

# THE Servant of India

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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..	205
ARTICLES :—	
The State of Education in India ... ..	208
SPECIAL ARTICLES :—	
Looking Forward. By S. M. M. ....	209
Ireland and Lord Morley. By Sri Prakasa, B. A., LL. B. (Cantab.), Bar.-at-Law...	211
REVIEWS :—	
‘The Unity of Western Culture’ ... ..	212
Education of Factory Children ... ..	213
Short Notice ... ..	214
LETTERS FROM THE PROVINCES :—	
Madras ... ..	214
CORRESPONDENCE :—	
Abuses in Recruiting. By Hon'ble Rao Bahadur G. K. Sathe, C. I. E. ... ..	214

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

FOR some time to come the Allies must exercise all the patience they can command. The enemy advance has not been definitely checked anywhere, although on occasions it appears as if it has been held up. Like the advancing tide of the sea it appears to recede, while it is actually covering more ground. Whichever of his objectives the enemy succeeds in realising, whether he reaches the Channel ports, or thrusts himself like a wedge between the armies of the two most important Allies, or surrounds Paris, he will be able to hit the Allies hard, and his forces are so distributed that he can choose his own line of advance according to circumstances. For the moment every one has to watch the progress of events with bated breath, and put forward the very best efforts to help the Empire to win the war.

LAST week there were reports of internal trouble in Austria. This week has witnessed a great effort made by the Austrians against the Italian front. A violent offensive has been launched practically over the whole front, and the armies of all the Allies acting there have been engaged. Reports from the British and the French headquarters in Italy show that the force of the offensive has been broken, while Signor Orlando informed the Senate and the Chamber that “our resistance does not allow the enemy to pass the lines of greatest resistance and the battle still proceeds on the first line with fluctuations.” The story of the

last Austrian attack on this front is still fresh in the minds of those who are closely following the operations in this war, and therefore it would be a mistake to base any definite conclusions on these reports.

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IN his opening remarks as President of the public meeting convened in Bombay on Sunday last to protest against Lord Willingdon's conduct in the chair at the War Conference, Mr. Gandhi said that he was not a member of the Home Rule League and that he had great differences of opinion with Mr. Tilak in politics; still he felt that the gratuitous insult offered to Mr. Tilak and Home Rule Leagues would be generally regarded as an insult to the nation at large and it was therefore proper for them to protest against it. Lord Willingdon's remarks were entirely out of place, and at best it was a tactical blunder to have uttered them. It would have been better if Mr. Tilak had spoken to the second resolution, and still better if he had preserved dignified silence, but Mr. Gandhi expressed dissent from the view that the loyalty resolution debarred a free expression of one's sentiment. He, however, warned the Home Rule Leaguers against being angered by Lord Willingdon's mistake into taking a false step, and adjured them to redouble their efforts to help the authorities in the prosecution of the war. He again urged upon his auditors the duty of absolutely unconditional and whole-hearted co-operation with Government, for that, he said, would bring India within sight of Home Rule, as nothing else would.

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AT a similar meeting in Madras, Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar strongly deprecated the spirit of pessimism which had been fostered by some about the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms and urged upon all to discountenance talk about a 4-anna and 8-anna reform and the adoption of passive resistance to secure a 16-anna one, all of which was much too previous. He deeply resented the attempts made by certain publicists to represent some persons, who had borne a prominent and honourable part in giving a final shape to the Congress-League scheme, as if they were pledged to support any proposals which the Secretary of State might put forward, and were prepared to jettison the joint scheme of the national bodies in their favour. At the same time, he earnestly pleaded that it should be recognised that the Congress-League

scheme was not sacrosanct and that it would not be reasonable to reject the Government proposals for the only reason that they ran on different lines from it. These proposals, when announced, should be examined narrowly in reference to the fundamental principles of the Congress-League scheme, and their defects exposed, but he urged that this scrutiny should be conducted in a practical spirit, with the aid of the intellect and not of the emotions. 'Let us not,' he said, 'too facilely talk of keeping away altogether from discussion by rejection of the scheme *in toto*.'

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THE first part of Mr. Andrews' report on the conditions obtaining in Fiji, which has been published in the *Modern Review*, discloses a most deplorable state of things. There are still nearly 10,000 persons in the islands, and being the last of the old system, their lot has become the most miserable. On account of the war, no ships are available to take back the coolies whose indenture has expired, and the Fiji Government is thus breaking the contract into which it had entered and quietly pocketing the money. Coolies under indenture could purchase their freedom before, provided ships came in to supply their place, but as no ships are now coming in commutation too has stopped. The war has again forced up the price of food, etc., living has become extremely costly, and consequently the coolies have suffered grave hardships, although the planters have been making greatly increased profits on sugar. The moral condition of the coolie lines is now at its worst, as is shown by Mr. Andrews in his article. Owing to the changed conditions of the war, coolies have been suffering miseries which were never contemplated in the indenture and the Government of India must therefore come to the rescue of the coolies and secure their release from such conditions.

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NECESSITIES of war brook no delay. Prompt action has to be taken with regard to measures which had caused endless controversy and correspondence for years. You can not wait for the legislature to manipulate a bill and manufacture a law. Things are done by ordinance. This is our experience particularly in the matter of Indian currency organization. The question of minting a gold coin in India was the subject of discussion for several years. It was only the monetary stringency caused by the war which forced the hands of Government and dissipated all doubts and difficulties with which the question was surrounded. A branch of the Royal Mint has been already established in Bombay for the coinage of sovereigns. But owing to the non-arrival of the necessary dies and other causes some delay in starting the coinage of sovereigns became inevitable and it will be some time before we have those coins issuing from the Bombay mint. In the meanwhile, however, the depletion of the rupee stocks of the Government of India which, overstepped the limit of safety, necessitated the supplementing of

the supply of the silver coins by the issue of coins of gold out of the large quantity of the yellow metal which has been accumulated in the Paper Currency Reserve. An ordinance has, therefore, been promulgated, empowering the Government of India to coin gold mohurs or 15 rupee gold pieces. The standard weight, fineness and dimensions of the new coin will correspond to those of the sovereign and it will be full legal tender at Rs. 15 per gold mohur.

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THE Government of India is struggling manfully with the currency difficulties caused by the war. The high price of the white metal and the difficulty of securing sufficient quantities of it, so as to supply rupees required for the enormous disbursements which have to be made in connection with the war, depleted the rupee stocks of Government to an abnormal extent. On the 31st of May last, the silver coin and bullion in the currency chest went down to such a low level as Rs. 6 crores and, if silver bullion held in the U. S. A. and in transit is included, to Rs. 9 crores more. There was about Rs. 20 crores worth of gold in the reserve, but it was practically useless for currency purposes. Under an arrangement made with the Government of the United States, large quantities of silver are arriving in this country and they are being turned into rupees as fast as they come. Rupees so coined and the new mohurs which will be put into circulation ought, together, to be sufficient to meet the currency requirements of the people. But Government have reason to believe that the melting of sovereigns is being practised on a considerable scale and cases of the melting of rupees also have been reported. This is being done in spite of the prohibition issued against the melting of any current gold or silver coin some months ago, under the Defence of India Act. Government intend dealing stringently with offences committed in respect of their legal tender coin and appeal for the co-operation of the people in protecting and conserving the coin reserve of the country. We hope that people will wholeheartedly respond to this appeal and help Government by subscribing to the war loan and avoiding all waste of metallic currency.

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THE advisory committee, promised by the Government of India nearly three months ago to consider cases of internment in Bengal, has at last been appointed. The powers of the committee will be purely advisory, its inquiry will be held *in camera*, and legal assistance and cross-examination will not be allowed. But there is nothing in the statement made by Sir William Vincent on the subject in the Indian Legislative Council to show, as pointed out by the *Bengalee*, that the committee will not be at liberty to satisfy itself on any point by calling fresh evidence, as it may think necessary. There is nothing to bar out further evidence, if required. If the committee is not allowed such freedom, but is left to form its conclu-

sions about the cases of detenus from the C. I. D. reports, its utility will be seriously curtailed, if not altogether destroyed. A statement of the exact scope of the committee's functions and powers will therefore be very helpful in enabling the public to judge of the possible results of its labours.

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THE strong remarks made by Mr. Montagu on Sir S. Subrahmanya Aiyar's letter to President Wilson have naturally created a strong sensation in the country and have elicited a spirited reply from Sir Subrahmanyam. It is not clear whether the denunciation hurled by the Secretary of State at the letter had reference to its contents or to the mode in which it was made to reach its destination. Anyway, Mr. Montagu's description of it cannot be justified and will give rise to widespread and deep resentment in the country. In his statement, some action against Sir Subrahmanyam has been threatened; this becomes utterly inexplicable in the light of what the Madras Government communicated to him after Lord Petland's return from Delhi, where the letter must have been the subject of discussion between the Secretary of State and Lords Chelmsford and Pentland and a final decision must have been reached. The raking up of this incident will create a most unfortunate impression on the public mind at a very critical juncture, and, we are afraid, will even prejudice the consideration of the Government's reform proposals.

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YET another hunger strike in Hazaribagh jail in Bengal. Does it ever occur to the authorities there that only the most extreme type of tyranny can goad detenus to this last most desperate method of getting redress? The tyranny in this case seems to be of a particularly petty and malignant kind. The detenus, according to the statement issued by one of them, are not allowed to talk to one another or to read newspapers, they are twitted with being Home Rulers and abused for being Bengalis. Their superintendent "often says that State prisoners are getting more luxuries than they would get at home." If this is true, we are bound to say that this is adding insult to injury and that meanness cannot go further. It is sheer perversity perhaps which prevents the prisoners from feeling grateful for all these luxuries and fills them with a desire to return home! Persecution of this petty nature is often more unbearable than the most cruel punishment. The 36 men who have now gone on hunger strike in Hazaribagh jail are mostly graduates of the Calcutta University and B. L. and M. A. students. When will the authorities of Bengal wake up to the tremendous moral responsibility that rests upon them in this matter?

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WE must raise a strong protest against the high-handed action of Mr. W. M. Hailey, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, in depriving Mr. Asaf Ali, Bar-at-law, of his elementary right of citizenship under the shelter of the congenial Defence

of India Act. Mr. Asaf Ali is one of the most effective public speakers in Delhi and takes a keen and sustained interest in the public questions of the day. The order was served on him, we understand, on the eve of the meeting called for the purpose of appealing to the public for volunteers for the forthcoming National Congress. This gives a clear indication of his attitude towards the ensuing national gathering. The political leaders of this country have to bear this episode in mind. We must confess, we fail to grasp the significance of the queer behaviour of the Chief Commissioner on this as well as on former occasions. Does he thereby intend to keep the imperial city free from political influences which he considers to be unwholesome? We must point out to him that his actions frustrate the very object he has in view.

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WE regret to say that Madras Government's *communique* of the 12th inst. regarding the passport granted to Dr. Nair is not quite as convincing as a Government *communique* should be. The *communique* says, the passport was granted long before the cancellation of the passports granted to the Home Rule League deputation. But that seeks to evade the real point at issue. The point is that having cancelled the pass-ports of the Home Rule League deputation, Government ought to have in common justice stopped Dr. Nair, whose antipathies to the Home Rule movement are well-known, from proceeding to England where, as *Justice* and the *Madras Mail* have admitted, he will try to influence public opinion "by private and informal talks," in the direction of an anti-Home Rule propaganda, we can guess. If agitation for Home Rule is at present untimely, so must an agitation against Home Rule necessarily be. We repeat what an Anglo-Indian paper the *Madras Times*, has said on this, that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander too. As for "health" being a cogent reason, we all admit it. But statesmanship should look at all sides of the case before taking a step.

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HIS Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government in the Judicial Department have recently issued a resolution concerning the dedication of minor girls to the service of temples. The resolution disclaims any intention on the part of the Government to interfere with the religious practices of any particular sect. They make it quite clear, however, that they will no longer put up with the action of individuals, who under the cloak of religion resort to the immoral practice of employing minor girls for purposes of prostitution. The sections in the Hyderabad Penal Code are referred to and the public is warned that no exemption from responsibility can be claimed on the ground that the girl was dedicated to a temple. We must heartily congratulate the Hyderabad Government on the initiation of a policy which, if rigorously carried out, will be undoubtedly instrumental in removing a great social evil.

### THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THE statistical tables relating to Indian education published by the Director of Statistics, Mr. Findlay Shirras, furnish a very interesting and instructive reading. In the present state of development of this country, this question is one of vital importance and demands sustained and careful attention. Education is required not only as an instrument of culture but as a means of securing the material well-being of the inhabitants. The statistical facts, therefore, giving in a lucid and concise form the salient features of educational activities carried on in this country from year to year by official and non-official agencies, should afford ample food for serious thought to all true lovers of national development. Mr. Shirras in his memorandum carefully brings out all the chief features presented by the tables and indicates the lines along which the educational machinery in this country is moving. Notwithstanding Mr. Shirras' robust optimism, we confess to a feeling of disappointment at the lamentably slow pace at which the huge governmental engine is moving. We are inclined to believe that "owing to the strain of the last few years the stokers have everywhere been stinting their fuel in the furnaces". We are certainly not unmindful of the unparalleled crisis through which the British Empire is at present passing. But we hold that the supreme importance of the question necessitates a more vigorous and steady policy. The pre-occupation of the war has not precluded the British Cabinet from taking up the educational question in the United Kingdom, and we see no reason why a different policy should be followed in India, which, being comparatively backward, stands in immediate need of greater equipment so that she might be able to cope with the situation she will have to face after the termination of this terrible catastrophe.

The total number of scholars in the year 1916-17 was 7.85 millions. In the year 1913-14, the pre-war year, it stood at 7.53 millions. 6.79 millions were on the rolls in the year 1911-12. The normal increase in one year during the continuation of the war had therefore considerably slowed down. The financial aspect of the question is equally unsatisfactory. The total expenditure both direct and indirect on public instruction amounted to Rs. 1129 lakhs during 1916-17 as against Rs. 1005 lakhs in the pre-war year and Rs. 788 lakhs five years ago. Nearly 55 per cent. of the total expenditure in 1916-17 was defrayed from public funds, and 45 per cent. from fees and subscriptions, endowments and miscellaneous receipts. The figures show that in pre-war days the Government gave Rs. 146 lakhs more in two years. During the three years of the war, however, the increase in contributions dwindled down to 63 lakhs. The achievement, therefore, cannot be said to be creditable. The percentage of students to the population was only 5.3 in the case of males and 1 per cent in the case of females. All the other provinces except Bombay and the Punjab showed some increase in the number of

institutions. Bombay showed a decrease of 318 institutions and 18,769 scholars and the Punjab a decrease of 21 institutions. The number of scholars, however, in the Punjab increased by 13,581. The Bombay presidency, we are constrained to observe, has cut a very poor figure during the last quinquennium in respect of educational activities. The expenditure on education in the province during the year 1916-17 was actually less than in the pre-war year, and Bombay again showed the largest decrease in the number of institutions. The current year's estimates give no ground for hope that the Bombay Government will wipe off the stain at the earliest possible opportunity.

We now propose to give the main outlines of actual achievements in the different branches of education. During the last year of the quinquennium there were about six million scholars in the primary schools, about a million and nineteen thousand in secondary schools and about sixty thousand in colleges. The figures show that only 11 p. c. of the boys in the lower primary stage go to the upper primary stage. The education they receive is practically wasted as they promptly forget the mere rudiments of knowledge with which they have acquired a superficial acquaintance in the exiguous period of their school-life. For a firm implantation of impressions on the child mentality, the lengthening of the period of school life seems to be an imperative necessity. The statistics show the number of scholars increased during the quinquennium by 61 p. c. in colleges, 28 p. c. in secondary schools and only 17 p. c. in primary schools. Universal elementary education alone, it must be realised, can furnish a solid basis for political and economic development. It is undoubtedly easier to start higher teaching among the middle classes, but the organisation of the masses for educational purposes is too long delayed and must be taken up without further loss of time. Widespread illiteracy, with its inevitable accompaniments, is the root cause of many of the evils which at present infest the social organism.

Another equally important question is that of girls' education. The percentage of girls at school to the girl population of British India, was only 1.03 and the ratio of girls at school to boys was 1 to 5. In the college grade there were only 1022 females, at the secondary stage 22,786 and at the primary stage 11,15,318. These figures clearly show that female education extends little beyond the elementary stage. The chief obstacle in the way of the expansion of education among girls appears to be the dearth of female teachers. Mr. Shirras observes, where the staff is composed of women the duration of school life tends to increase. We think it is necessary to take immediate steps to investigate the question as to how the present deficiency can be supplied, as the question of girls' education is bound up with the question of the supply of women teachers.

The total number of Muhammadan scholars was 18,24,364 or 23.2 p.c. of the total number of scholars

in British India. The percentage of Muhammadan scholars to the total number of scholars of all creeds in various classes of public institutions was 10.4 in colleges, 17.9 in secondary school, 22.5 in primary schools, and 45.5 in special schools. It is evident from these figures that the Muhammadans are still backward in secondary and collegiate education. The percentage of Muhammadans in special institutions, however, is highest amongst pupils of all creeds. Many of the Muhammadans, it is quite clear, do not pursue their course to the university stage but leave off in the middle either at the primary or the secondary stage and then join special schools which provide vocational instruction and training as distinguished from the professional education of colleges affiliated to the universities. Mr. Shirras does not enlighten us on the causes of this special attraction for professional and technical schools. We are glad to note that persistent efforts are being made to offer inducements to the Muhammadan community to go in for higher education and special facilities are being given to them by way of special scholarships, free studentships, and the introduction of Persian and Urdu in Government High Schools. The classification of scholars by race or creed in all classes of institutions shows Parsi scholars decreased by 4 p. c. As compared with the pre-war year, the decrease goes up to 6 p. c. We are at a loss to probe into the causes of this decrease. We hope the Parsi community, enlightened as it is, will not be slow to enquire and to remedy the evil.

### LOOKING FORWARD.

THE one thing to which every Indian is eagerly looking forward at this moment is the immediate publication of Mr. Montagu's scheme of reforms. Everything else is well-nigh forgotten and neglected and this forms the all-absorbing topic of discussion everywhere. A tense suspense is holding sway over men's souls, the spell being only broken now and then by a stray note of admonition or warning. India stands on the tip-toe of expectation; one can almost hear its eager hush and her heart is beating with intense hope as never before it did—or rather, beating between hope and fear.

At such a moment as this, it is the duty of every patriotic citizen to take stock of the situation and to look ahead. To my mind, the prevalence of parties seems to be the most powerful factor in the present political situation and the one that is going to influence the course of future events most. Old parties have revived under the strong pressure and stimulus supplied by recent circumstances and new parties have also sprung into existence. Each party is bearing its arms and donning its armour and quietly but grimly preparing for the coming fight, determined that its own cherished object shall be achieved and those of its enemies foiled.

First of all, there is the Anglo-Indian party, whose active entry into the arena of Indian poli-

tics synchronised with the visit of Mr. Montagu to this country—a fact looked upon by several of our countrymen as an evil portent. Whether we like it or not, there can be no doubt that it is going to be one of the most powerful political parties in India. The recent appointment of the redoubtable Mr. Welby of the *Madras Mail* fame to the secretaryship of the Anglo-Indian Association is in itself a signal and an omen. It unmistakably shows the temper of the Anglo-Indians. Mr. Welby is a host in himself. He is a man whose idea of communal patriotism is such that it will not allow him to take any broad view of things. There can be no doubt that under his guidance the Anglo-Indian community will oppose any reform scheme tooth and nail and will leave no stone unturned in trying to wreck it altogether.

This party, so powerful in itself, has the backing in England of the still more powerful and influential clique called the Indo-British Association, at whose head that erratic ex-Governor of Bombay, Lord Sydenham, has placed himself and whose members include the heads of all the great British trading firms and whose funds, according to the report of a gentleman recently returned from England, already amount to thirty lacs of rupees, "all to be spent in propaganda."

But the worst of it all is that this Anglo-Indian party, which is working both in India and England against the best interests of India, has been powerfully reinforced in our own country by a large and influential section of our own fellow-countrymen. I mean the non-Brahmana anti-Home Rulers of southern India. The non-Brahmana movement, started with the ostensible object of advancing the true interest, of the non-Brahmana population of the Madras presidency, has, strange to say, slowly drifted farther and farther away from the common national cause and we find it ranged, at last, on the side of the Welbys and the Sydenhams and all those who oppose the political progress of India. However much we may lament this unholy alliance between our political opponents and a section of our own people, we are constrained to admit that this secession of the Non-Brahmana party from the common cause constitutes a tremendous accession of strength to the party of our foes both in India and England. As all India knows by now, the formidable Dr. Nair has recently gone to England on considerations of health: we may take it for granted that his presence in England at this most important juncture will strengthen the hands of our opponents to a considerable degree.

As everyone is aware, this body of reactionaries includes big zamindars and rajahs. In this connection, we should not lose sight of that small, but not insignificant, separatist movement among a section of the Indian Muslims in the Punjab, Madras and Bengal, embodied in such associations as the South-India Islamia League, in opposition to the all-India Moslem League whose demands in conjunction with the Congress

these new Muslim associations deem "extravagant and impracticable." Their numbers are few, but their membership is sufficiently influential and their capacity for making mischief undoubted.

Here then we have, on the one hand, three different parties pledged to oppose all measures of reform and progress in India: (1) the Anglo-Indian community in India and in England, (2) the anti-Brahmana heretics in South India, and (3) the Muslim schismatics in different parts of the country. For all practical purposes, we may treat all these three as one and the same party and for convenience's sake we may dub it the Anti-Reform Party.

This party has the advantage of being perfectly well-knit and organised; it is completely united; its preparations are thorough; all the weapons of position, pelf and power are in its hands; above all it is being backed up officials; rumour even says it was engineered by them: it is only waiting to strike the blow and wreck any scheme of reform that Mr. Montagu may propose.

As against all this, we have, on the other hand, what we may call the Indian Reform Party, but what a pity that one is not able to say the same thing of it, that it is united or as well organised as it should be! Can it be pretended that this party is at present as unanimous as the Anti-Reform Party? Can it be pretended that we understand one another as well as, say, Dr. Nair and Mr. Welby understand each other? Can it be pretended that the same amity exists between the extreme and moderate elements in the Congress camp as exists between, say, the South Indian Liberal Federation and the South India Islamia League? Have we made our plans and settled our programme in concert? Have we reached a common understanding yet?

Here lies the danger to the cause of reform. While our opponents are united and ready, disunion reigns rampant in our ranks. Unless we too close our ranks and come upon a common ground betimes, what is there to prevent us from falling an easy prey to our enemies?

The supreme need of the occasion, then, is unity. The need for it was never more insistent, clamorous or compelling than now. The imperative, the superlative need of the hour is perfect unanimity among ourselves as to how we shall act in case the reform scheme is satisfactory and how we shall meet it if it is unsatisfactory. It will be either satisfactory or unsatisfactory. What shall we do if it is satisfactory? What shall we do if it is not satisfactory?

The answer to these questions has been furnished by Mrs. Annie Besant in her note in the *Commonweal* of the 24th ultimo. There she has clearly stated that she would not accept the reforms if they are not satisfactory; but neither would she boycott them nor obstruct them; but as a practical politician she would rather utilise them to the utmost and use them as a vantage ground for further advance. She has also stated

there that Mr. Tilak also holds exactly the same view: "Asked if he would accept a 4 anna or an 8 anna reform, he replied that he would only accept a 16 anna reform, but he would utilise to the utmost the 4 anna or 8 anna fragment, in order to get the whole." An unexceptionable doctrine this, as the SERVANT OF INDIA observed.

But the *Mahratta* seems to have been much upset by that observation of the SERVANT OF INDIA. It says: "The word acceptance involves the idea of consent, satisfaction, willingness and so forth and there is the rub,"—but all the same it concludes thus: "Whether we shall use the reforms, when granted only in part, in spite of protests, as a lever for further work or not is altogether a different question. If the new situation helps us in accelerating our progress who would not take advantage of it? The greater the help, the easier the situation, the better for us. On this point we are all agreed." So that it comes to this. The *Mahratta* will not accept it: but it will utilise it! The *Mahratta* thinks this is not acceptance: but I ask is this "non-acceptance"? Who quibbles then, the SERVANT OF INDIA or the *Mahratta*?

So after all the paragraph in the *Mahratta* quoted above leaves Mr. Tilak's position the same as it was described to be by Mrs. Besant in her note in the *Commonweal* quoted above. It is devoutly to be wished that both Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak will stick to this view right through, for this is the only sane and the practical view that anybody can take under the circumstances. If they stick to this view and keep in check the wilder spirits among their followers who are already beginning to talk of obstruction, passive resistance and what not, everything will end well: the more sober and cautious Congressmen will have absolutely no difficulty in falling into line with the eager and extreme Home Rulers and that unity which is at once so desirable and so indispensable to our success would have been achieved.

I have shown how the anti-reformers are ready to destroy any reform scheme that does not meet with their approval. I have also described their power for doing mischief. It is all the more reason why we should not play into their hands by any differences among ourselves. As it is, Mr. Montague has enough difficulties to contend against; it is not for us to add to them. If we really love our country and desire that the reforms should succeed, it is our obvious duty to strengthen Mr. Montagu's hands in all possible ways and to give him our undivided support; and the only way of doing so that I can see is to deal with his proposals with unanimity and sobriety: Or between the anti-reformers' vigorous pulling and our pulling, there is every danger that the scheme itself may be pulled to pieces and nothing will delight the heart of Anglo-Indians more. If this happens a glorious opportunity will be lost to the Motherland, which may not occur again for another decade—a prospect on which no Indian who loves his country can look with any degree of equanimity, and

the blame of this failure shall rest on our own heads for ever more. I fervently hope everyone of my fellow-countrymen will rise to the full height of this supreme occasion and sink all minor differences of opinion in the common cause of our success at this most important and critical juncture. On our cool judgment everything depends, on our unity hangs our fate. I hope the special Congress will be a triumph of concord and statesmanship. It is in this spirit that all of us should look forward to its coming session.

S. M. M.

## IRELAND AND LORD MORLEY.

### VI.

POLITICS has its humour, its tragic side, sudden alarms, unexpected incidents and happy comradeship in perhaps a greater degree than any other department of human activity. Lord Morley's delineation of his "three years in Ireland" gives vivid and realistic descriptions of all these manifold phases. The troubles of Ireland can be summed up under two heads: land reform and Home Rule; the one purely economic, the other purely political, though by the lapse of time the two have merged together. The causes that have led up to the existing sad condition are both historical and "religious," as already explained: We shall now speak of Lord Morley's work for betterment in both directions.

Early in his career Lord Morley was called upon to deal with a particularly desperate agrarian situation which may be regarded as an instance of sudden alarm. A tenant had been evicted. A great meeting was held on the evicted farm; violent speeches were delivered; and the assembled folk began rebuilding the evicted tenant's home. The problems before the Chief Secretary were two: preservation of law and order which no Government in its senses can afford to neglect, even if, unhappily, it itself has been a distant instrument in creating the confusion; and, secondly, making such incidents impossible in the future by sympathetic legislation. Lord Morley courageously embarked on both: there was, of course, confused and varied advice, but Lord Morley did not waver. "We despatched an order to break up the disturbers and arrest in case of persistence." The result was satisfactory and quiet reigned. Another administrator would have stopped after felicitating himself at the vindication of the stern hand of justice. But Lord Morley was built of a different stuff. He proceeded to the other and more important part of his task. A hurried commission was set up to survey the ground, and Lord Morley sat down to frame a bill.

"The crucial point was whether the restoration of these unfortunate tenants by the landlords should be voluntary or compulsory. The Irishmen insisted that if the process were not compulsory, it would be 'idle,' and vowed that they would rather go back to Ireland with no Bill at all in their hands than a voluntary Bill. I told

them that in my view it was pure folly not to desire to go back to Ireland with a conciliation Bill that gave them a large sum of money in the first place; good machinery for arbitration in the second; and, if they were so minded a first-class grievance in the third."

Lord Morley, fully conversant of the arts of managing men, won the Irish leaders, and the Bill came before Parliament. Here is an illustration of unexpected incidents that so often beset the path of political life. The Tories, of course, moved the rejection of the Bill, but the Irish leaders promised support and deputed a gentleman reputed to be of particularly peaceful intentions to speak on their behalf in support of the ministerial measure. But "up gets the conciliatory Irish co-adjutor, and within five minutes we were launched upon one of his most tempestuous diatribes against landlords and all their works. This naturally provoked the ablest of the Irish Unionists, though he had been strongly for compromise and conciliation, into a bitter and rasping rebuttal. The House had been interested and hopeful, but the flood of boiling lava instantly searched up the tender green shoots of accommodation and the Bill was doomed." The Bill did go to the House of Lords, and there too a strange fatality pursued it. It was opposed; but "Our leader of the House did it rather less than justice, for he had been busy with foreign affairs all the afternoon." Lord Morley, with befitting pathos and irony, exclaims: "As if the tenant in his rags and letters was not more important for the passing hour than all the starred and ribboned ambassadors in London!" Lord Morley and his colleagues had worked hard: thirty six meetings of the select committee had been held under the presidentship of Lord Morley; a vast and valuable mass of evidence had been collected; but "both Report and Bill were in a few months packed safe away in the crowded, dusty, and unhonoured pigeon-holes allotted decade after decade to Irish land."

So the land question was once more hung up. There was now the question of Home Rule. Mr. Gladstone was there to see it through the House of Commons. He had failed once before. He was not to fail now, at least in his own House. "Mr. Gladstone worked the Bill in the Commons with an infinite variety and resource never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it." But it was all in vain. The Commons passed it, but the Lords threw it out. In the course of the passage of the Bill, Lord Morley had said to Mr. Asquith: "I wonder when we come to look back on all this, whether it will figure as a strange nightmare or a crowded hour of glorious life." Mr. Asquith replied: "Oh, neither; only as a part of the regular day's work." All the same such wasted labour cannot but be regarded as the tragic side of politics. The silver lining, however, is the comradeship of good and true men, whose work for a common cause, even though unsuccessful, results in warm personal friendships. Lord Morley has made many and earnest and sincere friends in his

long and varied political career whom he has mentioned with gratitude and genuine affection in page after page of his *Recollections*.

Failing in both his attempts to better the agrarian and political situation of Ireland by legislation, he turned to Ireland itself to do whatever good he could do on the spot, and there he worked from day to day in his office broken by long tours in the country to fulfil his duties and by necessary social recreations. Lord Morley gives a useful side-light to his own character in connection with office work. He knew his responsibilities to his colleagues and subordinates, and, like a true psychologist, he said :

"Nobody's judgment of a man is so likely to be right as that of his official colleagues in his department. I may delude the House of Commons, or constituents or a public meeting, into thinking me somebody quite different from what I really am. But your office has you at close quarters; every hour of the day it is testing your temper, judgement, tact, industry, insight, foresight, firmness, will, commonsense."

But despite all his heavy work and his insistent effort to understand Ireland and to serve her, there were not wanting men who accused him of lack of knowledge of what he was about. That gives a touch of humour to the scene. Here is an illustration. "He (Goldwin Smith) hints that I am for H. R. (Home Rule), because I am ignorant of Ireland." His own personal knowledge of Ireland seems to have been acquired in a very short visit to a unionist circle here thirty years ago! Has this not a lesson for a particular type of person, who speaks or writes about India after mere chance meetings with reactionaries and who accuses all that are sympathetic with lack of knowledge and judgment?

( To be continued. )

SRI PRAKASA.

## REVIEWS.

### ' THE UNITY OF WESTERN CULTURE. '

PROGRESS AND HISTORY: Essays arranged and edited by F. S. Marvin. Oxford University Press. Pp. 314. 1917. Price 3/6 net.

MR. E. S. MARVIN has recently come in the forefront of English writers by some of his recent books, notable among which are the "Unity of Western Civilisation" and the "Living Past." Mr. Marvin tells us in the preface to the book under review that the "Progress and History" is a sequel to the "Unity of Western Civilisation" accomplishing by a dynamical presentation what had been already achieved in a statical fashion in the other companion volume. The Bombay University has lately paid a great compliment to Mr. Marvin by prescribing his "Living Past" as a text-book in necessary English for the B. A. in the years 1920, 1921. Mr. Marvin no doubt writes lucidly, but, in the opinion of the present reviewer, to elbow out Carlyle to make room for Marvin is

a procedure worthy only of those who would thrust out the Sun to make room for a candle-light.

The idea that underlies the two works which Mr. Marvin has edited is the justification of the glorious unity of western culture in the midst of the seeming disparities of national existence and national aspiration. We think that Mr. Marvin wants to achieve an impossible task. It is no doubt true that he has merely collected together essays by various writers, occasionally interspersing an essay of his own, and is therefore to be looked at as an editor, rather than as an author, of these essays. Yet the fact remains that Mr. Marvin stands for the idea which underlies these various essays, namely, the demonstration that the West is after all one, and the implication that the East may not be so. The march of events for the last half decade has proved beyond doubt the absurdity of any such impossible notion, and the East will no longer tolerate any such misstatements as are implied in the futile endeavour to prove the unity of western culture.

As Mr. Marvin himself points out, the best time for the study of the problem of international unity in the West is just the present time when the whole of Europe is torn with strife and war, just as the best time for the study of the Sun and his light is a time when, as recently in America, the world's worthies have gathered together on account of a complete solar eclipse. If we just look at Europe at this time, we will find that the nations are fighting like wolves, and it seems as though the only right philosophy to be preached is a Hobbism or a Nietzscheanism. Howsoever much people like Mr. Marvin may try to demonstrate the underlying unity in this conflict, the fact remains that the conflict is too much for the unity and will not allow it to stand.

Mr. Marvin contributes two essays to the volume: one is the introductory chapter on the Idea of Progress, and the other is on Progress in Science. It seems he has succeeded in enlisting the sympathies of a variety of writers to contribute to his volume, prominent among whom are the Baron Friedrich von Hügel who writes on Progress in Religion and L. P. Jacks who writes on Moral Progress. There is really a variety of subjects that are attempted in the book under review. We have here contributions on Progress at the time of the Greeks, Progress in the Middle Ages, Progress of notions of Government, Progress in Industry, Art, Science and Philosophy. The book is well filled to attract a number of readers by the variety of interests to which it appeals; but we must confess that we feel that the book is after all only a popular book, which has to be read only once to be next kept on one's shelves or even out of them.

Mr. Marvin tells us an amusing story as to the variety of ideas that are generally held about the nature of Progress. "One Sunday afternoon he happened to be walking with two friends in Oxford, one a professor of philosophy, the other a

lady. (Look at the contrast!) The Professor of Philosophy declared that to him human progress must always mean the increase of *knowledge*; the editor (Mr. Marvin himself) urged the increase of *power* as its most characteristic feature; but the lady added at once that to her progress had always meant, and could only mean, increase in our appreciation of the *humanity* of others." Mr. Marvin then goes on to say that "the first two thoughts, harmonised and directed by the third, may be taken to cover the whole field," and that his volume is merely a commentary upon them. We agree with Mr. Marvin when he says that Progress is a synthetic notion including as its moments such different concepts as knowledge, and power, and humanity.

Even supposing that the value of progress is fixed once for all, the question follows, is an unending progress a possibility or a mere chimera? Unending progress may often be regarded as an illusion, nay, the very idea, which is antithetical to it, namely that of continual degeneration may be regarded as the truth. Are we more moral than our ancestors? Are we more wise? Have we a better government? Are we increasing in our industrial, scientific knowledge? Are our social fabrics better and stronger than in days of old? Such questions as these are somewhat difficult to answer; and even though, in some cases, the answer seems easy enough yet one cannot be positively sure as to whether the answer would be correct. Even though we may be told that we have advanced in scientific knowledge, the question arises, whether we are more moral or religious than in days of old. The idea of progress involves an antinomy, and it is irresoluble on grounds of pure reason.

One of the special features of the book under review is the list of books for reference that are given towards the end of every chapter. Among some of the ideas that are held by the writers in the volume is the idea put forth by Mr. L. P. Jacks, the editor of the world-famous Hibbert Journal, who, while writing on moral progress has hinted that the other writers on progress in the various fields of human activity already presuppose the idea of a moral progress as the backbone of any kind of progress whatsoever. Mr. Zimmern, who has two essays allotted to him, namely those on Progress in Government and Progress in Industry (or economics) very rightly points out that the trend of affairs in the world's history shows unmistakably that out of the chaotic condition of the present affairs of the world, one ideal is clearly emerging, namely that of the "ordering of the world's affairs on the basis of liberty" (p. 189), and again that when we once realise this, all economic progress is but a tributary to the main stream, and follows as a consequence. Lastly, Indians could only smile when Mr. Marvin says in his chapter on progress in science that England herself, the home of scientific and industrial research,

is "demanding—and rightly—a stronger bias in her educational system for teaching of a scientific kind." This statement should give some food for reflection to such of our "sophoi" as would make our education barren of all science. If England herself is crying for more scientific education, what should India say, India where there are few scientific men, fewer laboratories and fewest openings for scientific careers? Would our moneyed men make greater endowments for science? The ideal of scientific education in India should be a state of affairs superinduced in the land when there shall be no longer any dependence on any foreign country whatsoever, when all the greatest achievements of science will be made in India herself, when in peace as in war, India would be self-supporting and autonomous scientifically and economically, as well as politically.

#### EDUCATION OF FACTORY CHILDREN.

THE factory system, with the object of increasing the national wealth by means of production on a large scale, is responsible for the creation of enormous evils in the West. The introduction of that system in India has reproduced some of its most mischievous and disagreeable features, such as the conflict between Capital and Labour, the creation of a slavish system of apprenticeship and the horrible negligence in looking to the comforts of the labourers with regard to their housing and education.

In the field of industry, as in other works of life, a systematic and scientific training is an indispensable requisite of success. The ignorance and the unhealthy condition of the working classes substantially diminish their productive power and hence reduce the income of the capitalist. Having realised this fact, some attempts in this direction, though they are extremely meagre and disproportionate to the actual number of existing factories, are being made by the Directors of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, and the Collieries at Giridh. A pamphlet, entitled the Education of Factory Children in India, and describing the working of some factory schools in the above mentioned districts, has been recently published by the Bureau of Education. A brief review of the working of these schools, may be useful to those who are desirous of taking any active interest in the matter.

Sir Clement Simpson, to whom the credit of emphasising the question of technical and industrial education before the Cotton Commission prominently belongs, has written an account of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills School. The day schools cater for half-timers and the children of workmen in the mill. At the suggestion of the Indian Factory Commission, the school was removed to an open and independent site outside the compound of the mill. The main buildings consist of an administration block, class rooms, assembly halls, drawing class room and a technical lecture room. Besides these, there are, the kitchen, the sick room, the nursery, and workshop for teaching of elementary carpentry, smithy and tailoring. Playing fields and a gymnasium are also attached to the school.

It is interesting to mark the development of this school. Originally it was designed for half-timers over 9 and under 14 years of age, who were to be instructed in the three R's during the other half of the day. As a result of imparting general education only, it was found that there was a growing tendency among the scholars to seek clerical employment in the mill. To counteract this effect, classes in manual training were opened with the result that the half-timers,

when they became full-timers, were sent to take to the different branches of the mill industry according to the bent of their minds. Half-timers, when they become full-timers, are encouraged to continue their classes in the night school without interruption.

The practical work in the instructional classes consists of the following elementary courses in gardening, washing and ironing clothes, carpentry, painting, whitewashing and small repairs, blacksmith's work and tailoring.

There is a very great difficulty of getting well trained teachers in the different branches of industrial education. It is also very expensive to equip the workshops and the laboratories in a scientific manner. It is satisfactory to find that the organizers of the school have made a good start in the matter. Technical instruction is also given in the theory of spinning, weaving, practical electricity, geometrical drawing, machine drawing and building construction by foremen and draughtsmen from the mills. Prizes are awarded on the results of the examinations by European officers.

The crèche or the public nursery, to take care of small children when the parents are at work, is a peculiar feature of the school, which deserves to be copied by other factories. Arrangements are made for keeping the children clean and in healthy surroundings in which they can play or sleep, when tired. Every week, the mill doctors medically inspect the school and look after the health of the boys.

During the last 10 years, the total number of pupils has increased from 157 to 515 in the Buckingham mills, and from 262 to 445 in the Carnatic mills.

The scope of the Factory Commission did not include tea gardens. The second part of the pamphlet, however, deals with the tea garden schools. Most of them are managed by missionaries and are provided with Government or municipal grants. The third part deals with the colliery schools near Giridh, their peculiar feature being compulsory elementary education for all boys on the company's estates. The organisation of the school consists of an industrial school with 52 boys, an upper primary school with 146 and a lower with 119 boys and elementary schools with 1758 students including 303 girls. Compulsion is made real and effective by the appointment of school *chaukidars*, whose business it is to go in search of the absentees. The course of study extends over 3 years with 4 hours' daily practical work.

A survey of the working of these three kinds of schools will convince the mill owners in other parts of the country that the acceptance of the burden of educating the factory children will assuredly lead to an increase in their own profit through an increase in the output of the labourers. They will receive a regular supply of well-trained, disciplined and obedient workmen. Moreover, not only will the relations between the employer and the workpeople improve, but a door will be opened to a clever boy by which he will benefit both himself and his employers.

#### SHORT NOTICE.

GOKHALE SERIES—IMPERIAL BUDGET SPEECHES OF 1902 IN TAMIL.

We welcome this attempt to present Mr. Gokhale's speeches in a pamphlet form to the Tamil reading public, whose political consciousness has now been thoroughly roused and who, therefore, stand in urgent need of such translations to equip themselves effectively for public life. The translation is in some places perhaps a little too literal, but, on the whole, it is simple and very readable. The author, Mr. K. S. Krishnamurti, says he will thankfully accept contributions, however small, towards the cost of publishing the other speeches of Mr. Gokhale in Tamil. We wish him every success. The pamphlet is priced at as. 4 and can be had from Mr. K. S. Krishnamurti, Progressive Publishing House, Lotus Lodge, Tiruvalur, Tanjore District.

## LETTERS FROM THE PROVINCES.

### MADRAS.

#### THE RICKSHAWALLAHS' STRIKE.

A BRIEF reference was made in the last letter to the labour movement set on foot by Mr. B. P. Wadia of *New India* among the mill-hands of Madras. Subsequent to that, there was a strike of the rickshawallaha here. The owners of rickshaws demanded 5 as. per rickshaw instead of 4 as. per day and this demand for increased hire in those hard times was met on the part of the poor rickshuwallas by a strike. Mr. B. P. Wadia of *New India* at once came forward and has organised a Rickshawallaha's Labour union to safeguard the interests of those people. He and another gentleman have also presented them a rickshaw each. Four rickshaw owners have meanwhile agreed to accept the same old hire of 4 as. per day from the rickshaw coolies. As *New India* says, if their good example is followed by the other owners, this unhappy strike will soon be over.

#### "A FOREIGN WOMAN."

At a public meeting recently held in Madura under the presidency of Mr. George Joseph, Bar-at-Law, who was one of the Members of the ill-fated Home Rule League Deputation turned back at Gibraltar, one Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu is reported to have said that if any foreign man or foreign woman said that he or she was working for the good of India, he for one would not believe it. This was said in reference to Mrs. Annie Besant, who had criticised this gentleman's conduct in one of the recent issues of her *New India*. Can blind prejudice go further?

#### DR. NAIR'S PASSPORT.

The Government of Madras have, at last, thought it fit to issue a communique on the passport granted to Dr. Nair. This belated communique had better not have been published, for it has only augmented the public feeling of resentment so far as one can see. The protest contained in the sentence that the charge of partiality is, therefore, obviously without foundation, "has not convinced any one.

#### IS VILLAGE SERVICE A SLAVERY?

Under this title, that tried friend of the poor, Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, has written a letter to the papers on what cannot but be considered a case of unjust punishment awarded by the sub-magistrate of Owkin Kurnool district to three village servants who had resigned their posts because they considered the pay of Rs. 4 per mensem given to them was insufficient. All these three servants have been sentenced to a week's simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 15. The Dewan Bahadur has done a real service by drawing public attention to this most unjust sentence. We hope the Government of Madras will take note of this case.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### ABUSES IN RECRUITMENT.

SIR,—You will kindly do me the favour of correcting what appears in your issue of 16th May regarding myself in connection with the resolution on recruiting passed at the Bijapur Conference. I never went to inspect recruitment depots in the absence of officials and consequently there was no occasion to refuse permission to me. It is enough if, on the strength of this letter, you correct what has appeared in your paper.—Yours, etc.

G. K. SATHE.

[We took this information regarding the Hon'ble Mr. Sathe from another journal, but finding that it was not correctly given, we have to acknowledge the error and express regret for it.—Ed.]

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