

THE Servant of India

Editor : V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

VOL. I, No. 11.]

POONA—THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1918.

[ANNUAL SUBSN.: RS. 4

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IT cannot be pretended that the situation over the western front is yet entirely free from anxiety. The enemy is employing his usual tactics of recklessly throwing masses of men and material upon a narrow objective and does not seem to have given up the hope of separating the British from the French. But he has all along encountered very stiff resistance, and what little advance he has been able to make in places has been achieved only at the cost of fearful losses. The Germans are pressing upon Ypres from the south-west and the north-east, and their capture of Kemmel hill and village has given them some tactical advantage. The Allied commanders are, however, using their reserves with great skill, and the question once more is one of endurance and not of small ground lost and won. The enemy will certainly continue his desperate attacks upon both the northern and the southern sector, and at any time he may renew a big offensive. But the Allies are prepared for this and the enemy will be cruelly disappointed in his expectations in the future as he has been so far in his calculations in the past.

IF any proof were needed of the grim determination and the unlimited financial capacity of the British nation to carry on the war to a victorious conclusion, it is to be found in the budget estimates which Mr. Bonar Law presented to the House of Commons the other day. The people of the United Kingdom will be called upon, in the

present year, to contribute about £ 842 million by way of taxation, an amount which is more than four times they paid in the last pre-war year. Even so, there will be a huge deficit of some £ 2,130 million which will be met with borrowings, and at the end of the current year the public debt of the United Kingdom will have mounted up in the neighbourhood of £ 8,000 million. This large amount will be set off by £ 1,632 million, the Allied debt due to England, and yet the balance is a tremendous burden which the British people will cheerfully shoulder. Every attempt is being made to get as much as possible for defraying war expenditure from current revenue and additional taxation is going to be imposed upon a variety of objects. The resources of Great Britain are vast, almost limitless, and there is an unflinching public resolve to use them to the fullest extent. The hope of victory could not be founded on surer foundations.

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WE are glad that the Viceroy gave a public assurance in his speech at Delhi that the alarming rumours which were afloat for some time as regards the possible inability of Government to meet their full obligations in respect of the currency notes, were ignorant and baseless. There is no doubt about the fact that the currency position with regard to our stock of rupees was extremely serious, and had it not been for the prompt assistance of the American Government, which has released 350 million dollars from its silver reserve, the encashment of notes would have been a difficult matter. There is a very large demand for rupees in the country, and the Indian reserves were depleted to an unprecedented extent. Silver, out of which fresh rupees could be manufactured, could be supplied by America alone, and the Government of India have very properly taken the earliest opportunity of acknowledging in the warmest terms the friendly action of the United States Government in promptly securing the passage of the necessary silver bill through the legislature so as to enable it to come to India's rescue.

* * *

THE price of silver and the rate of Indian exchange now hang together. The rupee is no longer a token coin, thanks to the abnormal rise which has taken place in the price of the white metal. So long as silver was cheap, the Government of India made a profit out of the manufacture of rupees and the Secretary of State for India could sell his council drafts at a rate slightly high

er than the standard sterling value of the rupee. But owing to the dearness of silver, the old rate of exchange became impossible and rupees could not be supplied in this country at that rate. Some months ago, the Secretary of State, therefore, raised the exchange value of the rupee by about a penny, but in view of a further rise in the price of silver even that rate has had to be given up. Arrangements have been made with the United States Government, under which India will be supplied with the silver required here for purposes of coinage. But the price at which silver is being purchased from the American Government, has necessitated a further rise of a penny in the sterling value of the rupee, and consequently the Indian exchange has been raised by a corresponding amount.

SIR DINSHA WACHA correctly voiced the public sentiment when, at the annual meeting of the Bombay Millowners' Association last week, he strongly condemned the reckless gambling in cotton which certain dealers indulged in and which, though the April settlement has passed off without the apprehended disaster, has left an indelible stain on the commercial morality of the trade. Speculation in cotton, as in other staples, is necessary and helpful, but when it passes certain limits, it becomes a nuisance and a public danger. The high level which cotton prices attained last month, was by no means the result of natural forces and was obviously brought about by the manipulations and manoeuvres of interested speculators. We feel that Government should have intervened at the right moment and stopped the unnatural rise of prices when it threatened to ruin the cotton trade and cause hardship and loss to the public. It is high time that Government, representing the people and those directly connected with the cotton trade, took steps to render the discreditable gambling we have recently witnessed impossible in the future.

THE Punjab Government moved last week a bill for enabling local bodies—district boards as well as municipalities—to introduce compulsory primary education within their areas under certain conditions. This measure is modelled substantially on Mr. Gokhale's bill and is based on the principle of local option. The age of compulsory education is between six and ten years—which period was found inadequate by the Select Committee who considered Mr. Patel's bill and raised it to five years. Again, instruction will not necessarily be free for those on whom compulsory attendance will be enforced, though in the Punjab nearly 85 to 90 per cent. of the pupils in primary schools pay no fees. Still, as a matter of principle, it should be made free wherever compulsion is introduced. This is another improvement which the Select Committee will be well advised to adopt from Mr. Patel's Act. The Punjab Government's bill shares the weakness of the Bombay Act on its financial side

in that the Government, under neither of these measures, undertakes any statutory liability to bear a definite share of the cost of primary education. The Lieutenant-Governor has however promised liberally to help local bodies utilising this means of diffusing education, and the local authorities in the Punjab should find it easier to introduce compulsion than those in Bombay inasmuch as they receive grants from the Government to the extent of two-thirds of the total expenditure on primary education. It is to be hoped that the Punjab will make headway with universal education by means of this new measure.

FOR the first time, we believe, has official acceptance been given in this bill to the proposition laid down by Mr. Gokhale in 1910 that "the only way the world has discovered to secure universal education in a country has been by making it compulsory and free. There is no other method in the field." Even when the Bombay Government supported Mr. Patel's bill, the Director of Public Instruction took care not to appear as countenancing the underlying supposition that "we are in such circumstances as render it impossible for us to dispense with the principle of compulsion." He explained: "I do not wish to deny that in certain countries and in certain circumstances a great deal has been done which probably could not have been done in other ways than by and through compulsory education. But I do not know that we can take it altogether for granted that compulsory education is the only means by which we can push and promote primary education in a country of this kind." This overworked preliminary objection to compulsory education finds no support in the Punjab bill, for, in its statement of objects and reasons, it is expressly laid down that "the experience of countries has established the fact that the *only effective way* to ensure a wide diffusion of primary education among the masses is by resort to the principle of compulsion," which is but a paraphrase of Mr. Gokhale's contention. 'Optional compulsion' at any rate may be expected in the near future to form a necessary part of the educational system of the country in all the provinces.

SIR M. VISVESVARAYA, Dewan of Mysore, thus described in the Representative Assembly the progress made with the scheme of separating criminal from revenue work. "It is proposed to appoint a stationary magistrate of the rank of munsiff for every two or three taluks to dispose of second and third class cases, and a magistrate of the status of Subordinate Judge in every district town to try first class cases. The special magistrate will form a separate branch of the judicial service. Assistant Commissioners in charge of Sub-Divisions and Amildars will no longer deal with criminal cases, but they will be ex-officio magistrates and will exercise emergency police powers connected with the maintenance of peace. The Deputy

Commissioners will, however, retain the powers of District Magistrate. An attempt will be made to introduce the scheme into two districts in the coming year and into the remaining districts probably in 1919-20. When fully introduced, it will involve an addition of about Rs. 1,55,000 to the recurring expenditure of Government. It is expected that the measure will result in the speedier disposal of criminal cases and more efficient performance of the revenue work of the State, on which the convenience and well-being of the rural population so much depend."

* * *

IT is notorious that the Mysore Statute Book is disfigured equally with the British by a Press Act, and that there has been a widespread demand for its repeal. The Mysore Government, in a press communique issued the other day, plead inability under present conditions to undertake any radical alteration of the press law, but have announced their intention to devise measures calculated to afford opportunity to the editor or other person concerned to state his defence and explain his position with reference to the charges brought against him. They have thus directed to hold a quasi-judicial enquiry before action is taken under the Press Regulation. The enquiry will be conducted by a Judge of the Chief Court, and the editor or other person concerned will be allowed to be represented by counsel. The enquiry will not be public and will not be elaborate or of a protracted character. The opinion of the officer holding the enquiry will be taken into consideration by Government in arriving at a decision on the case.

* * *

ALTHOUGH this cannot be expected to satisfy public opinion—for the evil of a muzzled press can only be partially mitigated by the safeguard provided in the communique—it may be freely admitted that the amendment of the Press Act in the above direction will be a vast improvement upon its counterpart in British India, where it is all a matter of executive action except at the final stage when an appeal is allowed to the High Court, but even this last resource has been authoritatively pronounced to be illusory. If a repeal of the Press Act is out of the question, the Mysore Government can at least transform the advisory function of the enquiring officer and make sanction of the judge necessary before action is taken against any one.

* * *

ONE would have thought that Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, after the recent regrettable incident in the Imperial Legislative Council, would have acquired a little more discretion and sobriety of thought. His concluding observations, however, at the last meeting of the Punjab Legislative Council have falsified such expectations. His Honour's remarks as regards the propriety of carrying on political agitation both here and in England at this critical juncture are out of place and thoroughly unjustifiable.

The further insinuation that some of the political leaders of this country are actuated by the unworthy motive of extorting advantages from the supposed embarrassments of the Empire has no foundation in fact. The demand for a substantial step in the direction of responsible government with a clear outline as regards future stages is the outcome of a firm conviction that the present political status of this country as a helpless dependency is a menace to the safety of the British Empire. The improvement of its political condition is thus an imperative necessity which must be faced without any further delay. Besides, a definite statement which would satisfy the political aspirations of India would undoubtedly evoke unprecedented enthusiasm for the cause of the Empire,—a step which is indispensable if all the resources of India are to be fully mobilised to ensure a speedy and successful termination of this world-wide conflict.

* * *

THE presidential speech of Mr. G. D. Naik, a recognised leader of the Mahrattas in the Deccan, at the conference of the backward classes held at Bijapur last week, was characterised by commendable sobriety and good sense. He denied the truth of the allegation, sedulously circulated by interested men, that leaders of backward classes were opposed to political reform. He said that what they desired was that this progress should be even and that the participation of all classes be ensured in any reforms that would be introduced, and advocated the method of communal election to attain this end. The combination in the Deccan of advanced political opinion with narrow-mindedness in social matters made it necessary for the backward classes, he said, to demand communal representation at least for the next fifteen years or so. The conference accepted, and pressed upon Government, the crucial reform demanded by the Congress, that four-fifths of the members of the legislative councils should be elected and that the resolutions passed by them be binding upon the executive, unless vetoed by the Governor, the councils being empowered to vote on the budget. The conference also asked that adequate provision be made for the representation of backward classes, and that compulsory primary education be introduced throughout the country within the next fifteen years.

* * *

JUDGING from the Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay last week, the *Indian Social Reformer* says: "The conclusion which the public will draw from the situation in Kaira is that while the officials have under-estimated, Mr. Gandhi has over-estimated, the extent of the loss of crops in the district. There is certainly no issue involved in the matter which would just and resort to passive resistance. Perhaps, a new Crit of missioner coming with a fresh mind will find difficulty in adopting a middle course which would satisfy the impartial, which is the large ourselves of the public."

or compatriots

THE DELHI CONFERENCE.

THE memorable assemblage of princes, representatives of Government and leaders of the public held at Delhi demonstrated in a signal manner the feeling of loyalty and devotion to the Empire which animates all sections of the community in this country. This Conference stands out from the previous durbars of like nature, held with much pomp and circumstance, in that in this Conference leaders of public opinion were taken into full confidence by Government on questions of supreme import, apprised of the exact nature of the menace that confronts us and consultations were held with them as to the means to overcome it. Even the most casual observer would find that the sentiments expressed at this gathering did not partake in the least of the formal character which too often attaches to pageants got up for display but were genuine and spontaneous feelings which well up in the minds of all classes of people, irrespective of the opinion they may hold on any matters of domestic interest. There is an absolute identity of sentiment as regards India's relations to the Empire, for it is the immutable conviction of every Indian that the fortunes of this country are indissolubly bound up with those of Britain, and that under the British Empire alone can we fulfil our national destiny. Thus in mere self-interest, if not on higher grounds, to which the spiritual-minded Indian is by no means insensible, it is the duty of all to render help to the Empire to the utmost extent of our capacity and to undergo cheerfully every form of suffering and self-sacrifice that may be rendered necessary. The war is being waged for the purpose of establishing the ascendancy of right over might and of freedom over despotism, and on its victorious conclusion depends the attainment of the freedom for which India has been longing. That being the character of the war, no-one would be behindhand, if the occasion arose, to stake his all for the preservation of the Empire; and now our hearths and homes are in danger, as the Viceroy told us, everyone will be not only willing but eager to do his humble best to preserve the integrity of the country and of the Empire. It was the desire of the Viceroy to show by means of this gathering that India's word, given in the soft days of peace, holds good in the iron times of the war, and to the extent to which the spoken word could represent intensity of inward feeling, this object must be pronounced to have been completely fulfilled.

The Viceroy clearly indicated the nature of the danger with which we are now faced. The defection of Russia and utter collapse of Roumania have opened the door to German penetration 85 to Asia, unless the Amir remained steadfast in no fe neutrality and was enabled by help from this made try to resist the aggression of the enemy. is anothe ger is not immediate; India is very strong mittee will vary sense; but it is best to look ahead Act. The Pa against possible contingencies; and weakness of the

this is best done, in the words of the Viceroy, " by showing our enemies, first, that India stands solid as a rock, and that the lambent flame of anarchical intrigue will find nothing inflammable in the country, nay, rather will be smothered and extinguished forthwith." He further added: "I want to feel that I am carrying India herself along with the Empire at large. I want her to realise that this is her war, and that her sons, who go forth to fight, go to fight for their own motherland." The Conference revealed in a striking manner complete solidarity of public feeling on this supreme issue, and was itself a sure indication that the resolutions adopted by the gathering, showing the pathways of assistance to the Empire, would be enthusiastically carried out. His Majesty the King-Emperor and His Excellency the Viceroy, in urging India to redouble her efforts, handsomely acknowledged the help so far rendered. " If the war were to stop to-morrow," said the Viceroy, " the tale of India's share in the great war would form no unworthy page in her glorious annals. Her sons have fought not without glory on every front. In East Africa, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, they have won victorious laurels. They still flock to the colours." The Punjab alone has supplied over 2,50,000 men since the war began, besides some 60,000 or 70,000 men serving as non-combatants, followers, etc.; and the Lieutenant-Governor hopes to raise another quarter of a million this year, raising the total contribution of that province to half a million. This would mean that one in every eight men of fighting age is fighting the battles of the Empire. This is a great drain on the manhood of that province, but it cheerfully bears it and so do all the other provinces and are prepared to do everything to encourage further recruiting. The recommendation of the sub-committee on man-power, for the grant of a substantial number of commissions to Indians and for the provision of education to the recipients of these, if carried immediately into effect, will facilitate voluntary recruiting. The concerting of financial measures has been rightly reserved for the September session of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, but in the meanwhile it may be expected that enthusiastic support will be given to the new war loan.

Another question before the Conference was that of concentration of thought and activity on the war, and the consequent hushing of all political controversy. Understood in a reasonable sense, this is possible and will no doubt be practised. No one desires to press controversy to such an extent that war work will be prejudiced or that the enemy can plausibly conclude that opinion in India is divided on British rule and that any section of the public, however minute, will favour German domination. Any controversy that will be found to exist in this country while the war is on will be such as will show itself in every healthy community, which is alive to its present and prospective needs, and such division will

November 1913, while showing his approval of the ideas expressed by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, suggested a method which he thought would harmonise with the intention of an independent audit officer and also with the retention of the existing system under which audit duties and account duties are performed by the same staff and the chief audit officer in India is also the chief officer of accounts and is under the orders of the Government of India in respect of the latter portion of his work. He therefore sanctioned the division of functions between the Comptroller and Auditor-General and the Comptroller of Currency, ordered that the Comptroller and Auditor-General should be appointed by the Governor General, subject to the approval, of the Secretary of State that he could not be transferred, promoted or punished except with the approval of the Secretary of State and that the annual Appropriation Report should be addressed to the Secretary of State in Council through the Government of India with their remarks. The Government of India sent a despatch on the 25th June 1914 in which they cordially accepted the decision of the Secretary of State but suggested the giving of some additional work to the Comptroller of Currency. They proposed that the Auditor-General should be entirely relieved of all functions with regard to the preparation of the budget, which should be handed over to the Comptroller of Currency. They also suggested some other minor changes as regards pay and establishment and demanded some general pronouncement as to the manner in which the Auditor-General's duties were to be performed. The Secretary of State in his reply dated 31st July 1914 sanctioned this proposal. He further emphasised that in order to avoid friction and unnecessary delay he would carefully consider the question of enlarging the sanctioning powers of administrative authorities or the discretionary powers of the Auditor-General and his subordinates. He also decided in favour of allowing the chief officer of Audit to transgress the strict limits of his duties and to suggest possible means of enforcing economy or financial regularity.

The situation since then remains unchanged. The reforms initiated undoubtedly mark an advance over the system in vogue before 1911, but they fall far short of public demands. As the whole question of constitutional reform is however under consideration at present, it would be premature to offer any definite suggestion as regards the relations of the Auditor-General with the Government in this country and in England. The essential principle, however, that he should be treated as a judicial officer, independent of those whose accounts he checks, must be carried out.

K. M. THAKORE.

HINDU-MOSLEM UNITY.

INDIA has been in a state of transition, preparing itself to occupy its place among the nations of the world, so as to be able to keep pace with

them in the forward march of nations. This preparation cannot mature until the two great communities, Hindu and Mussulman, are so united as to be able to contribute the sum-total of their joint national progress to the world. If one of the two communities alone goes forward while the other lags hopelessly behind, India cannot rise. The interest of the country at large therefore means nothing more or less than the joint interest of the great communities; those who forget this truth are greatly and sadly mistaken. The first stage towards nation-building in India is to bring about a harmonious co-operation between the two great communities, leading up to their eventual lasting unity. I must not be understood to mean that the two great communities should merge their co-ordinate existence into one corporate race. That is both impracticable and undesirable. Inter-marriages, for instance, are not what I mean to advocate. That, I am aware, would mean going too far.

India is to-day throbbing with new life. A wave of upheaval is passing through the length and breadth of the whole country. New forces that were never the least suspected are in evidence. Every little community is struggling to come forward and claim its tiny share, its little place in the national fabric. It is high time now that these scattered forces be judiciously combined in order that out of this material may be built that magnificent structure, which the world may call the Indian Nation. There is no place for a narrow-minded self-seeking, no occasion for obscuring our vision, so as to confine its scope within the narrow limits of any one community, great or small. On the contrary our outlook should be broad, our vision wide, and our sympathies boundless. Our action should be characterised with moderation, justice, fair-play and impartiality. We should remember that it is more trying to hold the balance even between community and community than between man and man. Instances may not be wanting where the interest of one community may happen to clash with that of another, where one community in sore trial or in its zeal of serving the best interests of its own, may forget to care for the vital concerns of another community. But the true patriot must not allow himself to be diverted by a hair's-breadth from the path marked out by the national as opposed to sectional interest. He must never permit an aggression under any pretexts and take all weak minorities under his special protection. Any other line of conduct would breed mistrust and want of confidence; it would lead to jealousy and heart-burning; it would stir bad blood and eventually end in chaos and confusion. Our guiding principle must be "to live and let live," and we must do everything in the honest spirit of "give and take."

Happily, the Hindu and Mahomedan question is nearly closed. We may congratulate ourselves on this splendid achievement. Our compatriots

have met on a common platform and settled all outstanding questions in perfect amity. Lucknow will always boast of that memorable, that epoch-making occasion and the name of our illustrious Rajah of Mahmudabad will always shine in our national history in letters of gold. It was the good sense of this community that brought about the compromise; and we may rest assured that the good sense of the community will always prevail in maintaining the unity which we have so splendidly won. We mean to treasure this precious heritage and hand it down to the posterity as the most valuable, the most enviable bequest. We ought now to lay to heart the great truth, "United we stand; divided we fall," and make up our minds to live up to this noble ideal. We must remember that that great compromise was based upon common interest; and that it is the common interest alone that will always keep it green and alive. Let alone, therefore, all petty jealousies and mean rivalries. Such paltry subjects as representation on legislative councils must not divide us any longer.

Still we cannot afford to shut our eyes to the fact that there are still a number of thorny problems scattered about in our way. The Urdu-Hindi question is, for instance, one of them. If, "to live and let live" is to be our guiding principle, we have nothing to fear. If not, we may have need to hoist an alarm signal. So long as both Hindi and Urdu are allowed to prosper there can be no danger ahead. But if the one is allowed to swallow up the other that will at once be constructed to mean the aggression of a strong majority against a weak minority, and we will find it impossible for ourselves to persuade the minority to keep the peace. I need not conceal from you the honest truth that the attitude taken by Mr. Gandhi and other prominent Hindu leaders in relation to Hindi, the final verdict of the Common Language Conference and the announcement recently made in connection with the National Education propaganda* whereby "the Language of the District" is to be adopted as the medium of instruction are causing apprehension and anxiety even in most unsuspected quarters; and unless immediate steps are taken to allay these fears, I am afraid this state of things may lead to serious consequences. Just in the same way the utter silence of the Congress on the subject of Arrah and Shahabad riots has already caused a good deal of murmur and discontent. One or two other instances of a similar nature have also attracted Mahomedan notice and impressed their imagination. The Mahomedan community does not, as you know, happen to be a noisy community. But all the same it feels and feels strongly and keenly too; and when its turn comes, its worst fault is rashly to seek to translate its feelings into deeds. This is what we have need to guard against in dealing with this community.

I have endeavoured to bring to your notice

*Vide Mrs. Besant's Pamphlet No. 2, Page 9.

these hard facts, because I know I cannot be sincere if I fail to tell you where the danger lies; and trust you will pardon me. But all the same I am confident of the ultimate triumph of our cause, namely, the consummation of the Hindu-Mahomedan unity. I have faith in your honesty and good faith and in the good sense of the community; and I am sure nothing will be allowed to go wrong. I have every reason to hope that our present difficulties are a mere passing cloud and will soon pass away—mere temporary illusions; nothing more.

Let the world clearly understand that we have no territorial ambitions. India needs nothing but peace and prosperity. England has given her peace and immunity from all foreign invasion. She values it and is grateful to England for that. She cares for no other thing. Her care is now to learn the arts of peace and thus to secure its place in the scale of nations. This is no sordid passion, no mean desire, no mischievous doctrine; and she expects civilised nations to help her forward. She fervently and devoutly hopes that this will not be a vain expectation.

AZAD BEGAM,

Editor, "Payam-i-Umid."

THE HOUSING OF THE PANCHAMAS.

"What is the glory of our architecture, if the poor must hide in dens and holes?"—*Ruskin*.

In a former issue, we have tried to put concisely before our readers the recommendations made by Mr. Srinivasa Achariar in the matter of providing the Panchamas of Tanjore with house-sites and land and also his views on the question whether any need exists for special legislation to help them. After endorsing the main proposals of Mr. Achariar, the Government of Madras have appointed a special officer to examine the problems on the spot and formulate his proposals for dealing with them. The results of his investigations are awaited with keen interest, because, if the present experiment becomes successful, it is likely to be extended to the other provinces in India. The sociological investigations of this nature will, however, achieve better results, if they are conducted in co-operation with the leaders of the community. The officers of the Government, however honest and proficient they may be, are unable to approach the hearts of the people, who look upon them either with suspicion or with awe.

Mr. Achariar's report naturally divides itself into three parts: (1) his investigations, (2) his conclusions, and (3) lastly, his recommendations. The investigations have been mainly devoted to the question of congestion in existing haulets, of determination of the ownership of the house-sites and the general economic condition of the Panchama tenants. From a review of the housing condition and the economic position of the Panchamas, he arrives at the following conclusions:—

- (1) Congestion does not, as a rule, exist in Panchama quarters.
- (2) Where need for expansion arises, the landholders are ready to provide additional sites.
- (3) It is desirable to secure to them the ownership of the house-sites.
- (4) But it would be impolitic, undesirable and unpopular to expropriate the landholders by a legislative measure.

Mr. Achariar then submits a scheme for the housing of the Panchamas and caste labourers and makes the following recommendations:—

only serve to demonstrate the more clearly the existence of perfect unity among all classes of people as regards the war. Fortunately, the Viceroy seems to recognise the limitations of the doctrine preached by some for practice by Indians that all political thought and discussion should be put away so long as the pre-occupation of the war lasts. For he said: "As at Home and in other countries, we have felt it our duty not to be unmindful of the great problems of reconstruction which will inevitably face all countries when this great war is over." This utterance of the Viceroy shows how utterly inept is the talk indulged in by some Anglo-Indian critics on this subject and their advice to Government to cease thinking and working out a scheme of political reform during the currency of the war. Indeed, the announcement that the Secretary of State has elaborated a scheme in consultation with the Government of India, which he will no doubt place before the Cabinet without loss of time, forms the best answer to such irresponsible talk. If this scheme ensures a substantial advance towards self-government and embodies the essential features of the Congress-League scheme as its first instalment, it will satisfy the aspirations fervently cherished by the present generation, and if the scheme which the Secretary of State is carrying with him is of this description Government have missed a precious opportunity of inspiring the youth of this country with enthusiasm by not giving an indication of it in broad outline. The sentiment voiced by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at the Conference that if the detail of constitutional reforms could not be announced, some general statement should have been made, will be widely shared. As he said, the conditions necessary to enable Indians to do their best must be established, and among these is the assurance that the principles of freedom and self-determination, which the Empire is waging a terrible war to win, will be applied to India no less than to other countries. An announcement of future policy on this occasion, with the assent of the Cabinet secured by cablegram, would have greatly helped to arouse fervour among the younger generation, to whose patriotism particularly appeal will have to be made by popular leaders.

A SYSTEM OF INDEPENDENT AUDIT.

AT the request of the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer placed on the table a copy of the correspondence that has passed between the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the question of securing independence of audit and the reconstitution and definition of the duties and powers of the Auditor-General. The correspondence reveals very clearly the dilatoriness of official methods in matters of importance, especially when they affect prejudicially the powers which the executive at present wields. An auditor is a judicial officer and as such he must be completely independent; he should be

subordinate to no other authority than the one which is finally responsible for the sanctioning of the expenditure which he audits. The leaders of this country, in conformity with this principle have been demanding that he should be under the direct control of the Secretary of State for India. The situation has now changed considerably and in view of the political reforms which will shortly be introduced to meet the aspirations of the people of this country, the original proposal will be of no avail. The leaders of the country now demand that full financial control should be handed over to the Imperial Legislative Council. The relation, therefore, which the Auditor-General should bear to the Government of India in the future will depend mainly upon the changes which are introduced in the political machinery of this country. Strict adherence to the central principle, however, that an auditor should be looked upon and treated as a judicial officer can never be deviated from.

I propose to give here a succinct historical retrospect of the different phases through which this question has passed and also to state what position the Auditor-General occupies at present. The question has been under discussion since 1881. The first proposal went up from the Government of India in the year 1882 under the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, when the Government of India insisted upon the introduction of the system of independent audit. They suggested two things: first, that the officer who was then known as Comptroller-General should be entirely independent of the Government of India, and, secondly, that his position as regards salary should be as high as that of the financial secretary, and that he should reach that position automatically by annual increments in the course of 20 years. The proposal however fell through as the Secretary of State could not see his way to accept it. Six years after, curiously enough, a similar suggestion emanated from the India Office. This time, however, the Government of India assumed a hostile attitude and the idea had to be dropped. The Welby Commission examined this question carefully in 1900. It was not able to make a unanimous recommendation, because the members were equally divided on this point. One section, strongly supported by Lord Welby, favoured the idea of an independent audit. The other section, however, opposed it, and, among arguments put forward, was the curious plea that the step would lower the prestige of the Government of India. In the year 1911 again, the late Mr. Gokhale, while moving his resolution in the Viceregal Council, demanding a public enquiry into the causes of the growth of public expenditure, referred to this subject and advocated the independence of the Auditor-General and the raising of his status. The Government of India thereupon directed their attention to this subject and forwarded a despatch to the Secretary of State in July 1912. There were other extraneous forces also which compelled the Government of India to take up the question seriously. The financial

powers of the Government of India were defined with great precision and the issue of the Audit resolution had added considerably to the duties and responsibilities of the Accounts officers. The amalgamation of the Public Works with the Civil Accounts threw additional burden on the Auditor-General. The Government of India felt the need of a complete re-organisation of the audit system and forwarded a despatch to the Secretary of State embodying their proposals.

In order that the reader may be able to grasp the exact position occupied by the Comptroller and Auditor-General at the time of the despatch, I propose to give a concise account of previous history of the department.

Up to the time of the mutiny the system of Accounts and Audit was wanting in cohesion and centralisation. Each presidency had its own staff and its own system. This lack of uniformity stood in the way of the compilation of general accounts of India as a whole. The Court of Directors in 1855 initiated the reform of the formation of a general department of audit and account and created the post of Accountant-General to the Government of India. In 1860 a Board of Audit was formed with the Accountant-General as President. In 1865 a fresh enquiry was ordered. As a result, the respective functions of the administrative and accounts departments were more clearly defined. The head of the Department was then styled Comptroller-General of Accounts. In 1870 the management of Paper Currency was transferred to the Accounts Department. In 1880, the system of test audit was introduced and the title of Comptroller-General was changed to Comptroller and Auditor-General. Since then various new duties were imposed upon him. The Public Works Accounts and Civil Accounts were amalgamated, and he was charged with the work of auditing the books of Government Presses. Apart from the work of audit and accounts, the Comptroller-General in 1912 was, therefore, looking after the administration of the currency department and of coinage, control of ways and means, including public loans, custody of securities, submission to Finance Department of opinions on questions of exchange, money market, etc., preparation of financial statistics, resource estimates and other monthly returns.

It was this enormous pressure of work which demanded sharing of responsibility and division of labour. The Government of India in July 1912 in their despatch gave out as their considered view that for the proper performance of the duties allotted to the Comptroller-General two experts were required, an expert in giving financial advice to Government and an expert in audit and accounts. They proposed the designation of "Comptroller of Currency" for the former officer. As regards the chief audit officer in India they proposed "that he should be appointed by the Governor-General, and should be removable from office only by the Governor-General, (2) that he should have the right of direct access to the Governor-

General and that he should draw a consolidated pay of Rs. 5000 per mensem without exchange compensation allowance." The Secretary of State in October sanctioned the separation of functions, but demanded further consideration of the question of the status of the Chief Audit officer.

The reply to this telegram from the Secretary of State, which the Government of India forwarded in February 1913, is worthy of a careful perusal. They observe :

" We do not fail to recognise that since the Secretary of State is the final authority for the sanction and control of Indian expenditure there is some theoretical force in the contention that the Auditor-General should be independent of the Government of India and subordinate only to Your Lordship. An arrangement on this basis would place an Auditor-general in an analogous position to that occupied by the corresponding officer in the United Kingdom."

But after contrasting the English system with the system in vogue in this country they came to the following conclusion:—

" It follows that the case for independence of the English Comptroller-General rests on quite different and much stronger grounds than the case for independence of the Indian Comptroller and Auditor-General. If the latter were made independent of our Government the Audit Department as a whole would be subject to far less control by the executive than in the case in England."

They raise the further objection:—

" That the Comptroller-General would be separated by so great a distance from the only authority to whom he should be responsible. He would be subject to no control by the Government of India. At the same time the control exercised over him from London by the Secretary of State could be neither immediate nor effective."

Lastly, they invited the attention of the Secretary of State to the political aspect of the question. They thought that such a step would be derogatory to their prestige and would create the impression in the mind of the Indian public that the Home Government thought the Government of India incompetent to control expenditure. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, the then Finance Minister, wrote a minute of dissent, in which he successfully refuted all arguments advanced by his colleagues. He advocated a strict adherence to the main principle that the " Auditor-General should be subordinate to no other than the authority finally responsible for the sanctioning of the expenditure which he audits." He rightly observed that control from a distance was quite compatible with efficiency. He alleged that limitation of the powers of Government of India was in no way detrimental to their prestige as even now in many respects their activities were restrained. He finally concluded:—

" It is not only wrong to postpone the issue presented to us; it is dangerous. If the reform of audit is our objective the first essential is to remove an admitted and serious weakness in the position of the chief officer of the department from whom the whole of the audit work must take its tone and quality. Indian expenditure is now exposed to the fierce glare of hostile criticism in India and at Home. Honest and sound finance has become essential to our existence and the only way to insure honest and sound finance is to subject the expenditure to the searchlight of independent audit."

The Secretary of State in his reply dated 28th of

(1) It is impracticable to provide cultivable lands.

(2) Provision for acquiring and allotting house-sites should be made in cases where the demand exists.

(3) The Government should put in force the machinery of the Land Acquisition Act. The acquisition of lands for creating proprietary rights over them in the Panchama occupants, is a public purpose under the Land Acquisition Act.

(4) Local boards should be empowered to relay the streets and lanes.

(5) At least 20 per cent. of the cost of acquisition should be paid at once and the balance within 20 years at 6 p. c. p. a.

(6) District boards should find the funds.

Among other papers, published along with this, are the endorsements by the Collector of Tanjore and minute of dissent by the Hon'ble Mr. Azizuddin. The Government have accepted the main provisions of the report, but have increased the rate of interest to 7 p. c.

Before examining the merits and the demerits of these investigations, we would like to suggest that the question of providing house-sites should not be looked upon as an isolated problem. It should be considered as only the first step in the direction of the practical working out of an extensive scheme of the housing problem. In the light of this ideal, we believe that some of the proposals, mentioned above, will require considerable modifications. In dealing with such problems, the investigator must not simply aim at relieving congestion and removing frequent friction between the landlord and the tenant—the two objects which primarily suggested the present inquiry. He must also take into consideration the demands of public health, the laws of sanitation, and the prospective rise in the standard of living on account of the spread of education and the application of new and improved methods to Indian agriculture. Such a broad, wide and scientific outlook would have certainly modified Mr. Achariar's conclusions with reference to congestion in the Panchama hamlets. The exact number of houses, their dimensions, and the number of persons occupying them, in typical cases, have not been mentioned in the report. The mere fact, that the people are not loud in their demands for enlarging the house sites, is not a sufficient justification for the conclusion that there is no congestion. When once it is admitted that the existing hamlets—we must note the diminutive—are insanitary it is the bounden duty of the Government to take every possible measure to improve them.

It is sheer neglect of duty to refuse to move in the matter until the ignorant people make a demand for it. No civilized Government can shirk its responsibility in such urgent matters of social legislation. Even if there is no congestion, we think the Government should move in the matter to its own advantage. In uncongested areas improvement can be effected with ease and without financial stress.

Next to the problem of the density of population comes the question of the security of ownership of the existing house-sites. It may be broadly divided into three classes. (1) The Government Poramboke lands allotted to the Panchamas to be used for house-sites. (2) Lands held by private ownership. (3) Lands held under the Pannai-al system. The first two classes of lands do not afford any difficulty of settlement. The third class of lands has caused an amount of discontent. Under the Pannai-al system, the Mirasidars grant some part of their lands to the Panchama tenants to settle on them. The Panchamas are attached to the lands of the Mirasidars and are required to do the work of cultivation and reaping. Though they are indispensable to their masters, their proverbial ignorance and crude habits have reduced them to the state of mere cattle on the farms of the landholders. Some signs of self-assertion on their part have led to friction between the masters and the tenants. Mr. Achariar, however, finds that the relations between them are on the whole satisfactory. To our surprise, the Hon'ble Mr. Aziz-ud-din, in his

minute of dissent, admits that the Pannai-al system is almost akin to slavery and still maintains that its subversion, under the existing circumstances to any considerable extent seems uncalled for. Such logic is intolerable. In the case of a conflict between justice and expediency, justice ought to prevail. Our own information is that the feeling in the matter is very bitter, which is borne out by the endorsement of the Acting Collector of Tanjore. In a good many villages, the Panchamas have been in uninterrupted possession of sites.

To prevent the contingency of the adverse possession developing into ownership the Mirasidars are, in some cases, trying to compel the tenants to execute *muchilikas* for the house-sites. We think that such undue influence and coercion vitiate the contract and hence the Government should instruct officers to deal with them severely. But the attempts of the landlords find support in a tendency of the law-courts, that raise a presumption in favour of the ownership of the landlords. The burden of negating their ownership being thus shifted to the poor Panchama, who is always labouring under the disability of ignorance and poverty, the decision in a majority of cases, turns out to be against him and the illiterate tenant is evicted from the holding. This state of affairs must be quickly remedied, but we are sorry to find that the report does not contain a definite proposal in the matter. The best way to put an end to this friction is to improve the economic condition of the people. Mr. Achariar has taken into consideration only two factors of the economic condition of the Panchamas, their chronic indebtedness and their low wages. On both the points, his verdict is that there is no cause for dissatisfaction. As to indebtedness, it is remarked that their tenants are not in the habit of repaying the debts. We cannot reconcile ourselves to this view. Where the tenants are working like veritable beasts of burden or like slaves, it may be a fact that they get remissions and suspensions of debts but such favours tend to prolong the subjection and have a very degenerating influence on the minds of the tenants. It is the duty of the State to emancipate them from this slavery without any further delay. As to their low wages (which do not exceed 2 annas 8 pies) it has been argued that various items of income are lost sight of. Nobody should be blinded by the fact that the Panchamas get extra allowances on special occasions; because the allowance secured is quite inadequate to the expenses involved. The marriage and other allowances only perpetuate the thralldom of the tenants. As the other factors of the economic condition have not been investigated it is not profitable to rely on these conclusions.

From these observations we turn to the scheme put forward and the methods proposed to carry them out. The report says that they should be such as would not disturb the smooth relations of the master and the servant, and secondly, they should not involve any financial liability on the State. We think it is very difficult to avoid completely the former in spite of all efforts to minimise it. Similarly in matters of social legislation Government must not hesitate to undertake financial responsibility, because it increases its stability as well as its efficiency.

Hence we suggest that wherever scientific experts feel the need of improvement and extension, whether there be a demand or not, the Government should take action and provide house-sites for the Panchama citizens. It will raise their status and increase their efficiency as labourers. The machinery proposed to acquire the lands is the Land Acquisition Act. It is said that the acquisition of house-sites from the landholders for the purpose of creating proprietary rights over them in the Panchama occupants, is a public purpose and is as such covered by the clause (f) of sec. 3 of the said Act. For the elucidation of the reader we would like to quote it *in extenso*. "The expression 'public purpose' includes the provision of village-sites in districts in which the Local Govern-

ment shall have declared by notification in the official gazette, that it is customary for the Government to make such provision." This will clearly show how extensive are the powers of the Government under the code. The definition of public purpose is left to the absolute discretion of the Government (*Vide*. 30 Cal. 36). In spite of this we apprehend that the words 'public purpose' and 'customary' are vague. They will give rise to an endless and manifold litigation at the instance of the rich landholders. Hence we strongly recommend that if it be the sincere intention of the Government to improve the lot of the Panchamas, they should carry out a measure of the nature of the Housing and Health Act in England with a special clause about ownership. Under it the houses will be required to be built according to a suitable plan approved by the experts. A minimum site of five cents should be insisted on, and further subdivision of the minimum plot by partition, inheritance or alienation, should be prevented. The landholders should be compelled either to demolish or to improve or construct anew the farm houses according to the models fixed by the Government. The question of sheds for the cattle and the removal of manure should also be attended to.

As regards the financial aspect we think that the Panchamas will not be able to pay 20 p. c. of the estimated cost of acquisition in advance. For this purpose, the scheme of co-operative housing societies should not be summarily dismissed, as is done by the special Deputy Collector. This question can be easily solved by Government aid as well as by private philanthropy. In the present case we think that there is sufficient security to attract private capital. The interest on the amount should not exceed 4 p. c. and the period of repayment should be extended to thirty years. In conclusion we express a strong hope that the Government of Madras will not only put an end to this system of slavery, but will remodel the scheme in the light of modern principles of housing and support it financially.

K. G. LIMAYE.

REVIEWS.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN ECONOMIC SOCIETY. (The Servants of India Society's Home, Bombay. Annual Subscription Rs. 5.)

THE Indian Economic Society, which was started a couple of years ago in Bombay, has decided to issue a quarterly journal dealing with current economic problems, and its first issue is before us for review. It contains four main articles on "the Indian Budget," "the village in the melting pot," "the organisation of research in India" and "capital and rate of interest after the war," besides a few editorial notes on current topics, a review article, views and memoranda, facts and statistics and the list of recent publications. The second article on the 'village in the melting pot' by Dr. Gilbert Slater is specially interesting as it presents a point of view which is generally ignored in this country and will amply repay perusal. The Journal promises to be a valuable contribution to the scanty periodical literature on economic subjects in this country. We therefore welcome it and earnestly hope it will fulfil the object the Society has in view.

A NOTE ON COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION. (Servants of India Society, Bombay. Price 1 anna.)

THIS pamphlet has been compiled by Mr. A. V. Thakkar, of the Servants of India Society, with a view to present to the public, and chiefly to the members of municipal boards in the presidency, a general survey of the main provisions of the Bombay Act I of 1918, and outlines the practical steps to be taken in introducing compulsory primary education within municipal areas. It emphasises the necessity of a census of school-going population, which, besides being useful for estimating the additional cost of the scheme, may serve as a herald of the coming of compulsory education. Mr. Thakkar rightly suggests that teachers may be engaged as missionaries to try the method of persuasion, before freely resorting to the penal clauses of the Act. The tentative

schemes of the Bandra and the Broach municipalities, incorporated in this pamphlet, will undoubtedly be helpful to other municipalities in the preparation of similar schemes of compulsory primary education within their areas. The appendix, containing important statistics, will reveal the urgency of moving in this matter with more than ordinary speed.

THE MANORANJAN. (The Karve Jubilee Number, As. 12.)

WE heartily congratulate Mr. K. R. Mitra, the able editor of the *Masik Manoranjan*, upon the splendid and successful publication of the Karve Jubilee Number. This magazine has devoted itself in a special manner to the cause of the elevation of women and has served it nobly; and in commemorating the services of Prof. Karve for the last twenty-five years, the *Manoranjan* has added in a material way to its own devoted and disinterested labours. Besides a fine portrait of Prof. Karve, the number contains appreciations of this great man from the pen of distinguished sons and daughters of India. From a literary point of view, the translations of English contributions, notably of those of Messrs. Gandhi and V. P. Madhava Rao and Mrs. Besant are vigorous and dignified; and the writings of women contributors are notable alike by a keen sense of appreciation of Mr. Karve's life-long work and purity of style. The number rightly emphasises the diverse aspects of Prof. Karve's thoughts and activities.

LETTERS FROM THE PROVINCES.

UNITED PROVINCES.

PLAGUE AT AGRA.

EVEN in the worst years of plague, Agra had remained almost free from this epidemic, but this year it has been hard hit, and the town is in the grip of the fell disease. The average mortality of the city during the month has been about 125 per day. The town is in panic and people are evacuating the houses and leaving the city in large numbers. Some of the important bazars present already desolate appearance and many mohallas look deserted. A few schools and colleges also have been closed and but for the refusal of the High Court the local civil courts would not have remained open. The condition of the people is really pitiable. But it is a matter of no small satisfaction that the local Seva Samiti, which consists of a band of about 80 volunteers is rendering highly valuable services to those in distress. It has organised relief measures by way of providing medical advice and medicines free of charge to those who cannot purchase them. In some instances it has also provided milk and other diet to the poor patients while it has done heroic and splendid work, in clearing deserted houses of dead bodies and helping poor people in removing and cremating their dead relatives at its own expense and through its own agency. Besides the town proper, the Samiti has opened a branch in the Cantonment also, which is working on the same lines. If the services of the Samiti are widely and properly appreciated and the necessary funds are forthcoming, it is proposed to extend its activities in the neighbouring villages also. In fact the volunteers of the Samiti are doing good work in village Semra, a name which has been made pretty familiar to the public of these provinces, through the action of the District Magistrate of Agra, who deemed it necessary to prohibit a Home Rule meeting in that village only a few months before. It is very gratifying to note that the work of the Samiti is being thoroughly appreciated by the public and the officials of the District, who are readily coming to its assistance and seeking its co-operation. The Government and the Municipal Board are also wide awake to the requirements of the situation and those who have evacuated their houses have been provided temporary accommodation in some of the public buildings such as the Taj, the Sikandra and School and College Hostels. We wish the Samiti every success in its patriotic endeavour and self sacrificing work.

PROTEST MEETING AT LUCKNOW.

A public meeting was held at Lucknow on April 26th to protest against the non-representative character of the Delhi conference and giving support to the Madras manifesto. It must, however, be said in fairness that the composition of the conference left little to be desired, so far as these provinces are concerned as will be apparent from the fact that they are represented by such wellknown and tried leaders as the Hon. Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Pt. Jagat Narain and Sayiad Wazir Hassan. The exclusion of Pandit Motilal Nehru however is greatly to be deplored.

MADRAS.

THE DELHI CONFERENCE.

THE Local Government's method of selecting representatives to the Delhi Conference has caused general dissatisfaction throughout this Presidency, as will be seen from the series of protest meetings held in the City and in the muffsil. The most glaring omissions are Mrs. Annie Besant, who presided over the Calcutta Congress and who is undeniably the head of a very large party, Dewan Bahadur P. Keshava Pillai, a very prominent leader of Madras and President of the Madras Presidency Association, and the Hon. Mr. Yakub Masun the most prominent and independent Mohaminadan politician of this Presidency. Common fairness and decency required that at least the last two gentlemen should have been nominated seeing that men who represent views opposed to theirs and who at best represent only a handful of people have been nominated. It constitutes a violation of the Viceroy's promise to include the representation of all shades of opinion in the Conference. Especially the Mohaminadans feel that they have been treated shabbily in this matter. They feel aggrieved that the only man chosen to represent them "has by his conduct in the local legislature and on the occasion of the Secretary of State's visit to Madras, shown himself incapable of holding any independent opinion of his own and cannot be properly considered to be a representative of any section of the community." This affair painfully recalls to the public mind the scandalously unfair manner in which deputations to the Secretary of State were chosen here. The prejudices then felt by the Local Government against certain individuals and associations have been brought into play in the selection of Madras representatives to the Delhi Conference.

HINDI PROPAGANDA.

Madras has enthusiastically responded to Mr. Gandhi's appeal for making Hindi the common language of this country. *New India* is devoting a column every week to a Hindi article with its English transliteration and translation appearing side by side. Invitations have appeared in the local papers for candidates willing to learn and teach Hindi in this Presidency. Already the required number of candidates have come forward.

NATIONAL EDUCATION WEEK.

According to Mr. Arundale's report in *NEW INDIA* of 26th April, the total collection for the National Education Week throughout the Presidency approximated to 1½ lakhs of rupees.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN KAIRA.

Sir,—Reading N. C. M.'s letter on 'Mr. Gandhi in the Kaira District' on p. 107 of the *Servant of India*, I am reminded of what Mr. Gladstone said of the Irish 'plan of campaign' in 1887. "The plan of campaign was one of those devices that cannot be reconciled with the principles of law and order in a civilised country. Yet we all know that such devices are the certain result of misgovernment. With reference to this particular instance, if the plan be blameable (I cannot deny that I feel it difficult to acquit any such plan) I feel its authors are not one-tenth part so blameable as the Government whose contemptuous refusal of what they have now granted, was the parent and source of the mischief." Your correspondent says, "Passive resistance can have no place in such parochial matters." One does not feel quite sure of this. But even if it is so, it is in the present case clear (as you rightly pointed out on the 4th inst. in the *Servant of India*) that Mr. Gandhi could not get a hearing at the hands of the Government except by the course he has adopted, and one feels that though the failure of the crop and the consequent revenue grievance are local, the circumstances which have forced Mr. Gandhi to his present position are much more than local in their bearing. Certainly, the method of revenue administration against which Mr. Gandhi is protesting is not local.

In our anxiety to do justice to the Government, we must beware of doing less than justice to our leaders.—Yours, &c.,

K. A. NILAKANTAM.

TINNEVELLY, April, 23.

A PLEA FOR A PATWARDHAN COLLEGE ON A FEDERAL BASIS.

Sir,—The question as to how the gap caused by the abolition of the Rajaram College should be filled up has been agitating the public of these parts. There are three feasible schemes

whereby a new College may be founded in these parts, each with its drawbacks. Firstly, either the Jamkhandi State or the Sangli State may, independently of others, set up its own College. Such a College is bound to prove a failure in the long run. The financial strength of neither of them would permit the employment of a well-paid staff; and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to secure the services of a sufficient number of men of superior qualifications willing to embrace a life of poverty, when it does not offer the compensating charms of a free atmosphere, which rarely exists within the walls of an institution dominated by a single will. A much better scheme would be to request the Deccan Education Society to open here a branch of their College, to offer it suitable buildings, and to guarantee an annual grant on a generous scale. Such a college will surely attract a large number of students by maintaining a high standard of efficiency, and will provide them with a sufficient stimulus to aspire after high ideals. It may also secure an additional grant from the British Government, if it chooses to erect its home on some site in British territory, which may suit the conveniences of all the States concerned. This scheme, though very promising and least troublesome, possesses a moral drawback from the viewpoint of the States; it would be a tangible expression of the maxim, 'everything for the people, nothing by them'; it would be a monument to the lack of initiative and co-operation among our States. The best scheme is the most difficult one, the maintenance of a full grade Arts College with the joint contributions and under the joint control of all the Patwardhan States. It may be called the 'Harbhat College' in memory of the founder of the illustrious family of the Patwardhans. It will be easy to keep such a College in a high state of efficiency, as the resources of no single state will be heavily taxed. It will give full scope to indigenous ability and enterprise. Above all, such a College will be extremely useful as a practical experiment of introducing the federal idea in Indian politics.

Let us trust that a federal College will be shortly set up by our Chiefs and that it will be a nucleus of bigger organisms in the fulness of time, giving our Chiefs an eternal crown of glory.—Yours, &c.,

SANGLI, April 22.

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