THE

Servant of India

Editor: V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

Vol. I., No. 37.]

POONA-THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1918.

ANNUAL SUBSN. : Rs. 4

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE negotiations for peace have assumed the form of a sort of diplomatic fencing. President Wilson has been throughout as explicit as possible. He has amplified the previous declarations made by him in a manner which, in ordinary circumstances, would have been described as brutally frank. But he said the situation demanded it. The German reply of the 20th instant speaks about the honour of the German people. President Wilson impeaches it and tells the German Government that he cannot trust the military masters and monarchical autocrats of Germany. As regards the terms of the armistice also, he makes it quite clear that they must be such as to enable the Allies to enforce any peace that may be concluded. If words have any meaning, what President Wilson wants is constitutional changes in Germany of a most far-reaching character, abundant safeguards and guarantees for maintaining the present military supremacy of the Allies before armi. stice could be made, and afterwards, a peace that would take away from Germany for everthe power of disturbing the peace of the world at her own sweet will and pleasure. A straightforward reply to this would have been either a complete and unconditional surrender, or the breaking off of negotiations. Germany, however, has done neither the one nor the other. The German reply refers to the constitutional revolution which is in progress, maintains a perfect silence about other matters and repeats the request to have the proposals of |

the Allies for an armistice as the first step towards a just peace. We wonder if the words 'proposals' and 'just' have any deeper significance. Perhaps the Germans want to bring the Allies together in a Peace Conference and then to begin to set them by the ears. We believe the Allies led by President Wilson will prove more than a match for Germany at this game.

THE taking of Aleppo by the British is the most important news of the week from the Indian and British point of view. It will facilitate and hasten the junction of the armies operating in Mesopotamia and Palestine. Northern Serbia is being cleared of the enemy. The Italians also are pressing forward. On the Western front the success of the Allied arms is maintained and continued. The enemy is falling back, and if the weather conditions remain what they are, this process may be expected to continue for a long time.

THE fall of Aleppo has immediately led to the revival of the reports about the Turks suing for peace. The news of the defection of the Governor of Smyrna did not lead to any important developments expected of it. Meanwhile, the news from Austria-Hungary points towards the dismemberment of that monarchy and also towards the collapse of its military power. There is talk of demobilisation of the army, although the reply of President Wilson to Austria's peace overtures was not at all satisfactory. Independence, Federalisation, Formation of new nations, these are the words and expressions commonly found in cables relating to the Dual Monarchy. After this was written, came the news of the acceptance by Austria of the conditions laid down by President Wilson, and so what has been written above, has been proved to be a correct description of the situation.

STILL they come—the reactionary views of Anglo-Indian bodies and associations about the Reform scheme. The latest addition to the list is the opinion of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. Well has Ditcher in the Capital of Calcutta compared their efforts to Mrs. Partington's mopping back the Atlantic Ocean! Where the framers of the scheme have shown the way to work, the Chamber advises a policy of procrastination, where Indian public opinion expresses satisfaction, it utters a cry of warning, and where the forme

wants radical changes, there, it says, absolutely no change is required! The Chamber is of opinion that the Functions and Franchise Committees should have done their work first, the reforms in the provincial governments should be very cautiously worked, and there should be no change at all in the Government of India. The Chamber concludes its report by suggesting special representation for the Anglo-Indian community and special safeguards for its interests. Comment on such criticism is superfluous, after all that has been said about the Reform scheme. But one is reminded of the stout beggar elbowing his way through a crowd of lean ones and trying to pocket a substantial portion of the alms.

THE opinion of the non-officials of the Bombay Legislative Council comes as a welcome change after this effusion of reaction. Both in their demands and their arguments in support of them, there is refreshing clearness of thought and independence of views. They make out a strong case in favour of the grant of full and complete responsible government for Bombay. If, however, Government is not, on any account, prepared to go so far, they would agree to keep portions of Law, Justice, Police and Political, in the hands of Executive government. Bombay is by common consent the most advanced of the provinces of British India, and it is but right that at least in our province the experiment of complete responsible government should be tried. We hope the Government of Bombay would support this demand and in that case there should be no difficulty in the way of its being embodied in the final form of the scheme.

THE question of reserved and transferred subjects was discussed in the Madras Legislative Council last week, only the non-official members taking part in the debate. On several points there was a clear-cut division between the Indian and European non-officials. The latter voted against the transference of every important subject. Thus the transference of industries department was hotly opposed by the Europeans who said, that without stability of Government, capital will fight shy of India, and that already a tendency in that direction was observable. Their attention might have been profitably directed to South America, where Governments are proverbially unstable but in which a large amount of English capital has been invested. It was decided to transfer "Land Revenue Administration" with the exception of the Court of Wards, encumbered and attached estates. Prisons were reserved, as also the whole of "Justice," a proposal to split up the latter into civil and criminal, and to transfer the civil justice department having been negatived. After a lengthy debate in which the representative of the University who is a European Missionary proposed to reserve secondary and higher education, the whole department of education was put among the transferred subjects. Railways and provincial borrowing were also to be handed over to Ministers. On the whole, the trend of the Madras non-official members was in the direction of transferring every subject unless there were very cogent reasons to the contrary. This is exactly the attitude which we have taken from the first.

THE position of India's foreign exchange has, once more, become unsettled. A rise in the price of silver and a comparatively large excess of India's exports of merchandise had fixed the sterling exchange at the high level of 18d, and the probability of a further rise in it was recently being discussed. A failure of the monsoon over a large part of the country and the consequent falling off in the exports of Indian staples, have suddenly altered the whole situation. The banks will have few bills to purchase in India and will not have to place themselves in funds by means of Councils. There will, therefore, be no demand for Council remittances, and it has now been notified that the weekly sales of Council bills in London will be suspended until further notice. It is explained that this measure has been taken with reference to the existing exchange position and to the fact that the Exchange Banks in India are at present possessed of sufficient rupee resources to finance exports of national importance. The Secretary of State gets more than enough funds for his normal requirements, being paid by His Majesty's Government for the war disbursements made by our Government here on their behalf. The stopping of the sale of Council bills is intended to maintain the exchange at the proper level, but it is doubted whether this measure will suffice for the purpose; and whether it may not become necessary to arrange for the sale of reverse Councils. The question must certainly be engaging the attention of Government, and it is desirable that an early declaration of policy is made by them.

THE convocation address of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjea contains some striking points. Not the least important and opportune was, his emphatic protest against making too much of the past. There is a distinct tendency in some quarters to hark back to the times of the Rishis, or to say that a particular culture only, shall be imparted in a given university. Sir Ashutosh says: "We cannot waste precious time and strength in defence of theories and systems which, however valuable in their own days, have been swept away by the irresistible avalanche of world-wide change. We can live neither in, nor by the defeated past, and if we would live in the conquering future, we must dedicate our whole strength to shape its course, and our will, to discharge its duties. " Again he says: "I can imagine no step more unwise ofr an Indian University to take than to give exclusive prominence to studies peculiarly Indian. Please do not misunderstand me. Indeed, all the

monuments of Indian culture imperatively demand critical and comparative study in an Indian University. But while I appreciate the value of adequate provision in these departments and regard them as essential factors in the organisation of our University, I cannot but emphasise the paraount need for fully equipped technical instituous of all grades with courses of scientific study, reoretical and applied, for in this age—brand it as materialistic if you please—the trained special expert is at least as indispensable to society as the most accomplished theoretical scholar. And he cencludes: "Let us then raise an emphatic protest against all suicidal policy of isolation and stagnation."

ANGLO-INDIAN administrators are never tired of telling us that education is meant only for those who can afford to pay for it. The force of events has made them give up this position in regard to primary education. But the doctrine still holds the field with regard to secondary and university education The high rate of fees charged together with the absence of a liberal provision of free studentships, places secondary education beyond the reach of the poor; while the movement 'against affiliating universities and in favour of residential ones, is likely to make university education the monopoly of the rich. Sir Ashutosh is no believer in such a heresy. "Let us then expand our Universities;" he says; " that is the first step in upward progress; from them will flow an irresistible stream of educational facilities for the elevation of the masses." "The struggle for national existence and progress is so keen that I earnestly entreat you to make tuition free in every department of your University ... Demolish the tall gates which bar the passage of light; let knowledge reach the ignorant mind as air goes to the tired lungs and water to the parched lips. Let every father in Mysore feel that his son has a patrimony in the University of his State." That is the true note. This is the spirit in which the university movement in India should be carried on.

THE Montagu-Chelmsford report contemplates in para. 238 some limitations being placed upon the ministers' complete control of the transferred subjects, and the Times Educational Supplement, seizing on this paragraph, suggests that, if primary flucation is included in the transferred schedule, some drastic restrictions will have to be imposed upon the ministers' power of dealing with it, in the interest of "depressed, backward, and outcast communities." Such a subject "which vitally affects the well-being of the masses" is not, strictly speaking, fit to be made over to Indian ministers, but if the transfer is to take place, it must be subject, The Times argues, to well-defined limitations, for that alone will afford some guarantee against the interests of the backward

classes being arbitrarily set aside or neglected. The Times apparently thinks that the Governments in India were most eager to push on the diffusion of education among the masses, but had to moderate their ardour from the opposition they encountered from the popular representatives in councils. The fact, however is—and it is a fact that leaps to the eyes of even the most casual observer of the work of legislative councils in India—that nothing has been sought after with such passionate eagerness by non-official members as an extension of education among the populace, and not seldom have they suffered rebuffs for their excessive zeal at the hands of the authorities, who are now erected into the sole protectors of the interests of the masses.

THE inclusion of secondary and technical education in the category of transferred subjects appears to The Times more debatable, Indian ideas of efficiency differing so widely from official. "Even with existing powers to speak the final word the provincial Governments find the obstacles in the way of efficiency so great" that the proportion of successful candidates at some of the examinations reaches sometimes the alarming figure of 18 per cent! To what a pass then will things be reduced if secondary education is committed to the care of people's representatives! The Times however recalls that "there are relatively few Government institutions" of secondary education and that the work is being mostly carried on by private agencies, and perhaps realises the unfairness of insisting on a rigorous application of its idea of efficiency. It has also the grace to admit that education "is a subject upon which the people most directly concerned have a special right to be heard and to be consulted; nay, more, upon which they have claims to be allowed to determine the policy of Government." Thus, beginning on a distinctly adverse note, The Times ends by an admission that, however wide be the divergence between the popular and the official view, secondary education is a subject eminently fit to be transferred to the control of ministers.

ADVERTING to the missionary bodies, The Times quotes with great zest the paragraph in the report which speaks of reserving to Government powers of effective intervention, "if orthodox Hindu or Muslim zeal sought to impose disabilities which would lead to India's necessities losing the material and moral benefits which missions afford." We think we know what the report has in view. We need only say that while Indians do not wish to impose any unjust disabilities upon missionary effort, they are not in a mood to suffer a restriction of their liberties by any disabilities being imposed upon them. They will insist that all undue preferences shall be swept away; fair field and no favour, is what they stand for.

TWO GREAT PERSONALITIES.

CYNICS may hold that reverence for age, when it is genuine and intense, is a sure proof of approaching age. Such a view is very wide of the facts. A celebrity belonging to a past generation is regard. ed by young people with wonder and esteem, free from all taint of envy and almost akin to heroworship. The anecdotal garrulity of old men gives them an irresistible fascination. Their reminiscences combine the instruction of history with the vividness of the actual. Exhortations and appeals, coming from gray-haired and infirm men who had done something in their own day. have stirred noble ambition inspired brave and heroic deeds. In times of turmoil when passions run high and our moral nature is shaken to its foundation, when earthquake, pestilence, famine or revolution has effaced life's bearings, one is apt to turn by instinct to a forgotten old person for guidance, furnished, it may be, by a parallel experience in the past. In the whirl of opinion when the very basis of social thought shifts, the conscientious doubter would find a true standard in the counsels of a person belonging to another age and comparatively unaffected by the surging forces of the time. Returning home after his exile of fourteen years, Sri Rama, noticing great changes in nature on the way, observes, "In the mighty rivers water-courses and sand-banks have exchanged places; dense growths are now to be found where there were open spaces; and open spaces meet the eye where once there were dense growths. I should imagine this was altogether new country, but the changeless hills give assurance of its identity." The poet adds that the changeless hills are the prototype of old sages who stand, in a world of evermoving ambition, vicissitude and corruption, unshakable witnesses of the moral law, abiding examples of the eternal dhurma. When a whirlwind of politics has destroyed the balance of a community, it is good fortune to light upon a well-tried publicist here and there, by whom, as by a surviving landmark, you can guide your footsteps. Two eminent publicists of this kind are Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Babu Surendranath Bannerjea.

From opposite ends of India they are meeting this week for a great national purpose. The task they have undertaken they are peculiarly fitted to fulfil. To grasp the exact bearings of the reform scheme and fix it, as it is necessary to fix it, in its relation to the past is a task which can be done properly only by those who have during thirty, years and more felt the ambitions and partaken in the struggles that have led up to the scheme. None are more competent than they to advise the people how to judge and to receive it. In the constitutional history of recent years many bright pages are of their contribution. They are about to add a page no less bright. It would be a grave injustice to these great sons of India to suppose that they have stood still while all the world around moved rapidly ahead.

They have assimilated what is of permanent value in the new, they have rejected no progress which promised to abide. One has only to recall the reform proposals of the late Mr. Gokhale to see now Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Babu Surendranath Bannerjea have moved forward in sympathy with the spirit of the times. The report of the non-offic; a members of the Imperial Legislative Council, which is acknowledged to embody the soundest viewell of the day in progressive politics, was drawn under their guidance It goes, up largely as everybody knows, far beyond the limits countenanced by the authors of the official. scheme, and it has already provoked the hostility, of Anglo-Indian critics. To accuse these valiant: Congressmen of seeking official favour is to fly in the face of current evidence. To attribute desire of office or recognition to them is to be guilty of unpardonable political prejudice. Both are past the age at which office can be an attraction; to vary the words of Dr. Johnson on a famous occasion, they are now so old that they are indifferent and cannot enjoy it, that they are known and do not want it. It is hard, after forty years of faithful service in the cause of the people, to be banished in moment of a) frenzy from their hearts, to be denounced as unpatriotic and selfseeking political turn-coats. Before the Congress was born, Sir Dinshaw's close study had made known the pitiful condition of India with the precision which well-digested facts and figures could give, and Babu Surendranath's impassioned, if somewhat grandiose, rhetoric had filled the imagination of young India with thoughts of an Indian nationality and stirred its patriotism by contemplation of the lives of Mazzini and Garibaldi. Through the many years of hard probation which the Congress had to pass, by unremitting labours on behalf of their countrymen in England and in India, on the platform and in the press, both patriots had to face official displeasure and persecution; one of them had even to undergo the experiences of the jail. Mr. Bannerjea said the other day in Simla with pathos, but without a trace of bitterness, that he had passed a long public life in opposition to Government. Who does not remember, not to go very far back, the arduous days of the partition agitation in Bengal, which he carried to a successful issue, with deportation, imprisonment and ruin hanging over his head all the time? Is it of him that any section of his countrymen should say that the prospect of office or title has lured him away from the popular cause? His rolling periods in praise of liberty, his rousing phraseology of exhortation, his power of conjuring up the vision of a united, powerful and prosperous India of the future—these and other triumphs of oratory, still unmatched in the muster-roll of India's eloquent sons, bear witness to gifts of a high order devoted to the noblest use to which human gifts could be devoted, viz., the emancipation of one's country. It is impossible to believe that the present generation will forget or ignore him. His

fame rests on firm rock. Sir Dinshaw Wacha has not the same vogue on men's lips, but until quite recently his popularity in Congress circles was surpassed by but few among his illustrious contemporaries. He has never cultivated and may even be said to have scorned the arts of the demagogue. But his fiery and forceful eloquence, his mastery and ready command of the facts and figures of India's economic condition, his cosmopolitan love of his fellow-countrymen, his fearless exposure of official vagaries and fallacies, the very vehemence of his utterance which occasionally makes him unintelligible have combined to make him a most attractive and welcome figure on the Congress platform. Those who know him well have learnt to appreciate and love the childlike simplicity of his nature, his singular readiness to forget and forgive, his amazing fertility of pen and his perfect immunity, notwithstanding his great personal influence, from the remotest suspicion of jobbery, favouritism or log-rolling. The present writer heard with great pleasure a friendly English critic say the other day that fidelity of private friendship and loyalty of public association seldom showed to greater advantage than in Sir Dinshaw, who with rare self-sacrifice chose to allow the more brilliant personality of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta to overshadow his own solid and substantial gifts. Whether in the Bombay Corporation, the Improvement Trust or the Imperial legislature, his clear-sighted criticism, honesty of purpose and hatred of wrong have shone to great advantage. His denunciation of official acts has always been marked by a verve which borders on intolerance. And yet there have not been wanting partisans of the nationalist school of thought to accuse him of truckling to the officials and abandoning the cause of the people. Truly political differences sometimes cause men to say and do things which in the ordinary relations of life they would be themselves the first to condemn The thought is enough to make one cry out for some d vine guidance to the Indian democracy of the future whereby its disputes and controversies may be carried on in full accord with the highest code of honour, chivalry and fair play. Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Babu Surendranath Bannerjea are names that shed lustre on the nation and not merely on the party which for the moment they lead. The party gives them allegiance, but the nation owes them reverence and gratitude. Their names will bulk large in the history of two generations. The heart of the Indian must have become dull and shrunken when the sound of their names does not move it to admiration and inspire it to fine issues.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

WHEN I suggested the adoption of P. R. in the case of India last year, hardly anybody understood what it meant, much less took me seriously. A few months ago, I proposed a resolution in the

local Legislative Council with a view to allowing the optional use of P.R. in municipal elections; but the matter was held to be fit only for a trained mathematician and was dubbed a Chinese puzzle. But one need not despair in this matter. The same has been the experience in England where the intellectuals have only now come to accept the efficacy of P. R. to secure an exact image of the nation in the legislative assembly. The people of England appear to be nearly equally divided on the matter, and the defeat of P. R. in the House of Commons is well known to have been due to the influence of the party organisations which fear that with P. R. their own importance in the country will be materially lessened. But one of the main merits of P. R. is just this, that caucuses and party machinery will not dominate the assemblies. A few days ago, in the Australian letter in the Times of India, it was mentioned that in that sub-continent people are coming round to-P. R. My only wish is that, when India is on the point of entering on a vigorous political life, she should profit by the experience of other countries and avoid the difficulties which they have met.

So far as the voters are concerned, it is now agreed by all those who care to give a moment's thought to the matter, that there is absolutely no difficulty. The constitution of the constituenciès and the franchise are not germane to the discussion of this question. All that is wanted is, that there should be no single member constituencies. In such constituencies, the minorities must always go to the wall; not only that, but if in such a constituency more than two candidates stand, the successful candidate may be the representative of a minority of electors. In India, which is full of minorities only, this system of single member constituencies must be given up. Two other imperfect systems have been proposed, which to a certain extent allow minorities to get a representative, but which are subject to the same defects of party caucuses &c. as in the single-member system. These we shall consider in detail on a later occasion. The main principle of all systems of minority

representation lies in giving up the single member constituencies and the formation of constituencies returning a large number of members each. Each. elector is given one primary vote, and the candidate who gets the quota i. e. the minimum number of votes to secure success, is declared elected. This quota is determined in any case thus e. g. if there are 1271 voters and six members are to be elected the quota is $\frac{1272}{6+1}+1=182$; for if one candidate A secures 182 votes, there remain only 1089, and these cannot be distributed among six or more candidates so that each will get more than 182 votes, as six times 182 is 1092. It may happen, however, that a popular candidate may get 500 votes. So many votes are not necessary for election, and in fact, 318 votes are wasted on him. To avoid this waste, the voters are asked to say on their voting paper which candidate would be their next choice. The surplus votes are then transferred according to the preference marked on them. Again it may happen that some of the candidates have received only very few votes.

are also wasted in the ordi-These votes nary system; but if the preference is marked on those votes, they can be transferred to those candidates. Hence this system is called the method of the single transferable vote. Each voter then is presented with a voting paper on which the names of all the candidates are written in alphabetical order. The voter is asked to arrange these candidates in order of merit as far as he likes, provided that he must mark his first choice at any rate by placing the figure 1 against his name. He need not mark any further choice if he does not wish to do so; but it would be better if he does so. The voter's taste is now finished; and the further work is left to trained returning officers with which the ordinary voter has nothing to do.

To visualise the process, consider that all the voters can be collected together and have to elect eleven representatives. Suppose that there are thirty-seven candidates, and that the number of electors is 12373. The quota in this case is 1032. Suppose each of the thirty-seven candidates has a hall which can just hold 1032 men and no more. Any candidate who can collect his quota in his hall is to be considered elected. In the first place the voters are asked to go to any of these thirtyseven halls. Now it will generally happen that one or two candidates are very popular, and large crowds of voters will flock to their halls. But as soon as each of these has got the necessary 1032 men, the crowd of people wanting to enter them will see that they are not wanted there, and therefore, will select some other candidates' halls. At the end of this process of automatic readjustment. it will be found that only a few halls are filled up. say four. These four are, therefore, declared to have been elected first. But seven more representatives are still to be chosen. For this purpose it is seen which of the remaining thirty-three partially filled halls has the smallest number of men; these men are told that the man that they want has no chance of election at all, and hence they had better make a second choice. That hall is thus cleared out and not further used. If with this one clearance any other hall is fully filled, the corresponding candidate is declared elected. If nobody gets the necessary number, the clearance of another hall is again made, taking always that first which has the least remaining number and this process is continued until the necessary number, eleven. of representatives are elected. In this way these eleven representatives will represent 11×1032 i. e 11352 voters leaving only 1021 voters without a representative at all. Thus the people remaining without a representative is less than those in a single quota. This is exactly the process followed by the returning officer. Only one point remains viz which of the crowd wishing to enter the popular candidates hall are to be turned out and which to be admitted. This is scientifically done in the rules for such an election, but we should have this for another occasion.

R. P. PARANJPYE.

EDUCATION AND THE REFORM REPORT.

Now that the personnel of the Franchise and Subjects Committees has been announced and they are to enter on their duties very soon, it behaves our countrymen to examine the Report carefully and ascertain in what respects and to what extent modifications are necessary in regard to the proposals pertaining to the subjects that may come up for consideration and decision by them.

One of the most important of such subjects is education, and it may be stated at the outset that, the Report has not dealt with that question in the spirit which its importance deserves. All over the world, education as training for citizenship has been put in the forefront of social reconstruction after the war, but the Reform report does not appear to have recognised this fact. If there is one thing more than another which long years of educational experience has taught the public in England, it is that education should be considered as one indivisible whole, that the different parts of it, elementary, secondary, technical, and higher, should not be regarded as distinct water-tight compartments but that, as Lord Haldane pointed out some months ago, 'they must regard education from the elementary school up to and including the university as one whole, as one phase of the national organization.' and that educational opportunities should be open 'not merely to the fortunate members of a class but to every class of the community without distinction. The metaphor of the educational ladder has given place to that of the broad highway. It is astonishing, however, that in face of this fact the authors of the Report should have divided education into three parts and placed them under the control of three distinct authorities. Referring to page 233 of the Report, we note under the head of Provincial Subjects 'Education: Primary, secondary, colleges, technical, and universities, also reformatories and industrial schools' and 'universities serving more than one province and some Chiefs' Colleges. The case of the Indian' Universities Act' put under Imperial Subjects. On page 236, we find 'Education: Primary, secondary and technical coming under transferred subjects and Universities' classed as a reserved subject. Thus universities will be dealt with by both the Imperial and provincial governments, and the other subjects will be under the control of the Ministers of provincial governments.

A little reflection will clearly show the great disadvantages which this system trifurcation of education will place country under. In the first place, it seems to be opposed to the very principles which the authors of the Report have had in view in drafting it. According to it, an administrative subject is either Imperial or Provincial, and if the latter, a reserved or transferred subject. In no other instance does it seem to be the case that the three authorities provided under the Reform

Scheme may have their finger in the same pie. Secondly, this division of functions amongst the three authorities will (unless the experience of other countries comes to be falsified) lead to unnecessary complexity, overlapping, conflict and lack of co-ordination. For example, opinion in this province (Madras) is not yet unanimous as to where secondary education should end, and university education should commence. There are those who consider that the present course of four years in colleges may be cut down to one of three years, and the length of the secondary school course increased by an additional year. There are others who hold exactly the opposite view. Then again, there is the most important and pressing question of scholarships to students proceeding from secondary schools to colleges. Now which is to be the authority to settle these questions? May it not be that the Ministers and the Executive Council of the provincial governments before whom these will come up severally for decision entertain different views, and education suffers in consequence? Further, out of thirty colleges for men in this Presidency, as many as twenty-seven have secondary departments also attached to them. Would it conduce to harmonious and smooth working, if they should come under the control of two - different authorities at the same time?

The Report contemplates that technical education should be kept distinct from higher education. Does it mean that we should be content in this country merely with a few schools teaching handicrafts and trades, such as we see them to-day? Does not the industrial development and the utilization of the mineral resources of the country, which the Government are very anxious to promote, imply the coming into existence of higher types of technical schools and technological colleges giving instruction and training to students above the school-leaving age? The Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India recommends that in the matter of technical and industrial institutions, even of the more advanced grades, India should be made self-sufficient, and that the training given in them should be such that hereafter there may be no need for India to import experts from .abroad to take charge of these institutions. If such institutions are established, are they to be under an authority other than that in · charge of technical schools? Is it possible in such a case to co-ordinate and unify the system of technical training in this country?

So much from the pedagogical standpoint. Considered from the administrative point of view also, the proposed system is bound to work much inconvenience, particularly in the matter of finance. Reference has already been made to the experience of England in this matter. The Education Act of 1902 was mainly intended to remove, what Mr. Balfour then described, as the evils of confusion and collision which rival education authorities in the country created. Since then,

the tendency has been still further to unify educational machinery and bring under the purview and control of the Board of Education all kinds of education including university education. English universities, particularly the older ones, are very jealous of their prestige and independence, and disposed to look with suspicion on any proposals calculated to interfere with their self-ordered develop-Their own endowments, some of which ment date back to the middle ages, have placed them above all need of help from Government. And yet we find that they too (except those of Oxford and Cambridge) receive grants from the Board of Education and have brought about close co-operation amongst themselves. For, they have recognised, as Lord Haldane says, that 'education as a great factor in life is one and indivisible.' That is why a university like Cambridge is now going to considerable lengths in extending the ambit of the education which it provides, to instruction in technical matters of a kind which would be looked upon in Germany as belonging to a different type of institution. In Manchester and Glasgow, two great technical colleges are being brought into close relations with the universities of those cities. And the same tendency is apparent elsewhere. Why then, should we in India, where we have not even the obstacles presented in England by old time-honoured institutions, having traditions to maintain and sentiments to revere, where we begin practically on a clean slate, repeat the errors of that country and instal an educational machinery which is out-of-date and creaky, and calculated to produce more heat than motion?

It has been repeatedly acknowledged that the one need of education in India is money, and that if that can be had, all reform would be quite easy. India has before her the example of countries situated like her, and if she has not so far made any appreciable advance in education, higher or other, it is not because her sons do not know how to set about it, but because they have not the necessary funds. One should, therefore, not see any objection to entrusting the entire charge of education to her chosen representatives, and when it is remembered that in provincial governments the responsibility for finding funds for necessary reforms is to rest with the Ministers, it will readily be granted that this demand is quite legitimate.

We, now and then, hear a fear expressed in some quarters that if the control of higher education is entrusted to the people, they may make it cheap and not worth having, they may sacrifice depth for breadth and in their anxiety to spread education they may, consciously or unconsciously, come to pay insufficient regard to quality. This is an old, old contention trotted out by all who dislike reform, and we hear it gravely enunciated not only in this country but in England also. To this there is only one answer—the answer that Mr. Fisher gave to his critics some months ago: 'There is no difference in kind between profound knowledge and superficial knowledge. We are all superficial.

The knowledge of Cabinet Ministers is superficial; the knowledge of Oxford and Cambridge professors is superficial, and even the knowledge of the schoolmaster is superficial. If we are going to be deterred from giving education to the poor on the ground that it is superficial, by what right can we claim education for ourselves? Every little scrap of knowledge, however superficial, however it may be collected, like the food that birds pick up in the forest, is worth something."

Thus looked at from whatever standpoint, there is no reason why this extraordinary trifurcation of education should be maintained, and three distinct authorities allowed to meddle with what is undoubtedly a question of the utmost national importance. Considerations of wisdom, expediency and regard for the popular wish should suggest that this should not be permitted, and that education be made wholly a transferred subject in provincial governments, and that, if necessary, the Imperial Government may reserve to themselves some revisionary powers to be exercised in cases of gross abuse of their functions by local governments.

Once a false step is taken, it would take years to set it right, and in a matter like education in which our country is admittedly backward, a false step at the present moment would be a disaster. It is, therefore, the duty of all, particularly of those engaged in the profession of teaching throughout India, to take up this question promptly and seriously, and by making proper representations to the committee concerned, arrest the danger of triarchy in education.

P. A. SUBRAMANIAN.

Mr. PATEL'S MARRIAGE BILL

(Another Reformer's view-point.)

IT is high time indeed, that some such bill validating marriages between different castes or religions passes into law, when India is on the threshold of democracy and in a process of nationalization. Democracy in politics, and class or caste exclusiveness in society, go ill together. Any law that tends to accentuate such exclusiveness either positively or negatively by standing as a hindrance to social democracy is an anachropism in the 20th century. At present, since the parties concerned are required to abjure their religion if they want to validate their inter-marriage legally, they are mostly averse to do so being naturally sensitive on the point and also fearing the additional social consequence of such a step. Moreover, to swear orsay that one is not a Mohammedan or a Hindu when one is really, so is not only untrue but absurd. It is hard to see how one forgoes one's claim to one's religion by performing a single act against any of the injunctions laid down in it when one may be a devout follower of them in other respects If the marriage between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic is valid—and their offspring a rightful one-without any of the parties contracting it losing their religion, why should it not be sobetween a Mohammedan and a Hindu or between a caste and caste? Law or heredity does not give man his religion, now a days, but it is professed by him individually and depends upon his choice. Again, the word 'Hindu' at any rate has acquired a broader meaning, than in the past, which has now almost come to connote nationality. Now nationality depends upon one's heredity and place of birth and breeding, and it is little short of ridiculous, to say the least, that an inter-marriage between two persons of the same nationality but different castes should render their nationality void or illegal. In short, the condition as it stands at present to render inter-marriages legal is one of the innumerable omnipresent absurdities of human law, and as such must be disposed of as soon as possible. We, therefore, wish Mr. Patel all the success we can in this cause.

A similar bill was brought before the Imperial Council by Mr. Bhupendrafath Basu. It met with opposition from the then Government as well as the orthodox section of the Hindu community. The Government opposed it mainly on two grounds; firstly, they suspected a political motive behind the bill and secondly, they did not want to displease the large section of the public that was against it. As for the latter objection, India would have been very much different from what she is today had this deference to public opinion not been doled out to us as a luxury in the past. We hope we shall get more of it in the future. Regarding the first objection, let our readers judge for themselves whether an impartial mind is more likely to suspect an underhand motive in the unification and nationalization of India, or in letting the various castes and creeds remain for everapart and at variance with one another.

The opposition of the orthodox section was partly due to their ultra-conservative views in social and religious matters and partly, to their selfishness. It is hardly necessary to point out that selfishness is far from being a virtue. The ultra-conservative attitude is the result of an innate belief that any law, especially ancient Indian law, is sacrosanct. Such believers forget the fundamental truth that all law in society has a human and not divine origin, and that it exists for man and not v ce versa. Whenever, therefore, it comes into conflict with the well-being of an individual, society, or nation, it has to be modified or improved to suit the existing conditions, or if this be imposisible, to be done away with altogether. It must change with the times and according to the changing needs of a people.

Some persons who are interested in this intermarriage bill seem to be at a loss to know what would happen to the caste of an offspring born of parents belonging to different castes, and what laws of inheritance, property &c. would be applicable in his case. Nothing can be simpler. A man who boldly goes in for inter-marriage in face of orthodox opposition knows what he is doing.

and is ready to bear the social consequences of his action. He will not, as a rule, care what caste that section of the public which is hopelessly obsessed with a sense of caste would bestow upon his offspring so long as the latter remains an Indian in the eye of the law. If the laws of inheritance &c. are the same for Hindus and Mohamedans and do not vary from caste to caste, there can be no practical legal difficulties in respect of an Indian's caste or religion. If they vary, as I suppose they do, they must be brought down or raised up to a common level consistent with equity and justice. A good law ought not to compromise with justice or allow of favoritism or special privilege of any kind whatsoever. Apart from this ethical consideration, however, it would be urgently necessary, if Mr. Patel's bill is carried, to standardize all existing caste or class laws in order to avoid being landed into a chaos of practical difficulties and legal absurdities. The question of facilitating inter-marriages by removing incon. venient or unreasonable legal obstacles is, after all, only one particular aspect of the larger question of abolishing the institution of caste altogether as it has long outlived its purpose and has now become not only unnecessary but harmful. Would the Government of India in due recognition of their duty do the needful to help the great cause of social reform so as to bring about a social and political unity throughout India? It remains to be seen,

A. S. BHANDARKAR.

THE LATE DR. H. S. DEVA. MR. GANDHI'S TRIBUTE.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in his letter dated 26th October, 1918, from Sabarmati:—
DEAR MR. SASTRIAR,

Though being on a sick-bed I cannot restrain myself from adding my own humble tribute to your own and other friends, to Dr. Deva's memory. Both the Society and the country have lost a true servant. Of all the members of the Society, it was with Dr. Deva that I came in closest touch and the more I knew him, the more I loved him. If I may say so, Dr. Deva found fuller scope in Champaran for self-expression. There he was placed amid surroundings which tested all his great qualities, including his medical knowledge. He never flinched and never failed. Though he started his relations with the authorities and the planters with suspicion, he disarmed them at the end of his stay. The Sub-Divisional Officer at Bettiah with whom he came in closer contact, often told me that he liked Dr. Deva for his selflessness and his devotion to his work. How could he do otherwise? For he was not only medical adviser to the helpless villagers but was his own dispenser. He took medicines to their homes. He attended to their sanitation. He bent his own body to clean the village wells, to fix up the village road. With Messrs. Soman and Randive, in place of the burns down grasshut which was used as school at Bhitiharva, he raised in a few days time, to the marvel of everybody, a Pucca school building and comparatively delicate though he was in body, he worked side by side with able-bodied villagers who, touched by his enthusiasm, responded to his call for help in building the school which was designed for their sake. What, however, is the pleasantest of all my experiences of Dr. Deva is the tribute Mr. Soman, a B. A., LL. B., of Belgaum pays to his memory in a letter just received from him? He belongs to the nationalists' school. He was one of the volunteers in Champaran. He is himself a staunch and true worker. He says in the letter that he approached Dr. Deva with a great deal of suspicion and distrust as to his attitude towards nationalists, but he adds that, "it did not take many days before the suspicion and distrust gave place to perfect confidence and respect." Indeed they, retaining their own views to the end, became fast friends. Dr. Deva was never a fanatic. He had boundless charity in him, and therefore, had the rare gift of seeing the bright side of his opponent's case. The Society has certainly lost in him a fine collector and advertiser. He was a true man.

> Yours sincerely, M. K. GANDHI.

LETTERS FROM THE PROVINCES.

MADRAS.

Madras, October 26.

" Non-Brahmins" and the Reforms,

The conference of the "Non-Brahmin" Confederation has come and gone with last Sunday, but the progress of the world has not come to permanent standstill as some wags predicted. The chief resolution passed by the conference was one refusing to consider the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of Reforms unless and until "communal representation through communal electorates" was granted. Another resolution which speaks tomes for the practical good sense of the conference was, that they should "boycott" the Franchise Committee—bluff some people say, but we should wait and see. The constitution of this Committee seems to have given the spleen to the speakers who moved and seconded and supported the resolution at the conference.

A SAMPLE SPRECE.

It is not possible to give long extracts from their speaches in the short space of this letter; especially selection becomes exceedingly difficult where all the speeches were genus; but the following passage may be quoted from the speech of one Mr. Thirumalai Pillai, Attorney-at-Law, as a sample of the speeches in general, and a very good sample it is, "a gem of the purest ray serene," if I may quote the poet in this connection. Speaking of the Secretary of State for India, this gentleman wisely and deliberately observed, "Mr. Montagu must be either a lunatic, or he must be an absolute fool: England is not à lunatic asylum: therefore he is an absolute fool" a strictly logical conclusion. This, I suppose, is a sample of the dignified manner in which, according to the Madras Mail, the "Non-Brahmins" have always conducted their protests; and this is how everybody at the conference spoke of that "Jewish man," as one speaker elegantly put it. Can anything be more violent? Has anything more calculated ato bring "lawfully constituted authority," " into hatred and contempt," been ever said by the Home Rulers? This was the "dignified" way in which every speaker from the President down to the least significant "seconder" or "supporter" spoke of everyone else who fortunately or unfortunately happens to differ from him. Exquisite good taste, is it not?

" MODERATE" NON-BRAHMINS.

But it is not to be supposed that all "Non-Brahmins" are like that. Some of the delegates were plainly disgusted with this kind of talk, and one of them told me "why do they -? It is not his fault that he has been appointed to the Committee: by all means let them ask that Dr. Nair or anyone else should be appointed; but why should they abuse anyone who has been appointed?" Why, indeed! In all sincerity, I was quite unable to find a satisfactory answer to the gentleman's question. From this, it is clear that violence of language of the kind quoted above often defeats its own end. But the attitude of the "Non-Brahmins" of this Presidency in general towards the Reform:scheme should not be judged by what took place at the " Non-Brahmin " Confederation meeting. As a matter of fact, the overwhelming mess of "Non-Brahmins" represented by the Madras Presidency Association are in favour of the scheme, subject of course, to adequate representation for all communities. Even among the "Non-Brahmins" of the Justice persuasion, many have declared in favour of the scheme subject to the same guiding principle; for instance, the Thotiyam Non-Brahmin Conference, the Madura Non-Brahmin Conference, and the Kistna Non-Brahmin Conference have all welcomed the scheme and passed resolutions expressing their general acceptance of it, subject to this principle. They have not stultified themselves by adopting the suicidal attitude of the "Non-Brahmin Confederation" which would not even deign to discuss the scheme unless and until etc. It is indeed a matter for sincere satisfaction that the great majority of Non-Brahmins have not fallen into this extreme attitude (which recalls the "undiscussible" attitude of another party which shall be nameless here) but have taken a moderate and commonsense view of the question, and it is to be fervently hoped that they will show the same practical sense to the end and will not adopt any course that may enable judgment to go against them by default. If they do so, it will be their own fault and the responsibility will be at their own doors. Here I may mention a rumour which has been affoat for some days that some prominent "Non-Brahmins" of Coimbatore hitherto of the Justice party are going to attend the Moderates' Conference in Bombay. It is only a rumour and I give it for what it is worth.

THE NON-OFFICIAL MEMBERS AND THE REFORMS.

Following the example of other provinces, the non-official members of our Legislative Council met to discuss the transfer of subjects under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme on the 22nd and 23rd instant. Before the discussion actually began, the Hon. Mr.Ramchandrarao moved a resolution that the Council do stand adjourned "until the Council was informed what steps Government had taken in regard to looting and distress in all parts of the Presidency and under what circumstances the police fired on the crowd on the 27th of September last," and it was duly seconded and supported; but later on with the permission of the Council, he withdrew it wisely,-for it would have served no useful purpose to have pressed it, and an opportunity would have been wasted. After that, the passage of resolutions was perfectly smooth—unlike the course of true love—but for the valiant, but futile opposition of the Anglo-Indian non-officials. Resolution after resolution was moved, seconded and carried making Land Revenue, Industries, Borrowing on the sole credit of provincial revenues, Education (primary, secondary and collegiate too. Poor Mr. Pittendrigh! It was more than he bargained for!) Services of transferred departments, Forests and Forest Products, Business concerns, Land Acquisition, Agriculture, portfolios mentioned in illustrative list

No. II of Appendix II of the Report, Control of Railways, Major Irrigation, Inter-provincial emigration and immigration, power to suspend Local Bodies, Stationery and Printing Stores, all transferred subjects. How much it is to be hoped that at least all these subjects will be transferred in the event! And how much it is to be wished that our non-official members, had been able to carry resolution after resolution in the past as easily as they carried them now during the discussion on the division of subjects on the 22nd and 23rd of October! When will that good time come?

THE MYSORE UNIVERSITY. (From a Correspondent.)

Mysore, October 25.

Twenty-second July 1916 is an epoch-making date in the history of higher education in Mysore. For, it was on that day that H. H. the Maharaja gave his assent to the Mysore University Bill, which was unanimously passed in the Mysore Legislative Council on 17th July 1916. It was a statesmanlike act and one which is due to the joint exertions of both the Maharaja and his able Dewan, Sir Visveswaraiya.

It is now more than two years since the University is in working order, and it has sent forth to various walks of life a good number of its graduates. The first convocation was held on the 19th inst. with H. H. the Chancellor as chairman. Six Ashutosh Mukerjea of Calcutta delivered the convocation address, and in a suggestive way pointed out the various defects of the University. The most telling of his erudite suggestions were that a student, on his entrance into the university, should have a rich variety of courses to choose; that an institution of university rank must aim at a sphere of study and of consequent influence as wide as the domain of human activity; that no university is perfect unless it has made provisions for technical study, both theoretical and applied; and, last but not least, that education, in all its grades, should be made free to all.

The Mysore University started with an ambitious programme. It set forth the ideals of university life in grand and vivid colours. It emphasised the need for making physical education compulsory, the necessity of instituting medical inspection of boys and the practicability of promoting social life among students and professors. It told the world that more attention will be paid to the study of the optional subjects in the B. A. course than to the English group, of subjects, that systematic class-work of students (which is a dignified name for blind cramming) will be carefully marked, and that they will be rewarded with recommendations for giving them the Degree in case they have not fared well in the final examination.

How fare has this programme been carried out? In what respects does this University differ from the other Universities of India? These are questions which can very pertinently be asked. The questions can be answered easily. The ideals set forth above are as far off from adoption as they were before their enunciation. With the exception of such trifling peculiarities as the vice-chancellorship being whole-timed, the adequate representation of colleges both in the University Council and the Senate, the reduction of the college course to three years and the making of vernaculars compulsory, no other differences are in evidence. The smallness of the institution ought to have been utilised to bring forth such benefits as the unwieldiness of the older Indian Universities cannot dream of producing. The University is mainly an examining institution, having an eye on the cramming tendency of the student. The professors and the students are as much strangers now as they were before. The students are as much averse to taking physical exercise and as much crushed down by the weight of their laborious studies as in pre-University days. And the medical profession is as much ignorant of the physical condition of boys as it was formerly.

When the existing conditions are like this, with what relief might the Mysore audience have listened to the bold words of the stalwart Bengalee educationist! They came as balm to the painful monotony of stereotyped usages and made the people indulge in an earnest longing for the ideal institution defined by Sir Ashutosh. The people also found, along with him, that a university did not consist in a grand pile of buildings, nor in an imposing array of learned professors and fashionable students. They think that the universal applause with which the educational policy of Mysore is bailed should be made more deserving by the University authorities by devising means for the practical application of the suggestions made by the eminent Bengalee. The whole credit of the Government's educational policy hinges on the Mysore L'niversity, and the efficient management of it, which is made possible by the smallness of the institution, is the most necessary thing to keep that credit intact.

The first step in the above direction is the careful cultivation of esprit de corps both by the professors and the students. The former must be shown the utter foolishness of bolding intellectual and social aloofness from the latter, who, while they should not be made to feel their social and intellectual subservience when in the society of their professors, should, at the same time, be trained to cultivate good character and good manners.

These and other progressive measures can, one day or other, be carried out to satisfaction only when the University is not dependent on the Government. To quick-chauging ideas and wide reforms, all the governments of the world show a cold front. Their policy towards them is one of caution, and it is highly conservative. Besides, engaged as they are in diverse matters of statecraft, one cannot legitimately expect them to give their whole-hearted attention to one particular matter. It is absolutely essential, therefore, that the Mysore University should have complete self-government under the aegis of the Mysore Government. It is worth while trying for the attainment of such independence.

SHORT NOTICES.

Tales of the Sabai and other verses by A. G. Shirreff. Publishers B. H. Blackwell, Oxford.

This is a very interesting collection of poems on a variety of topics representing the social life and thoughts of the Indian masses. These pieces are generally short and of a miscellaneous kind. The Tales of the Sarai present a vivid and realistic picture of the simplicity and harmony of Indian life. The writer's claim to appreciation is based not so much on the ground of originality, as that of truthful, and yet a delightful representation of the inner currents of the life, and sentiments of the people. Being modelled on the lines of Dryden's Fables and Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, mixing seria cum joco or the mingling of grave and gay, adds to the charm of the book considerably. The sonnets are an unmistakable indication of the lyric poet in Mr. Shirreff, though he modestly claims no higher rank than that of a versifier. The inimitable accuracy with which Mr. Shirreff has translated some of the poems of Giridhar and sanskrit verses of Bhartrihari, is another remarkable feature of this book. We highly commend it to the class of readers, who take delight in stories, invested with the grace of truth and piety.

CORRESPONDENCE.

INDIANS AND THE WAR.

Sir,—While criticising the Reform proposals as not being for the benefit of real India, or of India which is loyal, but are merely calculated for the benefit of a handful of politicisms, the Morning Post of July 13, 1918, makes the following observation:—

"Mr. Montagu argues that India must be rewarded for its loyalty in the war. India was loyal, but his friends the Bengali politicians were not loyal. Can he give us the names and numbers of those who fought for us in this war? They have no part in our Indian Army. Why? Because they do not like fighting; and because they cannot be trusted."

Every one who knows the laws and rules regulating enrolment of Indians either as members of the regular fighting force, or as volunteers, or as members of the special battalions started under the peculiar exigencies of war, is aware of the artificial age limit laid down for Indians after which they cannot enter these even though they satisfy other conditions. Times out of number, Indians have strenuously contended that this is a distinction based merely on the test of colour, and as such unreasonable and to a large extent suicidal to objects which stand for the enrolment of persons as soldiers under war conditions.

Commenting on my letter on the same subject, written some weeks ago, the Times of India observed, 'We sympathise with our correspondent, but we doubt if he fully appreciates the risk of enrolling men over 40.' Reference was also made to figures to show that the casualties among men above the ages of 35 and 40, are heavier than among men between 25 and 35, and it was suggested that "the increase in casualties and in the subsequent Pension lists would be enormous if the men between 41 and 50 were taken in, in large numbers for the front." If the arrangement for excluding Indians is based on the reasoning of large numbers, the intelligent section of the Indian public deem it a reproach on them. May we ask, what steps have been taken to remove the disabilities? It is a pity that this attitude of distrust should continue so long.

The injustice of the artificial age limit laid down in the case of Indians, is brought home to our minds with increasing force, by the amendment proposed by His Excellency the Commander in Chief to the Indian Defence Force Act, under which European's above the age of 50 may, if they choose, be admitted and enrolled as fighting units. That the amendment had become necessary, makes clear the other fact that there is need for men or at least that there is scope for additional men. If that is so, why, we ask, should these older men be called upon to join instead of enlisting comparatively younger Indians on the same conditions? The answer is plain, that those who have been called are not Indians. And still the scribe in England challenges Indian politicians to show up a record. The grace of such a challenge is on a par with that of a man who keeps himself free, and tying the hand and foot of another gibes at him for not exhibiting motion like him.-Yours, etc.

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