

# THE Servant of India

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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..	433
ARTICLE :—	
The Housing Problem in England ... ..	436
SPECIAL ARTICLES :—	
Prohibition in America. By Mr. Garland Craig, M.A.	438
An Imperial Judicature for the Indian States. By Mr G. R. Abhyankar, B. A., LL. B. ... ..	440
AN APPEAL FOR RELIEF ... ..	442
CORRESPONDENCE :—	
Social Democracy. By Lajpat Rai ... ..	442

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IN accordance with a resolution passed by the special session of the All-India Moslem League in Lucknow, the Mahomedans of India have decided to observe the 17th inst., as a day of fast and prayer. With that intuition which is so highly characteristic of the man, Mr. Gandhi. has appealed to all Hindus who sympathise with their Mahomedan bretheren to show their sympathy practically by observing fast, stopping work and offering prayers on that day; and we trust that his appeal will meet with the response which it merits. May we dare to hope, even against hope, that the significance of this Hidu-Moslem demonstration will not be lost on the powers that be and that they will think, not twice, but a thousand times before they take the perilous step of breaking up the Ottoman empire and violating the integrity of the Caliphate?

WE invite the earnest attention of our readers to an appeal from Mr. A. V. Thakkar published in our correspondence columns for relief funds for Eastern Bengal. The Servants of India Society was one of the first agencies to conduct in co-operation with the Bengal Social Service League, an investigation into the extent of the damage inflicted by the recent cyclone and to carry relief to the sufferers. From some of the letters received from our members and volunteers working there, it would appear that the newspaper reports were far from being overdrawn and that all-round and widespread misery has been wrought by the grim forces of Nature. In the 9 char lands mentioned in Mr. Thakkar's letter, for instance, no less than half the population has been simply washed out of existence. Conditions in other Chars as well as in the interior seem to be as heartrending. Hundreds of families have lost their breadwinners and are completely without any provision for livelihood.

The misery of hundreds and thousands of families whose houses have disappeared may be more easily imagined than described. Every day finds corpses floating in the waters, but there is not sufficient labour to take up and cremate them all. As if all this were not enough, epidemics have broken out, rendering medical relief and conservancy arrangements immediately necessary. We hope that the general public would contribute generously towards the relief funds.

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WHEN General Smuts' appointment as the Premier of South Africa in succession to the late General Botha was announced, we said that he is one of the few politicians in the British Empire who had a truly broad Imperial outlook and who really believed in the ideal of a brotherhood of Nations. His speech made on the 26th of Aug., in reply to the address of welcome of the Indians of South Africa sets the seal on the view which we then ventured to express. He paid a glowing tribute to India's hoary civilisation—"much older than ours." He admitted the equality of Indians and their ability "to hold their own". "I do not look down upon Indians. I look up to them." He spoke in terms of high praise of the Maharaja of Bikaner "a personal friend of mine" and Lord Sinha, "one of the cleverest men I have met." He roundly declared that "India should be given a large measure of self-government." What is of even greater importance to us as showing the inner spiritual workings of this statesman is a passage of rare self-revelation in which he humbly claimed "I have been a party to the Hon. Mr. Montagu going to India which has resulted in some concrete proposals being submitted to Parliament." Again: "I strongly supported the granting of army commissions to Indians. When it was pointed out that there might be a possibility of Europeans being placed under Indians, I replied, "why not? I would be proud to serve under an Indian Officer, if he were an able man."

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ONE is doubtful, however, how far even he will be able to withstand the Anti-Indian and Anti-Asiatic influences represented by General Hertzog and his narrow-minded nationalist party by whom he is surrounded, and we are not at all sure that he will not end by falling a victim to his environment, fine idealist though he is, as even greater men than he have done in the past. How powerful these forces and influences are in the public life

and politics of South Africa will become clear on a perusal of the proceedings of the Anti-Asiatic League which was held at about the same time when General Smuts was making his conciliatory speech. Our readers will gain some idea of the sheer irresponsibility of their proceedings when we say that the Chairman of the meeting characterised the Asiatic Trading Act as "the Magna Charta of the Rand Indians" (save the mark!), not amidst laughter, but amidst cheers! And somebody proposed that all the Asiatics resident in S. Africa should be "repatriated"! For utter inanity and impracticality, this proposal deserves the palm among all the utopian proposals which our poor world is cognisant of. Contrast with this what General Smuts said. He seemed to regret that the Asiatic Trading Act had been passed before his return and given rise to much ill-feeling among all Indians in S. Africa as well as in India. "We, as a small white community, would be crushed," he stated, "if we had an open door, but now that the Indians are here I hold that they should have fair treatment in all parts of the Union." Who will win—General Smuts and the forces of righteousness whom he represents or the Anti-Asiatic League and the powers of evil whom that body personifies? We shall see. General Smuts hopes that the Commission of Inquiry will solve this problem satisfactorily to both sides.

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WHILE many of the provinces in British India are still debating whether or not primary education should be made free, the Indian State of Mysore has forged ahead a long way and made secondary education also free. We regard this as the most important of the budget of reforms which the Dewan of Mysore recently announced as the Dusserah gifts of His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore to his people. The throwing open of all state-aided schools to Panchamas in Mysore was a *fait accompli* long before that. The Dewan's references to the evil of drink lead us to hope that, in the near future, Mysore will set an example to the rest of India, British and Indian, by the total prohibition of alcohol. In this connection, we may draw our readers' attention to an article on prohibition in America appearing on another page. The history of this reform, like that of every other, has been strewn with obstacles and pitfalls in America and other parts of the world which have now adopted prohibition. Our task is doubly difficult in British India, where the Government is an unsympathetic and unrepresentative bureaucracy. But given the necessary amount of grit and faith, we are bound to succeed in driving out this demon.

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SIR P. ARUNACHALAM delivered an address at the Tower Hall, Colombo, on September 24, on the "Present Political Situation," in which he scathingly criticised the Government's obduracy in keeping the reform scheme secret. After a constant bombardment of interpellations in the House

of Commons, the Ceylonese have come to learn that the Governor has sent in a report which is being considered by the Colonial Secretary and under correspondence with the Local Government. "It is rumoured," said the illustrious lecturer, "that the report has been sent back to the Governor to be drafted on fresh lines. What were the lines on which he first proceeded and what the fresh lines on which he is now to proceed, remain equally a mystery. . . This policy of mystery and procrastination is causing grave public uneasiness and anxiety which a wise Government would do its best to avoid." He then declared that the scheme which Lord Willingdon had proposed for Bombay, with certain modifications, would be the minimum likely to be acceptable to enlightened public opinion in Ceylon. The reform movement in the Colony bids fair to assume large proportions.

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IN his evidence before the Joint Committee, Sir Michael O'Dwyer concentrated his attack on the central principle of dualism in a manner which may extort the admiration of the *Hindu* and the extremist party. He is a lover of reform, forsooth, but he would have nothing to do with that abomination called dyarchy. If dyarchy goes, the whole Reform Bill falls to the ground, as the *Times*, whose final conversion to this principle we welcome as an omen of happy augury, wisely observes. Sir Michael knows it very well and that is just what he wants! One other point in his evidence deserves some notice. He stated that, if there had been Indian ministers in his executive government, he would have been compelled to take counsel with them during the recent Punjab riots and that this would have caused delay and led to the break-up of the British Empire in India. Apart from the effect which this statement seems to have produced on the egregious *Morning Post*, which has thought it fit to compare Sir Michael O'Dwyer with Clive and Hastings (in a moment of unconscious humour, let us hope), it will deceive nobody. As the *Times of India* has pointed out, a popular element in the government will only serve as a stimulus in the direction of advancing the public weal in normal times; and we may add, in sudden emergencies such as the Punjab riots, it will enable the executive to take a cool-headed view from the standpoint of a correct perspective informed by a sense of proportion, instead of yielding to panic and aggravating matters, thus bringing about the very results which it professes to abhor, at the cost of hundreds of innocent lives and inestimable moral and material loss.

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WE have been asked by some of our readers to elucidate our statement in the issue of October 2, as to the restoration of certain condemned officers to office in Ceylon. The late Governor, Sir John Anderson, instituted an inquiry into the conduct of certain officers who ordered the killing of certain Sinhalese men after the riots had ended.

He declared that some of the repressive acts had been Hunnish in their violence and injustice, and "deserve the loathing and disgust of every decent Englishman." His Excellency thereupon deprived certain officers of their office and honours. But the present Governor, Sir William Manning (who is a General) has recently cancelled those orders and reinstated the officers, much to the horror of the Ceylonese.

ON October 7th, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar gave an informing lecture on the work of the Indian deputations in England. He is generally well pleased with their work and has a hopeful outlook in regard to the reforms. Incidentally, he corrected many popular misconceptions, one of them being that there was discord or, at any rate, want of co-operation among the members of the deputations. After quoting specific instances of co-operation, he summed up thus: "I desire to say publicly and with utmost emphasis that there has been no segregation, no sense of isolation, no sense of divided counsels." This essential unity was not confined to the question of reform, but extended to the equally important question of the misrule in the Punjab. "As regards the Punjab affairs," Mr. Aiyar declared, "I may assure you that not a single stone was left unturned by a single member of any single deputation in doing what can be done." Mr. Aiyar had to add, however, that some of these deputations suffered from internal differences, but the Moderate deputation, being free from such differences, was enabled to do better and more systematic work.

UNFORTUNATELY, however,—Mr. Aiyar told his audiences that attempts were sedulously made by some persons to foment quarrels. He said:

"I am not here to cast reproach on anyone, but there is one circumstance which I am bound to place before you, and which is fraught with the most incalculable evil to India, and that is the fact that not one or two, but more than one or two, went about discrediting the efforts of others. We might differ in methods of activity and work, we might differ in our programme, but all alike were fired with a resolve to do the best they could. To go about and say that so and so is doing nothing, and to go to Englishmen and say that so and so has no following and that so and so is discredited in his country was a suicidal practice. The advantage was that such tactics generally failed, because the man to whom such things were said straightaway came to the man of whom they were said and found out the truth.

MR. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, who himself deserves the highest praise for his able advocacy of India's cause before the Joint Committee, bestows high praise on Mr. Banerjea, Mrs. Besant and Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. Of Mr. Sastri he says: "There is not a name that stands higher in England to-day than that of Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. The impression he has created, the work that he has done silently and unostentatiously are worthy of all praise." He also spoke eulogistically of Mr. Tilak for his compromising attitude, which, however, Mr. Aiyar said, had brought him into disfavour with his own party.

Speaking of the Labour party, he said that, while every effort must be made to enlist its support, it would be a mistake to pin one's faith solely to the party whose interests in regard to economic questions—and they will be the most important questions in the future—are opposed to our national interests.

IN the thoughtful and thought-provoking address of Sir Abdur Rahim at the Convocation of the Mysore University there are one or two points which Indians should ponder over and profit by. We do not allude to the need for technical education, industrial activity, the co-ordination of the library and the laboratory, etc., which are the commonplace features of every Convocation address and which will be so until all these objects are achieved. But we mean his well-directed attack on the self-complacency and pride in our dead past which spell stagnation and material and intellectual putrefaction; his appeal for more institutions like the Servants of India Society and for a thorough organisation of all our social, moral, and economic forces, the absence of which have made the masses of our people the "inefficient slaves" of statecraft, priest-craft, tradition and custom and his appeal to all the educated men and women of India to become "voluntary missionaries" in the task of perfecting such an organisation. These are a few of the valuable suggestions of which his Convocation address is full.

IT is now well-known that the organisers of the Essex Hall meeting on September 1, were with great difficulty able to avert two resolutions of sinister import: one of protest against Mrs. Besant and the other proclaiming boycott of reformed councils. The latter resolution was supported by Mr. Satyamurti against Mr. Tilak. Of Mr. Satyamurti's conduct, Mr. N. C. Kelkar has a simple explanation to offer (vide the *Kesari* of 7th instant). It is, according to him, to be attributed wholly to Mr. Satyamurti's exclusion from the Congress deputation. "Some wonder," says Mr. Kelkar, "as to how Mr. Satyamurti sends letters full of one-sided matter and even mere personalities to the *Hindu*. I was long desirous of explaining what really lies at the bottom of all those effusions, and here I give the explanation."

MR. KELKAR also criticises Messrs. Horniman, A. Rangaswami Aiyengar, Wadia and, (again) Satyamurti, the former two for putting themselves forward to speak at the journalists' meeting at the Gatti's and the latter for making speeches of a wild and irresponsible character. He is especially bitter against Mr. Satyamurti, who had complained that the Indian journalists, including extremists of vaunted courage, were much too timorous and did not write as strongly as circumstances warranted. On this Mr. Kelkar says: "The whole world seems to Mr. Satyamurti too mild and moderate. He himself can afford to advise violent writing since he has only to write in papers owned by others!"

## THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN ENGLAND. INTRODUCTORY.

HAVING an intimate bearing on national well-being, the problem of housing is as important as it is interesting and intricate. In all countries and at all times, a satisfactory state of public health, low infant mortality, a high level of general contentment, and an elevated moral tone of society, have been regarded as national assets. And there is no question more vitally affecting these issues than the housing of the working classes.

All copybook maxims notwithstanding, man is largely but the creature of his surroundings. Here and there a few individuals may break through their shackles and prove themselves superior. But these are only the exceptions that prove the rule. The generality of men are moulded and developed by their environments, 'as the dyer's hand is subdued unto the colour it works in.'

Among the many factors of this environment, the home assumes a more and more prominent position. There is reason in this, for, whatever other provision be made for work or recreation, the home is, after all, the place where people spend most of their time. Life begins there and generally ends there. "At the beginning of life, the whole time is spent there and home conditions are of paramount importance to the young whose physical welfare has become the object of increasing care." Daily experience makes every one of us realise that it makes all the difference in the world whether a child passes its tender and most impressionable years in a comfortable house, amidst cleanly and healthy surroundings or in a dark and ill-ventilated garret nearly in ruins. One workman has the assurance that, after his day's work, he has a cosy and inviting home to return to where he can forget all the dreariness of his hard work. Another, working along with him, knows that the coal pit he is working in is a better place of shelter than his home which, to him, is nothing but undiluted misery. The difference in the morale of the two men would certainly be very great. The former is, very likely, a healthy and happy man who can give his children all the manifold advantages which go generally with a good home. The latter is, probably, sickly, discontented and of a diseased mind and looks upon his wife and children as so many additional sources of worry.

But the evil does not stop with the man himself. It reaches down to his descendants. Every generation badly housed only helps to bring into the world a worse generation of beings—worse endowed and worse equipped for the hard battle of life. An ultimate degeneration of the race is the result; and in the meanwhile, what ought to have been human assets to the State are turned into national liabilities. Drunkenness and crime, immorality and disease increase rapidly. Prisons and asylums, workhouses and hospitals have to be provided in ever-growing numbers and at enormous

cost. General discontent is in the air and every man's knife is at his neighbour's throat. This is so, not because he has any inborn love for cutting throats, but simply because he has no bread to cut with it and no home to put it in. Let men have a good home and some means of making for themselves a few domestic conveniences and comforts of bringing into their lives a little of Nature's colour and gladness, and the aspect of things would change as if by magic.

It is, of course, not suggested that the unrest and suffering in the present-day western industrial world is due wholly to the insufficiency or the wretchedness of housing for the working classes. Nor is it our idea that with the more or less successful solution of that problem the millennium would be directly ushered in. But we mean that the housing question is responsible for a large portion of the prevalent misery and that, if that is successfully handled, many of the sinister clouds will disperse. That this is so is borne out by many independent authorities and not the result of morbid fancy, as Mr. Shadwell would suggest. The Royal Commission, for instance, appointed in 1917 to inquire into the causes of industrial unrest in England observed that they have thought it right to point out that the housing question was put forward (by a majority of the witnesses) as one of the general causes of industrial unrest and that, "in the national interest, it should be dealt with at a very early date."

Nor is this surprising. It would, indeed, be hard for persons who have not seen for themselves some of the worst slums in big industrial centres to realise to the full what life under those conditions means. Sufficient fresh air and sunlight are as much among the prime necessities of healthy life as food and drink. Where, owing to bad housing conditions, they are excluded, as they are in all slums, disease finds the way prepared for it; and the death-rate is kept at a staggering level. The needless waste of precious human life in this way is something frightful. Dr. Muir, who made a special investigation into the subject in England, reported that the number of deaths from pulmonary disease and diseases of young children were *half as much again in back to back houses* (and, therefore, without through ventilation) *as in ordinary houses*. The facility with which fell diseases like tuberculosis spread in overcrowded and insanitary areas is well-known. Many of the London Tuberculosis Dispensaries have reported that more than 60 to 70 per cent. of cases of the disease are due to nothing but overcrowding. We do not wish to quote harrowing details; but just to give our readers an idea as to what bad housing means in particular cases in a cold and foggy country like England, we will cite from one of the dispensary reports the case of one Mrs. Simms, the simple tragedy of which we leave to our readers to imagine.

"At 181, Mrs. Simms will be found, but she is in such trouble that we hardly like to knock. For, this morning

early, Simms woke up, and coughed and died. Uninsured, with no savings or earnings, there poor Simms lies and the five small children stand around, looking wide-eyed and wondering on their first sight of death. A starved fire flickers in the grate. The windows are not merely closed but round the edges of each sash is pasted tight a double strip of paper. For, through the old and loosely-fitted woodwork come otherwise piercing draughts on winter nights. These windows have for long been sealed with paper so as to keep out both winter draughts and summer breezes. The paper was fixed by the preceding tenants who, when they were evicted, were found to number fourteen in all. *Fourteen souls in two small rooms with sealed windows! The seeds of death were sown thick and fast on the floors of No. 18L.* (Italics ours)

Cases of this description are not, perhaps, very numerous, but there is no reason to think that this is either an isolated or exceptional case. It is a type and differs from thousands of cases only in degree and, even there, not much.

But this is not at all. The evil results of bad housing are not confined to the physical side alone. The moral effects are as grievous and, because less easily perceived, far more dangerous. We have only to think for a moment to see that the unfortunate victims cannot help themselves. When a house consists, say, of two rooms (and none of the most comfortable) and there are at least a dozen souls to live in them, how is it to be expected that the house will be kept clean and wholesome? How is it possible for the inmates to have a high standard of life and live up to it? How can they help going down in the scale of delicacy when there is not sufficient space to separate the sexes, when grown up boys and girls have to sleep in the same room, and, not unoften, on the same bed? What reason is there in complaining that they lack a sense of decency when there is only one sanitary convenience for half a dozen tenements? When a man finds that the house he lives in is only a breeding place of disease and death for him and those he loves, who can blame him if his feelings become warped and blunted and if he takes to intemperate ways, if only to drown 'black' care and its thousand and one heart-aches? What more natural than that generation after generation of life under these conditions should lead to a kind of moral indifference, if not atrophy?

Let us again repeat here that we do not mean that, by overhauling the housing system, we can prevent all this moral and physical shipwreck. It is, indeed, sometimes contended that overcrowding and its concomitants are due to the simple fact that the family of the workman cannot afford to pay for sufficient accommodation, and that still less has he the wherewithal to obtain the decencies and amenities of life. It is argued that, consequently, until the causes of poverty and, therefore, poverty itself are removed, no final solution of the housing problem can be reached. To some extent, this is undoubtedly true. Certainly, there is, and there always will be, a certain proportion who cannot pay full economic rent for sufficient accommodation for their family. That is exactly one of the standing difficulties of the problem. In any

conceivable (and successful) scheme of housing, these will have to be taken in hand by the State and the loss due to the difference between the economic rent and that paid by the poor workman will have to be treated as a public burden. So far it is alright. But to argue, as Mr. Shadwell does, that, because of the existence of this difficulty the whole problem will have to wait till an impossible period of plentiful wages sets in, is to take an infructuous and mischievous view. Apart from this, however, statistics go to show that even of persons who can pay their way, a large proportion live in overcrowded conditions, merely because "there is no room to live." Should these also wait?

The problem, indeed, does not admit of any the least delay. It existed in a sufficiently distressful condition before the war, but it has been brought to a head by the twofold way in which the latter has affected it. During the terrible years of strain, no attention could be spared for this; with the result that a good deal of house-building which would otherwise have been carried out to relieve the situation had to be left over entirely. And the price of all building materials has gone so enormously high that a cottage which cost £ 350 can now hardly be built for anything under £ 500. In other words, it has become much less of an attraction as investment than it ever was before, and capital fights shy of it. We shall refer to these points later on in their place. What should be borne in mind now is that, owing to the "double-barrelled" effect of the war on this question, housing room has fallen far short of national requirements, and people of all stations in life are hard put to it to get decent dwellings. We make no apology to refer to a very interesting and perhaps significant incident (reported in the *Times of India* of Oct. 4) which throws light on the acute distress now prevailing.

The Newport council chamber met to consider the Housing Committee's Report. As there were no houses for many discharged soldiers at Newport, the corporation announced that they proposed taking over Woolston house which had been a Military Hospital during the war and which would accommodate about 60 families.

At this stage of the proceedings, there came from the visitors' gallery the derisive cry, "60 families! I can give you 600!" This was an ex-soldier who had served in Salonica. "Is it right," he went on, "for a man, his wife and six children to live in one room?" The mayor very properly threatened to put him out, if he did not desist from interrupting. Sharp came the response, "We have fought once, we can fight again."

All sufferers, no doubt, are not so outspoken or so pugnacious. But it shows, for one thing, how keen the feeling of the average man is getting on this vexed question. If left to itself, this unrest and excitement may flow into unhealthy channels. It, therefore, behooves every Government to grapple with the problem, before its urgency gathers uncontrollable volume.

But, unfortunately, the mere shortage of houses is the least difficult part of the problem, of course, comparatively. If, indeed, the difficulty of the situation consisted only in insufficiency of the number of houses in relation to the population the solution would be a matter of a few years at the most. This is not the case. There are a number of other factors so inextricably bound up with it that all attempts at solving it in isolation from them have proved impracticable. An illustration would make this clear. Supposing that we had only to provide houses, we can make heroic efforts and sacrifices and build a sufficient number of dwellings in villages and country-sides far removed from congested areas wherefrom the excess population can be drawn away. But the workman likes to live near his work. He does not wish to add to his troubles by having to traverse a tedious distance both before and after his day's work. He would, therefore, refuse to live away from the overcrowded industrial centres where he has to work, unless cheap and quick means of locomotion are provided for him. If this could be done, the task of drawing workmen away from urban areas would become more feasible. By rendering the city easily accessible from the workman's house, such a system would remove the necessity to build in undesirable places in order to meet the needs of industry and would bring that element of elasticity in housing, the absence of which has been a stumbling block up to now. In other words, the question of transport is very intimately connected with the practical issues of the housing difficulty. Similar is the case with many other considerations which we will notice later on.

What, then, are the nature and conditions of this difficult problem in England? What is its present stage? What steps, legislative and other, have been taken from time to time to solve it? On what lines is the solution being attempted now?

Conditions of climate and work, the nature and temperament of the people, their standards of life and outlook are, no doubt, sharply different in England and in India. What, therefore, applies to England may not apply, or apply with the same force to India and *vice versa*. Still with the fundamental similarity of human nature all over the world, with the growing adoption of western standards and tastes and with the rapid assimilation of industrial methods to those of the west, the answer, in outline, to the questions raised in the preceding paragraph, with a few interesting figures from the census return of 1911, may not be unprofitable and is sure to be instructive and full of lessons—both for guidance and as warnings—for India where the problem has already entered on an acute stage demanding our immediate attention.

### PROHIBITION IN AMERICA.

[The writer of this article was born and passed his childhood and youth in the state of Kentucky, one of the greatest producers of distilled liquors in America: worked in

Louisville, the metropolis of that state, and the stronghold of the distilleries: carried out investigation work and tabulation of data on social conditions in Chicago to secure which he maintained first hand contact with the "saloon" and incidentally acquired an intimate knowledge of the more sordid by-products of the liquor traffic. He has an intimate knowledge of St. Louis, a centre of the brewing interest, and of Kansas City, M. O., a thriving industrial city of the Missouri valley. For eleven years he was a resident of the state of Kansas, one of the two pioneers in the experiment of prohibition. He is, at present, the General Secretary of the Poona Y. M. C. A. His authority to write on this subject is unquestionable and we have great pleasure in publishing his article., Ed. S. of I.]

THE temperance movement in America began more than a hundred years ago, and by the time of the Civil War in 1861 had gained considerable headway. Sentiment in favour of prohibition had grown sufficiently to pass laws for statutory prohibition in eleven states, but there was a sharp reaction after the close of the war, and most of the states repealed their prohibition laws.

For forty years there was little solid sentiment in favour of prohibition, but two states, Maine and Kansas, during this period enacted prohibition legislation. Some time later North Dakota made the third one of the group to engage in the experiment. All through this period there was constant agitation of the question, and the country was being given facts that were gleaned from those states trying it, and such other information as science and religion could supply.

The notable advance towards prohibition came after the opening of the present century, and the last fifteen years have witnessed the crystallization of sentiment in its favour. From about 1900 began the widely scattered experiments with local option, by which is meant the right of a city or a country to be "wet" or "dry" by the majority vote of its electorate. The progress of prohibition was bitterly fought all the way. Most of the states affected had test cases first in their lower courts, then in the State Supreme Court, and finally in the Supreme Court of the United States. The cases were designed to test the constitutionality of the law, which the saloon interests challenged. The net result of this running fight in the courts was favourable to prohibition, which encouraged many other towns and countries to adopt it. This sentiment had gained such headway that in 1908 more than 2,500 counties out of a total of less than 3,000 had adopted prohibition, and only those remained wet where there were vested interests or where there were large cities. Thirty-two states had adopted statutory prohibition by 1908, as well as the territory of Alaska, the District of Columbia, with the capital city of Washington, as also Porto Rico, the Panama Canal Zone, Hawaii, Guam, and the Virgin Islands, which are most of the United States.

In order to properly understand the question, one must recall that America has changed almost overnight from a great unsettled, pioneer country, to one that is highly developed, highly organized and with the communities largely interdependent.

Rapid transportation has drawn large cities together, has brought the rural district to the city, and the city to the country side. There is only a rare hamlet that is more than a few miles from a railroad. The American farmer is a gentleman. He gets his daily paper by rural post delivery; he has his rural telephone, by which he keeps in touch with his market and his neighbours; he reads the best and latest magazines, being often a man with a degree; he has his sons and daughters in the university, and all are keenly alive to the issues of the day. He has a seven-passenger motor car for pleasure for the family, and keeps the Ford for business and bad roads.

There is no official class in America. Men of capacity from every rank in society are members of the legislative assemblies, and since their position is entirely dependent upon the approval of their constituency, they are keenly alive to its will.

It is well to remember here the time-honoured and hotly contested doctrine of "States' Rights", over which the nation came so near to disruption. By this principle of Government all matters of purely domestic policy are left with the states. This has placed upon the states the responsibility both for the enactment of prohibitory laws and their enforcement. The prohibition movement has advanced only so rapidly as individual states have insisted upon legislation for it.

The outstanding feature of American life is that it is at high tension. Men work hard, play hard, fight hard, live fast and drink hard. In this sort of atmosphere the customs that were approved two generations ago are being subjected now to a very exacting review as to their bearing on the congested, organized life that they affect.

In attempting to portray the American saloon, I shall indicate only those features which the champions of the saloon avow and claim as legitimate. The saloon is commercial, therefore, competitive. This being true, the volume of business is important, as upon this depends the profit. In order to prosper, the saloon must do two things: it must maintain a large volume of business, and it must insure that enough boys of every generation form the liquor habit to secure the business of the future. The National Liquor Dealers' Association has for years promoted a widespread campaign to encourage the liquor habit among boys and young men. The attractions which the retailer presents are the most elegant and handsome fixtures, carved wood, French beveled mirrors, plate glass and mahogany furniture, with the place brilliantly and beautifully lighted. Into this setting are introduced such things as are calculated to attract young men bent on having a careless good time; well dressed and affable friends, music, latest sport news, gambling, and girls in décolleté and semi-nudity.

Capitalization of the saloon is easier than any other business. The wholesale dealers, believing that every saloon increases their volume of business and hence their profits, would furnish a com-

plete stock of liquors to any man who did not have money or credit. This has attracted to the business large numbers of the less capable and least desirable men in the nation. They are largely of the ignorant or un-Americanised immigrant class, coming mostly from Germany, Middle and Southern Europe. Business initiative and intelligence are not required. Loyalty to the vicious political interests and a sordid knowledge of human weakness were the only necessary assets.

The National Liquor Dealers' Association developed itself into a strong central organization to combat the alarming growth of prohibition. They were very successful for a long time in controlling elections and dominating municipal, state and national issues. They encouraged an utter disregard for law and met either with open defiance or secret evasion all legislation designed to regulate the business, such as sale to minors (youths under 21 years of age), early closing hours, gambling tables, etc. Police authorities and men were subsidised and corrupted to secure immunity from arrest and prosecution. Failing in other measures to win their case, they resorted to terrorism and intimidation to deal with men who opposed the business. If an influential man got active in the cause of prohibition, he might find his house afire or his office bombed; he might be encountered by thugs at a dark corner, or trapped into some apparently compromising circumstances with women of ill repute, in the effort to coerce him into silence and inaction.

By direct subsidises, liberal payment for advertising space, and interlocking directorates with large daily papers and influential weeklies and monthlies, they managed to keep much of the press silent or openly hostile to the cause of prohibition. The recent development of some of the great modern industries, which were willing to pay for advertising on a national scale, emancipated great sections of the press from the domination of the liquor interests, and they became strong in the advocacy of prohibition.

Economic and financial pressure was a favourite weapon of the saloon. A close associate of mine was one of the best bank tellers in the city. He got active in the cause of temperance, and was told immediately by the head of his firm that he would have to leave the employ of the bank. The explanation was, that while they were very sorry personally to lose his services the largest depositor of the bank was a saloon man and he had demanded that my friend be dismissed. I know personally of many other cases against the high and the low, the rich and poor alike. Many large retailers have been kept inactive in the fight, from the danger, and more frequently by the openly voiced threat, of withdrawal of trade. This has been a big influence, as saloon people usually spend money rather lavishly, and for items of merchandise on which there is a large margin of profit, such as costly jewelry and expensive clothes.

The Liquor Dealers' Association kept up a run-

ning fire of propaganda to prove that 'prohibition does not prohibit', and to this end they constantly misquoted and manipulated the statistics bearing on their business. This later came to light and reacted sharply against them, but for a long time it had great effect in forestalling the issue in many states where otherwise it would have been decided.

( *To be concluded.* )

GARLAND CRAIG.

### AN IMPERIAL JUDICATURE FOR THE INDIAN STATES.

( *Concluded from the last issue.* )

WHEN F. C. O. B. says that the political department has been handed over to the head of the Government since the Morley-Minto reforms, he is apparently labouring under a misapprehension. The Morley-Minto Reforms did not introduce any such change. They only added one more executive councillor to the four provinces. As a matter of fact, so far as Bombay is concerned, one of the two councillors (and they were two up to 1910) was generally selected from the judicial department. This tradition was kept up till 1897. After the retirement of the Hon'ble Mr. Birdwood, Sir Edward Ollivant was selected from the revenue department to succeed him. The old practice was revived again when Mr. Justice Fulton was appointed to the Council. Since 1907, however, executive councillors have been recruited from Departments other than judicial. The departure of appointing both the executive councillors from the revenue department has been made prior to the introduction of the Morley-Minto reforms. Why the executive Government has declined to admit judicial experience into its executive council is not made known to the public. But the result has been very deplorable. It is no doubt a matter of very great satisfaction that H. E. Sir George Llyod has revived the old practice of selecting one of his executive councillors from the judicial department. Since the Morley-Minto Reforms increased the number of councillors from two to three, the Indian member has oftentimes been selected from the legal profession. F. C. O. B. very briefly observes that for "obvious reasons it would be inexpedient for the Indian member to hold the political portfolio." What are the obvious reasons? They are not patent to the ordinary reader. We wish the learned writer had detailed them at some length. The argument of expediency, for excluding the Indian member from the political portfolio, would sound well in the mouth of a bureaucrat. But that a jurist of the position of F. C. O. B. should raise such a preposterous objection passes all comprehension. Indian members have sat on the bench along with F. C. O. B. and their reputation as judges has been unrivalled. If there is one department more than another, in which Indians have won their laurels, it is the judicial department of the Government.

An Indian is even now adorning the Privy Council with credit to himself and to that august body. We therefore fail to see why an Indian member is disqualified to hold the political portfolio. Whatever may be said about handing over other branches of the political department to the Indian member, this branch of disposing of the political cases can be safely entrusted to him. The safety of the Empire would in no way be endangered by such a step. As a member of the legal profession he possesses the requisite knowledge of law. By his familiarity with the usages and customs of the country, because of his intimacy with the sentiments and prejudices of the people and in virtue of his acquaintance with the traditions and historical associations of the parties concerned, an Indian member of the executive council would decidedly be in a better position to appreciate the facts of these political cases than his European colleagues. And, if the smaller States are to remain outside the pale of these Commissions, the political cases affecting these States should at least be handed over to the Indian member of the executive council, if he is selected, as he should be, from the legal profession. Such a change would undoubtedly lead to a vast improvement of the existing state of things.

F. C. O. B. raises three objections against the suggestion of Commissions. They are that, if Commissions are to be given for each and every State, the country would be dotted with these special courts and that the supply of High Court judges would speedily run out; that if the decisions of these tribunals are to be submitted to the political department they may not accept them, and, thirdly, the appointment of such Commissions would be looked upon with jealousy and would be treated with scant courtesy. These three objections are no doubt sound. But the remedy suggested is not free from difficulties. He suggests that the appeal should be not to the Secretary of State but to the judicial Committee of the Privy Council. For every State to approach the Privy Council for redress would be prohibitively costly. It is, therefore necessary to have provincial courts in India and a Department of Privy Council to dispose of these cases. If, in every High Court, there are two judges attached to dispose of all political cases, such a tribunal would be within the easy reach of many litigants. A permanent court of two high court judges constituting a bench would give satisfactory relief to all the parties concerned. One bench in a province would have sufficient work to occupy its time especially as it will have nothing to do with the other work of the High Court. It would not cause the dearth of high court judges. It would avoid frittering away the energies of various judges in individual commissions promiscuously spread all over the country. The judges should never expect to be promoted to the executive council of the province or of the centre and their decisions should be final. It would of course, be, necessary to extend the



territorial limits of some High Courts to bring some Indian States under their jurisdiction, as some are situated in provinces which are not subject to the jurisdiction of any High Court. But this can be very easily accomplished.

The great States now in direct relations with the Government of India should have their disputes settled by a branch of the judicial committee of the Privy Council created for this purpose and should not be subject to any provincial benches of political appeals. Such procedure would be entirely in consonance with their dignity. Such a machinery, if provided for the disposal of political cases, would be regarded as a great blessing and would remove once for all the great hardship which the States have been suffering for the last sixty years and more.

One objection taken to the constitution of such a court is that the Ruling Princes and Chiefs should not be subjected to the jurisdiction of municipal courts in British India. The Indian States are subject to their own laws and their internal sovereignty has been assured to them by the Paramount Power. It is apprehended by some people that,—if the disputes of Indian States are referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council the sovereign rights of these States would be interfered with and subjected to the jurisdiction of municipal courts in British India. But there is no substratum of truth in this objection. Although the Indian States have their own laws and their own courts so far as their own subjects are concerned, in their corporate capacity they are subject to the ultimate control of the Paramount Power. The executive Government through its political department is every day disposing of cases affecting their interests. No State has questioned the right of the Paramount Power to decide these cases. By their feudatory position the Indian States are subject to the authority of their overlord. No changes are contemplated either in the rights of the Indian States or in those of the British Government. It is only the mode of exercising these rights and the machinery through which they are to be enforced that are now under consideration. Instead of the executive Government deciding these disputes pertaining to the Indian States, what is suggested is that a judicial tribunal should adjudicate such cases. This arrangement, it is easy to see, does not in any way derogate from the rights of the Paramount Power. And, on the other side, the question as to which particular agency and machinery of the Paramount Power takes these matters in hand hardly makes any difference in the position of a party which has accepted the situation and submitted to the jurisdiction. The creation, therefore, of a Supreme Court conflicts with the rights neither of the Indian States nor of the British Government. The proposed change is sure to increase the efficiency of the machinery employed for the disposal of these cases. The Indian States would, therefore, welcome such a change. The suggestion in the

Report promises an open forum, a right to represent their own cases and the right to know what the other side has got to say against them. These are very great privileges as compared with the secret ways in which the political appeals are disposed of at the present time. The creation of a high court of appeal would be an Act of condescension on the part of the Paramount Power. It would undoubtedly add to its credit and enhance its reputation for fair and impartial treatment of the Indian States. The creation of an imperial judiciary would also have a deterring effect upon the high-handedness of the political department. "The knowledge that an appeal might be made to a competent court would at once put our Governors and Councillors into a judicial frame of mind so that very little room would be left for appeals and very few appeals would lead to a reversal of the original decision. In the appointment of such a tribunal there would be no loss of authority and there would be an infinite gain of moral power."

Of the seven hundred Indian States nearly a hundred enjoy full powers of internal sovereignty. In their case the interference of the political department with their decisions is very rare, though they are not theoretically immune from the revising authority of the political department. But in the case of the remaining six hundred States, the Government exercises through its political department the powers of revision, both as a matter of right and of practice. In the case of these six hundred Indian States the necessity of a court of revision is quite apparent and the reasons which we have given above for the constitution of a court of appeal apply with the same force so far as the smaller Indian States are concerned.

But the suggestion contained in the Report applies only to the Indian States enjoying full sovereign powers in their internal administration. It does not take account of the rights of the subjects of the Indian States. These, surely, have also an equal right to get fair and imperial justice. As a matter of fact, subjects of Indian States generally approach the British Government authorities whenever they are dissatisfied with the decrees of the Indian States. It is true that the Government interferes very sparingly and only in cases of gross injustice. But the point involved here is not in how many cases Government interferes, but whether it has a right to interfere at all, and so far as this abstract question of the right of the Paramount Power to interfere is concerned, the Indian States admit its right to do it. If this position, viz., that the British Government has a right to interfere with the decisions of Indian States affecting their subjects, is conceded, the question which naturally suggests itself is the propriety of the method by which this right of interference is exercised. Generally, aggrieved subjects of Indian States apply to the Political Agent or Resident for the redress of their wrongs. This dignitary decides these cases in the same manner in

which political appeals of Indian States are disposed of with the most laconic formula that 'Government sees no reason to interfere.' What we contend on behalf of the subjects is that instead of having to apply to the political department of the Government for revision of the decrees passed by Indian States, they would feel it more in consonance with the spirit of the times, if this work of revision is handed over to some judicial machinery. The subjects of Indian States complain about these political courts exactly in the manner in which the States themselves in their corporate character complain of this very department. The reasons which justify the creation of an imperial judicature for the disposal of the political cases apply *mutatis mutandis* to the cases of the subjects of the Indian States.

To summarise. If, as we have suggested above provincial tribunals are created, the powers of revision of the decrees of the Indian States should be taken away from the political department and should be entrusted to these courts. They would provide sufficient work for the Bench created in each province to dispose of political cases of the Indian States. A distinction may be drawn, if necessary, that the cases of revision of the decisions of sovereign States enjoying the privilege of direct relations with the Government of India should be referred to the Committee of the Privy Council to be created for this purpose. The cases of revision of the decisions of all other States should be disposed of by the provincial courts. Their decisions should be final. The work which is now being done by military officers and by the under-Secretaries and Secretaries of the political department can with great advantage be handed over to these provincial courts. The constitution of these courts will give entire satisfaction both to the Indian States and to their subjects, and in creating them the Paramount Power will be doing merely an act of bare justice which has been over-due for the long span of sixty years.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

#### AN APPEAL FOR RELIEF. HALF THE POPULATION DISAPPEARED!

THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY (EAST BENGAL).

WE, the deputed members of the Servants of India Society, from Jamshedpur, accompanied by Babu Nishikant Bose, of the Bengal Social Service League, made a tour of the areas affected by the recent cyclone. We found the *chars* in Vikrampur on the bank of the Padma to have suffered the most. All the houses are gone and nearly 50% of the residents are reported to be lost; women and children have rarely escaped. Water rose from 5 to 8 feet in some places; crops and cattle have disappeared. Boats which are the only means of conveyance amongst these people have become scarce. They have taken shelter under sheds made of long grass and in boats where any are left. There are ordinarily no trees in the *chars*. The *chars* visited are: (1) Tarpassa, (2) Sabajnagar, (3) Karali, (4) Beteswar, (5) Mooya, (6) Kaurpârâ, (7) Batin, (8) Kender, and (9) Kamalpur. These *chars* had a population of about 10,000 persons, of whom nearly 5000 are said to have lost their lives. Some of the survivors in 4 or 5 *chars* have found employment in the Assam Sundarban Despatch steamer which was wrecked on the north bank of the Padma near Lohajung.

Government have just started making a free distribution of rice only. More help in the shape of cash for erecting huts and of clothes is urgently needed. A complete and accurate census of families in the various *chars* and the members of survivors in each family has been made. The report submitted will be of great help to the relief parties.

In co-operation with us, the Bengal Social Service League has started a centre of relief work in these nine *chars*, comprising a present population of nearly 5000 destitute people.

Help in cash or clothes, may be sent to Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Superintendent, grain stores, Jamshedpur, or to Dr. Maitra, Hon. Secretary of the League, Mayo Hospital, Calcutta.

A. V. THAKKAR,  
L. N. SAHU,  
Members, Servants of India Society.  
W. ROY, Volunteer.

College Square, Calcutta,  
October 9.

[ 'Char' land is land formed in the middle of a wide stream of a tidal river by the incessant accumulation of alluvial soil deposited by the stream where its free course is checked by the incoming tides of the ocean. The deposit of silt grows gradually in level, until it develops into a kind of islet which becomes eminently fit for cultivation and in which hundreds of people make their homes. It is easy to imagine how these would be the first to suffer from floods and cyclones.—Ed. S. of I. ]

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

SIR,—I have read your editorial notes about me (in the SERVANT OF INDIA of June 19) with interest. You have let me off very easily. I had expected a rougher handling. Your gentleness and kindness is very embarrassing. I am in the habit of hitting hard and I expect to be hit hard in return. The fact is we have to get accustomed to hitting and hit in return in public interest and, still remain friends and co-workers. That is the lesson I learned from the western system of public life. Good or bad, it is inseparable from the system. If we are to adopt the western system of public life, if we intend to introduce western political institutions into our country, if we have to guard public life against corruption, if we want to cultivate vigour, virility and vivacity in public life, we shall have to be more frank and robust in our mutual criticisms than we at present are. We have to learn, that strong language used in the discussion of public affairs, even against persons and personalities is by itself not evidence of malice, nor of personal grudge, that it should not lead to bitterness in private relations, nor to complete estrangement in public affairs. It should be accompanied by readiness to forget and forgive. There is no doubt that much depends on individual temperaments. It seems, that while we are prepared to take attacks and insults from authorities almost lying, we are very sensitive about attacks and criticisms from our own people. Hostile criticism often leads to permanent enmity. I want my countrymen to get rid of that mentality and to take attacks relating to public affairs in a more sportive spirit.

Now, permit me to make clear my position about the Servants of India. I love those of you with whom I have had the honor of coming in personal contact and I respect all. I have unbounded admiration for your sacrifices, your devotion to the Motherland and your selflessness. In the political life of the country I have never had greater respect for any man than I had for your late lamented leader. Similarly, there is no other single organisation or group of public men in the country for whom I have greater respect than the Servants of India. I have never met your present President; but I have

very great respect for him. That is exactly why I am jealous of your good name. The younger generation of the country looks to you as examples and patterns of patriotism. As such I feel that somebody should now and then criticise you if he has some ground for criticism. Now I have been feeling for some time that some of your members have been getting into the dangerous habit of hobnobbing with big people. I believe there can be no friendship except between equals. I have yet to meet a member of British Indian bureaucracy, however generous, benevolent, kind and just he may be, who considers any Indian to be his equal. The British Liberal and Radical Imperialists are also of the same stamp. While I don't want to hate any one nor am I prepared to reject all overtures of friendship, I feel in my heart of hearts that Indian leaders will do well not to mix with them too much. The only men whose friendship we should seek and cultivate are those who are prepared to admit our right to national freedom. Others we can negotiate with, at times co-operate with, but to have real, affectionate friendship with them is out of the question. From the latter we should not accept any kindness which we cannot return. I have often observed that the best and the most independent of our leaders have sometimes sacrificed their independence for the sake of pleasing those, or for fear of losing the good opinion of those in authority, from whom they had received kindness. Now, sometimes there is an advantage in that kind of relationship, but my experience tells me that in unequal friendship, the party in authority always gets more and gives less. 'Getting' and 'giving' should not be understood in a literal sense. Our late lamented leader, Mr. Gokhale, did well in rejecting the knighthood that was offered to him, but I wish he had steered clear of the 'friendship' of some Englishmen, who admired him genuinely, but who were never prepared to concede to his countrymen the right of ruling their own country.

I am of opinion that a Society like the Servants of India, whose members pledge themselves to a life of poverty, ought to be iconoclastic in their friendships and their relationships with big men, be they foreigners or Indians. They should not spare those of their own countrymen whose lives and means of wealth are a source of standing shame, but who try to win the approval or at least the silent acquiescence of their iconoclastic countrymen by giving away doles of their ill-begotten means, for public purposes. Failure to observe this rule is by no means heinous, but it is necessary that somebody should rub it now and then. May I remind you that doctrine of Manu wherein he very shrewdly says that for a Brahmin to hear his own praises is like swallowing poison? This is an impossible ideal yet it is in the best interests of the best of the Brahmins that he should sometimes be told by the best of friends that he is not faultless. That is my reason for finding fault with the Servants of India. It does not satisfy me to know that you are doing more than any one else does for the ideals of Social Democracy. I know that. I want you to do more. You can not do it quite freely if you allow yourself even unconsciously to be influenced by the kindness and favours of those very persons and that very class whose monopolies or privileges you want to attack. In the end I want to assure you once more of my highest esteem and regard for you and your fellow-members. If I have hurt their feelings I hope they will forgive me when they know my motives. I am in the habit of expressing myself rather strongly, but I do not claim and have never claimed any monopoly of wisdom or patriotism or virtue. I know that in many respects specially in selflessness you are infinitely superior to me; yet I consider I have a right to give vent to my feelings, sometimes if for no other purpose, of being lectured in reply.—Yours, etc.

LALPAT RAI.

[There is not the least chance, we need hardly assure Lalaji, of his criticisms being misunderstood. The Lalaji's code of conduct for public men seems to be: avoid all big

folk, if possible; at any rate have no more than business relations with them; occasional co-operation and perhaps some bargaining is all that is admissible in their case, but there must be no attempt at making friendship or maintaining social relations with them. If the offer of friendship or social intercourse comes from them, do not decline it altogether, but do not accept it. When one sees how many abiding friendships men like Mr. Gandhi and Sir Rabindranath Tagore are able to form among official and non-official Europeans and wealthy Indians, breaking the barrier of official position or social status, one need not take so gloomy a view of the possibility of having friendly relations with people of a different status. We need not, however, on this occasion go into all the principles of conduct prescribed by Lalaji, for we will assure him that the members of the Servants of India Society have, as a fact, no more than strictly business dealings with either the official class or the monied class, though we do not know that it is an ideal condition to be worked for. Those who engage in public work cannot help coming into contact with officials; and if one holds fast to one's principles one need not avoid such contact; the greater the work the more frequent, necessarily, is the contact. We recognise, of course, that there can be an undesirable sort of hobnobbing with men in high places; it is banned in the Servants of India Society. We have not the least hesitation in saying that any suspicion to the contrary which Lalaji may entertain is absolutely unfounded. As to receiving monetary help from big people, it must be remembered that such help comes only from people who accept in a general way the principles for which the Society stands and who themselves desire the advent of the state of society which Lalaji wishes to see established. We will add there is no public institution we know of, not the Satyagrahashram or the Shantiniketan, *s. g.*, which refuses to receive help from any of the Society's donors. The Society does not accept help from anyone who does not leave it free to work for its ideals without let or hindrance.—Ed. *S. of I.*]

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