor of the *Kesari* in olden days may have been personally in favour of social reform, the *Kesari* itself is consistently silent on questions of social reform, and in fact made no reference even to Mr. Tilak's speech at the anti-untouchability conference in Bombay a few months ago. If all this does not constitute the opposition as really extremist, we do not know what would.

We will assure the *Hindu* that we shall be as strong against any person who belongs to the Moderate party in politics and who is not prepared to apply his principles equally in all spheres. We do not say that there are no such Moderates, but it is to the most superficial observer that while the vast obvious majority of the extremist party are reactionary in social reform, the vast majority of the Moderates are progressive in social matters as well. The only considerable sanction among the extre-

mists that are progressive in social matters are theosophists of the school of Mrs. Besant and many of these have developed social reform views within the last few years only. But we would ask, how many of the Poona extremists are really followers of Mrs. Besant? In Poona the followers of Mrs. Besant do not practically exist and the followers of Mr. Tilak generally are reactionary on social questions. We wonder whether the extremist leaders like Messrs. Jinnab, Jamnadas, Horniman will be able to organise in Poona an agitation in favour of Mr. Patel's bill which they personally strongly support of the same strength that they did against the Willingdon memorial in Bombay. If they succeed we are prepared to take back our words that the bulk of the extremist party is not prepared to carry their principles into all spheres. We are sure that the challenge will not be accepted. In fact, from the nature of the case things will turn out otherwise. The average Moderate is prepared to make allowances in the political sphere, because he sees that there is a vast sphere for improvement in our social circumstances, because he feels that no political reforms would by themselves be sufficient to raise our country to the height of greatness. The average extremist of the higher classes does not appreciate this need for social amelioration and feels that the only cause of our country's backwardness is its political condition. In the case of men from the backward classes both social and political disabilities are brought home to them, the former perhaps oftener than the latter. Hence whenever these are sufficiently educated to be progressive in politics, they become simultaneously progressive in social reform. Hence our note of warning to our Poona extremists about the attitude of the backward classes to which the *Hindu* takes exception.

## ANOTHER TRIBUTE TO THE LATE

DR. DEVA.

London, December 2.

MY DEAR SASTRI,

I cannot allow the Mail to leave without writing to you and my brothers of the Society to say how deeply grieved I am to learn of Dr. Deva's death. He was such a charming and genial soul, and I can well understand what an influence and inspiration he was to the Society. His enthusiasm and selflessness were an example to us all. I feel that lately the hand of Death has lain very heavily upon us. Two of my own most intimate fellow-workers, Sorabjee and Cachalia, have recently passed away and the world is poorer for them. Though I did not know Dr. Deva nearly so well, I yet enjoyed his friendship and appreciated his personal charm and the quality of his work. By this mail too I see by how great a miracle Gandhi has been saved to us. Whilst, then, we have much

to grieve for, we have also much to be thankful for. In the hope that the Society will be spared any further blows for long years to come, I send you all my sincerest condolence and good wishes.

Yours fraternally,  
Hy. S. L. POLAK.

## THE INDUSTRIES COMMISSION'S REPORT.

### V.

THE next chapter with the heading "Industries and Agriculture" is devoted mainly to show the backwardness of the present agricultural methods, their consequent poor results and the improvements needed to bring our agriculture—the largest industry—in line with other advanced countries. The following figures given in the report regarding the comparative yield per acre in England and India of the two crops (1) wheat, (2) and barley, that are common to both the countries. 1919 lbs. of (1) against 814 lbs. of (1) and 1645 lbs. against 877 lbs. of (2), show that by adopting improved methods followed in England, the produce of these two commodities might practically be doubled. One of the main difficulties in the way of introducing machinery (horse or motor driver) for the varied agricultural operations of ploughing, sowing, reaping and thrashing, is the existence of small and scattered holdings. What is needed is the consolidation and equitable redistribution of these and also the adoption of measures for preventing subdivision of these new holdings. Government, however, are chary of adopting such strong measures which will be opposed to the long-established custom of equal division of a father's property by the sons as enjoined in the Hindu Law. It will be seen that the problem is not purely an economical nor an educational one, but is a social one also, and will have to be grappled on all sides if it is to be solved properly. It is gratifying to note that a non-official member of the Bombay Legislative Council, Dewan Bahadur Godbole, has persistently been trying to get the Council to accept his resolution to combat this evil of sub-division and fragmentation. This proposal has the support of officials connected with the agricultural department, whose head has himself prepared a bill—a permissive measure only—to secure the same end. The higher officials both of the local Government and the Government of India do not want to take any action in the matter of their own accord, until there is a real demand for such measures from a large number of agriculturists themselves. It is, therefore, the duty both of officials and non-officials, who believe in the necessity of legislative measures to remedy these evils, to educate the agriculturists in the matter, and then with their support introduce such measures in the Legislative Councils. Till then proposals from individual members are not likely to find favour with the Government or perhaps the

majority of the Councils. The existence of small holdings due to sub-division and fragmentation is, however, one of the causes of the backward condition of agriculture in this country. Even when this evil is remedied there remains the work of educating the agriculturists in the use of improved methods of agriculture and of helping them financially to enable them to adopt such methods. The former work is being done, to a certain extent, by the agricultural departments of the various provinces, but a great deal—very great deal—still remains to be done, and that will not be done until the development of agriculture is looked upon as a duty of the Government as much as 'policing' and giving justice. Agriculture is sure to be one of the transferred heads under the new Reform Scheme, and much will depend on the outlook of the Minister in charge of this all important industry. He need not go far for a precedent in this matter. If he keeps his eye on the work done in Mesopotamia in the last two years to develop the agriculture of the country and tries to do as much for his province as the Englishman has done for the Arabs of Mesopotamia, he will be long remembered as a great benefactor of his province. When one hears of the excellent work done by Englishmen, some of them belonging to the Indian Civil Service, to assist and improve the agricultural industry in the newly conquered country, one feels surprised at the lack of interest evinced in this object by most of the servants of the Crown in this country. The only reason that one can assign for the attitude of the administrators is that, according to the past tradition of the Civil and Military Services of this country, they are so much obsessed with the importance of the work of preserving "peace, order and good government" of the country that their minds very seldom go further and remain satisfied with their work in this narrow groove.

After the work of educating the ryot in improved agricultural methods will come the work of helping the ryot to get the improved machinery or better manure. This by itself is a vast financial problem. The Commissioners in summing up the chapter say: "Even under the present condition of Indian agriculture, an expenditure of 80 crores of rupees upon machinery for well irrigation and cane-crushing alone would be highly remunerative, and it is probable that thereafter a further and possibly greater outlay would prove profitable." It was not within the province of the Commissioners' duties to suggest the ways and means for finding the 80 crores of rupees within the next few years. The report is before the Government of India. H. E. Lord Chelmsford has publicly said that the Government are going to take action upon the Commissioners' recommendations at an early date. As a preliminary to final action, let the finance minister make up his mind to find all this money for the objects mentioned in the Report. I do not know whether people who now oppose excess profits tax on the ground that, the war being over, it



will not be necessary to make any grant to the Imperial Government for war purposes, will have any objection to the tax if the finance minister promised to ear-mark the receipts from this tax for the purposes of agricultural and industrial development of the country. Even when all these measures, social, educational, financial are adopted, there remains a very important vital question for the consideration of the administration. It is this. Whether in the future interests of the country it is advisable to go ahead with the work of introducing improved methods with the help of imported machinery and chemical manures with the sole object of increasing the yield and productivity of land, or to wait till all the requisite articles are produced in the country. The former course will make the agriculture of the country entirely dependent upon countries that supply these articles, while the latter course will leave the agricultural industry of the country in its present stagnant condition for years to come. I think the best course would be to make a beginning in both directions, so that, by the time improved methods become popular and displace the present crude methods, the machinery and chemicals required for these objects can be supplied by the new industries started in the country. If such industries cannot be started it is better to go on with the present methods than make the existence of the most important industry of the country entirely dependent upon foreign imports, for there is the danger that the present skill and knowledge of manufacturing wood or iron agricultural implements or preparing crude manure will die out owing to the competition of the better class of imported materials.

That this is no imaginary danger can be seen from the set-back given to the use and preparation of indigenous drugs by the import of foreign manufactured tinctures and extracts—in many cases of raw materials easily found in this country.

If the new industrial Department is to be in a position to assist in the establishment of factories for the manufacture of agricultural implements and production of chemical manures, it must work in co-operation with the Agricultural Department. The Commissioners have recognised this fact, for in the last paragraph they lay stress on the importance of co-operation between the Departments of Agriculture and Industries. They want the Director of Agriculture to be in close touch with "modern developments connected with the generation of power," and they also want the Director of Industries carefully to note the requirements of the ryot regarding prime-movers and other machinery, and communicate these as well as any defects complained of by the agriculturists to the makers. Let us hope that this will not be a mere pious wish, nor that it will lead to red-tape delay.

L. S.

## THE FOREST DEPARTMENT IN KANARA—A SOLUTION.

### II.

IN my last article published in your issue of 7th November, 1918, after pointing out the not very creditable results of the working of the Forest Department in Kanara as reflected in the decrease of population, cattle and the net cropped area of the district, I ventured to suggest a sort of rough correspondence between the Forest area and the Fallow area in Kanara. The same is borne out if we compare Kanara with the adjoining districts, as can be seen from the following table :

The figures are for 1916-17.

	Kanara	Belgaum	Dharwar	Bijapur
Forest area.	20,71,065	4,35,675	2,41,939	1,77,241
Cultivated area.	3,40,745	21,94,332	24,16,653	32,33,461
Fallow area.	1,27,530	4,93,837	2,56,815	3,33,303
Proportion of fallow to cultivated area.	'374	'225	'106	'103

This leads us to conclude that the present working of the Forest Department in Kanara is a great impediment to the extension of cultivation, nay, induces a decrease therein. The explanation is not far to seek. The increasing forest leaves insufficient grazing area and drives agriculturists to use cultivable area for grazing.

Next let us see how the productivity of land has been affected. I pass by the question of the deterioration of the soil, on which there is great difference of opinion, "Where great names militate against each other"; but I have to point out that lands are not manured to the same extent as used to be formerly on account of the intolerable restrictions placed on the supply of green leaves for manure and also because of the use of cow-dung for fuel by the poor agriculturist in place of firewood, which owing to the restrictions of the Forest Department has become more and more difficult to be procured. This circumstance had attracted the notice of Sir William Hunter as early as 1897. In his essay on "England's work in India", he says,

"In this way, both the two great sources of manure were cut off, viz. the ashes from the wood which they formerly burnt and the ammonia and other volatile parts of the cow-dung which they now burn in place of timber.....The lack of pasture and the substitution of cow-manure for fire-wood are main factors in the exhaustion of the soil.....The second impediment to improved husbandry is the want of manure. If there were more stock there would be more manure, and the absence of fire-wood compels the people to use even the scanty droppings of their existing cattle for fuel. Under such circumstances agriculture ceases to be the manufacture of food and becomes a mere spoliation of the soil."

In recent years, Mr. K. L. Dutt, the author

of the Report on the inquiry into the rise of prices in India, published in 1914, more or less an apologist in the opinion of competent critics, could not but refer to this in para 181 of his Report, in the following term ;

"There might also have been a decrease in the extent of manuring in localities in which owing to the restrictions imposed upon the removal of wood from forests, the use of cow-dung for fuel has increased and it is not available to the same extent as before for purpose of manuring."

The process of afforestation seems also to be the cause of the pressure of population on the coast tracts of the district and the consequent evils thereof, viz : rack-renting, unnatural rise in the price of land etc. In their Resolution No. 1197 of 10th February 1910, Revenue Department on the Second Revision Settlement of the Karwar taluka, Government say : "Government are disposed to attribute the increase of population largely to the pressure upon the coast tracts caused by the extensive afforestation inland. They also consider that the high prices of land, are due to the pressure of the population, that the same cause accounts for the high rents etc.," (Italics are mine). This view of Government was no doubt of late, disputed by Mr. Monteath, the late Collector of Kanara, in his review of the Reports of the First Revision Settlements of Kumta, Ankola, and Honavar talukas in his opinion, the main reasons for depopulation of inland tract are the heavy increase of assessment, the prevailing unhealthiness of the tract and the poor quality of a large proportion of the land. But in its leader of 21st August 1918, the *Times of India* dismissed these arguments as to a large extent of an academical character and stuck to the view that extensive afforestation has been the main cause of the depopulation of the inland villages, and I am personally disposed to believe that it is so.

Such then have been the far-reaching results of the working of the Forest Department in Kanara causing so much woe and such economic distress to the people of the district ; and this in direct opposition to the declared policy of Government. In their brochure on 'The work of the Forest Department in India' published by the Government of India and edited by Mr. Troup of the Imperial Forest Service, the relation of the forest to agriculture has been thus described. "The work of the Forest Department should not be judged only from the revenue-producing point of view. The first duty of the Department is to provide for the wants of the agricultural population and to maintain the area committed to its charge in such a condition, that, their indirect results shall be as beneficial as possible. Forestry has been termed the handmaid of agriculture and nowhere does this apply with greater force than in India which is essentially an agricultural country." The unsympathetic and vexatious attitude of the Forest Officers, departmental zeal, the want of co-operation and co-ordination among the various departments of the State specially as obtained in an Indian

district, and a policy of drift and indifference on the part of Government resulting in the great difference between their spoken word and their actual deed, these have been the causes of such a state of things. It is high time that this process should cease ; when it is a question of "The people or the Forests" there can be but one answer. Truly says Prof. Sydney Webb in his preface to Mr. John Mathai's book on "Village Government in India," "The first and most important business of a Government is after all to contrive that its people should live and not die ; in the long run, in the judgment of history, it is by this test that Governments will be judged."

In the light of the foregoing disquisition, and in view of the fact that the anticipations of Government expressed in their Resolution No. 1550 Revenue Department of 19th February 1910, that "The proposals now (1910) sanctioned are not in the opinion of Government too liberal," have come to be true, we make the following demands and proposals :—

(a) The following rights should be allowed to be freely exercised without any restriction whatsoever in the same manner as they were in 1872—Grazing or pasture, grass-cutting, lopping boughs and gathering leaves (green), wood-rights (for building timber, fire-wood, small wood for implement and industries, dead and fallen wood, stumps), rights to scrape up dead or decayed leaves from the Forest soil for litter or manure, rights to lime-stones etc.

(b) Village forests as suggested in Chapter III of the Indian Forest Act, should be constituted all over the district with liberal and appropriate rules made thereunder, not only with regard to grazing rights, but to all rights. I cannot but mention here that Mr. Baden-Powell, in his 'Manual of jurisprudence for Forest Officers' published in 1882, expressed strong hopes that such forests would be created, in the following terms. "I have little doubt that in the course of time, village forests will become an important feature in the agricultural economy of the population in many parts of India." And it is very disappointing to see that not a single village forest has been constituted till now in Kanara, 82 percent of the area of which is forest.

(c) Kumri or similar and equally useful settlements should be introduced in the same manner that the Mysore Government has done and the State should take an active part and give every possible encouragement to induce settlers to repopulate the inland villages. Also, the recommendations made by the Food Production Committee of Karwar, and also those made by Mr. Maxwell in his Report on the First Revision Settlement of the Kumta taluka should be faithfully carried out.

The task of working out the details of those proposals, I would rather leave to administrative experience, tempered with 'large and liberal ideas', with one caution, however, that no loop-holes should be left for Official idiosyncracies to creep in.



Before dismissing this subject, I think it necessary to remove one or two misconceptions. It is maintained in some quarters that the curtailment of forest privileges is at best a village grievance, and that compared with the forest property and its income which are an imperial asset, it does not deserve so much attention and may even be safely neglected. The fallacy in this argument lies in forgetting that India is a nation of villages and a grievance that affects every village in the country and comes in the way of its economic progress, as reflected in population, agriculture, etc., is indeed a national grievance. Even supposing that it is merely a village grievance and not one of national importance, one would rather seek a solution in reconciling the interests of one with the other. But I do not maintain this position at all. I am distinctly of opinion that the present mode of working the Forest Department should cease, in the interest of forest itself, as I shall presently show. Owing to the denudation of European forests during the war, forest development in India has become a necessity. In an article in a recent issue of the Agricultural Magazine of India, Dr. Pearson pointed out that while in England the consumption of wood per head of population is 14 c. ft. in India it is only 3 c. ft., that in spite of the fact that 80% of timber used in England is imported and that India has got a supply of her own enough and to spare, prices in India are much higher than in England and that, therefore, there is a large scope and also necessity for developing the forest, especially by the development of communications 'a problem of vital importance.' Besides, owing to the present financial exigencies of Government, the vast wealth that lies almost untouched within the forest will soon be required to be utilised.

But for all these purposes, where is the supply of labour to come from? Unless outsiders are induced to settle in Kanara by the grants of lands on advantageous terms and unless the inland villages are repopulated by allowing the people all the forest privileges that they enjoyed, say, in 1872, there is no hope for the Forest Department to develop its resources. It is here that the Agricultural and Forest Departments should work hand in hand. Each should supplement the efforts of the other in the interests of both.

It is understood that proposals are being framed and that schemes are on the anvil, to reconcile the interests of agriculture and forests. But we warn Government that no half-hearted measure will do; if they are earnest, if they mean business, they should make their schemes complete and thorough. Again there should be no unnecessary delay in satisfying the hungry public. It is proverbial that the wheels of Government move exceedingly slowly. I have *one more suggestion to make*, and it is a very important suggestion which the Government ought to adopt. In order that the schemes may be thorough and give complete satisfaction to the people in whose interests they

are being framed, the same should be published in a local newspaper with a view to be improved upon in the light of public criticism. While democracy is triumphing all over the world and while so great prominence is being given to the principle of Self-Determination, the people of Kanara cannot be expected to give their whole-hearted support to a scheme in the framing of which they are not being consulted and on which their opinions will not be heard. The steady curtailment and withdrawal of time-worn forest privileges is a standing grievance of far-reaching results; and if Government want to please the people, they must give them the boon they ask for, not what Government may think better for the people, but of a kind to which Government and people agree.

S. G. WARTY.

### A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

LONDON, DECEMBER 2.

#### THE GENERAL ELECTION AND THE INDIAN REFORMS.

THE whole country is in the throes of the General Election. Not for years has there been such bitter feeling in the realm of politics as exists to-day. The Labour Party has declared war to the knife against Mr. Lloyd George and the Coalition Government, and the Liberals are feeling that they have been basely betrayed by him. In many of the constituencies which have for years sent a Liberal to Parliament, the Coalition candidate is to be a Unionist. The Asquithian Liberals, it is quite possible, will be returned to the new House of Commons in numbers inferior to those of the Labour party, who may in fact become the occupants of the Front Opposition bench. Every day the tide is turning more strongly against the Coalition, and it is quite likely that had the time for the appeal to the constituencies been prolonged, the results of the Elections would be greatly in doubt. As it is, large numbers of the soldiers will be disfranchised, for all practical purposes, since candidates will be unable to appeal effectively to their constituents at the Front owing to Postal and administrative difficulties, which cannot be overcome in the time available. When Parliament reassembles, it will be in a very bitter mood and it will take the country some time to settle down to the real work of social and economic reconstruction. The atmosphere of mutual suspicion and recrimination is thickening and it is even now easy to see that Mr. Lloyd George will have to walk very warily if he wishes to avoid such friction as will inevitably retard the administrative machinery. Loud complaints are being made against his autocratic and vindictive methods. Whether they are justified or not is beside the point. All things considered, however, it will not do him or his Government any harm to find arrayed against them a powerful and energetic

Opposition. There is no doubt that he must rely in the main upon his Unionist supporters and will have to pay their price. From the point of view of India, it is not wholly bad that the Reform Bill will be brought forward by a Coalition ministry, in which the Unionists will be largely represented. They cannot then be as effective opponents as otherwise they might be. The more powerful the opposition, especially if it contains a large Labour element, the more helpful it is likely to prove to the cause of Indian Constitutional Reform. The Labour party has now issued its election manifesto, which is a highly characteristic document couched in positive and aggressive terms. It is clear that Labour intends, without assuming power, to endeavour to control the situation. The manifesto contains the following reference to India :—"The principles, which Labour acclaims as Allied War aims, it will apply to our own subject peoples. Freedom for Ireland and India it claims as democratic rights, and it will extend to all subject peoples the right of self-determination, within *British Commonwealth of free Nations*." This, of course, is an ideal for which the Labour party stands. It probably realises that full and immediate effect is extremely unlikely to be given to it; but its special significance lies in the fact that it helps to solve the problem of the speed at which India's goal of responsible self-government will be attained. Whilst a time-limit inserted in the statute is not in the least likely, Labour is undoubtedly determined to hold a watching brief on behalf of India, to ensure that the correct emphasis is to be placed upon the correct words in the phrases as soon as possible' and 'as far as possible.'

#### THE MODERATE CONFERENCE.

It is most unfortunate that the organisers of the Moderate Conference have not thought it worth their while to advise people here of the nature of the resolutions passed by the Conference a month ago. We are absolutely in the dark as to the extent to which these resolutions differ from or resemble those of the special Congress. As, presumably, it did not occur to anyone to spend a few rupees in cabling, we must wait patiently for the arrival of the complete text by mail. So far as organisation and enterprise are concerned, the Moderates have apparently a great deal to learn. Propaganda suffers from parsimony as much as from procrastination.

#### INDIAN EDITORS IN ENGLAND.

The official tour of the Indian editors, who were brought here by the Ministry of Information, has now closed. They have been much in evidence at many different gatherings in many different parts of the country, and they have learnt that whilst much general sympathy for India exists and great appreciation of the services rendered by her during the War, an enormous amount of ignorance prevails here. It is becoming increasingly evident to thoughtful men that the British Parliament of the future will have so much on its

hands that it will find it almost impossible effectively to supervise Indian affairs. Whilst the Select Committee of Parliament may be expected to render valuable services, particularly with its democratisation, the tendency will be more and more to allow to India greater freedom to work out her own salvation. The real immediate problem is, how far the new Parliament will press the Government in the direction of importing into their measure a division of functions in the Central Government. I believe that here both parties in India are on strong ground. There are going to be many difficulties in the way of securing this amendment of the Reforms, but if the political leaders in India make a united demand on a reasonable basis, it will become very difficult to resist it.

#### DISCUSSION ON MR. THORBURN'S PAPER.

At the East India Association last Monday, Mr. S. S. Thorburn came in for another severe drubbing for his paper 'India: a Democracy'. Among those who took him to task were Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose (of the 'Basumati'), and Mr. R. P. Karandikar. At times during the discussion there was considerable excitement; but the proceedings terminated in an amicable fashion. I am inclined, however, to think that it will be some time before the Committee of the Association ventures upon an experiment of this kind. It is one thing to provide a platform for an official exposition of the point of view set forth in the Montagu-Chelmsford report as 'Britain and India' did the following day, when Sir William Duke took the place of Mr. Charles Roberts, who was immersed in his election campaign; but it is quite another thing to serve the turn of the Indo-British Association, of which Mr. Thorburn declared that he was not a member. He is, however, a very promising recruit. The Indo-British Association and its noble founder, Lord Sydenham, have just had a very unpleasant castigation at Mr. Montagu's hands. In his speech to his constituents at Cambridge a week ago, he spoke very scornfully of the Sydenham programme of 'reforms' and of the notorious 'insurance' circular, for which the Association had made itself responsible. Lord Sydenham's plans for India have nothing at all in common with those of Mr. Montagu, and I have good reason to believe that they are detested by him. To suggest, therefore, as has been done in some quarters, that Mr. Montagu has secretly promoted the opposition of the Indo-British Association in order to push forward his own scheme is singularly inept and ungenerous.

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

##### VISCOUNT BRYCE ON FRANCHISE.

SIR,—While speaking on Lord Middleton's motion, Viscount Bryce uttered a few remarks on the subject of franchise, which deserve consideration. He deemed it undesirable for

the government to undertake too bold an experiment by having a wide suffrage, which would lead to the evil of placing power in the 'hands of persons, who may know their interests but who do not know how to secure them.' At the same time, he deprecated the idea of granting a very restricted suffrage, which results in placing power in the hands of an oligarchy 'which has its own interests to serve.' He suggested the adoption of a carefully limited franchise and its gradual extension. In this connection, he referred to the instance of some parts of the New World where there is an element of native population. We shall examine briefly what it is.

The Whites in the Southern States naturally fear that, if Negroes are allowed to enjoy power on equal terms, they would dominate and power would pass into their hands. This position is, to the Whites, unthinkable. Apart from this consideration, we should not fail to take note of the fact that the results of the policy of securing the vote to "the vast mass of Negroes suddenly set free, and absolutely destitute, not only of political experience, but even of the most rudimentary political ideas" were considered disastrous. A few Whites assumed the leadership, organized "Negroes for elections, state and local, they tampered with the electoral lists and stuffed the ballot-boxes, they 'ran' the legislatures." Evils of every kind were perpetrated and "such a saturnalia of robbery and jobbery has seldom been seen in any civilised country, and certainly never before under the forms of free government." These, and many more unfortunate effects necessitated the demand to put an end to that policy. To repeal the Fifteenth amendment, by which no man could be prevented from exercising the right to vote on account of 'race, colour, or previous condition of servitude, was an impossibility. So the Southern States, which had severely suffered all the evils enumerated above, availed themselves of the powers vested in them and passed laws, limiting the franchise by some educational or even property qualification. Some portion of the White population was affected thereby, and amendments have been adopted which permit most of the ignorant and poor Whites to take part in elections. While not, wholly appreciating the motive that prompted the Whites to adopt various devices to exclude the Negro from the franchise, we cannot but give some thought to the subject of limited suffrage which put an end to evils which Viscount Bryce fears will be repeated in India. This particular method of limiting the suffrage, is the outcome of the recognition of "the need of knowledge and intelligence for the due exercise of political power," and it effects a great improvement in the electoral body. The suggestion of the Viscount, is not one that can be passed over slightly.

I may be permitted to add that his lordship believes that, owing to the peculiar circumstances of this country, the system of indirect election presents considerable advantages. He believes that to be the best system suited for a country with a large uneducated and inexperienced population. There are some more suggestions in his lordship's speech which require careful and close examination. I would invite you readers' attention to the whole speech.—Yours, etc.

R. S.

#### THE HEALTH OF DR. JIVARAJ N. MEHTA.

As there are all sorts of wild rumours about Dr. Mehta current in India, we publish the following:—

Mr. Devdhar, who is now in England and who desires to spend another three months there, recently paid a visit to Dr. Jivraj N. Mehta at the King Edward VII Sanatorium at Midhurst. At the time of Mr. Devdhar's departure for the United Kingdom, he was requested by Dr. Mehta's relatives and friends to see if Dr. Mehta could not accompany him back to India, and Mr. Devdhar

had a consultation with Doctors Barr and Henderson—the two eminent doctors at the Sanatorium—with regard to the matter. They told him that while the patient was improving day by day, the rate of progress was rather slow and not even quite continuous. There was, however, they assured him, no cause for anxiety. With regard to Dr. Mehta's return, they did not advise Mr. Devdhar to take him back to India in the present state of his health, the patient not having the necessary stamina to bear the strain of a long and possibly stormy voyage. At the same time they impressed upon him the desirability of allowing Dr. Mehta to continue with the present treatment for some months more, till he acquires the necessary powers of resistance and vitality, which are matters of slow growth in the case of the disease from which our friend is suffering. Though complete recovery may be a matter of two or three years, his friends will be glad to hear that there is no reason for any anxiety, as he is having the best treatment that is available in England.

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