

THE Servant of India

Acting Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY.

VOL. II., No. 43.]

POONA—THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1919.

[ANNUAL SUBSN. : RS. 4

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	505
ARTICLES :—	
The Reform Bill	50
<i>Bona Fides</i> and General Dyer's Evidence	312
British War Finance.—II.	312
SPECIAL ARTICLES :—	
Diffusion of Primary Education. By S. G. V.	513
The Punjab Trouble	514
REVIEWS :—	
Short Notices	515
CORRESPONDENCE :—	
Military Training. By Professor V. G. Kale, ... ..	...
A False Accusation. By Puck ... ..	...

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

MR. MONTAGU has declared that it is competent to the Disorders Committee to review martial law sentences entirely. This was being urged by public opinion from the very beginning, though the Home Member in the Government of India held the demand inadmissible. In view, however, of the Secretary of State's announcement of the Hunter Committee being clothed with adequate powers, it becomes the more necessary, if the concession is to be at all of any practical advantage, to afford all reasonable facilities to the prisoners for defence. The Congress Sub-Committee's proposal in this behalf was very modest, viz., that the principal leaders now in gaol should be allowed to attend the Hunter Committee's proceedings under escort; and, therefore, all those who are eager to ascertain the truth and do not wish the inquiry, which began well and promised to be very searching, reduced to a nullity, will fervently hope that it will yet be possible for the Government to accede to the eminently reasonable demand made by the Congress Sub-committee on behalf of the Indian public.

THE Government of Bombay has put in hand a small piece of legislation intended to afford protection to young girls in the City of Bombay who are inveigled into dens of infamy and kept in close confinement therein past any hope of escape. This measure, beneficent as it is so far as it goes, is very limited in scope and mild in its mode of operation. It is not designed to suppress the growing juvenile prostitution in the presidency and does not propose the raising of the age up to which young women will be protected; it is only intended to secure a more effective control over brothel-keepers who ex-

ercise a tyrannical bondage over the girls who come under their sway. This is done by introducing a section in the Bombay City Police Act making it an offence to forcibly detain a woman in a othel. It may be, though we do not vouch for it, that brothels of this kind, wherein women are immured for years together and perhaps for life against their will, do not exist beyond Bombay city, but we see no reason why the Government should not attempt to abolish all brothels of every kind. In England the keeping of a brothel has always been prohibited by law; the Act of 1885 gave summary jurisdiction to magistrates over persons who kept brothels, instead of proceeding against them by indictment. But in India brothel-keeping is not an offence; a magistrate or police commissioner can only segregate brothel-keepers or require them to discontinue the use of any house. Nor will it become an offence after this Bill becomes law.

* * *

FOR this reason we consider the Bill to be very halting. The mere keeping of a house of ill fame must be made an offence punishable by fine and imprisonment as it is in England, and an amendment to this effect must be made in our current law and made applicable all over the presidency. The District Municipalities Act must, therefore, be amended along with the Bombay City Police Act in the sense indicated above. In England, by the statute of 1885, a brothel-keeper is liable to summary proceedings and punishable on conviction to three months' imprisonment or a fine of £20 for the first offence, four months or £40 for the second offence, and twelve months or £100 for the third offence; and be it remembered that attempts are being made to tighten up the provisions of the law. A bill drafted in 1916 proposed to increase those penalties in this way: £100 or three months for the first offence; £200 or six months for the second offence, and £500 or twelve months for the third offence, and recognisances on a second conviction. The English law also makes it criminal for the landlord or lessor of any premises to let them for habitual prostitution. So should it be in India. Thus the scope of the bill must be widened and its provisions made more stringent. If brothels are to be at all allowed, it is hoped that the Government will use the power which it is now taking to deport brothel-keepers beyond city boundaries for the purpose of segregating them outside the city.

WHILE the increased employment of Indians, as recommended by the Public Services Commission, is snail-slow in coming, sweeping increases are being speedily sanctioned in one service after another, so that, by the time the reforms come into operation, the ministers will find a large hole made in the finances of their country—finances which would otherwise have gone to the furtherance of education, sanitation and such other objects of public utility. The forest department is the latest to be thus favoured by the Secretary of State with enormous increases in pay. The lowest officers of the imperial branch of this department—assistant and deputy conservators—now draw a commencing salary of Rs. 380, which rises in nineteen years to Rs. 1,250. But in view of their recommendation that the recruitment of this department should take place mostly in India, they prescribed a lower scale of pay for these officers generally—300-50/2-500-50-1050, and retained the present one for officers recruited in Europe. The Secretary of State, however, has now sanctioned for all officers alike—whether recruited in India or Europe—a rate of salary much higher than what was considered amply sufficient for European-recruited officers.

* * *

ACCORDING to his scheme, assistant and deputy conservators will be started on Rs. 450 (as against Rs. 300 proposed by the Public Services Commission) and will receive a yearly increment of Rs. 50 (as against a two-yearly increment proposed by the Commission), getting in their nineteenth year of service Rs. 1,450 (as against Rs. 1,050 proposed by the Commission) and Rs. 1,600 in their twenty-third year. Conservators will receive an initial salary Rs. 1,750 (as against 1,500 proposed by the Commission) rising to Rs. 2,000 by an annual increment of Rs. 50. For chief conservators the Public Services Commission had recommended a salary of Rs. 2,250-50-2,500; under the Secretary of State's orders now issued, these officers will get at the beginning what they were promised by the Commission at the end of their career and will receive an annual increment of Rs. 125 (2,500-125-2,750); and the head of the department, Inspector-General, will draw Rs. 3,250, which is Rs. 550 in excess of what he draws now. How much additional burden these drastic increases in salary would impose upon the Indian exchequer we are not told; but it is clear that it will be very huge. Do these rates of salary bear any relation to the capacity of India to pay her public servants?

* * *

THE changes suggested by the Joint Committee in the franchise scheme of the Southborough Committee are generally satisfactory. The larger representation proposed to be given to the labouring classes and the depressed classes will commend itself to all progressives. The *modus vivendi* suggested for the purpose of arranging a compromise on the vexed question of the non-Brahman representation will also be welcomed. Separate communal electorates have been finally condemn-

ed, and an adjustment has to be reached on the principle of reserving seats in general electorates. It is best that the responsibility of devising a solution of the question has been thrown in the first instance on Brahman and non-Brahman leaders themselves, and, in the event of their failing to find out a pathway out of the difficulty, an arbitrator appointed by the Governor-General is to decide the matter. The Marathas in the Deccan are also to be protected by a similar reservation of seats. We are not clear as to the precise connotation of the term Marathas; does the Joint Committee desire to exclude non-Maratha sections of the backward classes from protection? The demand for special measures of protection has till now come from the backward classes as a whole, and other communities who will be left out, if the word Maratha is narrowly interpreted, will feel a grievance. We are glad that the woman's franchise has been practically provided for. The extension of university franchise is a great improvement. Direct election is to be introduced into the Legislative Assembly, which is a most important reform.

* * *

WE have come to conceive a certain amount of admiration for the obduracy with which they are persisting in the retrograde proposal in the Joint Report which makes it possible for a bill, dealing with a transferred department but affecting the safety or 'tranquillity' of a province in some of its parts, to be blocked. This proposal, which one would have thought had slipped into the Joint Report by an oversight, duly made its appearance in the Bill in clause 5, and the Joint Select Committee again retains it. Not content with that, a similar provision is proposed to be enacted in the Government of India also, and, for this purpose, a new clause is to be introduced into the Bill in 27 (2), although there are to be no transferred departments in the central Government! The power which the executive Government is now taking is new to the Indian constitution and to that extent entails a new disability.

* * *

WE have pressed in these columns from the beginning for elected Speakers for provincial councils and the legislative assembly, and we are very gratified to find that this suggestion has been adopted, subject to the reservation that, for the first four years, the Presidents will be nominated. The Deputy Presidents, however, will be elected from the very outset. In making the selection of first Presidents, special regard will be paid to their acquaintance with constitutional usages; for it will depend upon them to a great extent how the councils will shape in this respect. Perhaps the idea is to bring out from England men of parliamentary experience, and to appoint them first to be members and then, Presidents of the several legislatures. The character of the Council of State being changed, it is equally essential that it should be given the power of choosing its own President, but it is to have a permanently nominated President.

OPINION is not unanimous as to the advisability of attaching standing committees to each department of Government. While recognising that they will tend to increase the association of the elective element in the legislature with the administration, we have pointed out the risks which their institution is likely to incur, experience of such committees in other countries not being particularly encouraging. But it will be admitted by all that they will be of the greatest use, if anywhere, in departments still reserved to official control and, therefore, particularly in the central Government which is to remain wholly irresponsible. The Government of India, however, in their despatch of March 5, strangely enough, rejected the device of standing committees in the central Government for this very reason, *viz.* that no element of responsibility was to be introduced into it! But now the Joint Committee, besides strongly recommending the setting up of standing committees in the provinces as a general rule, leaves it to the Governor-General to decide with which portfolios in the Government of India they should be associated. We attach, however, far greater importance to the appointment of Council Secretaries, who are to occupy the position similar to Parliamentary Under-Secretaries. Their appointment is provided for in the Bill.

THE Joint Select Committee has generally endorsed the provisions in part IV. of the Reform Bill relating to the public services. Clause 24 (2), which is reproduced without change in clause 36, is, however, open to serious objection, inasmuch as it leaves the conditions of service to be regulated by rules framed by the Secretary of State. It is the mark of a popular Government, even such as will be established in India, to control the conditions of service of its officers through its legislature. As Professor Keith says:

There are grave constitutional objections to regulating their conditions of service by an imperial act or by regulations made under it, thus withdrawing from the legislatures of India the control of legislation regarding these services. Moreover, it is essential in the interest of decentralisation that, as far as possible, the Secretary of State should abandon detailed control of the conditions of service of officers in India, and that changes in the existing conditions should be subjected to the criticism of the legislature under safeguards against unjust treatment of members already in the services.

It is necessary that imperial services should be controlled in respect of pay and allowances, discipline and conduct, etc., by the Indian legislature and the provincial services by the local legislatures, subject to the proviso that the rights of the officers already in the service should be preserved intact.

INDEED, the I. C. S. scheme outlined in Mr. Ernest Barker's "Future Government of India" goes farthest in this direction: it urges the provincialisation of all imperial services. It says: "Imperial services appointed by the Crown for India as a whole are incompatible with provincial autonomous and responsible government... The first

attribute of any Government is the power to appoint and remove its own administrative servants. The existence of a Government, dependent for the execution of its orders on administrative services which are neither responsible to nor removable by it, is obviously impossible... Autonomous self-government cannot be realised until all the imperial services have been eliminated." The addition of a proviso to sub-clause (1) providing for an appeal to the Governor and giving him power to take such action as he thinks right, only makes matters worse

THE words "accept" and "reject" had better be avoided in the current discussions on reforms. They have acquired, in the public mind, an awful significance, far in excess of their received connotation. There are Nationalist politicians, among whom Mr. Tilak is the most prominent, who have declared their willingness to take unconditionally whatever instalment of reform the British Government may choose to concede, and yet these people warmly repudiate the policy of "acceptance" in respect of a scheme which, with all its imperfections, is even, on their own confession, fairly liberal. On the other hand, some politicians regard the M.-C. proposals of reform as even unworthy of discussion and so radically faulty as beyond the possibility of any conceivable amendments making it tolerable. They are for abandoning the whole job, and yet they are never in greater distress than when they are described as "rejecting" the reforms. They assume such airs of injured innocence as if they believed that "rejection" was a heinous sin. The truth is that "acceptance" does not mean anything more than a general acquiescence in, and a desire to give a fair trial to, what you accept, without forfeiting the right to try and get more. Nor is "rejection" the vile thing some Nationalists take it to be. It is indistinguishable from the policy favoured by the second set of politicians mentioned above.

IT is somewhat of a relief, therefore, to those who in an evil hour described their attitude to the M.-C. scheme as one of "acceptance" to find that Mr. Tilak who till now accepted the reforms in all but the name, himself characterised his attitude in identical language at the Albert Hall meeting in London last month. He said that "he was in favour of accepting the Bill, the thin end of the wedge, because India could then hammer at the thick end, and drive it through." This is just the view which the acceptors of the reforms have all along been advocating, and it is well that Mr. Tilak has at last dropped the make-believe and employed even the till-now-hated word. If Mr. Tilak "accepts" the first draft of the Bill which by all accounts was not so good as the scheme of the Joint Report, it was hardly fair for him and others who think with him to hold up to public opprobrium those who accepted something better than the Bill, and who, when the Government of India sought to whittle it down, refused to accept it in the mangled form.

THE REFORM BILL.

A SUMMARY of the Parliamentary Joint Committee's report on the Government of India Bill and the changes introduced by them into the latter have been cabled to India, and a perusal of these will convince everyone that the Committee have worked on the Bill with the earnest desire to satisfy the political aspirations of the country. The retrograde proposals of the Government of India, which had threatened practically to nullify the whole reform scheme, have been altogether turned down and many improvements of great value have been effected. The Bill in the revised form makes a notable advance upon the M.-C. scheme, which renders it worthy of a warm reception in the country. It is idle to pretend that all the popular demands have been granted; they hardly ever are; but it cannot be denied that the Bill in the shape which it has now assumed is an effective instrument of progress, bringing the goal of colonial self-government within a measurable distance of time. The refusal to introduce an element of responsibility into the Government of India, in spite of the earnest efforts in that direction made by all the delegations conjointly, is the gravest deficiency in the Bill; but barring that, the Bill must be pronounced to be generally satisfactory. The changes made in the constitution of provincial Governments are conceived in a generous spirit, and though full provincial autonomy has not been granted, it will be the very next step, if the present reforms are worked well. While the attainment of further reforms must never be lost sight of, it must be remembered that there is no better way of achieving the desired end than by making most of the instalment which we are now receiving. Those who see a vision of a reconstructed India have a magnificent opportunity of bringing their creative ideas to fruition; never had a better opportunity offered itself to us.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

The changes effected in the constitution of the Indian legislature are decided improvements. The increase of the elective element in the Legislative Assembly (from two thirds to five-sevenths) and the decrease of the official element in the Council of State (from one-half to one-third), and the making of the latter body a revising chamber from the start, will afford more free play to Indian opinion in the legislative chambers of the Government of India than was possible under the scheme of the Joint Report. This does not mean, however, that the executive will have less effective means at their disposal to carry through any legislation which they may consider essential. It is provided that, ordinarily, no bill will become law which does not pass both houses, the differences between them being composed, if possible, at joint sittings of the whole houses or selected members and by subsequent reconsideration of the points in dispute by either house. But when the Governor-General thinks that any bill must pass, he has only to certify it as necessary and put his signature to it. It is then to be considered as passed. In an emer-

gency the Act will come into effect at once, but otherwise, it will be reserved for His Majesty's pleasure after being laid upon the table of both Houses of Parliament for eight days. Should the certification procedure be employed, it would appear that the Secretary of State would specially consult the Standing Committee of Parliament, as is recommended by the Joint Committee in the case of provincial Acts certified by the Governor. While adequate power is thus taken to give legislative effect to any measure of Government which they may regard as necessary for voting down non-official bills not acceptable to Government, sole reliance seems to be placed upon the veto of the Governor-General. It is not known what will be the proportion of the nominated non-official members in the Council of State, and we cannot, therefore, guess to what extent the Government depend upon that body to help them to defeat bills originating in the lower house. The Indian budget will be submitted to the vote of the Legislative Assembly, subject to the power vested in the Governor-General in Council to restore items struck out by the Assembly. The executive council will have a minimum of three Indian members.

Acute disappointment will be felt in India at the failure of the Joint Committee to recommend the introduction of an element of responsibility in the central Government. The announcement of 1917 requires, for an adequate fulfilment of the pledges made in it, that some departments in the Government of India be transferred to popular control. What these departments should be, how they could be made over to ministers and what financial arrangements would be necessary as a consequence of the adoption of these proposals, Indian leaders have pointed out in ample detail; and no one has successfully proved either the unreasonableness or the unpractical character of the proposals. Yet the Joint Committee has not paid heed to the unanimous demand of India, backed by many influential Europeans, who must be presumed to be alive to the needs of administration. Keener is the regret that, if the central administration is to remain on an official basis and no transfer of any of the functions of government is to take place, the Joint Committee should have failed even to adopt the proposal of Sir James Brunyate for a differentiation of treatment of Indian subjects, whereby popular opinion will be specially operative in a group of them. Even such quasi-popular control over a limited field of Indian administration the Joint Committee has denied to India, and the central Government continues in what Sir James justly regards as an "anomalous status," in view of the "constitutionalism" of the other parts of the Reform Scheme. Not content with this, the Joint Committee expressly provide that no substantive changes shall take place within ten years. In view of the opinion expressed by such an experienced administrator as Sir William Meyer that the popularisation of the central Government cannot be postponed for ten years, the Joint Com-

mittee must be said to have grievously failed to take a correct measure of the situation and to do justice to the cause of India. Indians will no doubt be able to exert increased influence and in this respect will be in a considerably improved position, but actual power they will not possess in the way they aspire to do.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

The recommendations of the Joint Committee in regard to the constitution of provincial Governments are conceived in a liberal spirit. The principle of dyarchy has been accepted, but its inherent evils are sought to be removed by insisting that joint deliberation shall take place between the two halves of Government before any matter of common interest is decided upon. This is a point of very great importance. All the subjects mentioned in Mr. Feetham's memorandum before the Committee, which, we take it, are not substantially different from those included in the Feetham Committee's report, are recommended for transfer to non-official control: which means that the whole of education, subject to reservations about universities, and the development of industries will be transferred subjects. Land revenue will remain a reserved subject, but assessment of land revenue will be brought, if the Joint Committee's recommendation is adopted, under the control of the legislature. The Moderate Deputation had laid special emphasis on this point, that all fresh impositions, whether they are regarded technically as a tax or not, must receive the consent of the legislative council, and it is gratifying that the largest item in these will be the subject of legislation. It will be generally agreed that the list of transferred subjects is fairly large.

But what in one respect is even more important than the number of departments transferred is the question whether ministers will be left reasonably free to shape and execute policies in the sphere over which popular control is to operate. And, in this respect, the report of the Joint Committee is satisfactory. It is first of all provided that the ministers will occupy a position of equality with members of the executive council, and, as an indication of it, will draw the same salary. Further, it is laid down that "the Governor should ordinarily allow the ministers to have their way." The Governor will be given the right, in accordance with the Feetham Committee's recommendation, of dismissing a minister whose policy he believes to be seriously wrong, but, in case of a dissolution with a view to find new ministers, "the Committee hope that he will be able to accept the view of the new ministers." It will be recollected that the Government of India had proposed in their despatch of March 5 that, if after dissolution, new ministers continued the policy of the old ministers and the Governor found it impossible to give way on the point, he must be allowed to assume control of the administration of the department in regard to which the dispute had arisen. This proposal, of course, met with uncompromising opposi-

tion in the country, as opening the door to a contraction of the area over which responsible government may be established. The popular view received strong confirmation in the weighty opinion expressed by Professor Keith in his minute of dissent. He says: "A Governor shall not, without the approval of the Secretary of State, decline to accept the advice of a minister in regard to a subject under his administration, unless he is satisfied that he can, in the event of the resignation of the minister, obtain another minister prepared to accept responsibility for the policy laid down by the Governor." It were to be wished that the Joint Committee's recommendation had been equally explicit. In any case, the resumption of a department to official control must not be possible, merely because the Governor chooses to take a position opposed to that of a succession of ministers.

The grand committee plan is to be abandoned, but it does not necessarily follow that the alternative arrangement suggested is for the better. The Joint Committee themselves reject the grand committee procedure "as failing in a crisis to secure the object in view." What has now been suggested in its place is that, on the Governor certifying that certain legislation is necessary, the bill, though rejected by the legislative council, will be considered as passed. A copy of the Act is then to be sent to the Governor-General who reserves it for His Majesty's pleasure. Before being presented to His Majesty, it must lie on the table of the Houses of Parliament for eight days. On such acts the Secretary of State is to consult the standing committee of Parliament. How far the standing committee's opinion will be binding is not known, but if it has no binding force, this procedure cannot be said to be quite an improvement. The separate purse has been condemned, but the joint purse plan has been subjected to certain reservations, the extent of which is not clearly discernible at present. If the joint purse is found to produce friction at any time, the Governor is to allocate a definite proportion of revenue to each section of the provincial Government. To make such a provision in advance is to place a premium upon extravagance and obstinacy. It is only necessary for the executive council to make an exorbitant demand upon the public revenue to produce friction, and if on such friction the single purse system is to be abandoned, it means that the executive council have it in their power to require the Governor at will to divide the provincial revenues between the two halves of the government. It is not possible, on a bare summary of the Joint Committee's recommendations, to understand the exact import of this provision. We only point out a possible danger. Again, it is provided that all proposals for additional taxation must be approved by both halves of the Government. This is a departure from the scheme of the Joint Report. Still, we suppose, provincial taxation will continue to be a transferred subject, and all taxation proposals,

whether they relate to reserved or transferred subjects, will be finally disposed of by the legislative council and will not be liable, in respect of bills relating to reserved subjects, to the certification procedure.

"HOME" ADMINISTRATION.

In the sphere of the administration of Indian affairs in England, the Council of India is to be retained, and the Indian element among its members is to be increased. The principle has been accepted that the Secretary of State should not intervene in matters of purely Indian interest in which the Government of India and the Indian legislature are in agreement. This principle has a special application to fiscal matters, and it is laid down that the Secretary of State should intervene in fiscal matters only to safeguard the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party. We cannot agree with the Joint Committee's reasoning as to the constitutional aspect of the question. But whatever objections be raised in theory to the grant of complete fiscal freedom, it must be possible in practice to satisfy the Indian demand fully. Professor Keith's conclusion in this matter is, that, "though the logical strength of the Indian demand for fiscal autonomy is far from great, every consideration of practical statesmanship, and of the traditional generosity of the people of the United Kingdom, tells in favour of the grant in practice to India of the same measure of freedom as is accorded to the Dominions." It is to be hoped that the reservation made in this matter will not detract much from our power to arrange our tariffs according to our ideas and that the Government of India will steadfastly support the Indian cause as it has done in the past.

"BONA FIDES"

AND GENERAL DYER'S EVIDENCE.

WHEN the Indemnity Bill was introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council, many an honest head would have been puzzled as to why the Government was, in season and out, hysterically trying to assert the *bona fides* of the officials responsible for the incidents in the Punjab. It was an equally hard riddle to solve why, if the officials had so acted in good faith, the Government wanted to rush the bill through the Council in such indecent haste. The explanation of these phenomena has now been supplied in the evidence so complaisantly tendered by General Dyer before the Hunter Committee. With the knowledge of the frightful excesses of these officials in its mind, the Government felt, it was no wonder, that, unless they were protected by legislation before their excesses were brought to light, it would go hard with them. Being in possession, as we cannot help thinking it was, of the real facts of the case, how could the poor dear Government know peace or rest until it had thrown its shield of safety over the instru-

ments of the terrible O'Dwyerian, and we may now add Dyerian, regime.

We had refrained so far from commenting on the evidence of any witness before the Commission, because we thought that the evidence tendered was still open and that our comments might prejudice or prepossess individual minds in different ways. In other words, we were treating the matter as *sub judice*. But the true nature of the incidents as disclosed by General Dyer's evidence and the one-sided campaign of some Anglo-Indian gournals have removed all such delicacy from our mind and rendered it our duty to invite the attention of the public to the facts.

The redoubtable general seems to think himself an injured man who has not met with the appreciation which is his due. "Responsible Indians", said the general (prompted, we regret to say, by one of the members of the Commission) told him that he had saved the situation and praises of all kinds were showered on him." The good man is, therefore, surprised that, instead of erecting a statue for him at Jallianwallah Bagh, the ungrateful Indians should be subjecting him to the annoyance of a cross-examination. We need not say how much we sympathise with him.

We confess that the actual facts detailed by the general with so much *sang froid* have come on us, and, we dare say, on all India, with a terrible shock, and it is, therefore, proportionately difficult to speak on the subject with due restraint. But it might be profitable to dismiss at the outset some of the topics which have generally, and with reason, engaged much of the attention of the Indian press and to devote our attention to the one crucial point in the whole affair. Indeed, in the face of the astounding admissions made by the General in connection with the Jallianwallah Bagh incident, such precious flashes of genius as the "hands and knees" order or the salaaming order etc., pale into insignificance. The crawling order was simply the outcome of a depraved, diseased and cruel mind; and the General's statement that it need not have entailed any hardship on the people, as they were free to pass the street by climbing on the roofs, is only an illustrative piece of crass stupidity, quite of a piece with the other indications of the brutal nature of his mind. The salaaming order, too, was nothing but a piece of the worst side of overweening racial vanity and snobishness. We only wish that the other activities of the General were, though mischevious, equally harmless. But, unfortunately, it has been otherwise. More than 500 or 600 precious lives have been lost and the whole province has been plunged into the deepest affliction. Dismissing, therefore, all minor acts of oppressive barbarism, we shall see what the General has to say about the Jallianwallah Bagh shooting and shall be quite content to let the public judge of him on his own evidence.

The question as to whether he was in law bound only to help Mr. Irving with the troops a his command or whether he could assume the entire



responsibility himself in violation of all legal procedure need not detain us. Such subtle legal perplexities are not likely to have troubled such a mind as the General's. Assuming, for argument's sake that he was justified in taking charge of the administration (save the mark!), let us see the sequel. From the 10th April onwards, there had admittedly been no untoward happenings. There was no 'rebellion,' no armed force and no display of violence. Even after the General's taking over charge, martial law had not been proclaimed. On the morning of the 13th, a proclamation under the Seditious Meetings Act was made, declaring it illegal to hold meetings in the proclaimed areas—apparently an act of the civil authorities. There was thus nothing till then to show that, if the proclamation were disobeyed, the people would be given up to the tender mercies of the sons of Mars. The day was, unhappily, the day of the Vaishaki festival; and thousands of pilgrims from outside the city had been pouring in during the course of the day. In the evening, there was a meeting at Jallianwallah Bagh, which people attended in great numbers. A few, no doubt, knew that the meeting was held in violation of the proclamation of the morning; but their idea of consequences was, naturally, confined to arrest and imprisonment: there was no reason to suppose that any of them had the faintest notion that they would be given short shrift with bullets. Others there were who knew nothing about the proclamation and who, perhaps, thought that it was a religious meeting which it was no harm to attend. Others, again, had no more idea as to what it was than the man in the moon, but went there drawn by incipient curiosity. Lastly, there were the people from outside the province who could, by no stretch of imagination, be credited with a knowledge of the proclamation or the dire consequences of disobeying it. Ten to one, they all thought that it was a gathering in connection with the Vaishaki festival.

It was on such a motley crowd, consisting of old men and young, women and children in arms, that the gallant General burst like a tornado and opened fire without a moment's hesitation. And why? Was it because the crowd made any hostile demonstrations? Was it at least because, after seeing the crowd, he formed the opinion that it was a dangerous crowd of armed rebels? No, it was due to nothing else than a feeling of injured vanity that a mere rabble should have made bold to hold a meeting—never mind, if it was orderly and peaceful—in defiance of his proclamation. Was he—he—General Dyer—to see his authority so slighted? By God, no; he would teach them a severe lesson, cost it what it may. It was with this grim determination that he set out to the Bagh. We are not exaggerating: let his own words testify. "When witness heard of the meeting he did not think of warning. On the contrary, he organised his troops. . . He had made up his mind to open fire immediately he got to the place." The moment he got to the place, therefore, he opened fire and person-

ally directed it in the most effective way, because "it was his duty to fire well" and, "in his opinion, a little firing would be bad." He admitted that he could have dispersed the crowd without firing. But his object was not simply to disperse the crowd but to avenge himself on it for daring to slight his word. Otherwise, there was no necessity to continue firing till he ran short of ammunition and till the crowd lay in a mangled heap of the dead, the dying and the wounded.

But this is not the worst. In reply to Sir Chimanlal Setalvad as to why he did not take the armoured cars, the General replied, not because he thought it would have been a piece of fiendish cruelty, but only "because the passage was too narrow." In admitting this, the brutal General did not show the least signs of compunction but maintained, on the other hand, that he "had done these fellows a damned lot of good"! (we suppose, in putting them beyond further misery) and that "it was a merciful act." Such are the notions of mercy of this British General!

'What provisions for first aid and medical relief had the General made before opening fire', he was asked. The reply is likely to become historic. "It was not my job." Not his job! Did his job extend only to the wanton destruction of unoffending human lives? We had an idea that, even in battlefields and in regard to open, declared enemies, it is considered an act of pious duty to pay the last attentions to the dead and to make arrangements to tend the wounded. Is it possible we have asked ourselves a hundred times; that instincts of ferocity could so effectually root out all feelings of pity and humanity which are often found even in the lowest of savages?

We are all highly indebted to Pandit Jagat Narain for eliciting the fact that, far from modifying the 'curfew order' and facilitating the disposal of the dead bodies by their relatives, the 'merciful' General went out in the night specially to see that nobody contravened the order and came out to take charge of their dead or wounded relatives. Words fail us to describe the mentality of a man who could with equanimity place obstacles in the way of putting the dead men to their eternal rest and of succouring those in whom there was still life.

How was this savage butchery, for it is nothing less, looked upon in higher quarters? Were there any misgivings that the bounds of human ferocity had been exceeded? Was there any righteous horror at this uncalled for waste of human life? "Your action correct. Lieutenant-Governor approves," was the diabolically gleeful congratulation wired without delay from the Punjab Government. And the Government of India presumably thought that all this was done in good faith and that General Dyer and officers of his ilk should be indemnified. Comment is impossible and needless.

We have not quoted much from the evidence, because almost every sentence of it betrays a

callous disregard of the sacredness of human life, the utter absence of any respect for law, a degrading faith in the efficacy of savage brute force—in short, a complete lack of all qualities, which are generally supposed to belong to civilised human beings. If we begin to quote, we shall have to end by quoting the whole of the really valuable evidence. That is also the reason why we have not thought it worth while to refer to any of the thousand and one minor points in the General's evidence, each one of which goes only to strengthen the conclusion that British honour was placed in unworthy hands and has been betrayed.

We have talked a good deal about killing the spirit of Militarism in Germany. Are we sure that it does not flourish nearer home? We hear *ad nauseum* about fighting for principles of humanity and justice. Are we sure that they would yet be vindicated in India? We very often admire the progress of the human race and the advance of its civilization. But, if in the 20th century, a responsible member of a highly civilized race can say, with a suggestion of half wistful regret, that "he continued firing until he ran short of ammunition" and that "he did not take armoured cars, only because the passage was too narrow," should we not pause to think how thin the veneer of our vaunted civilization is? We talk glibly about the elevation of the moral tone of human society from age to age. But, if a highly placed official could so lose all sense of humanity as to massacre an unoffending crowd, simply because he was *afraid* that they *might* assemble again and laugh at him, can we honestly think that our emotional culture has reached a very high stage? "The British Raj," as General Dyer said, "is certainly a mighty thing;" but if it has frequent need to lean upon such pillars as General Dyer, it would, in the inevitable logic of the moral basis of such structures, become more and more shaken in its foundations. But we earnestly hope, both for the credit of the human race and for the well-being of the British Empire, that such men as General Dyer are only the exceptions which prove the rule and that they will disappear ere long.

BRITISH WAR FINANCE.

II.

NUMEROUS schemes have been propounded for the immediate elimination or a substantial reduction of the war debt of Great Britain. It seems to be generally agreed that the existence of the large war debt will hang like a millstone round the nation's neck and that something must be done to remove it or at least to lighten considerably the painful pressure it will exert upon the lives of the people. But there is a wide divergence of view regarding the methods to be adopted for attaining the object all have in view. According to some, the whole or nearly the whole amount of the war debt may be obtained by a general levy on the nation's capital. Others think that only war-time profits should be subjected to this form of confis-

cation and at least half the war debt should be wiped off at a stroke, provision for the remainder being made out of annual taxation, which need be very heavy. Others still are of opinion that an attempt of this nature will be a wild-goose chase, that a general or a special levy on capital bristles with such tremendous difficulties that it is hardly a practical proposition and that, even if it is never put into operation, the scheme will produce consequences which will prove most dangerous to the economic condition of the country. Mr. J. A. Hobson, whose thoughtful book on this subject we reviewed in our last article, is inclined to hold that it will be positively injurious to attempt to meet the burden of the war debt by enhancing the income-tax, the sheet anchor of British finance. He says: "The net effort, therefore, of a greatly raised income-tax upon certain important funds of directional and other mental productivity, and upon the proportion of saving to expenditure of private incomes, will be injurious. If this be so, the injurious effects will be exhibited in a reduced national productivity during subsequent years, or what amounts to the same thing, a reduced pace of industrial progress, with a damaging reaction upon the taxable body of wealth and the public revenue." Other sources of additional revenue not being available and all forms of indirect taxation being regarded as harmful, the only alternative, in the opinion of Mr. Hobson, is to make an early and drastic reduction of the national debt by taking about 4,000 millions from the capital wealth of the people, the balance being left to be met with the existing sources of state income. He feels that there is in the country a "mass of new wealth, due to war scarcity and risks, and obtained at the expense of the tax-payer or the consumer by a comparatively few rich, powerful, lucky or unscrupulous men," who have contributed little or nothing to the expenses of the war, and it is that wealth on which Mr. Hobson has his eyes fixed. A levy upon that wealth he regards as not only not injurious, but as absolutely preferable to any other method of ridding the country of the burden of war debt.

The idea of a levy on capital or of a forced loan, in connection with which ingenious schemes have been suggested, do not appear to have appealed to responsible statesmen who are found to fight shy of dangerous experiments and jumps into the unknown. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer, for instance, does not favour a capital levy in one form or another and is prepared to enhance and improve the tax upon incomes. This is also the view taken by another reputed British economist, Mr. Hartley Withers, who examines the proposals in favour of a levy on capital in his recently published book* on British finance. As editor of the *Economist* and author of a number of excellent works on financial and currency questions, Mr. Hartley Withers has exercised a good

* "War-time Financial Problems," by Hartley Withers. John Murray, London. 6s. net.

deal of influence on public opinion in England and his views always command respect. It is, therefore, instructive to know what this authority on finance has to say regarding a levy on capital as a remedy for the colossal indebtedness of England which, by common consent, requires to be immediately attended to. Several weighty objections have been advanced against a capital levy in whatever form it may be proposed. Mr. Hartley Withers requires, and has not received, an answer to the arguments, that a levy (1) "lets off the squanderer and penalises the saver; (2) that the difficulty, trouble and expense involved in the necessary valuation and the iniquities and frauds that are almost certain to arise out of it, will be numerous; and (3) that its economic effect may be very serious in discouraging accumulation."

There is a good deal of force in these objections and they cannot be supposed to conjure up imaginary dangers when it is remembered that people expect the capital levy to work wonders for them. Mr. Hobson certainly has no illusions of this sort and wants a searching inquiry made into the whole question; but he believes that a levy on war-made profits is necessary and harmless. Mr. Hartley Withers, on the other hand, is of opinion that "what we want is an extended and better graduated form of the super-tax brought down so low that every one who is not merely rich but comfortable, should pay his share." He argues that most of Britain's debt is held by her people and that the payment of interest on it would only mean setting off taxation against what is due to the creditors, so that there is no danger of a diminution of national wealth. What will be effected will be the distribution of wealth. The real difficulty here is the popular belief, which is not wholly unjustified, that a large part, if not the whole, of the amount necessary to pay off the debt, ought to be contributed by that class which has amassed wealth during the war, not by their labour, but with the help of the prevailing extraordinary conditions. The common tax-payer does not want to be called upon to make heavy sacrifices while the mass of war-made wealth escapes with a comparatively light contribution. The solution of the problem will, therefore, turn on whether, and to what extent, the popular belief is correct and whether it is a practical proposition to attack war profits to the relief of the ordinary tax-payer. A careful investigation of these points seems, therefore, to be called for as a preliminary to any action that may be taken.

DIFFUSION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION.

ACTS enabling local bodies at their option to apply compulsion to primary education within their areas have been recently passed in some provinces, but only a few of the local bodies have so far availed themselves of their benefit. While a vigorous effort must be made to bring the Acts into operation in India, it is worth while to remember that in

Ireland urgent need is felt for stiffening the provisions of the Irish Education Act of 1892, on which the Indian Acts are modelled. A bill will shortly be introduced into Parliament for this purpose, and, though the lines on which it is to be framed are still unknown, it is expected that it will generally follow the recommendations of the Primary Education Committee presided over by Lord Kilianin. This Committee's report* has many lessons for us in India, both as to "the new estimate of the value of education" which "is about to pervade society" and as to the comparative ineffectiveness of a law which leaves it to the local bodies to enforce compulsory attendance of school children at their pleasure. The Committee testifies, in several places in the report, to the great awakening of educational interests and ideals brought about by the war. "The provision of instruction for the children of a country," it says, "is a national trust and obligation. The State, representing the community as a whole, should provide at least for the elementary education of all its future citizens, should see that it is suitable and efficient, and should insist on its universal applicability. The need is imperative and ubiquitous; and the corresponding obligation is not a matter to be left dependent upon local inclination varying according to means, energy or public spirit"—this is indirectly a complete condemnation of the application of compulsion to primary education on a voluntary basis, in view of the rising appreciation of the importance of education. The Committee adds: "The power and significance of education become every day more evident and widespread. The safety, welfare and happiness of a people and the progress of a country are dependent on the training which is given in the school-room." "It (the prevailing illiteracy) constitutes a public danger and is a reproach to a land that has been famous for its love of learning. The loss of education is not only an individual hardship, but it affects the welfare and advancement of society as a whole, and, wherever the democratic principle prevails, there is a strong determination that all units of society are to be educated, and well educated, not alone out of sympathy with each child, but in order that the commonwealth may be saved from the evil consequences of ignorance and illiteracy." Now that a beginning in democracy is to be made in this country, it must be accompanied by a strenuous attempt, at whatever cost, to universalise primary education within as brief a space of time as may be.

With a Compulsory Education Act in force for over a quarter of a century, what is the state of education in Ireland at present? "In many cases the average attendance is not more than 60 per cent. of those on the rolls of the school. We hear of children leaving school at ten years of age, or even younger, forsooth sufficiently educated members of the community; and there are, we fear, many children who never go to school." "The

* Cmd. 60. (1919.)

School Attendance Act of 1892, which was passed for this purpose and which the Local Councils may or may not put into operation, is either not utilised or has proved most ineffective, and little or no value is derived from the public money spent in administering it."

The following are the principal amendments recommended by the Killanin Committee in the Irish Education Act with a view to bringing wider areas under its operation and improving attendance in schools:—

The application of the compulsory attendance clause of the Act should not, as at present, be left optional in the case of rural areas, but should apply to every place in Ireland without exception.

The period of compulsory attendance should be increased from six to eight years, all children between six and fourteen years of age being required to attend school. However, children over thirteen years who have reached the sixth standard may be excused.

The maximum fine on defaulting parents should be raised to forty shillings and that on employers should be raised from forty shillings to five pounds. An employer should not be allowed to hire a child of school-going age, simply because there is no school within two miles of the child's residence.

In the case of children of ten years of age and upwards the limit of two miles from the nearest school should be increased to three miles, so that the existence of a school within the latter distance would render the attendance of the child compulsory.

School vans or other means of conveyance should be provided whenever necessary for bringing the children to the nearest available school, and the cost provided by the State.

Provision should be made for the taking of an annual census by the School Attendance Committee of all children within their area who are of school-going age, for the purpose of securing that they shall receive suitable primary instruction.

S. G. V.

THE PUNJAB TROUBLE. SALIENT POINTS IN THE OFFICIAL EVIDENCE.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LAHORE, NOVEMBER 22.

ON the 9th April (the day preceding the disturbance at Amritsar) Mr. Miles Irving, Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar, witnessed the Ram Navmi procession from the veranda of the Allahabad Bank in the city. Every car in the procession stopped in front of him (as a mark of respect), while the bands played God Save the King. On return from the procession, he received orders, brought by a special messenger from Lahore, of the Punjab Government directing the deportation of Dr. Kichlew and Dr. Satyapal.

Neither he nor Mr. Kitchin, the Commissioner of Lahore Division (as the latter also admitted) ever recommended deportation. The police at the

kotwali under an Indian D. S. P. made no effort to quell the disturbance on the 10th.

According to Mr. Miles Irving, the leaders (meaning Drs. Kichlew and Satyapal) did not intend violence. Dr. Kichlew advised a C. I. D. officer, who was personating as a satyagrahi, to eschew violence. The disturbance on the 10th April at Amritsar flared up all on a sudden. Mr. Kitchin, the Commissioner, arrived at Amritsar the same evening by motor and informed the officer commanding that the latter could take all necessary steps for the preservation of order, as the civil authorities were unable to do so. Brigadier-General Dyer took it as tantamount to the cessation of civil law and the introduction of martial law, and looked upon the people there as rebels. No disturbance or violence of any sort occurred at Amritsar on the 11th or 12th April. On the 13th April, a proclamation prohibiting public meetings was issued at Amritsar in some parts of the city. A large crowd, however, assembled in the afternoon at Jallianwalla Bagh. No step was taken to inform them of the prohibition. Hearing of the meeting, General Dyer made up his mind to disperse it by musketry fire without warning of any kind. Had the approaches been not so narrow as to preclude the passage of armoured cars, the probability is that machine guns would have fired and then the casualty would have been even larger than it was. As it is, the casualties were about 500 killed, while the wounded were three times the above number. General Dyer thought it possible to have dispersed the crowd without firing, but in that case, the crowd would have re-formed and foiled his object. No arrangement for first aid or ambulance was made, it was none of General Dyer's business to do so. General Dyer did not in any way modify the curfew order, under which the residents of Amritsar were commanded not to stir out from their home after 8 p. m., and so friends and relations of the victims could render no aid. So, presumably, the wounded men were left altogether uncared for the whole night. The firing at Jallianwalla Bagh continued for about ten minutes without interruption, no less than 1650 rounds being fired. General Dyer based his decision not on the attitude of Amritsar people alone, but in view of the military situation in the province. It was, according to General Dyer, a horrible act, but, a merciful act also as it saved the situation. The action was approved by Sir Michael O'Dwyer as thoroughly justified. Mr. Kitchin, the Commissioner, did not like give his opinion about the firing, but said that it had a good effect on the situation. Mr. Kitchin's view was that there was considerable black-mailing by the police in the days of martial law. The responsibility for the crawling order was General Dyer's own, but he said that the enforcement was not intentional, as he thought that no one would pass that way. The whole body of lawyers at Amritsar, including old men above three score years in age, were enrolled as special constables, and had to do policeman's duty. Mr.

Kitchin in his evidence hinted at some connection between the agitators and the trouble on the Afghan border.

REVIEWS.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE SAINTS OF PANDHARPUR: By C. A. Kincaid, Oxford University Press.

These tales are translations from the Marathi Bhaktivijaya, delightfully told in Mr. Kincaid's best style. In these days when the political sky is being rent with the cry for communal representation in the Maharashtra, no less than in Madras, it is refreshing to see among these old Hindu saints two Mussulmans, a tailor, a goldsmith, a shepherdess, a potter, a barber and a shoe-maker, to say nothing of Brahmins.

BULLETIN OF THE INDIAN RATIONALISTIC SOCIETY, 29 Ripon Street, Calcutta, Ann. subson. Rs. 2. Bengal has taken the lead in starting a Rationalistic Society in India on the lines of the well-known Rationalistic Association of the West, the objects of the former being similar to those of the latter—to spread scientific knowledge, destroy superstitions and to effect social and religious reforms. Sir John Woodroffe is the patron of this Society. From June 1919, the society has been running the above-mentioned monthly, devoted to the diffusion of true knowledge. The articles are eminently readable. Mr. S. C. Mookjee's essay on the "Decline and Fall of the Hindus" is a trifle too declamatory (in the friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears style) but his conclusions are sound and point to the imperative necessity of doing away with all kinds of priest-craft and social and religious evils and re-casting Society on a healthy ethical and rational basis. Special mention may also be made of a learned article on Eugenics by Mr. J. C. Sinha in the June number. It is a plea for the hygienic and eugenic need for inter-marriages which have been proved to be "both biologically and sociologically good." Weismann's experiments have demonstrated beyond doubt that "inbreeding" entails sterility and degeneracy and those who know Hindu customs know that "inbreeding" is the rule among the various castes and sub-castes which are too narrow and numerically small for purposes of healthy inter-breeding among themselves. The Society and its magazine deserve our best support.

S. M. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED:—"Open Rebellion in the Punjab". By Kapil Deva Malaviya, M. A. (Abhuydaya Press, Allahabad). "Precious thoughts of Master-minds". R. J. Laloo, M.A., LL.B. (Union Press, Ahmedabad).

CORRESPONDENCE.

MILITARY TRAINING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—The demoralizing effects of the continued exclusion of Indian youth from the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army, are now too patent to require any making out a case in the matter. Sir K. G. Gupta has recently pointed out, if any fresh argument were necessary, why the opening of military careers to India's young men had become imperatively necessary and how it could be carried out. Experience of the I. D. F. in connection with University companies has proved the readiness and perfect fitness of Indian youth to take to military service, and continuance of the long standing policy of shutting the Army door in their faces, would be unjust, unwise and short-sighted. No doubt, the opposition to the reform which is overdue, is so strong in quarters from which alone any change can proceed, that the Secretary of State is trying to open the door slightly with timid and hesitating hands. But the claims of India must be strongly pressed from time to time till full justice is done to her and her youths secure unrestricted opportunities for legitimate development as in other countries. This is a question which Indian Universities and Governments ought to take up in co-operation and do their best to solve in the immediate future. The

following extract from the *Times* describing a scheme adopted by the London University with regard to military degrees, will be read with interest and is calculated to give us food for reflection and inspiration for action in this country:—

"The academic teaching of Military Science, as a subject of curricula for degrees of the University of London, which has been suspended during the war, is to be resumed in the University in the session now opening.

Some years before the war, Military Science was introduced as an optional subject for the Intermediate and Final Courses for the B. A. and B. Sc. degrees. The syllabuses have recently been revised by the Senate in the light of experience gained during the war, and it is expected that, in view of the large number of students who have gained practical military experience during the war, the subject will attract an increased number of students. The subject can be studied in the University both as a branch of general education and, in the case of candidates for university commissions in the Regular Army, as a preparation for their profession. Both classes of students will be able to obtain practical military training in the University Contingent of the Officers Training Corps.

The post-war conditions under which commissions in the Regular Army may be obtained by University candidates have not yet been published. Before the war these commissions were available for University of London students, but, owing mainly to economic conditions, only a small number of students were able to qualify. The increased pay now offered to Regular officers should attract to the Army a larger number of students of the University.

The number of commissioned officers of the Army, Navy and Air Force who served in the war after receiving training as cadets in the University of London O. T. C. is 4,133. These officers have gained 1,443 distinctions, including V. C., five; D. S. O., 40 (five with a bar); M. C., 524 (three with two bars and 48 with one bar); and 630 have fallen in the war. Judging from these results, there is every reason to hope that the University will be able to make a useful contribution to the commissioned ranks of the Regular Army.

Major G. P. A. Phillips, O. B. E., has been appointed lecturer in Military Science for the current session. Lectures and practical training will be arranged at centres in London convenient for the students of the various colleges who desire to study the subject. The University examiner in Military Science both for Internal and External students, is Colonel Maxwell Earle, C.M.G., D.S.O.
V. G. KALE.

Fergusson College, Poona, Nov. 24.

A FALSE ACCUSATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—"Party spirit," said Hazlitt, "is one of the profoundnesses of Satan." *India* (I mean the paper, and not the other thing) has tried to make political capital out of my note on our national poetess, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, which appeared in these pages some time back. Now, I am second to none in my admiration for Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. When I classed her name with that of the titanic genius, Nietzsche, it was not exactly my intention to cast any "aspersion" on her, as would have been clear to all but imbeciles. I am sorry if, by my note, I have caused her even the least pain, however unwittingly. I apologise to her if I have done so. While I keenly regret that what I wrote in fun has been thus distorted out of all shape so as to appear as a "personal attack" on her, I must protest most emphatically, as our orators say, against the gross act of journalistic vandalism—the grossest within my experience—by which *India* has sought to foist my note on the editor of the SERVANT OF INDIA, without even so much as mentioning that it was written by Puck, a correspondent—and also against the dishonest way in which it has attempted to make out that my note contained "unpleasant insinuations," at Mrs. Naidu's expense. One has got but to read it to perceive that this charge is as false as false could be.—Yours etc.,
PUCK.

Peace Celebrations.

ALL ABOUT THE WAR
The Indian Review War Book

A Comprehensive and authentic account of the war with numerous illustrations, portraits, cartoons, maps and diagrams.

CONTRIBUTED BY

Officers of Indian Civil, Military and Medical Services, Ministers of Native States, Engineers, Educationists, Journalists, Lawyers, Publicists and other Specialists.

EDITED BY MR. G. A. NATESAN.

INTRODUCTION BY H. E. LORD PENTLAND.

H. E. THE VICEROY'S OPINION.

A well-planned volume which should be of very great use to the public for whom it is intended.

604 Pages, 240 Portraits, 107 Illustrations, 37 Cartoons, 16 Maps and Diagrams.

Price Rs. Four. Reduced to Five Copies at a time Rs. 2 each.

G. A. Natesan & Co.

Publishers, George Town, Madras.

ACTINA CURES DEAFNESS.

Not merely improves the sense of hearing temporarily as do Electrophones, Ear Drums, etc. but really cures the disease permanently. The secret of Actina's success is that it removes the cause of the disease and that is where it differs from all other treatments.

The principal cause of Deafness is Catarrhal Inflammation of the throat and middle ear and until this is removed the hearing cannot be restored. The powerful vapours emanating from Actina inhaled through the mouth and nostrils and applied to the eye, course through the delicate nerves and blood-vessels, removing Congestion stimulating and invigorating and restoring the organs to their normal healthy activity.

Actina is the surest, simplest and most natural cure for Deafness and is just as effective in other Catarrhal diseases such as Eye Troubles; Hay Fever, Asthma; Bronchitis; Headache; Sore Throat; Influenza, etc. Costing only Rs 25-8 (plus postage etc.) This wonderful instrument should find a place in every home. Booklet entitled "Prof. Wilson's Treatise on Disease" containing useful health advice and full Particulars of our Conditional Trial Offer, post free on request. Write to-day to Shri B. S. Bhandari, M. A., Batala (India.)

3 ACTINA NATURAL TREATMENT.

USEFUL MEDICINES.

1. Jwarhari pills	...	...	0-8-0
2. Influenza curers	...	...	1-0-0
3. Cholera Antiseptor	...	...	0-12-0
4. Shatruhna	...	...	0-4-0
5. Jivanamrita Gutika	...	...	1-0-0
6. Kuntal-Sudha	...	...	1-0-0

Postage and Packing charges extra. For further particulars apply to:—
PENDSE BROTHERS,
Vithalvadi, BOMBAY No. 2.

Dr. BAILUR'S MEDICINES.

HIVA-JWAR.

Ague pills.

Price As. 8.

Per bottle.



BALAGRAHA

CHURNA

Epileptic powder.

Price Re. 1.

Per bottle.

Ask for our catalogue for other medicines & Particulars.

Liberal commission for Merchants.

Dr. H. M. BAILUR,

Dispensary BELGAUM.

HOW TO BECOME A DRUGLESS DOCTOR.

If you want money, happiness, fame; be a doctor of drugless therapy. This chance will be given to one candidate in a town and two candidates in a city. Read our booklet "How to become a drugless-doctor" sending two annas stamps to—

Dr. SURATKER, (S.) N. C. Institute,
BARODA.

JUST A WORD

or two to remind you to send your order To-Day for our famous
COSSI SILK SUIT PIECES

Worth the price, and a piece guaranteed for one's complete
Price Rs. 8 per piece.

Order from:—GOOD LUCK COMPANY, BENA S CITY,

Self-Government for India. IN TAMIL.

The "Hindu" says:— "This is an adaptation in easy Tamil of the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's pamphlet bearing the same title. Mr. S. M. Michael of the Servants of India Society has done a useful service to South India by making it available to the Tamil-reading public. The book is priced at 8 as.

Apply to:—The Secretary,
Servants of India Society.

BIKANER LOHIS.

Fine wraps made of the famous Bikaner wool. Guaranteed pure wool and soft. Very durable.

Prices from Rs. 15/- upwards.

The Secretary, Industries Department, Bikaner.

The Madras Co-operative Leather Goods Factory, Ltd.,

STARTED & MANAGED

BY

THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY,

Will make all kinds of Boots, Shoes, Sandals, Belts, Bedstraps, Handbags, Hold-alls, etc., to your complete satisfaction.

It is a workmen's Society. Workmanship Excellent. Rates Moderate.

THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY,
ROYAPETTAH—MADRAS.

BOOK OF THE HOUR.

Currency Reform in India

BY

Prof. V. G. KALE.

The author has made out a very strong case in favour of a sound currency and exchange system for India. Every one who wishes to understand the exchange problem should read the book, which is extremely instructive.

Price Re. One.

Copies may be had from booksellers or:—

The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City.

Notice to Subscribers.

While communicating with the office on any subject, subscribers are requested to quote their register number which is printed on the address slip, **without fail**. This will help the office in the speedy disposal of their communications and avoid any inconvenience that may otherwise be caused to them. Manager, 'The Servant of India,'
Budhwar Peth, Poona City.