

THE Servant of India

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Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY.

VOL. III, No. 35.]

POONA—THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1920.

[ANNUAL-SUBSN.: Rs. 6

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE solution of the difficult problem of the distribution of finances between the Government of India and the provincial Governments regarding the income-tax, reported to have been found by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, extremely partial and unsatisfactory as it was believed to be, now turns out to be absolutely farcical. The Committee says in its second report on the draft rules framed under the Government of India Act that it sees no reason to differ from the fundamental features of the proposals made by the Meston Committee and that it is definitely opposed to provincialising the taxation of income. The Committee declares the dissatisfaction caused by the proposals as inevitable in redistributing resources between a central and provincial Governments and specifically mentions the Government of Bombay as contesting not only the amount of its contribution but also the allocation of the heads of revenue on which the whole scheme of the Meston Committee is based. Nevertheless, the Joint Committee was pleased to favour a suggestion made to it by the Council of India, calculated to alleviate the disappointment caused by the proposals of the Financial Relations Committee and to express the opinion that "there should be granted to all provinces some share in the growth of revenue from taxation on incomes so far as that growth is attributable to an increase in the amount of income assessed." The explanation that was given of the assessment of this provincial share created the impression in some minds that one-fourth of the proceeds of the income-tax would be retained by the provinces who would also receive the same proportion of the excess of the increase in the amounts collected in the course of years.

BUT Rule 15 will cause complete disillusionment in this respect. It says: "The share so allocated shall be in the form of a specified number of pies of the amount collected on each rupee brought under assessment under the said Act (the Indian Income Tax Act, 1918). The number of pies to be specified shall be determined by the Governor General in Council, and shall be so calculated as to yield at the outset to the local Governments collectively a sum amounting as near as may be to 400 lakhs." This arrangement would have given to the provincial Governments 25 per cent. of the aggregate gross revenue from the income-tax and super-tax collected by provincial agency in 1920-21. But Rule 15 proceeds: "In consideration of this allocation, each local Government shall make to the Governor-General in Council a fixed annual assignment of a sum to be determined by the Governor-General in Council as the equivalent of the net amount which would have accrued to the local Government in the year 1920-21, had the pie rate to be fixed under sub-rule (1) been applied in that year." The allocation of a portion of the income-tax revenue to the provinces is, to start with, neutralized by the fixed annual assignment imposed upon them, equivalent of the net amount which would have accrued to them. The Joint Parliamentary Committee did not avowedly want to provincialize the income-tax and did not favour the idea that the provinces should share the proceeds of that tax with the central Government. The only concession it was induced to make was to allow the Governments of provinces to take a one-fourth share of the increase in the income-tax proceeds attributable to an increase in the amount of income assessed. The popular grievance fully shared by the Governments of the Presidencies thus remains substantially unredressed, and the view of the Government of India and of the Meston Committee has entirely prevailed.

* * *

THE Committee has but partially restored to the ministers their corporal entity in the reform rules. In rule 9 of the Devolution Rules which deals with matters affecting both reserved and transferred subjects, the Government of India's draft had provided that in case of disagreement between an executive councillor and a minister on an important matter, the Governor should consult with the executive council and the ministers together, as to the action to be taken, but that after the consultation was over the final decision should rest with

the Governor and the minister of the particular department concerned in case the Governor should decide that the matter was within the jurisdiction of the non-official part of the Government. The Joint Committee has now amended the rule so as to provide that in the final decision as well as in the preliminary consultation, the ministers should act together. They say :—

"They do not intend to imply that, in their opinion, in every case in which an order is passed in a transferred department the order should receive the approval of all the ministers; such a procedure would obviously militate against the expeditious disposal of business, and against the accepted canons of departmental responsibility. But in cases which are of sufficient importance to have called for discussion by the whole Government, they are clearly of opinion that the final decision should be that of the one or other portion of the Government as a whole."

* * *

BUT the Committee has failed to enforce the corporate responsibility of ministers in other rules. In rule 10, for instance, the original defect is not cured :

"The authority vested in the local Government over officers of the public services employed in a Governor's province shall be exercised in the case of officers serving in a department dealing with reserved subjects by the Governor in Council, and in the case of officers serving in a department dealing with transferred subjects by the Governor acting with the minister in charge of the department."

When this is put side by side with a passage in the report of the Joint Committee themselves on the Bill, the contrast will become apparent :

"In the provinces officers serving in a reserved department will be controlled by the Governor in Council, and in a transferred department by the Governor acting with ministers."

This contrast was recently pointed out by Mr. Sastri in these columns, but no improvement has been effected on the lines suggested by him. Again, the complaint against the Finance Department being put in charge of a member of the executive council is not remedied.

MR. GANDHI has issued an appeal to the voters to abstain from recording their votes. In this his success will be immense. We are told that in Madras of the 12,000 graduates entitled to come on to the register only some 4,000 have chosen to register themselves. None of those abstentions can be put to the credit of the non-co-operation movement, for the time for registration had long expired before non-co-operation gathered force. If, mere indifference can account for such a high percentage of abstentions in the most educated constituency of a very advanced province, what may not a non-co-operationist expect from rural constituencies where perhaps not one person in a hundred has ever heard of a vote, or even the legislative council? Mr. Gandhi now wishes to tell the elector that he has obtained a right to exercise the franchise, but that he must not exercise it in pursuance of non-co-operation. What will probably happen is that the average elector will remain in blissful ignorance of his having a vote at all, and Mr. Gandhi will have no need to trouble

about him. Ignorance will bring to Mr. Gandhi's standard far more recruits than firm adherence to his non-co-operation scheme, and perhaps both kinds of recruit will be accounted a gain by non-co-operators.

* * *

IN the Deccan, however, and perhaps in some other provinces, the Nationalists would place before the elector a different conception of his duty. They propose to tell him first that the franchise has been conferred upon him; next, that the Congress resolution forbids him to exercise the franchise, which otherwise it would have been not only his right but duty to exercise; and last, that though, for the time, the Congress resolution must be loyally carried out, it is in itself an unwise resolution, and that he must exert his influence to have it reversed and thus restore the right of which the Congress has for the moment deprived him. It is next to impossible for the ordinary voter upon whose consciousness it has not yet dawned that he has got to send a representative to the council to grasp intelligently these three steps in logic. If any serious attempt is made to convince him of the Nationalist position it will more often than not leave his mind distracted. And yet perhaps the volunteers of both Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Kelkar will succeed in producing long lists of persons who declared themselves adherents of either. The ignorance of the elector is a strong asset on the side of both. The only consolation for anti-non-co-operationists is that these lists will cancel each other.

* * *

THE Lucknow University Bill has emerged from the Select Committee with but a few important modifications. It is still open to the objection that it assigns to the Court, which ought to be the supreme governing body of the University, only a secondary place in the administration of its affairs. No doubt the constitution of the Court has undergone a change for the better—the elective element has been strengthened to some extent. Besides the 20 seats left open for election by registered graduates and 10 more by associations or other bodies approved by the Chancellor, as originally intended, provision has been made in the amended Bill for the representation of the British Indian Association by giving them 10 elective seats on the Court. We wonder if this does not exceed their due share of representation. Teachers other than professors and readers are given the right to send 20 representatives; and donors of sums between Rs. 500 and Rs. 20,000 as many as 30. But, even in spite of these improvements in its constitution, the Court cannot be said to have been given its legitimate place in the affairs of the University. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra in his minute of dissent makes it clear, on the analogy of the Benares and Allgarh Universities, that the Court must be the supreme governing body of the University, and must have power to revise the acts of the Executive and Academic Councils. We hope that when the Bill comes before the Council for further

consideration, he will be able to get it amended in the desired direction.

BUT lack of proper appreciation on the part of the Government of the position an important body like the Court should occupy in University matters is not our only ground of complaint with regard to the Bill. We consider such provision as is made for the Court's representation on other bodies to be set up under the Bill wholly out of proportion to its importance. The Executive Council, so far as we can see, is to consist of 11 nominated, and 10 elected, members. Out of the latter, only six seats are allotted to the Court; but the value of even this limited representation is discounted by the proviso that two of these six representatives must needs be members of the British Indian Association. On the Academic Council and the Selection Committees to come into existence under the Bill, no representation whatever is granted to the Court. Nothing is done to remedy the complaint that the minister occupies a far less important place in the machinery of the University than is justified by his position as the supreme authority in educational matters in the province in the new order of things. The Bill requires to be modified in these directions if it is to be really acceptable to the people for whose benefit the University is being brought into existence.

MUCH of the credit for the introduction of district durbars in the Central Provinces must be given to the Hon'ble Mr. Kelkar; for it was at his instance that the Government agreed in 1916 to start the experiment in six selected districts. Three years later, being perhaps encouraged to do so by the hopeful results of the experiment, they decided to extend it to the rest of the province and since last year the system is in force all over the Central Provinces. But the absence of any rules for the guidance of district officers took away a good deal from the usefulness of the durbars as a means of sounding public opinion on current questions. The removal of this defect is, again, due to Mr. Kelkar's endeavours. He has lately moved his Government to appoint a committee of officials and non-officials to frame rules or regulations and it is to be hoped its report will go a long way in strengthening the institution. The rules must cast a definite obligation on district officers to consult these bodies at stated intervals and with regard to important questions agitating the public mind. The durbars will fail to be proper vehicles of responsible public opinion if, as at present, prominent public men in the district continue to be excluded from them. Their duties also require to be expanded, if they are to serve the purpose for which they are intended.

THE Poona Seva Sadan deserves the thanks of the public for adding one more to its long list of very useful activities. The starting of an infant welfare centre in Poona had long been in the con-

templation of the Seva Sadan authorities; but the necessary impetus came when Mr. Sathaye's donation of Rs. 500 and the offer by a lady sub-assistant surgeon of her services were received by them. It is proposed to keep up this activity at least for a year and to continue it thereafter, funds permitting. The Seva Sadan has never lacked funds for any of its useful activities, and the contingency of having to close this new activity in the absence of funds will, we trust, never arise. If the Infant Welfare Centre only spreads correct information as to the cause of the high infant mortality prevailing in the City for years past as a means of arresting its growth, it will have more than justified its existence. It will be a shame if this humanitarian work has to be stopped for want of funds.

THE decision of the U. P. Liberals to start vernacular dailies for the dissemination of their views is a welcome one, especially at a time like the present. Never was the country in greater need of a Liberal propaganda on a systematic basis with a view to wean away its future citizens from impracticable schemes. The Urdu daily to be shortly issued from Lucknow under the editorship of Pandit Kisan Prasad Kaul of the Servants of India Society and to bear the name of "Safeer" may be trusted to address itself to this somewhat difficult task. Mr. Kaul's journalistic experience joined to his careful study of public questions may be looked upon as a guarantee for the new journal being an efficient and responsible exponent of Liberal ideas in the province. The "Liberal Journals," Ltd., which is to own this paper will in course of time start a Hindi daily as well. We wish every success to the new enterprise.

"A STUDENT of Constitutional Law" writes: It would be interesting to compare our Rowlatt Act with Ireland's Rowlatt Act which was passed last month. The latter measure was justly described by Mr. Asquith to be so severe and ruthless as not to fall a good deal short of the Cromwellian standard. What it does is to supersede the ordinary courts of law by courts-martial to try persons charged with a crime punishable by death, in places where, on account of the intimidation of jurors and judges which goes on apace in Ireland, the ordinary courts have ceased to function. Even in such a measure it is provided that the laws of evidence to be adopted in proceedings for court-martial will be the same as those which are followed in civil courts in England. Again, as Lord Hugh Cecil said, the decision of a court-martial has to go through the process of confirmation by the confirming officer, who may reject the verdict or the sentence. In spite of the fact, however, that the tribunals bear a dreadful name, they are better hedged round with safeguards than the special tribunals which our Rowlatt Act empowers the Government to constitute.

NATIONALISTS AND NON-CO-OPERATION.

MOST Nationalists will probably find their own sentiment reflected in the remark made by Mr. N. C. Kelkar that on Mr. Gandhi must now lie the responsibility of carrying the movement of non-co-operation to success. This remark was occasioned by the crushing discomfiture which the council-going Nationalists sustained in the Congress, and took on a still more strident note of disapproval of Mr. Gandhi's leadership in Mr. Baptista's mouth who burst out in a press interview that the Congress must now be placed entirely at Mr. Gandhi's disposition to make or mar as he chose. Stripped of the element of personal chagrine which largely tinctures this observation, it may be regarded as depicting truly the position as between Mr. Gandhi and the Nationalists. The latter, accepting the principle of *Satyagraha* as all Liberals do, are opposed to most of the items in Mr. Gandhi's programme, and to the boycott of councils above everything else; and yet a large section of them is prepared to withdraw from candidature in obedience to the Congress resolution. They are in these circumstances entitled to say to Mr. Gandhi: "We have no faith in your plan, but the strength of numbers is on your side. We therefore acquiesce in it for the present, but we can assume no manner of responsibility for it; the responsibility is wholly yours." Mr. Gandhi, we are sure, will have no quarrel with this position, and he will be the very last man in the world to shirk a responsibility which properly belongs to him. But in that case, Mr. Gandhi too has a right to insist that his project shall be given a fair chance. In regard to two of the limbs of the Congress resolution, however, the Nationalists are not at all prepared to abide by the spirit of the Congress decision, that is to say, they are not prepared to withdraw their children from State-maintained or State-aided schools and colleges, or to withdraw from the exercise of the legal profession in the British courts of justice. The Nationalists here take shelter behind the word "gradual" introduced into the resolution and take it to be a charter for any amount of "unabashed" co-operation with Government in respect of these items and for an indefinite length of time.

Mr. Gandhi has explained in clear terms in what sense he accepted the amendment for the insertion of the word "gradual" and in what sense alone it could be made to agree with other parts of the resolution. If, out of a wide programme of non-co-operation in four distinct stages, the items constituting the first step are specially recommended for immediate adoption, and if two of these items in the very first step are to be practised "gradually," it is clear that the passage of time implied in the latter word cannot be anything like eqns, for the limiting phrase is subject to the general assertion that the whole programme mentioned in the resolution is to be carried into effect immediately. By the ordinary

laws of interpretation therefore we get to the inevitable conclusion that no more than a brief spell is intended to be allowed to those who may just at the time the Congress passed the resolution be mentally unready to renounce practice or withdraw children from State-supported education. But Mr. Gandhi's authority has a special significance in regard to these matters, for the Nationalists look to him to make the non-co-operation project a success, they even cast on him a definite responsibility in this matter. They cannot do this without giving his plan a reasonable chance; and his plan will not get a reasonable chance in the truncated form which the Nationalists give it in spite of the natural interpretation which the resolution bears. It is nothing to the purpose to plead that the Nationalists think Mr. Gandhi's plan to be both impracticable and suicidal and are therefore opposed to it.

The Nationalists are equally opposed to the boycott of councils, but they have for the moment waived their opposition to it. The acceptance by the Nationalists of the Congress resolution as binding on them can only mean that they are prepared to let Mr. Gandhi experiment his *Satyagraha* methods upon the national problems, although they are themselves very sceptical about the efficacy of these methods. If, then, they are willing that the experiment shall proceed, they must allow the experiment to be conducted on lines approved by the man who has faith in *Satyagraha* and has applied it with success elsewhere. To fetter his discretion in matters which he considers vital and to narrow down the scope of the movement to diminutive proportions is to secure that the movement shall fail even before it starts. For the withdrawal by the Nationalists of their candidature will only give the impression that non-co-operation is to have a trial, while as a matter of fact it will have none. The partial acceptance of Mr. Gandhi's plan will serve no useful purpose—it will give neither co-operation nor non-co-operation a fair chance. If, following their own convictions, the Nationalists enter the councils and play their part in those bodies, they will assuredly promote national interests. But if they adopt Mr. Gandhi's attitude and boycott the councils, they have no alternative but to follow his entire plan. Non-co-operation is altogether too big an affair to be trifled with, as the Nationalists will be doing, by boycotting the councils and declining to carry out certain other items included even in the first step. If non-co-operation is once decided upon, the best chance for that course lies in carrying out in their entirety the behests of the only man who believes in it as a sovereign remedy and who can claim to speak of it with authority. There is no halting place between Mr. Gandhi's four-fold plan of progressive non-co-operation and the normal methods of constitutional agitation.

The fact of the matter is that those Nationalists who have given their temporary and partial adherence to the non-co-operation resolution an

not at all actuated by the spirit which informs Mr. Gandhi's activities. He regards his non-co-operation as a process of self-discipline and self-sacrifice; but they regard theirs as but a means of harassing to the Government and the Europeans in general. How else is it possible that a general strike of workpeople employed on railways and in European mills and firms will be seriously put forward by Nationalist leaders as an admissible variant of non-co-operation? There are a number of people who, like the Hon'ble Mr. Belvi, for instance, advocate the boycott of British goods as an alternative to the boycott of councils or law-courts, and they hope that at the December session of the Congress the country will adopt their plan. It is immaterial whether they succeed or fail, but it is clear that the great majority of the people who will nominally follow Mr. Gandhi will be inspired by a motive as far removed as possible from that of discipline and self-sacrifice. Even supposing that the Nationalists succeed in upsetting Mr. Gandhi's policy, what will be the upshot? Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation will be cleared out of the way, but what will take its place? Nothing whatever. They have not put forward a rival plan of non-co-operation, and being out of the councils for the first term they will have deprived themselves of the chance of breaking the bureaucracy by utilising the new power conferred by the reforms. There will be thus no gain, but much loss. And all this merely because of the theory that all Congressmen, whatever their personal views, must abide by the majority decision—though even here they adhere to it partially, accepting a part and rejecting the other. We would of course urge with all the earnestness of which we are capable that the Nationalists should work in the councils, offering co-operation, criticism or opposition as occasion would require, instead of boycotting the councils. But if that is not possible, and if they decide to pursue the path of non-co-operation, it is much better that they should go the whole hog with Mr. Gandhi and try his method under the best possible conditions than be playing with it and hoping all the time to turn it down altogether.

THE KHILAFAT AND THE TURKISH TREATY.

VI. *

IT will easily be seen, from all I have written in these articles, that there are two pledges which should be immediately redeemed; two issues on which the Turkish Peace Treaty should be immediately revised.

The first is the fulfilment of the British Government's pledge concerning Constantinople, Asia Minor and Thrace.

Second is the fulfilment of the British Government's pledge of independence to the Syrians and Arabs.

* Previous articles in this series appeared in the issues of July 1 and 22, August 5 and 19, and September 23.

It appears to me, who am not a Musalman, but have been a student, for the last thirty years, of the religious democracy of Islam and Islamic civilisation, that the claims, which have been embodied for centuries in the word 'Khilafat', are not incompatible with a peace treaty, which fulfilled these two definite pledges given by the British Government to the Turks, and to the Arabs. If the Arabs, after receiving their independence, desired of their own accord to acknowledge the sovereignty of Turkey, they would be able freely to do so. But, if they did not wish to acknowledge such a Turkish sovereignty, then it would hardly be the duty of the people of India to *compel* them to acknowledge it. This point seems to me to be almost axiomatic.

As a simple matter of fact, if these two Islamic peoples, the Arabs and the Turks, were left to settle, along with Musalmans elsewhere, the whole Khilafat question, as the Allies promised they should do, there is little doubt that an adjustment could be made satisfactory to all, on the true conditions that the Turkish nation remained intact and Syria and Mesopotamia, as well as Arabia, retained their independence.

What has been weighing upon my mind with anxiety is this, that Indian Musalmans and Hindus, through ignorance of the true situation, might be led into a one-sided support of the Turkish claims, to the detriment of the Arabs. They may so press forward the Turkish position as to leave the Arabs out of court. This, I fear, would be nothing less than a disaster to the religious democracy of Islam; for that free, democratic ideal of Islam, which has transcended race and colour and caste, has come from the free life of the Arabian Desert. It must continually go back there to its source for first inspiration.

If the whole-hearted support of Indian Musalmans had been given to Emir Feisul, at the Peace Conference at Versailles, in the same way that it was given to the Sultan of Turkey, it is not improbable that to-day he might have been established on the throne of Damascus instead of being an exile and a fugitive. But the legend had been spread abroad, that Emir Feisul was a mere puppet in the hands of the British,—a man of straw.

So marked has been this one-sided sentiment in favour of Turkey, at the expense of the Arabs, that Mr. Lloyd George quite recently declared in the House of Commons, that "he was not aware of any strong feeling existing in India concerning the use of Indian troops in Mesopotamia against the Arabs." Up to the time when the Chairman of the Reception Committee at the Special Congress at Calcutta made his noble and emphatic protest, there was some ground for Mr. Lloyd George's sinister statement. At the time he made it, in the House of Commons, it remained unchallenged and uncontradicted.

I do not wish in the least to depreciate the chivalrous and deeply religious sentiment which has been felt in India towards the Turks and to-

wards the Head of the Turkish nation. But I have felt the need frankly to point out the danger of a partiality in that sentiment which might even be harmful to Islam itself.

My own great teacher at Cambridge, Edward Granville Browne, who first awakened in me an enthusiasm for Islamic civilisation and an interest in Persian culture which has never since abated, was equally illustrious as a Turkish scholar and as a Professor of Arabic and Persian. He loved both peoples of the Islamic East, the Turks and the Arabs, with an impartial love. Sunnis and Shiabs were equally dear to him. At my own College in Cambridge, where he resided as a Fellow, Turks, Arabs, Egyptians, Persians, were his constant guests and companions; I used to meet them in his rooms and sit listening with deep attention to their conversation, hour after hour. If there was one dream that Professor Browne cherished above all others, it was the vision of a Renaissance of the Perso-Arabic civilisation which should enrich the modern world of literature and art.

In this environment of Arabic culture at Cambridge, I lived for many years, before I came out to India; and in Delhi and in other cities since I have numbered among my friends, those who have been living examples of those very things I used to hear about from Professor Browne's own lips.

I have been following, as closely as possible during the last year of the war and since the Armistice, all the news that could be obtained from my friends, the sympathisers with Islam, in England, and from other sources, as to the exact nature of the events, which have been occurring in Syria and Arabia.

I had the great privilege of a long conversation with an enthusiastic friend of Islam, who had lived in Syria during and since the war. I feel certain, from what I have heard, it may be taken for granted, that a Renaissance has begun in the Arabic-speaking world. This Renaissance has spread through all the great cities and created a new pride in the Arab race and its world destiny. There is more hope to-day, I have been told, of an Arab revival, than there has been for many centuries. My friend from Syria informed me, that he fully believed, (to quote his own words) "*the central hope for Islam in the present generation lies with the rising Arab race.*"

Parallel to this expressed opinion of my friend, I would put down the statement of Professor E. G. Browne.

"For Islam," he writes, "and for the Perso-Arabian civilisation of Islam, I have the deepest admiration,—an admiration which it is especially incumbent on me to confess at a time when these are so misrepresented and misunderstood by Europeans, who appear to imagine that they themselves have a monopoly of civilisation and a kind of divine mandate to impose on the whole world not only their own political institutions but their

own mode of thought. . . . To the unreflecting Western mind the extinction of these Islamic States causes no regret, but only exhilarating thoughts of more openings for their children and their capital: but those few who know and love the East and its peoples and realise how deeply we are indebted to it for most of the great spiritual ideas which give meaning and value to life will feel that with the subsidence of every such Islamic State, something is lost to the world that can never be replaced. . . . This, at least, must be admitted by anyone who has a real sympathy with and understanding of the Spirit of the East, that it *suffers atrophy and even death under even a good and well-meaning European administration.*"

I have italicised the last words. They are of terrible significance for India, as well as for the Middle East of Arabia and Persia!

As an historian, who has attempted to get at first-hand authorities and exclude partial statements, I would add one more sentence. Has not a good and well-meaning *Turkish* administration by its own imperialism brought atrophy and even death to Syrian and Arab peoples? What else is the plain historic meaning of one of the most fertile regions of the world having its population reduced to scattered nomads with only a few urban centres? There is only one word which will account for the condition of Mesopotamia, and that word is 'misrule.' To me, all Empires, whether Turkish or Irish, English or French, Italian or Russian, or Japanese, appear to have this fatal tendency of bringing atrophy and even death to subject peoples. Scarcely has a truer saying in the past been uttered by a great historian, than that sentence of Sir John Seeley,— "There is no greater cause," he says, "of moral degradation than permanent subjection to a foreign race." Seeley referred to the moral degradation of the rulers, as well as that of the ruled!

What then is the remedy? How can the Indian peoples, Hindu and Musalman alike, make their protest against the gross injustice that has been done?

The hypocrisy of signing the Turkish Peace Treaty on behalf of the 'Indian Nation' has been committed by Sir Arthur Hirtzel. That shameful act of humiliation has been perpetrated. India has realised, as never before, how, in spite of flattering words about being given a seat of equal dignity and honor in the League of Nations with South Africa and Canada and Australia, in actual, cold, hard, fact Indians are nothing but a subject people still, with no voice of their own and no semblance even of equal treatment. The iron of that subjection has entered deeper and deeper into the soul.

My own searching, anxious, eager question, as an historian, is this:—

Has the independence of Egypt moved the centre of gravity in human affairs? Has it opened the way to something further than a 'place within the Empire' for a foreign people, such as Indians,

must always be? Does it point to eventual independence?

Perhaps the answer to this question will point the way to the remedy for the evil that has happened.

We have entered a new world with this pronouncement about Egypt—that is certain. Old landmarks, old watch-words, which have served their time, will be swept away, not merely by the new thought of India but by that of England also.

C. F. ANDREWS.

ADULT EDUCATION.

WHILE considering the educational needs of a country like India, where the percentage of literacy has not yet reached even ten, the importance of the question of education of the adult population is obvious. If we are anxious to extend education to this vast population of the country in a short time and make them responsible citizens, it will not be sufficient if we devote our attention only to the education of young children. The present adult population will form a large portion of the citizens for at least two generations to come. The work of uplifting the masses, economically, socially, or politically, is hampered by the present appalling illiteracy. Progress beyond a certain limit in any of these fields is found to be impossible on account of the ignorance of the people. Moreover, literacy is at present practically confined to a few higher castes, dividing the country into two classes, each ignorant of the conditions of the other and sometimes cherishing deep prejudice, even hatred, one against the other. At present there appears to be a great anxiety to hasten the advent of democracy in our country; but it will be apparent even to a superficial observer that a real democratic control in any sphere of life cannot be introduced unless the masses are educated and begin to understand their responsibilities. Under the new franchise rules, only 2.5 per cent. of the people will get the right of voting, so that the vast bulk of the population will not be politically in a better condition than they were before. If the franchise is extended much more widely, still, on account of their ignorance, the enfranchised people may not be able to utilise their right wisely and to safeguard their interests. Thus it will be found that in a country where education is very backward, not only is it impossible to hasten the progress towards democracy, but, if, by chance a democratic form of control comes into existence, it will not be stable. I would even urge the necessity for the education of the adult population from the point of view of facilitating the education of children. Unless the parents are able to appreciate the benefits of education, the work of educating children cannot be achieved without difficulty even by the use of compulsion.

It, therefore, behoves us to give serious attention to the problem of adult education. It will be interesting to learn in this connection what efforts

have been made and are still being made in England in this direction. The history of education in England during the last hundred years may be divided into two equal periods. During the first period all the efforts for the education of the people, young as well as adult, were absolutely voluntary and made by private bodies, the State remaining quite aloof. The impetus for education, especially of the adult population, came from three different sources. First, the Church, especially its reformed sections, made great efforts to teach the people to read the Bible in order to correctly understand its teaching and principles. Secondly, the physical scientists, who are anxious to popularise the knowledge of the sciences, also contributed a large share to the education of the people by spreading in the country a net-work of institutions called, the "Mechanics Institutes." Thirdly, some social and political movements such as the Christian Socialist Movement and the Chartist Movement, also played an important part in educating the community in order to spread their respective propaganda amongst the masses.

The first State contribution towards public education was made in the year 1850; and, after about a period of nearly 25 years, education was made universal and compulsory. Soon after, the State and the local bodies also undertook the work of educating the adult population by starting and maintaining or aiding "Continuation Classes," which now have become a regular and universal feature of the English public education system since the passing of Mr. Fisher's Education Act. The great English Universities, too, which up to this period served only the upper and the middle classes, began thereafter to see the necessity of extending their influence to the vast masses beyond the two upper classes. In the first place they started the University Extension movement, by sending out lecturers to the industrial towns and cities to deliver a series of lectures to the industrial population on subjects in which the working classes were keenly interested, such as history, politics, and economics. The series of University Extension lectures gradually developed into what are called "One Year Classes" which met once a fortnight for a year and "Tutorial Classes" which similarly met for two years and sometimes for three years. These classes gave an opportunity for receiving education and culture to those people among the masses in whom a desire for education and a need for culture were awakened by attendance at University Extension lectures. Summer schools were also organised by some universities like the Toynbee Hall and others during the summer vacations when students gave the advantage of intensive study for a fortnight or a month to the more zealous working class students and also the benefit of residence in this scholastic atmosphere of the Universities. The Social Settlements, which were mostly started and maintained by university men, also provided facilities for the continued education of the working class-

es, sometimes independently and sometimes in co-operation with other organisations.

The working classes themselves, who had by that time realised the necessity for education and culture for themselves in order to make them fit to bear the increased political responsibilities to which they were confident they would attain in the immediate future, started several organisations to provide these facilities in co-operation with the State, the universities and the local bodies. Prominent among these organisations are the Workmen's Educational Association and the Adult Schools Union, each with a network of its branches spread over the whole country. These organisations are supported by the Trade Unions, the Co-operative Societies and other working class organisations as well as by individuals, interested in the spread of educational facilities for the people. There are also at present two residential colleges and half a dozen non-residential colleges for the education of the working classes. Both the residential and the non-residential colleges are supported and controlled by working class organisations. The results of these many-sided educational efforts for a number of years can be clearly seen from the strength of the organisation of the working classes and of the Labour Party in England. The constant supply of a large number of able and well-disciplined leaders such as chairmen, secretaries, and committee members of Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies and their numerous branches scattered over cities, towns, and villages, required to conduct the affairs of these organisations is kept up by means of the above-mentioned educational activities, so much so that few in England have any doubt about the ability of the Labour Party to conduct wisely and efficiently the affairs of the State if the Labour Party is immediately called upon to manage them. Most of the present-day labour leaders had not the advantage of receiving higher education in universities when they were young; but have worked their way up and qualified themselves through their self-reliant efforts.

From these lessons of the history of the education of the working classes in England, we in India can learn a good deal. Although I do not wish to free the Government of its responsibility for the education of the masses, still we cannot afford to wait till the Government accepts this responsibility. Even in England, it is only now that the Government have accepted to some extent the responsibility for adult education. It is, therefore, inevitable that in India the initiative for the effort in this direction should come from voluntary organisations. The Workmen's Educational Associations, Adults' School Unions, and Social Settlements must come into existence and begin the work, and then the universities, the local bodies and the Government will surely come into the field not only to aid and encourage voluntary efforts but to take up a part of the work themselves. Our first efforts must be directed to teach the

working classes both in cities and in villages to read and write and to interest them in subjects vitally connected with their life and work by means of evening classes and lecture series. What is needed is a large body of earnest workers. The educated classes must realise their responsibility in this matter and set about their work in all seriousness in organising to this end. A good deal of work in spreading literacy can be done by college students and other educated young men when they go to their villages and towns for vacations after their examinations are over. Our Universities, too, must now begin to extend the bounds of their activities and make a beginning by starting a movement for the University Extension at least for the benefit of those young men who, on account of their poverty, could not enter their portals, but had to earn their livelihood without receiving the benefit of higher education. Our colleges in different cities can undertake the work of Extension series and Tutorial Classes in their neighbourhood for a large body of young clerks and shop assistants in order to interest them in the higher pursuit of knowledge and in the acquisition of culture. They can also organise summer schools during the summer vacation to give to these classes the advantage of residence in a scholastic atmosphere at least for a short time in a year. Young persons will readily take advantage of these facilities, if they are provided. The staffs of the colleges and high schools as well as a number of other educated persons in towns can work as teachers. I am confident that the necessary financial help required for this work will also be forthcoming if there is a strong will and an organised effort.

N. M. JOSHI.

NOTES ON THE NON-CO-OPERATION COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

THE Congress is committed to a large programme of progressive non-co-operation, of which the items mentioned in the resolution form the first stage. Whether the next stages in this programme will be identical with the second, third and fourth stages in Mr. Gandhi's programme, as the first stage in both programmes was identical save for one item, no one can say with authority. Perhaps some other items like the boycott of foreign goods will be unfortunately interpolated, or some others fortunately or unfortunately deleted. Mr. Gandhi's programme is no doubt subject to variation, but it is clear that the movement to which the Congress has given its approbation does not begin and end with the first stage, but is pledged to move from point to point till it achieves complete Swaraj.

Boycott of Titles.—This is popularly regarded as the easiest form of non-co-operation, but really it is not so easy. There should not be much difficulty for the normal person to renounce titles, but the difficulty is that the usual title-holder is not so. He prizes his titles at least as much as the

university man cherishes his degree. Let the latter surrender his degree, and he will appreciate the difficulty of the title-hunter. I am one of those who think that this form of non-co-operation should be conducted even after the attainment of Swaraj. Let us try and abolish this species of humanity altogether, whether under indigenous or foreign rule. But why this part of the non-co-operation programme is "the most necessary part" I fail to see. Even title-holders, says the Committee, must be "disillusioned." Certainly, but the Committee may as well let this class contemptuously alone, leaving it to stew in its own juice and to proceed to more serious matters. I note that the names of those people who refuse to surrender titles are to be published, whereas in the matter of the boycott of law courts and schools, it is the parents and lawyers who practise boycott who are to receive publicity. If those who tenaciously retain their titles against the Congress resolution and the importunities of volunteers are to be shamed into renouncing their titles by giving their names a sinister publicity, the lawyers and parents who violate the Congress mandate also deserve the same treatment. I am unable to see why the Congress resolution asks only nominated members of local bodies to resign their seats. These are semi-Government institutions, and, in consistency, all seats, to be filled either by nomination or election, ought to be given up on these bodies as on the legislative councils.

Boycott of Schools and Law Courts.—The Committee's interpretation of the word "gradual" is quite correct. The word does not mean that immediate success in regard to these matters is not desired, but only that it is not expected. In view of the fact that all the items mentioned in the Congress resolution are to be immediately enforced and to be followed in the near future by more drastic forms of non-co-operation, the saving phrase can only give a short breathing-time to those who are making up their minds to definite action in the immediate future. The fact that Pandit Nehru, at whose instance the word was introduced, accepts this interpretation, is an additional argument in favour of that view of the matter. He has explained in the *Independent* that the only indulgence he wanted to obtain for the lawyers by his amendment was that they should be enabled to fulfil the engagements already made, but they were in no case to take more cases. Although it is clear that the Congress resolution can bear no other meaning, the reasoning by which these forms of non-co-operation are recommended is far from clear. A nation, it is said, which is engaged in winning national liberty cannot waste any part of its energy in prosecuting private quarrels. Since my opinion of the lawyers as a class is no less uncomplimentary than that of Lala Lajpat Rai, I do not care to examine this statement, but why boycott schools and colleges? "The only way to become independent of Government employ and to evolve

a truly national culture is," we are told, "to create a wave for national schools by emptying the present Government schools which give but an indifferent education, teach us false history and take no note of national wants." This single sentence contains more fallacies than one cares to count. It is not necessary to boycott Government schools to be independent of Government employ. National culture will be more effectively imparted in Government schools in the new régime than in private schools. If education in Government schools is indifferent, it is often worse in private schools. If false history is taught in State-aided institutions, it is more often because true history is not known than because they are not free to teach true history. The most important fact is ignored that the passing of education under popular control will abolish the entire distinction drawn between national and non-national education. The argument that because parents of children attending schools generally take interest in politics, they should be willing to practise non-co-operation in the matter of education is ridiculous. Most people think, and rightly, that the very last thing they ought to sacrifice is their children's education.

Boycott of Councils.—The Committee is entitled to ask the country to concentrate the energies of the workers on this part of the programme. The volunteers who will try to dissuade the electors from voting are warned that "the greatest care should be taken to put the pros and cons before the voters prior to asking them to sign" the form prepared for their use. The Committee will do well to insist that when reports are sent to the newspapers, the measures taken to enlighten the voters on their duties shall be set out at some length, for it is to be feared that the ignorant voters will be stampeded into renouncing their votes without giving them a clear idea as to what they are called upon to do.

Boycott of Foreign Goods.—This is declared to be an unfortunate interpolation, but Mr. Patel would not let the Committee put it away in this summary fashion. He would rather have them convert it into a boycott of British goods to which Mr. Gandhi objects both on principle and from the point of view of expediency. Hand-spinning and hand-weaving are recommended by the Committee, but their connection with non-co-operation only seems to be that Mr. Gandhi who has originated the movement is keen on them. He might as well have incorporated a vow of celibacy in the non-co-operation programme, and would not have thereby exposed himself more to irrelevancy.

Duties of Newspapers.—Mr. Patel at the end of his note advises certain newspapers to do certain things and to avoid certain other things. I will add one or two to the list. They ought to boycott Government advertisements, however lucrative. If a paper favours the more stringent form of non-co-operation advocated by some,

e. g. withdrawal of money from European banks, a general strike in European-managed firms, etc., all advertisements coming from Europeans should also be boycotted. No non-co-operationist paper should publish reports of cases tried in British courts. No account of meetings in which any request is made to Government should be published, and those who profess to be adherents of the Congress and yet violate the Congress resolution in any of its parts should be thoroughly exposed.

A CRITIC.

CORRESPONDENCE.

AN INFANT WELFARE CENTRE.

ANOTHER ACTIVITY OF THE POONA SEVA SADAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—I have great pleasure in announcing to the public of Poona, that the Poona Seva Sadan Society has taken up one more benevolent activity in hand, by starting an "Infant Welfare Centre," where free medical help will be given to infants below the age of 3 years. The high infant mortality and the ill-health of children in Poona had long since impressed the workers of the Seva Sadan; but in the absence of a qualified lady doctor and of funds, they could not really take any action. Both these difficulties have been partially solved, at least for the present, and the Society will run the Centre for one year with the intention to continue it, if the generous public come forward to help the cause. Mr. V. N. Sathaye, retired Deputy Collector, Saolapur, had placed in the hands of the Society, a donation of Rs. 500, which gave an impetus to the work. A lady Sub-Assistant Surgeon, trained through the Seva Sadan, has been entrusted with the work of the Centre. Side by side with this work, another branch known as "Ante-Natal Clinics" has also been started, where expectant mothers will be given suitable advice for their ailments in pregnancy, so that they may not unnecessarily suffer during delivery and should be able to give birth to a healthy babe. The services of a trained nurse have also been engaged as a Visitor to bring this work to the notice of the public who need such help. The lady doctor will also visit the houses of the poor, whenever required. It is also proposed to give fresh good milk, free of charge, to very poor infants; but it all depends on the help the Society receives from the public. It is hoped that the poor will take full advantage of this department and the generous public will liberally help the deserving cause. The whole work of this branch is under the supervision of a Committee of doctors.—Yours, etc.

N. L. RANADE,
Secretary, Health Committee,
Poona Seva Sadan.

PURI FAMINE.

SECOND APPEAL FOR FUNDS.

We believe the Puri famine has been sufficiently made known to the public who have favoured us with their contributions to carry on the relief operations for the last four months. "The total amount received up to the end of August is Rs. 1,27,504 of which Rs. 1,02,779 have been spent, leaving a balance of Rs. 24,725. Gratuitous doles were given to 14,500 persons from 11 centres up to the middle of August. Relief has to be continued till the next harvest, i. e., up to the 15th of November. It may be mentioned here that the recent floods of the Mahanadi have considerably aggravated the situation, and areas, which were not considered hitherto to be in need of relief, have been reduced to a condition urgently calling for help. But we have to announce with regret that, for want of funds, we were obliged to close three of our centres that gave relief to 5,600 persons. The two months, September and October,

are really the trying period, and unless people in the distressed areas are helped during this period full value of the relief hitherto given may, we are afraid, be not realised. To keep all our centres at the eleven places in full working order, an amount of Rs. 75,000 will be needed. Deducting the balance of Rs. 24,725 now in hand, we require Rs. 50,275 to bring to a close the work which our generous and sympathetic countrymen have so long enabled us to continue. In this connection, we may be permitted to note the sympathy and support our Committee received from Mahatma Gandhi and the help secured through his influence cannot be too gratefully acknowledged. We still expect some more help from that quarter and the letters of sympathy from many of our charitable countrymen give us a fair hope of further contributions from all parts of India. We make this fresh appeal without narrating the pathetic story of the famished people which we have so often repeated and which has appeared recently in the final report of the Non-Official Famine Enquiry Committee. We sincerely trust that the work we have undertaken will not be left half done.

GOPABANDHU DAS, *President.*
S. C. GHOSH,
A. V. THAKKAR, } *Secretaries.*
JAGABANDHU SINHA, *Treasurer.*
People's Famine Relief Committee.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE text of Lord Milner's dispatch on the position of Indians in East Africa is now published. It adds little to our information, but it makes it clear that the race segregation decided upon by His Majesty's Government is to be carried out not only in residential areas, but "whenever practicable, in commercial areas also." In regard to the sites to be assigned to the Indians in townships and also in regard to the selection of plots for Indian agricultural settlement, Lord Milner hopes to satisfy the commission which, he says "has been appointed by the Indian Government" that the agricultural land and the residential sites allotted to Indians are suitable; but what is necessary in order to obviate the charge of racial discrimination is that they should be of the same quality. When segregation is enforced, however, Indians are bound to find out that they are relegated to by far the worse areas in the colony, and that the status of equality which the Government of India has pledged itself to guarantee will be violated. The Indian representation in the legislative council is not to be enlarged; it will remain at the old figure of two, whereas the European population which numbers but one-fifth is to have 16 representatives. Lord Milner's defence of this glaring inequality is that since official members outnumber unofficial in the legislature, neither European nor Indian members being endowed with any power, it is immaterial how many representatives each community has in the council. If a smaller Indian representation can do no good, a larger one can do no harm. Why then should the Imperial Government have any objection to giving due representation to the Indians?

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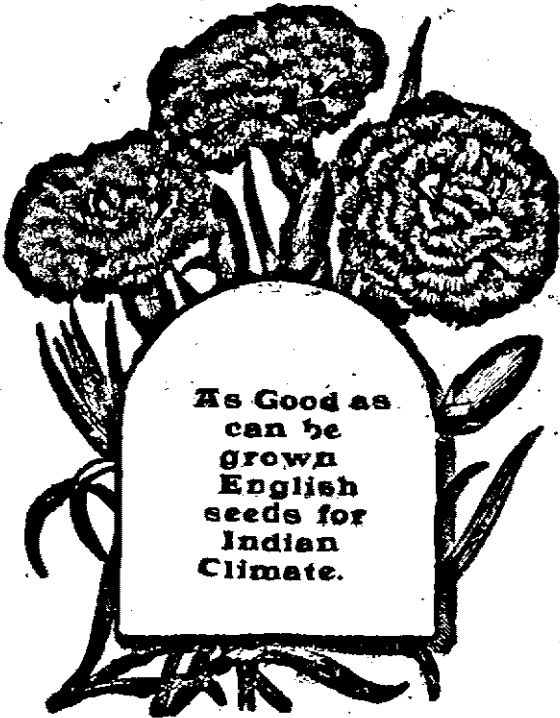
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