

Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA.

VOL. XVIII, No. 49. } POONA—THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1935. { INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN 15s.

CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	625
ARTICLES:—	
An Entering Wedge And a Closed Door.	627
The Warder and the Jailer.	628
An International Thieves' Kitchen.	631
MISCELLANEA:—	
Gopal Krishna Devadhar—Tributes to His Memory.	632
BOOKS RECEIVED.	635

Topics of the Week.

U. P. Special Powers Legislation.

THE Special Powers legislation was passed by the U. P. Legislative Council without a division. This is officially paraded as a great feather in the cap of that Government. Similar legislation has nowhere failed to reach the statute book, though not without strong opposition from the non-official side and protracted discussion. But the exceptional good fortune, it is said, was reserved for the U. P. of having its Black Law passed by its Legislature in the course of a few brief hours and without a division! One wonders if there is anything in this over which the Government need take the unctious to its soul. The absence of strong fight from the non-official benches was due to an accidental cause, viz. the illness of the leader of the Opposition Mr. Chintaman. If he could have been present, it is doubtful if the Government could have boasted of such an easy victory. It is of course improbable that he would have succeeded in persuading the Council to throw out the measure. It is true that his presence would hardly have affected the ultimate fate of the measure; but it would have given some very uncomfortable hours to the local Government.

THE Home Member stated that during the three years that the measure had been in existence it had been put into operation only on 135 occasions and during the current year it had not been used even once. The statement was made doubtless with a view to strengthen the case for the measure; but a little reflection will show that it greatly weakens it. May it not be asked: if for months together a law remains on the statute book unused, what better proof is needed of its needlessness? And the needlessness is all the more apparent in the case of a measure which places in the hands of the executive highly arbitrary powers of restricting individual liberty. Perhaps this

would be unavoidable if the land were faced with a serious menace like a foreign invasion or with a violent movement intended to subvert the existing social order. But such obnoxious measures cannot be tolerated by public opinion on the off-chance of an occasion arising in the future for their use. If on Government's own showing no such emergency has arisen during the whole of this year, a clear case is made out not for the continuance of the measure but for its repeal. As a matter of fact, however, the legislation will continue to disfigure the statute book for another five years. Whoever else may congratulate the U. P. Government on this, we certainly cannot.

Punjab Ordinance Law.

IF the U. P. Government can claim that they had little trouble in getting their Special Powers legislation passed by their legislature, no such claim can be advanced by the Punjab Government. Their task was not so easy. They were hard put to it to secure its passage, and had to pay the price for this result in the form of concessions to public opinion. In the Bill as originally framed the persons who could be arrested and detained without warrant were not specifically mentioned. If the clause had remained unaltered, the liberty of any individual, however inoffensive personally or however innocuous his activities, would have been at the entire mercy of the local Government. A police officer had only to satisfy the local Government that the man concerned was likely to act "in a manner prejudicial to public safety"—never a very difficult process in the case of an alien government—and he was given an authorisation to arrest and detain him without warrant. Thanks to non-official pressure, however, this clause was amended so as to make it clear that it could be set in motion only against "a terrorist or communist." This is doubtless something gained. But even here, "a terrorist or a communist," not being defined in the Bill, an aggrieved party, we suspect, will have no legal remedy.

HOW then are the Punjab Government to cope with a movement like that of civil disobedience, should it again raise its head? This is a doubt that is likely to cross some people's minds. For that there is ample provision in the measure. Another clause empowers the local Government to control the movements of suspected persons. This would be done by externing them from a specified area or interning them in one and by placing other restrictions on their freedom of movement. Under the Government's original scheme, such orders could remain in force indefinitely, if the local Government were so minded. This was obviously too drastic. And it is a matter for satisfaction that non-official efforts to get the clause modified met with success, however partial. Under the amended clause such order will in the first instance remain operative for one month; but the

maximum period to which its life could be extended by the local Government has been limited to twelve months. The view was expressed by some non-official speakers that the concession is more apparent than real, for it does not prevent the local Government from starting fresh proceedings against the unfortunate person who has incurred their displeasure after the lapse of the first year and thus securing his detention virtually for an indefinite period. The fear cannot be said to be altogether imaginary; but there is no doubt the amendment does go some way in placing individual liberty on a better footing.

ANOTHER important point emerged in the course of the debate. The suggestion was made that persons detained for reasons of State and their dependents should be supported out of public funds. There is much to be said in its favour. Perhaps it is given effect to in some cases but not in all. It is but fair to ask that this sort of invidiousness should be avoided by the Government definitely undertaking the obligation in every case of detention. Attempts to get the legislation suitably amended in this respect which were made by the non-official side came to naught. This is very unfortunate. But the Government would do well not to be so hard-hearted as to deprive a suspected person not only of his personal liberty but also of his means of subsistence, which is what the deprivation of liberty amounts to in most cases. We hope all cases of persons robbed of their liberty for reasons of State will be sympathetically considered from this standpoint.

Mr. Sinha and Working of the Constitution.

APPARENTLY Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha is not much perturbed by the reactionary nature of the new constitution. What matters most to him is not so much the text of the constitution as the character of the men and women who work it. This view has been expressed by him in his convocation address to the Lucknow University. He does not deny that the Hoare constitution is lacking in the very fundamental requisite of securing "the free consent of the governed", which was so much stressed by General Smuts last year in his address to the St. Andrews University. In so far as it has not done this, Mr. Sinha feels it may be another case of the British Government having sown the wind in order to reap the whirlwind. Even so he holds firmly to the view that what is really necessary is not so much a striving after an "ideally perfect constitution" as to work such constitution as comes to our hand with "genuine patriotism, broad outlook, courage of conviction, and strength of character elevated by the constant exercise of our own free will, and efforts at independent, individual action." We are sure Mr. Sinha is not unmindful of the fact that working the constitution in this country is a bilateral arrangement, necessitating a reasonable frame of mind as much on the part of Indians as on that of those in authority. How does he propose to ensure it, one wonders.

THOUGH the constitution is admittedly unsatisfactory, Mr. Sinha would not have us be unduly depressed by that fact; for, according to him, the remedy lies in our own hands. And what is that remedy? Simply this that "absolutely the best men available" must be returned to our legislative bodies. When the legislatures are filled with men of A quality, the possibility of the Governors or the Governor-General including in their Cabinets undesirable people (from the popular point of view) is effectively shut out, for

there would be no undesirable men to choose from. Such incorruptible, fearless and independent-minded people will, Mr. Sinha thinks, not only be able to assert the popular will, but also "to control effectively, purely by constitutional methods and convention, the *apparently* uncontrollable powers" vested in the Governor-General and Governors. (Italics ours.)

THAT if our Councils consisted of none but the best popular representatives, they will be able to voice the popular will on every available occasion, is obvious. But that is all, we are afraid, that they can do. Mr. Sinha would be generally considered to be somewhat too optimistic when he goes further and says that they will also be able to checkmate the heads of the Federal and Provincial Governments in the exercise of their special and reserved powers. To the extent to which the popular will, as expressed by such "ideally perfect" men as Mr. Sinha has in mind, does not come into conflict with British or Imperial interests, it is obvious no needless obstacles will be placed in the way of its becoming effective. But is there anything in the new constitution on which we can rely which will make the Governor-General and Governors not to place obstacles even in cases in which this is not so?

An Objectionable Appointment.

THE creation of new provinces is apparently being officially utilised for providing comfortable berths to Europeans, even though more senior and at least equally well qualified Indians are available. The *Searchlight* brings to light some facts which seem to lend strong colour to this suspicion. The facts relate to the appointment of the Director of Public Instruction of the new province of Orissa. The appointment has gone to a European who has superseded four or five Indians. With the personal aspect of the question we are not in the least concerned, as we hold no brief for any of the Indian claimants to the post. But we take very strong exception to the vicious principle underlying such an arrangement under which only Europeans are looked upon as really fit for positions of responsibility and trust, regardless of the superior claims of well-qualified Indians. Besides involving delay in the progress of Indianisation to which Government is irrevocably committed, such instances impliedly cast a slur on the capacity of Indians to administer responsible posts, a slur which is as gratuitous as it is unmerited. The name of the Governor-elect of the new province as one who has blessed the arrangement is also mentioned in this connection. This procedure is somewhat novel and unusual; and the public has a right to know the Government's reasons for the departure. It is up to the Government to clarify the situation by the issue of a communique giving an unvarnished version connected with the appointment.

Dog in the Manger Policy.

THIS is how the President of the Kenya Indian Conference, Mr. Abdul Hussein Kaderbhoy, characterises the land-lust of Kenya Europeans. Though unable to develop all the land already set apart for them and though, according to Mr. Kaderbhoy, 80 per cent. of it is unfit for cultivation by them, they are agitating for more and still more land. And the wonder of it all is that their agitation, instead of meeting any reverse, promises to be crowned with success and the British Government will, by a stroke of the pen as it were, make an addition of nearly 50 per cent. to the land marked off for cultivation by Europeans. The Conference, very properly, gave

expression to its "great concern and alarm" at the proposed Order-in-Council which it regarded as a "definite violation" of the 1908 pledge of the Imperial Government explicitly disapproving of "any legal restrictions upon any section of the community in the acquisition of land." The conclusion is irresistible that if the Europeans' land hunger is unreasonable, equally wanting in sense is the British Government's readiness to satisfy it.

THEIR latest demand is for a moratorium for mortgage debts and for further relief to agriculture. To this Mr. Kaderbhoy takes strong exception. Not that he is opposed on principle to the grant of any State assistance to agriculture. But he would first convince himself of its unavailability, satisfy himself that the assistance is required for legitimate agricultural development, and that the funds advanced out of public revenue would be unquestionably returned. So far as Kenya is concerned, Mr. Kaderbhoy's contention is that farming undertaken by the whites there is bankrupt and any help extended to them would be like pouring money into a bottomless hole.

AND what is the amount already involved? His information is that nearly £600,000 has been advanced to about 2000 white settlers, and that this is over and above the large subsidies given to them from time to time. But the strangest part of the story is that while financial help is so liberally and almost recklessly given to Europeans, Indians and Africans are treated in a step-motherly fashion in the matter. Mr. Kaderbhoy believes that even a half of it, if made available to these two races, would have gone a considerable way in making the Colony prosperous.

Mr. Huq's Advice to Muslims.

THE words of wise advice and sage counsel which Mr. Fazlul Huq, Mayor of Calcutta, recently

addressed to his co-religionists, in replying to the addresses presented to him at Mymensingh are such as should be inscribed on the tablets of their hearts. One of the addresses contained a reference to the special interests of Bengal Muslims on the score of their educational backwardness. A narrow-minded Muslim would have avidly availed himself of the opportunity for rubbing in that point, and putting the blame for it on some other community; but not so Mr. Huq. A nationalist to the core, he advised them to look upon themselves as Bengalees and not as Moslems. If every popular representative in the Bengal Legislative Council, whether Hindu or Muslim, minded the interests of Bengal as a whole rather than those of his particular community, all nationally-minded persons would think with Mr. Huq that everything would go on well. What is even more noteworthy, he plainly asked his co-religionists not to ask for any special privileges but try to stand on their own legs. He would have them claim everything as part and parcel of the Bengalee community but nothing as Moslems as such. It is not as if Muslims alone, he said, stand in need of an improvement in their condition but other communities also.

AND really, he asked, what is the point in trying to detach the Muslims from the main body? If any danger threatened Bengal, it would not leave the Muslims unscathed simply because they were harping upon their special position. What was therefore necessary was combined action on the part of both Hindus and Muslims not for the progress of this or that community but for the advancement of Bengal as a whole. If everybody worked in this broad-minded spirit, the Communal Award would vanish of itself without any agitation specially aimed at its removal. No wiser words have been spoken by a Muslim during recent weeks and it is to be hoped they will have the desired effect on the Muslim community.

AN ENTERING WEDGE AND A CLOSED DOOR.

THE obscurity surrounding Dr. Ambedkar's previous announcements regarding his intention to leave Hindu religion has to a large extent been removed by the publication of what transpired at an interview which Mr. R. G. Pradhan and some other social reformers of Nasik had with him on 10th November. The change of faith, either for Dr. Ambedkar himself or for his followers, is not to take effect immediately or in the near future. Dr. Ambedkar has no quarrel with social reformers; their point of view is the same as his. He will also concede, we are inclined to think, that the number of social reformers is steadily growing, but it is not growing as fast as he or they would like. It would take long for the masses of the Hindu community to be imbued with these social reform ideas. The actual abolition of Harijans' untouchability on the part of the common people will be so far in the future that it is not at all surprising that Dr. Ambedkar should be very much concerned with the slow progress that is being made. It is right that he should goad social reformers to take more active steps in converting public opinion to the obliteration of all caste distinctions.

We deplored Dr. Ambedkar's previous announcements just because we felt that they would have the

contrary effect to what he had expected. Instead of maintaining and strengthening the pressure on orthodox Hindus, a change of religion on his part would only withdraw the pressure. The orthodox people would consider it a good riddance if Harijans left the Hindu fold and they would bless their stars if they were spared the problem which now confronted them. The advantages which Harijans themselves would receive if they joined another religion are doubtful, for other religions have not a much better showing on race problems than Hinduism has. But it would be absurd to suppose that Harijans could be induced, even if it were desirable, to change their religion in a body. Thus we thought that the move on the part of Dr. Ambedkar was wholly unwise. But we are glad to find that now he puts a different gloss upon his utterances. He has made up his mind to give up Hindu religion; but he does not intend formally to embrace another religion, or advise his followers to do so, just yet. He is still prepared to give Hindus a chance. He will wait for four or five years, watch how far the activities of social reformers are fruitful and decide upon his future course of action by the success they attain in this interval in purging Hinduism of untouchability. He has not

closed the door on Hinduism ; his threat to leave it is, on the contrary, a wedge which he will be able to push in harder and harder so long as the threat is held out but not executed.

As an American writer recently put it in another connexion, an entering wedge is always better than a closed door. Dr. Ambedkar has every right to use all the resources available to him to tighten the screw upon the Hindus. A threat to leave Hinduism is capable of being used as a leverage. The threat will have no terror for the extreme orthodox, but on those who are moderately orthodox it will have influence. These are conscious of the political advantages which the Hindus stand to gain by the continued inclusion of Harijans in the Hindu fold, and they will possibly give a great deal to be able to retain their advantage. These are days when everyone is thinking of sanctions. Mere preachments are not enough. They must have force behind them. Dr. Ambedkar seems to be using the Yeola resolution as a sanction for making social reformers and the orthodox to quicken their pace of progress towards the elimination of untouchability. To the extent that it is effective we will welcome it, but it must be clearly realised, and we believe that Dr. Ambedkar realises it, that once the threat is actually carried out by him and his followers the position of Harijans, the great majority of whom will still remain Hindus, will become worse. Social reforms will thereby lose the incalculable advantage of the great impetus which his leadership of the Harijan movement now gives, for by turning Christian, Moslem or Buddhist he will cease to have a *locus standi* with the vast masses of Harijans of whom he is the greatest living champion.

The direction in which Mr. Pradhan promised, on behalf of social reformers, to essay the task of uplifting the Harijan community, seems to us to be sound. While carrying on propaganda in behalf of the removal of the religious disabilities of Harijans, Mr. Pradhan would give precedence to the removal of secular injustices. He would have social reformers use their best efforts "for securing for Harijans freedom to reside and settle in localities inhabited by non-Harijan Hindus and for abolishing untouchability in public places such as wells, schools, dharamshalas and hotels, and in general for doing away with untouchability in the Hindu society with regard to all other matters." We do not believe that Dr. Ambedkar himself sets much store by free admission of Harijans into temples. Harijans concerned themselves with it only because the orthodox opposed it, as it

gave them an opportunity to conduct a vigorous propaganda in their interest. But in itself it was a matter of comparative indifference to them. Dr. Ambedkar has shown throughout that he cares more for the improvement of the social status of Harijans than for their spiritual advancement. If he advises his followers to give up Hinduism, it is because they labour under disabilities in Hindu society, and when he advises them to accept another faith the choice of faith will be determined solely by the consideration of where they will be able to pull their full weight in temporal matters. "From the point of view of the interests of my community," he says, "it is necessary that it should be united with and absorbed into some powerful and living community." Asked whether he would join a new sect of Hindus, if one were formed, in which Harijans and non-Harijans would be on a footing of perfect equality in every respect, he replied that his answer would depend upon the "numerical strength" of the sect. Dr. Ambedkar is thinking of a change of religion purely from the non-religious or social and political point of view.

He expressed certain opinions in the course of the interview for which it would be wrong to judge him too harshly. "Being born in the untouchable community," he said, "I deem it my first duty to strive for its interests, and my duty to India as a whole is secondary." He also expressed a decided preference for dictatorship over democracy. The fruits of the use of moral suasion alone have been so meagre that it is excusable if one in his position wished that a Kemal Pasha would arise in India and set all social abuses right by a stroke of the pen—or even of the sword. It only shows the poignancy of his feelings. But we think he underrates the possibility of doing good to the Harijan community in the legislatures. Anti-untouchability views will, we feel confident, assert themselves in the legislatures, and there will be, we expect, a spurt of activity for the promotion of education among Harijans, which in the last resort is their only salvation. And this is probably the only activity that the Ministers could undertake under the new constitution without let or hindrance. It is chiefly the prospect of being able to do constructive work in this direction that inclines some people who would otherwise have plumped for wholesale obstruction in the Council to prefer a different line of action. On the whole we must confess that the fear that Dr. Ambedkar's earlier pronouncements had inspired in us have been greatly relieved by the interpretation that he is now putting upon them.

THE WARDER AND THE GAOLER.

“THE Congress does not accept the demand of the States' people for the inclusion of their representatives in the constituent assembly when one is convened, because it believes that for such a thing to happen it will have to fight as much with the Princes as with the British Government, but the Congress to-day is powerless to do so. . . . It is not practicable to conduct a non-violent struggle of pas-

sive resistance on all fronts at the same time as it is not practicable to carry on an armed conflict on all fronts at the same time. It therefore becomes necessary in both cases to limit the fight to one sector, the extent of the sector being determined by the strength of the forces one has at command. The Congress too has from this point of view decided to fight its enemies in detail. It does not consider it expedient to

give battle to others while it is engaged in a combat with the British power. The Congress leaders are unwilling to hold out empty promises to the champions of the States' people or other interests because they are convinced that there is no possibility of the Congress locking itself in combat with all the enemies simultaneously. If they find that this policy of facing one enemy at a time is unsuccessful and that India's freedom cannot be won unless they enter on a struggle with the owning and governing classes in their own country, the Congress will have to extend the field of battle and transform what is essentially a political struggle into a social revolution. But the Congress does not think it either necessary or possible to adopt such a course at present."

WE would bring this closely reasoned paragraph to the attention of our valued contemporary, the *Tribune*. It is taken from a Marathi magazine, called the *Lok-shikshan*, which enjoys high prestige in this part of the country. The *Tribune* might well notice it because it suggested recently that the Congress leaders jibbed at the inclusion of the States' people's representatives in the constituent assembly only because they were still thinking of a unitary constitution for British India, and in a body convened to frame such a constitution the States' people would obviously have no place. The explanation struck us as more ingenious than convincing, befogging rather than enlightening, for there is not a scrap of evidence to show that the Congress leaders contemplated any but a federal constitution. Anyhow the Congress authorities have not offered this explanation. In fact they have not offered any. In following this policy of mum, they are undoubtedly showing much worldly wisdom. For they really have no defence, and nothing injures one's case so much as to try to defend what is sheerly indefensible.

BUT, undoubtedly, the reasons given by the writer in the *Lok-shikshan* are the reasons which weigh with most of the Congress leaders. We are grateful to him for having so clearly stated these real, but so far unavowed, reasons. We have only one fault to find with the writer. He raises the bogey of class conflict quite unnecessarily and without warrant. One need not be a bolshevist to protest against the creation of new and the strengthening of the old privileged classes, nor can one argue that it is better from the moral point of view to stir up race conflict between Indians and Englishmen than to promote class conflict between one section of Indians and another. But it is true that the higher strata of Congressmen wish to bring to an issue our differences with our foreign rulers and thrust into the background our differences with the privileged classes. Apart from the question of morality involved in this strategy, we wish to point out to the writer in the *Lok-shikshan* what we pointed out to the *Tribune*, that this strategy is not workable. One can-

not fight the Britishers unless one fights the privileged classes which they have interposed between the masses of people and themselves deliberately in order that the attack on them might be diverted.

LET us take the question of the communal award on which the *Tribune* dwells with particular insistence. Our grievance here is no doubt at present against the British Government which is the author of the award. But when the constitution embodying the award comes into force, our grievance will be not so much against the British Government as against the Moslems as one of the beneficiaries of the award. What is the Congress going to do? If, in order to be friendly with the Moslems, it acquiesces in the award it gives up its fight with the British Government on this point. If, in order to fight the British Government, it keeps up its opposition to the communal award it loses the friendship of the Moslems. Similarly with the Princes. Our grievance now is against the British Government which is taking the Princes into the federation with all their autooracy. But when the constitution starts working our grievance will be transferred to the Princes themselves. If the Congress would remain friends with them on the principle which the *Lok-shikshan* writer has enunciated, it must acquiesce in the British Government's decision in this respect, and then its vaunted rejection of the constitution becomes a fraud. If, on the other hand, it sticks to rejection and opposes the nominated bloc of the States' representatives it can no longer remain friendly with the Princes. A fight with the British Government necessarily involves (except in a few points which touch the British Government alone), and can be made effective only when accompanied by a fight with the privileged classes which it has bolstered up.

THERE is only one further point to which we would like to call notice, before returning to the main theme. The Congress pretends that it has not yet made up its mind whether it will or will not admit the States' people's representatives to the constituent assembly as spokesmen for the States. When Sardar Vallabhbhai spoke at the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Madras, he said it was a hypothetical question which it was not necessary to answer at that stage, suggesting that when the question would arise in a practical form the Congress might possibly decide to admit the States' people. We all know, however,—and the *Lok-shikshan*, expressing the Congress view, is frank about it—that the Congress has decided not to admit them. Why all these prevarications then? What is the good of Mahatma Gandhi being the most moral man on earth if, under his guidance, the Congress leaders would constantly try to bamboozle people as the leaders of no other party do though these do not make truthfulness a formal part of their political creed? Does the Congress feel that it can take

liberties with truth just because truthfulness is its creed?

TO come back to the main subject, however, from this digression, we wish to point out that whoever would resist the new constitution would find himself engaged in a grim fight first with the privileged classes in Indian society and only afterwards with the British Government. By the new constitution the British Government has put the Indian people in prison. But it has with remarkable astuteness appointed the Princes, the generalissimos of industry, the landed magnates and the communalists their warders. This is the essence of the new constitution. The prisoners will have no opportunity of striking their gaoler. Before they get at him they will have to deal with the warders. The prisoners may have friendly intentions towards the warders, but the warders cannot afford to be friendly with them. If any tenderness is shown by the warders they will instantly lose their job, and they are intelligent enough to know this. In order to retain the job they have to be even harsher towards the prisoners than what the gaoler himself would be. Our conflict will thus be immediately with the Indian vested interests and only through them with the British Government. The old nationalist policy will no longer serve. Unless we are prepared to scrap it and learn to look upon the privileged classes, both Indian and British, as our common enemy the game is lost.

THE Hoare constitution has entrenched the already existing vested interests in a stronger position than before, and it has created new vested interests in the Princes, who are more dangerous than all the others because they are far more reactionary. The utmost solicitude that is shown by the Congress leaders towards them is thus of very sinister significance. One fears that while blabbing about the rejection of the constitution it will in actual fact be its strongest, though unconscious, upholder. This danger will be all the greater if it decides upon acceptance of office. To the assumption of responsibility for administration there is no inherent objection if those who are called to office go about their work in a right spirit. But only too often will they be tempted to make unholy bargains with all and sundry, and unless this tendency is sternly restrained acceptance of office will be a upas tree, dealing death to all who may happen to come beneath its branches.

THE danger connected with acceptance of office will be apparent to all who are familiar with recent Irish history. The Cosgrave party which accepted office in Southern Ireland under the Free State constitution was not a party of reactionaries. On the contrary it was a party of progressives, but it had to encounter the opposition of the elements whose one

object was to upset the treaty of 1922 which England had forced upon Ireland, and by that very fact the Cosgrave party was led to make common cause with the people who were really reactionary. As a writer puts it in the *Commonweal*, "To suppress the anti-treaty forces they had to rely on the support of England, the hierarchy and all the conservative and reactionary elements in Ireland. Inevitably through force of circumstances they became more and more conservative. The establishment of the Free State fashioned a new set of vested interests, among others the beneficiaries of the pensions disbursed by the new government with a lavish hand. For ten years a conservative government was kept in power in the Free State supported by the new and the old vested interests, and by all who feared that the coming of de Valera into power meant disorder. . . . As matters stand today, the conservatives draw their support in the main from the pensioners, the large landholders" &c. In India there is very serious danger of those who are innately progressive becoming conservative by reason of the fact that they will have to enter into an alliance with dyed-in-the-wool conservatives, like the Princes, for only thus will they be able to run the government for any length of time.

THIS is a very grave danger, and it must be kept steadily in view. The way out of it is not to refuse office, but to select such people for the job as will remain firm even under temptation. De Valera himself formed a ministry afterwards, and recent events have shown that after all he is not such a fire-eater as he was imagined to be. He is not reckless: he is proceeding cautiously, bearing always in mind that the treaty of 1922 must be got rid of, but going warily about the business. One time he makes an advance; at another time he makes a retreat. "His retention of the land annuities, his scaling down of the governor-generalship, his attitude on the King's Jubilee" are instances in which he marched ahead. "The coal pact with England, the pledge of non-aid to England's enemies and aid to an England unjustly attacked" are instances in which he executed a strategic retreat. But, whatever his strategy, he never allowed himself to lose sight of his objective. So should Indians do. They may have to suit their policy to the exigencies of the moment. But one point emerges clearly from this discussion. It will not do for us, as before, to concentrate attack upon the British Government, leaving the vested interests in India alone. The British Government cannot be attacked unless the Indian vested interests are attacked at the same time. One may go slow or one may go fast, but the basic fact must be realised that in the new constitution the British Government stands safely behind the Indian vested interests, and the two stand or fall together.

AN INTERNATIONAL THIEVES' KITCHEN.

IT is only now, with the projected embargo on oil exports, that economic sanctions against Italy have begun to wear a serious aspect. The crucial importance of petrol to Italy cannot be overemphasised. In the Commons debate on the international situation on 23rd October, Col. Wedgwood said: "Obviously, the real step which would stop the war and bring the Italian dictator to his knees is to blockade Eritrea so as to prevent supplies from getting in. But even that is not necessary. All that is necessary is to prevent petrol from getting into Eritrea. Everything depends upon petrol—aeroplanes, transport, tractors. Without petrol you might as well cease modern war. Without petrol you might as well not attempt operations. (But) unfortunately, most of the petrol does not come from League-controlled countries, but a great deal comes from America. The whole question of petrol depends upon America. If you could get America to come in and exclude petrol not from the Italian market, but from Eritrea, action would be made effective." So far the United States administration only hopes that the private firms would voluntarily refrain from exporting oil to Italy, and it remains to be seen whether it will go any farther than this. In the meantime Mussolini has warned the States that laying an embargo on exports of oil to Italy would be regarded by him as "an unfriendly act", which in diplomatic language means an act of war. When embargoes of less valuable goods were proposed Mussolini was not disturbed. He had said: "Against economic sanctions we shall set our discipline, our frugality and spirit of sacrifice. To military sanctions we shall reply with military measures. To acts of war we shall reply with acts of war." And he was praised for taking economic sanctions coolly. Mr. Churchill said: "The original attitude of Italy was that any attempt to apply sanctions would be treated as an unfriendly act and an affront. But what has happened? All this has proved to be untrue. Signor Mussolini—I think it is a sign of his commanding mind; to my mind it is one of the strongest things he has done—has submitted to these invidious sanctions and still preserved his contact with the League of Nations. Instead of saying 'Italy will meet them with war', he says 'Italy will meet them with discipline, with frugality, and with sacrifice.' That is a great saying in the setting, in the difficulties, in which he stands."

This, however, is no longer the case. Signor Mussolini would treat a ban on exports of oil to Italy as war and meet it with war. This has greatly frightened M. Laval, who has already obtained a week's postponement of the discussion of this question at Geneva and is asking for another postponement so as to give him time to effect an "honourable settlement" between Italy and Abyssinia. What kind of settlement M. Laval could have in mind is made plain by the fact, which is now officially admitted, that in January France and Italy came to an agreement under which "France disinterested herself

economically in Abyssinia"; that is to say, as Mr. Churchill put it so well, "a free hand in Abyssinia was thrown in" by France to Italy. What was England's reply to the deal that Mussolini offered to make, behind the back of the League and at the expense of Abyssinia? Sir Samuel Hoare said that the British Government had to make a prolonged investigation about it and "to review the whole field of Anglo-Abyssinian relations and British interests in that country." But the pertinent question here is, Did the British Government object to such a deal? Of course it did not, because it itself has agreed for several years to give a free hand to Italy in the best portion of Abyssinia. Mr. David Grenfell voiced the thoughts which arise in one's mind on hearing of such bargainings. "We feel," he said, "that if any member of the League made an offer to a fellow-member of the League to join in some kind of attack to despoil a third member of the League that it would be the business of that second party to report that transaction to the League. One cannot defend the League when contemplating action of that kind, and we have run away from the League ourselves by not reporting that to the League." Indeed, the British Government has taken active part "in the hateful system of haggling and bargaining with other people's goods", in "an international thieves' kitchen."

The nature of the negotiations going on have thus been described in the latest issue of the *New Republic*:

Enough has now been divulged concerning the Ethiopian negotiations for it to be certain that England, France and Italy have agreed upon the ultimate partition of all that is of value in Haile Selassie's empire. All that remains to be settled is the method by which it is to take place, and the extent of each partitioner's share. The British want the division to take place at Geneva; they want Haile Selassie's nominal sovereignty preserved and the actual partitioning to be accomplished through spheres of economic influence rather than by outright annexation, and they also propose to reserve most of fertile western Ethiopia for themselves. For reasons of prestige, Mussolini wants the partition to seem to be brought about by the victories of his armies in Ethiopia, and he has demanded—although this demand may be for bargaining purposes—a part of England's future sphere in western Ethiopia.

We must confess that we did not think that England was trying to secure for herself any advantages except that the sea-road to India should be safe, that her position in Egypt might not be endangered, and that the headwaters of the Nile should remain in her exclusive control. The *New Republic* gives a different version. But even if England did not seek any benefit herself but gave a free hand to Mussolini like France, her conduct deserved severe condemnation. We are glad to find that in the House of Commons debate British policy did receive strong denunciation. Mr. Attlee said: "The trouble about the Government is that they thought this affair could be settled by a deal in the old Imperialist method, by a discussion between two or three big Powers, whereas the matter ought to have been brought before the League of Nations at once." In fact, the Powers

have been doing nothing else but "try the old method of buying off the aggressor." Col. Wedgwood endorsed this and said that the League Powers were "bribing the aggressor into being good," and that, like the Byzantine Empire, they had decided "to pay Danegeld in order to buy off the Danes." But perhaps the most remarkable utterance on this point was made by Mr. Kingsley Griffith, and it is the more remarkable just because Mr. Griffith does not belong to the Labour Party. He said :

I find it stated in the Press that the situation between ourselves and Italy is easing, that a better atmosphere prevails between ourselves and Italy and, finally, that Italy is pleased with our Foreign Secretary. Of course Italy and ourselves are old friends. Unfortunately, one of the two old friends is at the moment badly wanted by the police—we cannot deny the fact—and the other old friend represented by ourselves is a member of the police force. Translate the remarks we have heard into those terms and we find that the situation is eased as between the burglar and the police; that a better atmosphere prevails between the burglar and the police and, finally, the placards say that the burglar is pleased with the police.

To bring it home personally to the Prime Minister, may I say that I believe there are two days in the course of

the summer when, wherever his visible presence may be, the right hon. Gentleman's soul and spirit are at Lord's cricket ground? If on such occasion he was doomed, as so many of us are, to rely on the Press for information and he saw a placard saying "Eton pleased with Harrow bowling," I do not think he would be reassured as to the course of the match. That was precisely my feeling when I saw placards of the kind I have described. I find in *L'Oeuvre*, which is, I gather a paper of some influence in France, the following passage. "It is thought in London circles that as Mussolini is not reported to demand any of the uplands of Abyssinia, Great Britain would not be intractable regarding any other part of Abyssinia." I hope we may receive some assurance that there is nothing in those remarks. They would seem to indicate a position which might be expressed by adapting the words of the old song:

"We'll tak' the uplands and ye'll tak' the lowlands
And we'll get to Addis Ababa before ye."

I trust that it will be made clear that we are not going to bargain with the territory of the injured nation.

Not only was such an assurance not forthcoming, but it appears that England and France are contemplating taking another slice off Abyssinia to appease Mussolini's hunger, if not their own.

GOPAL KRISHNA DEVADHAR.

TRIBUTES TO HIS MEMORY.

Numerous messages condoling and sympathising with the Servants of India Society in its grief are being received at its head-quarters in Poona. The following is a selection from them:—

Sir M. Ramachandra Rao: We have lost a sincere friend and India has lost an extraordinarily able public man who had done so much for the cause of social reform. There was no limit to his optimism. As President of the Servants of India Society, he brought great distinction to the Society.

Sir G. S. Bajpai: No more unselfish and indefatigable worker for the public weal ever lived. If there is a Heaven, it must be a haven of rest for his like.

The Raja of Bhor: It is a great national bereavement and I don't think the gap caused by his death in the country's public life would be soon filled up.

Indian Law Society, Poona: Mr. Devadhar was a personal friend and co-worker of many of the members of this Society and his advice and co-operation were regarded as a valuable asset by all. The catholicity of his mind and his all-round activity for the needy and backward had secured for him the much deserved title of the friend of the poor. His services during the epidemics in Poona are still the theme of many a grateful remembrance in the City. He was the pioneer of the co-operative movement in this country and of the uplift of women and backward classes.

The Western India National Liberal Association, Bombay: In him the country has lost one of the most patriotic and devoted workers in the field of social reform, co-operation, amelioration of the condition of the depressed classes and women and in several other spheres of social activity.

The Karachi Municipal Corporation: The deceased was connected with Mr. Gokhale in the Servants of

India Society and latterly succeeded him in the noble mission of relieving distress and suffering humanity, and his name in this field of public beneficent activity will remain enshrined in the hearts of the people of India for the unremitting care and indefatigable energy he showed in reaching and relieving distressed and suffering mankind irrespective of caste, colour or creed.

The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association: One feature of his self-sacrificing devotion to the country's cause, which this Association would specially note, was that he was one of the active members of the Association, who, by their zeal and devotion to the cause of social reform, contributed to its development in the first decade of its existence and helped in the formation of its auxiliary bodies like the Holika Sammelan and the Social Service League. His life was consecrated to the noble work of social reform and service and by concentrating on them he showed notable results in the service of the motherland... In the field of social service his achievements were many and varied and the great Seva Sadan of Poona is the embodiment of his life's work.

Mr. A. N. Survé and Mrs. Janabai Rokde on behalf of the *Ahalyabai Free Maternity Home, Bombay:* Our Home owes so much to him that his death has caused irreparable loss to it. From its beginning he was the President of its Executive Committee and a source of inspiration to us; and it was the valuable advice and encouragement which he gave from time to time that have contributed largely to its existence and growth till now. In short, in him the Home has lost its esteemed helper and adviser whom it will be difficult to replace.

Rao Bahadur M. R. Ramaswami Sivan, Coimbatore: Mr. Devadhar maintained the traditions of the high office of the President of the Society. The Servants of India Society consists of members who, had they only cared for it, would have occupied the highest and most lucrative jobs in the government of the country. They chose, however, a life of

sacrifice and service and poverty. The late Mr. Devadhar is an excellent example for Young India to follow. Simple in habits, full of ideas, he has at the same time done more tangible constructive public work for the benefit of the country than any one, as may be seen from his work in the co-operative field and for the welfare of Indian women.

Babu Purushottamdas Tanton, Allahabad: In Devadhar's death the Motherland loses one of her most eminent sons.

Messages of condolence have been received from the women of Madras; Women's Indian Association, Madras; All-India Women's Conference; the Mothers' Association; the Karad Branch of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank, Ltd.; the Depressed Classes Mission Workers, Mangalore; the Harijans of Amreli; Kashta Nivarak Samiti, Agra; the Untouchables of Baroda; the Co-operative Society, Vadakkakara, Parur; the Malabar District Co-operative Bank Ltd.; the Hindu Vanita Co-operative Society, Ltd., Trivandrum; Poona District Co-operative Institute; Citizens of Indapur; Municipal Council, Coimbatore; the Poona City Municipality; Poona Harijan Sevak Sangh; Mr. T. R. Gadra, Akola; the Co-operative Union, Tiruchengodu; Bombay Divisional Co-operative Institute; Dadabhai Chawl Co-operative Credit Society, Bombay; Citizens of Bhore; the staff and the students of the Sarva Jana High School, Peelamadu, Coimbatore; South India Co-operative Consumers' Society Ltd., Bombay; Mr. J. A. Madan, I. C. S.; the Poona Central Co-operative Bank, Ltd.; Bar Association, Rai Bareilly; Islampur Branch of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank Ltd.; Yeotmal District Association; Maharashtra Mandal, Calcutta; Bhagini Samaj, Calcutta; Sadhu Kamalanandjes; Widow Marriage Association, Poona; Women of Poona City and Cantonment; Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce, Bombay; residents of Gokhalepuri, Muzzaffarpore; Mr. B. B. Dhavale, Secretary, Maharashtra Nivas Trust, Calcutta; the Utkal Homeopathic Medical College, Utkal; citizens of Cuttack; Mr. Moropant Abhyankar, Haveri; Rao Saheb Vishvanathrao Joglekar, Haveri; citizens of Amraoti; Pandit Shankar Shastri Hosriti, Haveri; Mr. Shambhura Gokhale, Budhgaon; Mr. Yargop, Dewan, Miraj (Junior) State, Budhgaon; the Union High School, Bombay; Central Co-operative Bank Ltd., Cuttack; the Sholapur District Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.; Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore; citizens of Dudhgaon; Maharashtra Mandal, Bijapur; citizens of Satara; Satara District Rigvedi Deshastha Brahman Samstha; the Mercantile Co-operative Bank, Ltd., Karachi; the Social Service League, Pali; Mr. N. D. Deodhekar, Umbargaon; Dr. H. V. Tilak, Bombay; Prof. K. C. Pandya, Agra; the Sarvajanic Sabha, Poona; women of Saugor; Mr. H. S. Pannani, Sukkur; All-India Rural Representatives' Conference, Delhi; Principal V. G. Gokhale, I. A. S.; Salem District Political Conference, Tiruchengodu; Hindu Mahila Samaj, Bombay; the People's Co-operative Bank Ltd., Nagarcovil; the Saswad Municipality; Harijan Sudharana Mandal, Poona; Co-operative Society, Dudhondi; the citizens of Trivandrum.

THE death is announced in a Reuter telegram from Bombay of Mr. Gopal Krishna Devadhar, C.I.E., President and co-founder of the Servants of India Society, Poona, and President of the Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore.

Devadhar was the close friend and first disciple of G. K. Gokhale in the Servants of India Society, and was proud to follow him and Mr. Sastri in the

presidency of the organisation, after having held for many years the post of Vice-President. His interests were in social amelioration and education rather than politics, and in these fields his work was constant and productive. He was one of the founders in 1910 of the Poona Seva Sadan Society, the main object of which is to make women self-reliant and to train them for educational, medical, and social welfare activities for other women and especially the backward classes. Under his fostering care of Honorary Organizer and General Secretary the Society steadily expanded in usefulness. It trains year by year some 1,600 women and girls.

Many remarkable figures were given of work in various fields in the Silver Jubilee Album published a few months ago and fitly begun with the terms of a resolution of congratulation from the Society to the King and Queen. At times of calamity, such as the Moplah rebellion of 13 years ago and the great flood which did serious damage in many parts of India in 1927, Mr. Devadhar organized relief measures, and under his direction good team work was done in the affected areas. He played a great part in the spread of the movement for co-operative rural credit to save the cultivators from the clutches of the money-lenders. He served on committees in various Indian States to formulate plans for the application or extension of the co-operative principle within their limits. He presided over co-operative conferences in almost all the major Provinces and several of the States, and was president of the first all-India rural representative conference. The growth of the movement for Baby and Health Weeks, particularly in the Bombay Presidency, owed much to his active support. He went from the general to the particular in rural uplift by personally supervising such work in a group of small villages some 15 miles from Poona. In August, 1931, his friends and admirers celebrated the diamond jubilee of his life by presenting him with a congratulatory address and a purse of 10,500 rupees (£787 10s.) Mr. Devadhar visited England and the Continent as a member of the Indian Press delegation during the War, at the invitation of the British Government, to represent the Bombay Presidency. He was made a C. I. E. in 1927.

His death brings to an end not the fruit but the patient, persistent effort of nearly half a century's devotion to the public weal.—*The Times*.

THE Servants of India Society have suffered a great loss in the death of Mr. Devadhar, President of the Society. After a very brief illness, he passed away in Bombay on November 17th.

Throughout India there has been a universal expression of regret that his useful life has been cut short and unstinted commendation for his life of service has been expressed.

He became President of the Servants of India Society on the retirement of the Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in 1927. But, in the words of Mr. Sastri, "long before then he had established his reputation as the most considerable and the best loved representative of Gokhale's school of public service." Since that time he has been the President and as such has had much to do with the policy and work of the Society.

Mr. Devadhar was not a popular leader. By this is meant that he did not exercise any spell over vast assemblies. He had a reputation for patient and thorough work and was able to inspire his associates with the value of steady plodding efforts. Those most closely associated with him will be able to measure more accurately the loss which India has

sustained. And the realization of what he has been able to accomplish should inspire many humble workers to give themselves wholeheartedly to public service. Position and power were not the concerns of Mr. Devadhar. He worked with a singleness of purpose on behalf of India and accepted what responsibility came to him as a part of his service. He would have been happy to have continued to the end in any humble capacity that enabled him to carry on the work near to his heart. The honours which came to him at the hands of his associates he did not consider as personal compliments but as commissions for further self-sacrifice.

India and every other country needs public servants like Mr. Devadhar. The pathway of such public servants is not strewn with flowers. It winds its way through difficulties and there are many lonely places. But those who take this pathway have the constant realization that their service is not in vain. They seek not their own glory but the good of all.—*The Indian Witness.*

CO-OPERATION, female education and social reform filled the interest of the late Mr. G. K. Devadhar in a career of intense usefulness lasting over thirty years. There was nothing high-brow about Mr. Devadhar and within the modest scope of his ambition, he achieved much. When Gopal Krishna Gokhale launched his Servants of India Society in 1904, Gopal Krishna Devadhar was with him as his first recruit and colleague, determined on pursuing a life of dedication for the good of his country, and he followed his course without any affectation of greatness. If the cause of co-operation has progressed in Bombay, credit for it must be given to Mr. G. K. Devadhar and Mr. V. L. Mehta, but Mr. Devadhar was always active in welfare work beyond the bounds of his province. He worked in Nagpur, in Mysore, in Madras and in Malabar on behalf of the co-operative institute idea which engrossed him, and in none of his missions was he a disappointment. His candid nature, his reluctance to cultivate urban airs of statesmanship, his refusal to look bowed down with the cares of Empire, his zest for the simple life where all ate well, laughed heartily and slept with a good conscience—all these characteristics made Mr. Devadhar into a lovable personality from whom one knew what to expect and not to expect; and upon whom one could rely implicitly.

Wherever humble practical work had to be done for the agriculturist or the oppressed sub-castes in the social scale, G. K. Devadhar was at call. He believed in rural reconstruction through the aid of the co-operative movement, being keenly conversant with the problems of indebtedness which afflicted the peasantry. On occasions when there was the duty of helping the distressed in famine or flood, Mr. Devadhar was on the spot, like Mr. C. F. Andrews concerned in the administration of relief at personal risk, rather than the collection of funds in the background. In everything he attempted, he wanted to have a personal hand because he regarded success in social work as an individual responsibility where example counted. The prevalence of unrighteousness in a sinful world as a political malady did not vex Mr. Devadhar in his role as a member of the Servants of India Society, because he was preoccupied with practical work in aid of the poor; his mind was eventually that of an ambulance man. His death is a great loss, but he knew the end was near, and he bore his last illness, conscious, we hope, of the loving appreciation of many who knew him as an earnest worker in noble causes.—*The Hindustan Times.*

THE death of Mr. G. K. Devadhar will be received with feelings of genuine sorrow all over India. There is not a province or city which he had not visited in one capacity or other from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin; and there is not a co-operative institution where his name is not cherished. He was the first young man to join the Servants of India Society after the late Mr. Gokhale and founded it; and throughout his life he was true to the vows administered by his master, friend and colleague, and lived a life of service, sacrifice, and singular disinterestedness.

Early in his career, as a member of the Servants of India Society, Mr. Devadhar discovered that he was not fitted for the hurly-burly of politics, but that his life's mission lay in constructive institutional work. He was the mainstay for a number of years of the Social Service League of Bombay and edited a journal for it for some time.

But Mr. Devadhar's name will live in the memories of men and institutions for the wonderful work done by him for the Poona Seva Sadan and the co-operative movement throughout India. Here he opened a co-operative bank, there he presided at a co-operative conference; here he was asked to report on the movements of co-operation in a British Indian province or Indian State; and there his advice was sought on the many questions affecting women's uplift and the starting of Seva Sadans.

The Poona Seva Sadan is a model institution for the whole country, and visitors to Poona never missed visiting it; and they were struck with the amount of labour and expenditure involved in running so efficient an institution and the devotion and love given to it by various men and women workers in the spirit of utter selflessness.

Mr. Devadhar was an occasional visitor to Sind and Karachi and whenever he came here he was received like an old friend by one and all as his fame had spread all over the country as one of the constructive workers of our time. To meet him and to talk with him was to love him and to be inspired by him. He was so unassuming and so simple, but he crowded a dozen great men's lives into one.

In politics Mr. Devadhar was a moderate and stood staunchly by the political gospel of his master, Gopal Krishna Gokhale. He devoted his life to rural reconstruction for thirty years before anybody ever thought of it and made it the burning question of the day. He thought that India ought to be built up from the villages and hence his passionate attachment to the movement of co-operation for which none worked in India as incessantly as did Mr. Devadhar.

By his death the country loses a high-souled patriot who never sought anything for himself except active service in good causes for the happiness and welfare of his motherland.—*The Sind Observer.*

SJT. G. K. DEVADHAR was one of the early band of selfless workers who were inspired by that great and noble son of India, the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, to join the Servants of India Society and dedicate themselves at the altar of the Motherland at a time when service and sacrifice were little appreciated and certainly had not become popular as is now the case. A keen and well-informed student of politics and economics, Sjt. Devadhar's special field of activity was social and economic work and that too mainly through the organisation of co-operative societies. In fact, in matters co-operative, he was recognised as an authority and his advice was frequently sought after by many actively engaged in and interested in that movement. He took considerable interest in the affairs of this province as well

and it was only a few years back that he presided over the annual Congress of the Bihar and Orissa Co-operative Federation where his sage words of counsel were greatly appreciated by all. Again, it was only last year that he visited Patna in connection with the organisation of the Bihar Central Relief Committee of which he was a very valued member. But little did one imagine then that his end was drawing so near and that only a year or so after he would pass away from this mortal world. But God's will be done. In his sad passing away the country in general has suffered the loss of a great and sincere social worker and the Servants of India Society in particular of an able and indefatigable guiding spirit.—*The Searchlight*.

THE death of Mr. G. K. Devadhar, removes a remarkable personality from the Indian public life. The news will be received with deepest regret throughout the length and breadth of India. His sudden death has left a void which it will be very difficult to fill. A man of sterling selflessness and astounding energy, he has done a colossal amount of work in his life. His was a life that was strictly dedicated to the service of the nation.

The greatest work of Mr. Devadhar's life is undoubtedly the establishment of the Poona Seva Sadan which was founded in 1909. With deep insight he saw the needs of Indian women and supplied them with untiring zeal and energy. The Seva Sadan has trained hundreds of women to be fit for the practical side of life, by imparting instruction in medicine, sewing, knitting and teaching. It is one of the greatest institutions in the country and the only one of its kind. Mr. Devadhar has indeed made a splendid contribution to national regeneration. He was first and foremost a humanitarian. The work he did in Malabar for the economically stricken masses should be written in letters of gold. Only Mr. Devadhar could have worked so hard, collecting so much money for the relief of the Malabar people. It is on record that he spent sleepless nights worrying about them. In this connection, his work for the flood-stricken in Gujerat and Orissa in 1927 must also be mentioned.

As a Co-operator, Mr. Devadhar did valuable work in his province where he was responsible in starting at least a score of societies. His worth in this capacity was well recognised by the Government. He presided at numerous Co-operative Conferences all over India and recently he presided over the Travancore Co-operative Enquiry Committee. His interest in agriculture and rural uplift work is also well-known. Mr. Devadhar lived and died for the service of the country and his memory will be a great stimulant to all social workers of India. May his soul rest in peace.—*The Independent*.

THE passing away of Mr. G. K. Devadhar, President of the Servants of India Society, leaves a void which is not easy to fill in the field of social service. Mr. Devadhar was not only founder member of the Society but was also a striking personality. To his credit and personal contribution stands the Seva Sadan of Poona, whose Organising Secretary he had been ever since its inception. Mr. Devadhar was also interested in the development of the co-operative movement and had held responsible positions like Director and President in the Co-operative Institute of Bombay and the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank.

Mr. Devadhar's death is mourned by his innumerable friends and admirers. We extend our deep

sympathies to the members of the bereaved family and his colleagues in the Servants of India Society and the Seva Sadan.—*The Indian Catholic Journal*.

DEATH has removed from our midst a true servant and a selfless public worker of India in the person of Gopal Krishna Devadhar. An indefatigable worker, it was not in Devadhar's nature to rest. He was too keenly sensitive to the social misery of the day, and it was in the fitness of things that Mr. Gokhale secured him to the new Society he founded. Brevity, simplicity, softness, homely grace with such a penetrating meaning,—soft enough, but irresistible, going down to the depths and up to the heights as silent electricity goes, were the striking characteristics of that fascinating personality. His sincerity was transparent. The opinions he uttered from time to time had risen in his own understanding and been a light to his own steps. He spoke from experience and sight. Those were the scenes that he had lived and laboured amidst, that he described; those scenes, rude and humble as they were, kindled beautiful emotions in his soul, noble thoughts, and definite resolves; and he spoke forth what was in him, not from any outward call of vanity or interest, but because his heart was too full to be silent. That is why he succeeded in his constructive work. As an ardent youth he was an intrepid organiser of the Aryan Education Society in Bombay. In freshness, grace and individuality he had few rivals. It was the logical denouement that he should belong to the noble group of selfless workers who ushered into existence the Servants of India Society in 1905. He did not stop there. He realised that, standing on the verge of a new era of democratic ascendancy, India needed a broader basis. In 1909 he started the Poona Seva Sadan Society which has been carrying on invaluable educational, industrial, medical instruction and relief work in the Bombay Presidency, the Central Provinces and Gwalior. Mr. Devadhar played a prominent part in the co-operative movement in Bombay and South India. Rural uplift was his concern. As a staunch relief worker in areas visited by floods and other cataclysms, his name would be remembered with reverence and gratitude. It is unfortunate that he should abandon his mortal coil at a time when he was needed most by the Poona Seva Sadan Society whose cause was so dear to his heart—the Society celebrates its Silver Jubilee this year but it has gone poorer by the deplorable demise of Mr. Devadhar. As a figure in our social history Devadhar will always loom as a large and important figure, and will be a source of inspiration to others.—*The Weekly Bombay*.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- TRADE UNIONISM AND LABOUR DISPUTES IN INDIA. By AHMAD MUKHTAR. (Longmans, Bombay.) 1935. 32cm. 215p. Rs. 6/-
- FACING THE IRISH QUESTION. By W. S. ARMOUR. (Duckworth.) 1935. 20cm. 270p. 5/-
- ART AND MORALITY AND OTHER ESSAYS. By FIBOZE COWASJI DAVAR. (Taraporewala.) 1935. 20cm. 520p. Rs. 5.
- RUIN OF INDIAN TRADE AND INDUSTRIES. By B. D. BASU. (Third Edn.) (R. Chatterjee, Calcutta.) 1935. 20cm. 267p. Rs. 2.
- INDIAN FINANCE YEAR BOOK, 1935. Ed. by P. R. SRINIVAS. (Editor, Calcutta.) 1935. 25cm. 384p. Rs. 5.
- THE EVOLUTION OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION. By K. V. RAMASUBRAHMANYAM. (Baja & Co., Madras.) 1935. 22cm. 439p. Rs. 5.

ESTABLISHED 1911.

The Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank Ltd.

(Registered under the Co-operative Societies Act.)

Head Office: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY. (Branches: 28)

Apex Bank of the Co-operative Movement in Bombay Presidency.

WORKING CAPITAL Exceeds Rs. 2,00,00,000

FIXED, CURRENT AND SAVINGS DEPOSITS ACCEPTED.

Terms on Application.

ADVANCES made only to registered Co-operative Societies.

COLLECTION WORK undertaken at almost all important towns in the Bombay Presidency.

Money deposited with this Bank directly benefits the agriculturists and persons of small means.

For further particulars write to Managing Director.

The Industrial and Prudential Assurance Co. Ltd.

The Premier Indian Life Office.

Estd. 1913.

Head Office — BOMBAY.

UP-TO-DATE BENEFITS.

LOW PREMIUMS.

BONUS:

Whole Life—Rs. 22-8-0 per Thousand per Year.

Endowment— „ 18-0-0 per „ -

For Agency apply to—Secretaries and Managers,

Industrial and Prudential Assurance Coy. Ltd.,

Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

SUPREME FOR YEARS SUPREME TO-DAY— QUALITY ALWAYS TELLS



Mysore Sandalwood Oil B. P. quality, the finest in the world, is perfectly blended and milled by a special process with the purest ingredients to make.

Mysore
Sandal Soap

“It's good through and through
to the thinnest wafer”

Available Everywhere.

**GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY,
BANGALORE.**