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CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ...	337
ARTICLES:—	
From Morn to Midnight. ...	339
Advance India! By Politicus. ...	340
Technical and Industrial Education in Bombay Presidency. By S. ...	341
The Bihar Council—I. A Money Bill. By Way- farer ...	343
THE WORLD OUTSIDE ...	345
CORRESPONDENCE:—	
The Truth About the "White Australia" Policy By S. E. Stokes ...	347

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE sad and premature death of The Late Sir Vithaldas Thakersey. Sir Vithaldas Thakersey has deprived the public life of Bombay Presidency of one of its most generous supporters. His knowledge and ability obtained for him a very distinguished position in the commercial, industrial and civic life of Bombay. With his sound practical sense he rendered conspicuous service in the local and central legislatures. But it is for his philanthropy that his memory will be most dearly cherished. His endowment with Rs. 15 lakhs of the Indian Women's University has made its existence assured. Another endowment of Rs. 5 lakhs is enabling a large number of girls and widows to get vocational education and support themselves honourably as teachers, nurses or doctors. The expansion of the Poona Seva Sadan into a splendid institution was largely made possible by his generosity. He took the deepest interest in promoting the co-operative movement and was intimately connected with the Central Co-operative Bank and the Co-operative Institute. He was also maintaining a large number of night schools for illiterate members of rural societies. He liberally supported the Bombay Social Service League and many other welfare institutions in Bombay and elsewhere. May it not be long before the void now so acutely felt by all these institutions through his death is filled.

WE hope the Government of India As Invitations. are keeping Mr. Lloyd George duly informed of the indignant protests which his speech has evoked all over the country from the supporters of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. The various legislatures, provincial and

central, will soon let him know what they think of his performance and, we dare say, will give him a suitable answer regarding the future of the I. C. S. and other Services and the degree of responsibility which they have understood to have had devolved upon themselves for the peace and good government of India under the Reforms Act. Mr. Lloyd George will certainly be enabled to calculate the gains and losses accruing from his speech. Meanwhile our non-co-operating friends have renewed their invitation to Liberals to join their ranks urging that the Premier's speech has once again proved the utter untrustworthiness of the pledged word of the British Government. But those who are working the reforms are doing so not because of any pathetic faith in the good will of the reactionary element in Parliament, but because of the opportunities afforded by the reforms, even with their admitted defects, for serving the country, and what is much more important, because they make for the rapid and certain attainment of our political emancipation. Quite a large section of non-co-operators now recognise the utter futility of their methods and even Pandit Motilal Nehru admits that a change of programme has become necessary. Mr. Lloyd George has thrown out a challenge to them too: let them take it up and enter the Councils. And both in and out of the Councils let us carry on a combined constitutional fight to assert the dignity of India to get the full worth of the reforms and to make complete dominion home-rule the next and irresistible step of advance. If non-co-operators feel a difficulty about giving up the name "non-co-operation" altogether, we may well adopt Mr. Kelkar's convenient formula—"responsive non-co-operation".

* * *

A Retrenchment Scandal?

ON the 10th inst. Sir Phiroz Sethna created a sensation at a meeting of the Bombay Corporation by stating that Col. Carter, Senior Medical Officer, in charge of the J. J. Hospital, Bombay, had turned out no fewer than 228 inpatients out of 300, on the ground that the new policy of retrenchment applied by Government even to hospitals, had made it impossible for him to look after more than some 80 patients. Previous to this Col. Carter had reported to his superior officer that the vote had been spent and that therefore he would have to close down, unless he received instructions to the contrary by the 4th. It now appears that this letter was idly reposing for a whole precious week in the Surgeon-General's office, before it was for-

warded to the Minister, whom the letter consequently did not reach until the afternoon of the 4th. Dr. Paranjpye immediately sent an urgent wire to Col. Carter instructing him to continue admission of patients to full capacity pending an enquiry which he has gone to Bombay to hold personally. The matter being *sub judice*, it is impossible for us to comment on the case, except to say that the average citizen naturally scents bureaucratic sabotage of the Reforms behind this scandal. Should such not prove to be the case, the alternative of a departmental feud is not very much more edifying either and makes one doubt the fitness for the charge of a great hospital of a medical man who can send adrift sick people, even if to keep them would have meant to forego a highly spectacular protest. In any case one fails to understand why Sir Phiroz Sethna, who by the way now explains that the figure 228 was only used by him hypothetically, should have concentrated his attack on the Minister in charge, who, if at all, seems only technically responsible for the scandal.

WE congratulate H. E. Sir George Lloyd on his recent speech at the Deccan Sirdars' Durbar at Poona which was all that the speech of the constitutional head of a democracy should be. We are glad, he insisted that the Sirdars should co-operate with others in raising the Territorial Force and give it that territorial character which should be its principal asset, and said that he looked forward in the near future to see many of the younger members of their order holding Commissions in that force. He bore testimony to the good work of the Legislative Council and to its opinions being sound, Stable and well informed. Referring to the protests that had been made in some districts against the withdrawal of police outposts and stations he pointed out that those views should be pressed more upon the Legislative Council than upon the Executive, as the former held the strings of the State purse. No doubt he possessed reserved powers to override the opinion of the legislature but he was not prepared to use them except in a very critical situation. In his reference to the treatment of political prisoners he showed that the pressure of public opinion had made itself felt and he gave an explicit assurance that their treatment would not be humiliating or in any way vindictive and that very soon the jail practice of this province in this respect would be brought into line with the practice in force in England and elsewhere. We congratulate the Deccan Sabha for having so efficiently organized public opinion and marshalled the facts of the case; the Legislative Council for having authoritatively expressed it; and now also our Governor for so readily acting up to it. All's well, that ends well.

THERE are many critics of Mr. Sastri who, depending too much on the meagre summaries of his speeches cabled from

Australia, have been charging him with having approved—not merely accepted—the White Australia policy and with not having put before Australians the Indian view of that policy. The following extract from a recent letter of the Australian correspondent of the *Times of India* should show those critics how much they are mistaken:—

By a compromise arrived at in 1918 with the Imperial War Cabinet, India had agreed to respect the wishes of each Dominion in this regard, and he was not free to question it. But while he did not question it, he made it very clear that "to the extent that the Indians understand it the White Australia policy is not regarded as consistent with the integrity or the solidarity at the British Empire. They thought that common citizenship of the Empire carried with it the right to move about freely within the Empire, and to practise any profession for which they might be qualified. The white Australia policy went clear against this principle of ideal, Australia's justification being that, as a self-governing Dominion, she had the right to preserve the nature of her own population and to preserve her type of civilization and economic life." While Mr. Shastri was thus indirectly and almost covertly attacking our ideal &c.

THE Hon. Mr. Hidayatulla, Minister for Local Self-government in Bombay.

Bombay, explained the other day to a large and influential meeting of the Deccan Sabha, Poona, what he had already done and what he proposed to do during the remainder of his term to promote local self-government in each of its stages from the village panchayat to the Corporation of Bombay. In addition to the Bombay Corporation Bill which was recently passed, he is ready with three Bills to be introduced in all likelihood in the next session of the Council—one to amend the Local Boards Act, one the District Municipalities Act and another specially for Karahi. He explained to the meeting how each Bill would widen the franchise, make the respective local authorities more representative of the tax-payers in every way and enlarge their powers of taxation and initiative. In spite of the present financial difficulties of Government, Mr. Hidayatulla had seen to it that no water works, drainage or sanitation schemes had suffered for want of funds. He was sorry on the other hand, that the tax-payers and their representatives had not shown sufficient readiness to utilise the increased opportunities that had been given them. Even in an advanced district like Poona candidates were not forthcoming for panchayat elections; some local boards on being given the power to elect their own presidents had elected officials and he had had to exercise his veto and even threaten them that if they did not elect nonofficials he would straightway appoint them; in some cases sanctioned amounts had not been drawn upon and so on. He announced also, on behalf of the Education Minister, who was also present, that a Bill for making primary education free and compulsory all over the Presidency would be introduced in the next session of the Council in September. The meeting was naturally appreciative of all that Mr. Hidayatulla had done and joined in a hearty laugh when Sir Hormusji Wadia who presided, wittily remarked in thanking the Minister that though he did not know whether the Minister, *pace* Mr. Lloyd George, was looking upon himself as an experiment, in any case he had proved a much greater success than many of the experiments made by Mr. Lloyd George himself.

FROM MORN TO MIDNIGHT.

GEORG KAISER is probably the greatest dramatist of present day Germany and his "From Morn to Midnight" the most important of his plays. The plot of the play consists in depicting the experience of a bank cashier who, hitherto of the strictest conventional rectitude and of a suburban standard of respectability, steals a large sum of money from his bank. Having broken his mother's heart by his deed, he sets out to get "value" out of life. There are a number of episodes, all ending in complete frustration—an example being the scene in which he selects the most likely looking *demi-mondaine* for an utter *abandon* in the dance, only to discover that she has got a wooden leg. In the last act, a Salvation Army lass takes him to the shelter, where he listens to most moving public confessions on the part of all kind of wastrels who in a perfect hurricane of remorse and repentance resolve to give up their old life. Stung to the quick, the cashier also jumps up, confesses and throws away all the stolen notes he still has got on him. Follows a pandæmonium of those present fighting and struggling for the possession of the scattered notes; the Salvation Army lass slips out to fetch a constable, so as to earn the police reward on the cashier's apprehension, and the curtain falls on her re-entry with the policeman and on the cashier blowing out his brains.

"From Morn to Midnight" is a masterpiece of dramatic skill. But its importance is not only artistic. For it is symptomatic of modern German mentality in general and, illuminating it by its consummate artistry, enables the observer to realize something of the psychological factors underlying the present position in Germany and thus to understand the problem confronting Europe today.

The end of the war was hailed by the whole German nation as the end of a nightmare and the dawn of a new morn. The old imperialism and militarism had tried their uttermost and had failed in everything. Having shaken off her old fetters which Prussian junkerdom had kept rivetted upon her for so long, Germany was eager to take her place among the great Western democracies, who were sacrificing their all to bring about the downfall of this very Prussianism, and to reconstruct and reorganize with them a whole new world on the great principles of Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points. Eagerly, confidently, the new rulers of a new Germany surrendered to the victors, not bargaining for conditions, but leaving all to their common idealism. As a great German publicist put it: "if Woodrow Wilson at that moment had come to Germany, he would have been worshipped as a god."

But if Mr. Wilson himself was not seen on the other side of the Rhine, his principles were still less visible in the events of the days after the Armistice or in the clauses of the final Peace Treaty. The ruthless war which had been carried

on against the Kaiser, was carried on as ruthlessly against a pacifist, socialist Republic; only the methods had changed. The new German democracy had eagerly divested herself of all means of attack; and so high did public feeling run in those days, that not an officer dared to appear in public in his uniform for fear of being insulted and set upon. But the victors continued their warfare—first by the blockade which killed and maimed far more efficiently than the old-time fighting; and later by armies of occupation, by "sanctions", by extortion, by the whole bleeding-white-process of the Versailles Treaty and the ever growing ferociousness of even its interpretation.

The new Germany thus soon realized that they had been deceived; that there was to be nothing new about the future, except the extent of their own defeat and the degree of vindictiveness in their enemies. If the people of the victorious powers have since been disillusioned, what must be the depth of the German people's disillusionment? The people and their leaders had trusted the Entente; again and again, to this very day, they were willing to fulfil, even the Versailles Treaty, if to fulfil it were humanly possible. The more they trusted, the more they were taken in; the more they tried to discharge their obligations, the more impossible was it made for them to discharge them. Indemnities of astronomical magnitude having been imposed and an almost incredible system of pressure applied, it is now found that after all the millions are paid which are being relentlessly squeezed out of Germany, month after month, less has been remitted than the cost of the army of occupation which ostensibly is maintained to ensure payment of the indemnities!

Under such fantastic burdens to balance the country's budget of course is unthinkable. Hence the printing of paper money. Hence the depreciation of currency, which reduced the value of a German shilling (the Mark) first to that of an anna, then of a pice, and latterly of something like half a pie. The result of course has been that, if the currency was worth so much less, wages as expressed in that debased currency had to be more. Thus wage earners managed to keep pace with the apparent rise in prices by insisting on an equivalent—apparent—rise in wages. But of course if that constant adjustment could easily be made by wage earners paid weekly, it could only with difficulty be made on behalf of people, getting their pay once a quarter or a salary calculated and fixed annually: for by the time a new adjustment had become effective, a new drop in the currency value had already rendered it out of date. And as regards incomes based on fixed capital interest, no adjustment at all was possible.

As a result there has come about in Germany a complete social re-arrangement. Manual labour as a whole, paid on the basis of an hour's work, is not much worse off than before the war especially as there is no unemployment at all:

intellectual labour, paid on the basis of a year's salary, is very hard put to it, and as a whole (especially taking into account its previous standard of refinement and amenities) much worse paid than manual labour; whilst the class of rentiers, i. e. people living on their investments, has been practically starved out of existence.

We have then in Germany to-day—apart from the handful of members of the *haute finance* who of course profiteer as much by famine as by plenty—the fairly prosperous manual workers of the so called lower classes on the one hand and the utterly ruined brain workers of the former middle and upper classes on the other. Let us bear in mind that politically the former have always been staunch social-democrats, whilst the latter used to be the mainstay of the old *junker* regime. It is the masses which made the Republic and swept away the old feudalism, whilst the classes, at the best, resigned themselves to the new order, simply because the old one had made itself impossible. But as the expectation of the young Republic failed to materialize; as to the loss of power by the hitherto ruling classes was soon added the loss of all wealth; of not merely the amenities, but even the decencies and necessities of life: there arose that phenomenon, without a grasp of which it is utterly impossible to understand the Germany of the hour—the substitution of “revolutionaries of the Right” for the time-honoured revolutionaries of the Left parties.

“From morn to midnight” portrays faithfully the mentality of the German middle and upper classes, who have become utterly cynical after the “peace” of Versailles; who believe in nobody and hope for nothing; whose social degradation and financial destitution has left them with nothing but with fierce, brute hatred for the authors of all their miseries. Utterly desperate, they care for nothing because their pessimism makes them anticipate a wooden leg however bewitching the appearance of a dancer. And the more immature, the more desperate are they. These are the men, this the mentality out of which has risen the resort to assassination as a habitual weapon of political warfare. Thus fell Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Curt Eisner in the early days; thus fell Matthias Erzberger last year and Walter Rathenau this. But it is impossible to gauge the mentality of the assassins and of their instigators by the mere fact of these murders. Let us remember that Erzberger's widow and Rathenau's old mother, after the news of the assassination had become known, were inundated by letters couched in the foulest terms, glorying in the deed and rejoicing in the agony of their victims—if we want to understand the utter depths of bestiality to which despair and lust for revenge have reduced the proletarians of the Right in modern Germany.

The Rathenau murder has led to the discovery of the existence and methods of secret societies, such as the infamous “C” or “Consul”. This society

with special departments for military affairs, intelligence &c., has one also for murders. The members are mostly quite young students of both sexes not only of universities but even of high schools. One of the disgusting items of the society is that all members have to be photographed *in puris naturalibus* and stacks of these “archives” have recently been confiscated. The officials are all former army officers and the head-quarters at Munich, where the Bavarian government is shielding them. By an ingenious system of advertisements and *poste restante* letters assassins are hired and paid “by the job”—the murderers in each case having turned out to be unemployed young men of the upper middle classes, without means or hope of subsistence.

The worst about it all is that all this utter lawlessness has altogether done away with the idea of the sacredness of right conduct and with the habit of obedience to the law. The most powerful inhibition of evil, the thought “What will people say?”, has to-day disappeared from the former ruling classes of Germany. If you murder, if you take bribes, if you lie, if you cheat: what will people say? Why, nothing, unless they actually applaud you; for they are all doing the same thing. Added to this must be the well-nigh incredible propaganda against the Republic carried on in every educational establishment, except the primary schools, and the unrelenting sabotage of the republican government carried on by the services. Teachers, university professors, judges, officials—every one of them is a member of the dispossessed classes; and almost every one of them has only one idea left—hatred of those who have dispossessed them.

This is the state of mind of Germany to-day. From the morn of what she thought would be “the Coming Day” of which she had dreamt, she has passed through the merciless light of utter disillusionment, through the heat and burden of utter defeat, to the gloom of an evening, when every hope has vanished; to the inky darkness of a night of stark despair.

From Morn to Midnight. . . .

ADVANCE INDIA !

It is now clear beyond the “shade of a shadow” of doubt that there is no d—d nonsense of sincerity about British professions and pledges. The Curzonian interpretation of Queen Victoria's Proclamation is being liberally followed by British statesmen and we in India, are unsophisticated enough like children to place reliance on their words to the point of abandoning what should be our duty and our efforts, irrespective of England's promises. How does Mr. Churchill treat the equality resolution of the Imperial Conference? Did he not say that its application would depend on local circumstances? What has Mr. Lloyd George done to keep his promise to Indian Mahomedans? Does he not rely upon the grammatical construction of his famous pledge in

that there will be at least one Middle Industrial School and one Lower Industrial School in every city. In rural areas Lower Industrial Schools will be provided if the areas can afford to have them or in their absence, they will have supplementary classes. Thus the Minority say, "Our scheme will provide opportunities of training for all classes of people."

In this scheme there is perhaps one redundant course. After the School Final examination there is no need for having two courses. The Intermediate Arts is an unnecessary high standard for the University grade education. The Technical Institutes can be safely dropped and their work can be divided between the University grade Institutes on one hand and the Middle Industrial Schools on the other. This will also help in reducing the initial cost by 15 lakhs and the annual expenses by 4 lakhs of rupees. There will thus be only University grade Institutes where the medium of instruction will be English while all the other institutions will naturally be conducted in the vernaculars.

For women two courses are proposed, one to give sound training in home work and domestic economy by providing courses in those subjects in the existing girls' schools themselves for middle class women attending fulltime schools, and the other to give training in hand work or in some industry or occupation for poorer classes of women.

Under organisation and administration, they propose at the top of the organization a Provincial Development Council with a strong non-official majority, presided over by the Minister of Industries, to carry out the scheme put forth by them. There is one very important proposal made in the report, which if carried out will certainly ensure progress in Technical and Industrial education. They propose that a development programme should be made for the first ten years and it should be ratified by a Technical Education Act passed by the Legislative Council. This will make the scheme binding on all concerned and the success will be independent of the vicissitudes of policy and personnel which will be inevitable in the years to come.

We hope this suggestion will be accepted. But if nothing of this sort is done perhaps the words of Sir John Hewett given above will hold good even ten years hence as they do to-day.

S.

THE BIHAR LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

I.—A MONEY BILL.

In the Bihar and Orissa Council one taxation bill was passed this session and another is awaiting the sanction of the Government of India for being introduced. It is necessary to the understanding of the merits of these measures to appreciate the financial position of the Provinces. When the reformed Government came into being, the Provinces started with a balance of one crore

and it was hoped that in the first year of its existence revenue would equal expenditure, but chiefly on account of the activities of non-co-operation, the receipts from excise were 30 lakhs down and those from stamps 10 lakhs down, and the deficit was made good by drawing upon the opening balance. Now the expenditure chargeable to revenue in the current year is estimated at 496 lakhs, which includes a provision of 13½ lakhs left unallotted as a precaution against unforeseen expenditure, and the revenue at 445 lakhs. That is to say, the Government have budgeted for an excess expenditure of 51 lakhs. Now if this were to be met from the balance, the latter would be almost completely depleted, leaving a bare 8 lakhs for the next year. The Government therefore concluded that at least half a crore must be added to the revenue merely with a view to meet existing recurring charges, not to speak of any future developments.

Now the scope for additional taxation is very limited in these Provinces. Land revenue forms the sheet anchor of the finances of most provinces in India, but in Bihar and Orissa this source is not available for any appreciable increase of revenue. Land revenue is fixed in perpetuity in the whole of the Provinces except in Orissa, which brings in only one-eighth of the revenue. Thus seven-eighths of land revenue is a constant factor absolutely incapable of further expansion because of the permanent settlement. How serious a handicap permanent settlement is to the development of the Provinces will be realised when it is remembered that Bihar, were it a *raiayatwari* tract would have yielded 8 crores instead of the existing 1½ crores by way of land revenue. The Honourable Mr. McPherson is therefore quite justified in characterising permanent settlement as an insuperable barrier. Excise is a diminishing source and therefore stamps is the only head to which Government can look for increased receipts, for, land revenue, stamps and excise yield four-fifths of the provincial revenues. But Bihar and Orissa has in her mineral wealth a source of revenue which has very large possibilities. In respect of coal the Provinces occupy a commanding position. Bihar and Bengal between them produce almost all the coal consumed in India, Bihar producing three times as much as Bengal. In order to alleviate their financial difficulties, the Government of Bihar and Orissa contemplate the levy of a cess of four annas a ton on coal dispatched to other provinces. It is recognised that this is by no means an ideal tax, for it is desirable that free trade should subsist between the provinces in all commodities. But the financial stress is great, and that is the justification for a tax which would otherwise be objectionable. The Government of India's sanction is necessary for such a levy and when it is obtained, it is proposed to introduce a bill in the Legislative Council. This tax on coal is expected to yield more than 25 lakhs. The Government's proposals

for raising the remaining 25 lakhs of additional revenue take the form of an increase of court fees and an increase of registration fees. The Court Fees Bill, as originally framed, was calculated to give 20 lakhs, but certain changes were introduced by the Select Committee which lowered the estimated receipts to 16 lakhs, and as now finally adopted, this measure would yield perhaps two lakhs less—this is of course a rough calculation; and the increase in registration fees is expected to bring in 5 lakhs, total 19 lakhs from the two sources.

Now the Court Fees Bill evoked a great deal of opposition in the Council. The precarious position of the Provinces was of course recognised on all hands, but it is this very precariousness which led the non-official critics to oppose proposals for fresh taxation. They said a tax on coal and other minerals was alright, but the already slender margin of further taxation should not be diminished before all possibilities of retrenchment were thoroughly explored. A Retrenchment Committee had been appointed; why not then push on with its work and lay its conclusions before the Council before additional taxes were imposed? After all, there was a sufficient surplus in hand which would last for the whole year. And there was every indication that non-co-operation would cease, and that there would not be in future years the same drop in the receipts of excise and stamps that there was in 1921-22, when non-co-operation was at its height. The present difficulties were almost exclusively due to non-co-operation, but now that the movement was in its last gasp, there would be a brisk recovery under these two heads. With rigid economy, there would be no need for fresh taxation. So argued the critics, but the severest critics of the Court Fees Bill left the Ministers in no doubt as to their willingness to impose whatever taxes might be demanded by them for the development of the humanising activities of their departments—for wider diffusion of primary education, for extension of higher education, for improvement of sanitation, etc. For development any amount of revenue; for the maintenance of the present position none—till the most austere economy was practised.

This is a perfectly sound position; and the Government's answer to it was very feeble and, as I shall show presently, even unfair. The Retrenchment Committee is doing its work very perfunctorily and the Chairman of the Committee has already been declaring that some five or ten lakhs was the utmost of reduction that could be expected as a result of its labours. This is surely most unsatisfactory. No reply whatsoever was given to the contention of the critics that non-co-operation being on its last legs, no serious diminution of revenue need be apprehended. But, what is worse, the Government tried to take unfair advantage of the willingness of members in all parts of the House to support proposals for fresh taxation for the benefit of transferred departments, by representing that the money was really needed for

these departments. And the pity of it is that even the Ministers lent their countenance to these tactics and themselves appealed to the Council to vote for the Bill because they stood in need of money. No doubt they do stand in need of money, but is any part of the money provided in the present Budget to finance any scheme for extension of education, promotion of medical relief, and so forth? Indeed the official members said so. The Judicial Secretary remarked: "The Government do not require money merely to balance the budget but also to provide a surplus for the transferred departments." Mr. Briscoe observed: "(The budget) does not include only establishment charges and the ordinary recurring contingent charges, but in addition there are a certain number of new projects and also grants-in aid to local bodies for primary education, etc.," and both the Ministers repeated these assurances. But if provision is made for new projects, why were not these projects mentioned by the Ministers when they introduced their demands for grants. If there are any such projects, as there may be a few small ones, the Council was entitled to know what part of the money which was being raised by additional taxation was to be devoted to them? As a matter of fact, the Hon. Mr. Fakhr-ud-din, the Minister of Excise and Education, himself said: "You have to raise at least 50 lakhs of rupees with a view to meet the ordinary maintenance charges of the present administration, and if you want developments in any department you will have to give more money." (Council Proceedings, vol. IV, p. 1836.) The Hon. Mr. M. S. Das, the Minister of Public Health, also expatiated at great length on the need of more money, if people are to be preserved from cholera, etc., whereupon Babu Nirsu Narayan Sinha broke in upon him with a remark: "Let it be earmarked for this purpose and the Council will accept it." This silenced both the Ministers and the Executive Councillors. They objected that it was constitutionally impossible. This objection has no substance in it, for, I know, in France certain taxes are hypothecated for certain purposes. But in this particular case no earmarking is necessary; all that is necessary is to provide for such schemes in the present Budget, but in fact no provision has been made for any big scheme. The attitude of the most extreme critics of additional taxation in the Bihar and Orissa Council is best seen from the following extract from the speech of Babu Nirsu Narayan Sinha, probably the most capable non-official member in the Council:

"Sir, it is further urged by many members of the Council that money is necessary for public health, for primary education, and for other useful purposes. I may assure the Council that I would be the last person not to vote any money for the purpose of public health and primary education, and I assure the Government that if they would spend this money and would earmark it for these purposes I would support this Bill as far as lies in my power. But my point really is that after we vote the money, it would be spent for the better half of the Government, namely, the reserved subjects (laughter). They would appropriate as much money as they can and leave the poor Ministers

order to extricate himself from the awkward situation in which he was placed? Then why should the Premier's speech, going back upon the principles of a life-time as it were occasion any surprise in India? It is the parents of English youth who have to be kept in good humour on the eve of a general election, not the 315 millions of India. And what else is better calculated to placate them and elicit their support than the promise that their children and children's children to the end of time would continue to be the steel frame of the Indian Empire, which is part of the system itself, never to be taken out? It is sickening to hear people in India talk of the Premier having expressed the sentiments he did, on his individual responsibility. That is nonsense. Whenever the Premier makes a statement, he does so by virtue of his being the head of the Cabinet, on behalf of his Majesty's Government, and hence his speech should be taken to represent the views of the British Government. The fact is that they in England do not want Indians to be in any fool's paradise as to the character of the new regime; it is, in theory and in fact, a subordinate branch of the British Government, and it will continue to be so for a very very long time to come. It is apparently the deliberate intention of England to thwart any attempt on the part of the Government of India or the Central Legislature to assert themselves.

A few instances would suffice to illustrate this tendency. (1) Mr. Gandhi's incarceration is really due to the influence of die-hards; (2) the delay in Downing Street deciding upon the proposals of the Army Committee, of the Executive Council, and of the Indian Legislative Assembly ~~due~~ to the hesitation to entrust India with any kind of freedom in military matters; (3) the reported attempt by the Secretary of State to force Lord Reading to restore the enhanced cotton excise duties, is eloquent proof of great Britain's intentions to grant fiscal autonomy to India, though, by a blunder it has been practically given; (4) the disgraceful attempt to clap into jail members of the Civil Disobedience Committee made by responsible people in England is too recent to be forgotten; (5) it is believed that the recent policy of propitiating the I. C. S. started in London is without the consent of responsible people in India—look at the frantic outburst of a fire-eating newspaper in England which demands the recall of Lord Reading.

Instances might be multiplied but it is unnecessary to give more. Mr. Lloyd George is perhaps the trickster and the low opportunist he has been described to be; but it does not do us any good to be indulging in abuse. Nor need his threat that England would take every step to maintain her responsibility bother us; it is the same Lloyd George who declared he would have nothing to do with a nest of murderers that shook hands with the representatives of Dail Eireann when the situation became intolerable. The question of questions is; what shall we do? Shall we

continue to be manufacturing saints or be perpetual pupils in the political schools started by England? In the face of the common danger, concerted action is necessary, by the two great parties in India meeting in the middle of a bridge which has to be thrown across the wide gulf that is now separating them. Mr. Lloyd George is apprehensive about the sort of men who would enter the legislatures in the next election. We in India should be in a position to tell him that the councils would be filled by representatives animated by the one impulse of devotion to their country, by the one object of winning Swaraj at the earliest possible moment, by the one inflexible determination of winning through at all costs, by all peaceful and honourable methods, using the very machinery provided by England, to carry us successfully to our destiny. How this might be done will be dealt with in the next article.

POLITICUS.

TECHNICAL AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

THE long expected report of the Technical and Industrial Education Committee appointed by the Bombay Government is out, but unfortunately for the Presidency the Committee found themselves divided into two sections at the end of their labours. Speaking at the Industrial Conference convened by Government in 1907 Sir John Hewett, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces said:—"The question of technical and industrial education has been before the Government and the public for over twenty years. There is probably no subject on which more has been written or said, while less has been accomplished", and in the opinion of the Committee these words hold good to this day. Ample evidence can be found in the historical chapter of the report of the Committee to substantiate the above statement. Let us hope the division of opinion in the Committee does not help to strengthen the statement of Sir John Hewett. The total outcome of the various committees appointed and the conferences held since 1854 has been establishment of the Engineering College at Poona, started to produce suitable subordinate officers for the Public Works Department, the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute in Bombay, chiefly for the instruction of apprentices, workmen, foremen and managers and for training suitable technical teachers for the whole of the Presidency, and a few schools of a lower grade here and there. The future also does not seem to be bright. The final report of the Committee consists of two reports—one by the Majority consisting of the non-Indian members of the Committee, and the other by the Minority consisting of the Indian members. If the Majority report is accepted, there is no doubt that there will be some progress, but it will be very small and what is worse is that it will be along the old lines.

The angles of vision of the Majority and the Minority are quite different. The difference is due to the fact that the Majority do not know what the needs of the people are, while the Minority having intimate knowledge of the condition of the society know what is exactly wanted to improve the present condition. There is a fundamental difference between the two sets which must be carefully considered before any definite line can be chalked for the development of technical and industrial education. It is with regard to the object of that education. Should the chief object of technical and industrial education be to prepare men for service in Government works and private factories or should it be something better and higher, keeping service as only a secondary object? If it is the first, the scheme proposed by the Majority will be a suitable one as it is based on the actual requirements of the present and the prospective demands of the near future. The history of technical and industrial education shows that all the schemes so far proposed had service as their basis and it seems from the Majority report that they do not want to widen the scope to any very great extent. The Majority hold that the best means of giving practical training to young men is by establishing apprentice schools attached to large workshops and factories. These schools may prepare wage-earners for workshops and factories but cannot prepare the sort of men the country wants and hence the scheme proposed by the Majority is likely to prove as inadequate as did the former schemes.

The country wants a much wider scheme which will include training of all grades of people. The scheme should provide for the training of research workers in various industries, mechanical and electrical engineers, industrial chemists, and other men of a university standard at the topmost part of its ladder; it should also provide for the training of men who will look after organised industries, of men who will enter various professions, both large and small, and even for men of the type of washermen and shoe-makers. No scheme which excludes cottage and hand industries or village industries is likely to improve the present condition of the people. It is the training in such small industries that will prepare people to stand on their own legs and start independent businesses of their own.

In many areas of the Presidency the cultivators have agricultural work which does not occupy them for the whole of the year. They need some supplementary occupations by which they can add to their meagre income and therefore a training in cottage industries is important for villages. Industrial training is, therefore, of as much vital importance to the rural population as it is to the urban population. This position, it seems, has been given due consideration in the Minority report and that is why the Minority have proposed a scheme of a much wider scope than the one proposed by the Majority.

The Majority report recommends slow progress to keep pace with the demand and the Majority are not in favour of establishing a large number of schools and classes, because they say there is no demand for them. They are, perhaps, not aware of the fact that the establishment of a school in a locality creates a demand for it in that locality. This has been the experience of many schools and colleges in this Presidency. The Majority also seem to be more in favour of apprentice schools than full time schools. They contend that money should not be spent on attempts at hot-house cultivation of artisans in schools. The Majority report puts the estimate of the number to be trained in apprentice schools at 600. To the Minority it is unthinkable that a provision so small for industrial education of lower grades will satisfy the needs of a population of 20 millions. They, therefore, following the example of the advanced countries, have recommended an extension and improvement of the existing system by the institution of full-time day industrial schools with workshops and laboratories attached to them. In their scheme they provide for 3,650 pupils at an annual outlay of Rs. 16 lakhs in middle industrial schools and in institutions of high grade and for 27,000 pupils at an annual outlay of Rs. 13 lakhs in lower industrial schools and in supplementary classes and courses. This provision of Rs. 13 lakhs is intended for the training of skilled and semi-skilled workmen. The instruction will be of a very elementary character, and the majority of the pupils who will benefit by it will be from rural areas. They rightly say that if this provision is omitted, the rural population of the presidency numbering roughly 16 millions, will go without even the rudiments of industrial and occupational training, contemplated in the scheme. As for women the Majority and the Minority have given due consideration to the establishment of institutions for girls and women.

The Minority report proposes the establishment of the following institutions:—

	Building and Equipment
	Rs. lakhs.
Institutions of University grade.	30
Technical Institutes.	15
Middle Industrial Schools.	10
Lower Industrial Schools.	10
Supplementary Classes and Courses	10
Institutions for women.	15

The Institutions of the University grade will admit students who have passed the Intermediate Arts and will turn out technical experts and captains of industry, while the Technical Institutes for which the School Final will secure entrance will train managers and superintendents. The Middle Industrial schools will admit students who have passed either the vernacular seventh or the English third standard and will train persons who with further practical experience will become foremen, charge-men &c., while the Lower Industrial schools will train skilled workmen. It is proposed

to shift for themselves. Sir, I therefore think that the arguments urged have really no value. The money is really not meant for education and for public health, but as they themselves say it will go towards meeting the deficit of the whole administration. I do not know how it is consistent for them once to urge that the money is required for the purposes of meeting the deficit of the present administration, and at the same time that this money is necessary for the purposes of public health and primary education. I therefore think that this argument is nothing but a camouflage and has no substance in it."

I have dwelt at such length on this point not for the purpose of justifying the attitude of critics or condemning that of the Government, but for emphasising a fact which is quite evident to a student of the Council proceedings—that even those who seem most irreconcilably opposed to Government are quite prepared to vote any amount of money that the Ministers may ask for nation-building departments, but unfortunately the Ministers do not yet appear to be planning ahead. And it is indeed a thousand pities.

The Court Fees Bill was passed on Thursday 10th inst.) and the opponents of the measure withdrew their opposition on the Government yielding on two points, the more important of which was that court fees payable on suits up to the value of Rs. 100 were exempted from enhancement, the limit proposed by the Select Committee being Rs. 50. This compromise, it is calculated, will mean a loss to Government of two lakhs.

WAYFARER.

THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

Black and White Labour.

THE cables have told us for some months of the gigantic struggle in the industrial world of the United States, strikes which of course extend likewise to the Railway Unions, which like all organized labour are now up against the capitalist ring which in this great trade depression as usual tries to save its own profits by sacrificing the wages of labour. It is therefore with very mixed feelings that we read in the July issue of *The Crisis*:

We have no sympathy for the railway unions, we black men; because they admit only white men and do all in their power to lower the wages of black porters and labourers. We are glad to see them swallow dose after dose of their own bad medicine. We hope the Railway Labour Board will keep up its interesting programme of robbing Labour Peter to increase the dividends of Railway Executive Paul.

Yet, in the same paper we see a report of a Federation of Labour in the very South, i. e.

In Georgia, stating that last year there had been a strike in the oil refinery at Brunswick, Ga., in which all the employees, 1,500 men, had gone out spontaneously without previous organization. They formed a union of their own. Eight hundred of the men were white and seven hundred black. After a few weeks the company called some of the white leaders into conference and offered them their terms, if the white men would come back. They promised to employ only white men thereafter. The leaders declined to make an agreement, saying that they had no power to act and referred the proposal to a mass meeting of the union. Although the white men were in a clear

majority, the meeting voted unanimously that all should go back or all stay out. This incident was told by the secretary of the State Federation of Labour as just one of a number of striking examples of the growing rank and file solidarity of the black and white workers, despite attempts to raise the race issue.

Solidarity or Revenge?

THIS is surely a remarkable instance of a new orientation in American labour. And it does not stand alone. We know for instance that another union, the "United Mine Workers" have organized black and white labour without any racial discrimination. In fact, there is one local branch in West Virginia, composed of 70 whites and 10 Negroes, the president of which is a Negro! Surely in the face of such facts, it seems pitiable that the leading Afro-American magazine should encourage a mentality of retaliation against the railwaymen, where labour solidarity has not yet overcome racial antagonism. "Serves them right" may feel fine at the moment, but it is not statesmanship. The one thing to work for is solidarity, and retaliatory feelings will never help that along. On the other hand of course one must understand just what racial animosity means in the U. S. A., to understand how difficult it is for an American Negro not to give way to vindictiveness or spite.

The Black Inferno.

ACCORDING to the *Manchester Guardian* of June 16th, 8 Negroes were lynched in the Southern States during the month of May alone; and of these, four were burned alive while crowds looked on! White crowds looking on, to see a black man at a stake being slowly roasted to death: is it possible to think of a spectacle more degraded or more degrading? And then consider that these wretches are in a minority of one to ten in the commonwealth; that they are defenceless, exposed to every device intended to break their manhood and outrage their womanhood—and what wonder that some like the Negro poet Mackay should write (in his poem *To the White Fiends*)

Think you I could not arm me with a gun
And shoot down ten of you for every one
Of my black brothers murdered, burnt by you?

Or that others should be crushed by the sense of monstrous injustice into a stony despair, voiced by Mr. Fenton Johnson, when he means

I am tired of work; I am tired of building up somebody else's civilization. . . .

Throw the children into the river; civilization has given us too many. It is better to die than it is to grow up and find out that you are coloured.

Some Moral Prestige.

THE very elementary Federal Anti-Lynching Bill which has just been passed by the Congress, is not expected to get through the Senate; or if it does, a Southern White Campaign is already preparing to see that it gets squashed as "unconstitutional" by the Supreme Court of "Justice". If such is the position of the unhappy Afro-American at home, it is not likely that the American Government would

deal differently with the Negro abroad. The rape of Haiti and the atrocities committed by American Marines there are a standing witness of that horrible fact. And now we read that in another West-indian group, the Virgin Islands, American imperialism will not even allow that fact to be mentioned any more! The acting Government Secretary at St. Thomas has just decreed the "control of a radical press" which is said to disseminate "doctrines inimical to American interests" by daring to animadvert on the occupation of the two independent republics of Haiti and San Domingo. In Cuba however the muzzle has not yet been applied apparently, for we find the *Espana Nueva* of Havana giving in a recent number chapter and verse of a series of enormities committed by American soldiers in San Domingo and rousing Latin-American opinion in general against the dollar-tentacled octopus from the North. No wonder the *Living Age* remarks plaintively that "this campaign of criticism and condemnation can hardly fail to lower the moral prestige of the United States among the Spanish-speaking people of both hemispheres."

But is it possible?

Industrial Achievements.

THIS American "civilization" is truly a wonderful thing. Americans have said so often that they have got the finest things in the world and that by inference, they are the finest people in the world, that they, and the rest of the world, are quite coming to believe it. But, given the size and natural riches of the continent now forming the U. S. A. : would it not rather be wonderful, if an industrial people had made nothing of them? To gauge American civilization, one should take its industrial achievements, and consider not what they consist of, but how they are achieved; not the actual achievement only, but the actual non-achievement. Take that characteristic and original American industry—petroleum. The petroleum deposits of North America are undoubtedly amongst its greatest national assets; and that out of its exploitation a huge industry has arisen and fabulous fortunes been amassed, is therefore nothing very meritorious. But when we look into the manner of utilizing this national asset, we find so impartial an authority as the Director of the Bureau of Mines to say deliberately

"We have been wasteful, careless, and recklessly ignorant. We have abandoned oil fields while a large part of the oil was still in the ground. We have allowed tremendous quantities of gas to waste in the air. We have let water into the oil sands. . . . We lacked the knowledge to properly produce one needed product without overproducing products for which we have little need."

The "Civilization" of Squander. DR. POGUE in his standard work "The Economics of Petroleum" on almost every page refers to the ignorance and wastefulness of the methods hitherto followed; whilst the Smithsonian Institution sums up its conclusions regarding the staggering

extent of this wastefulness, that "less than twenty-five per cent. of the petroleum underground reaches the pipeline. If we subtract from this proportion the losses involved in improper and wasteful methods of utilization, the recovery factor becomes perhaps as low as ten per cent." 90% wasted of all this natural wealth! What would one say of a 90% inefficiency elsewhere? What of a country where only one letter out of ten ever reached its destination; where only in one case out of ten justice was ever obtainable; where only one schoolboy out of ten would succeed in mastering the art of reading and writing: would we call that a country highly civilized and the finest on earth? Yet here is the U. S. A. which prides itself above all things on its industrial achievements—and when we come to judge it, on this very ground selected by itself, we find a 90% inefficiency! Most of that inefficiency of course is due to the industrial system itself—a system which does not work for the sake of production, but of profits. Therefore every oil field, cut up in little bits, each in different hands, is exploited, not to produce the maximum, but to enrich the individual to the maximum. Hence draining one man's well by the owners of the surrounding tracts—to mention only one of the usual methods whereby capitalism helps the individual to defeat the common good. No wonder the *New Republic* can say, speaking of this great American Petroleum Industry, that if it is mechanically progressive and financially modern, it is administratively mediæval and socially criminal. There never was a clearer case for the nationalization of any natural resource and certainly, the case for public intervention in this industry is incomparably "stronger than that for intervention in the business affairs of minors, incompetents and wastrels who squander merely their personal fortunes."

King Coal.

NOT of course, as if such criminal inefficiency was the monopoly of American capitalism—though its extent there does seem to beat the records. The Sankey report on coal-mining in England shed a lurid light on the utter chaos in that industry, where more than a lakh of accidents happen annually—most of them preventible, too! Mr. J. A. Hobson in his new book "Incentives in the New Social Order" says that according to a leading mining expert "we have squandered our coal in the most reckless manner in the past and that we are still wasting it to-day in millions of tons"; and, further, on the authority of the Industrial Fatigue Research Board: "It seems probable that if all the iron and steel works in the country adopted the most efficient methods, they could, on an average, improve their output by something between 50 and 100 p. c." On the other hand the great American coal strike has just led to an intervention by President Harding, which is something altogether new in that plutocracy. After inhibiting any immediate reduction in wages and interference with non-union labour, he proposes a Commission which is to

work out a national wage (not a sectional one as the owners wanted) by investigating every phase of the industry and every sort of production and transportation, and is particularly to eliminate waste due to intermittency and instability. The underlying principle, viz. that an industry cannot be run according to the sweet will of the owners, is so startlingly novel in the United States, that one only hopes that it is not too good to be true. Even in socialistically so much more advanced England the excellent Sankey Report had to be thrown to the infuriated wolves of the mine owners. Will Mr. Harding's Commission fare any better?

CORRESPONDENCE

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE "WHITE AUSTRALIA" POLICY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR:—A series of articles have been appearing in your esteemed paper of late by a Mr. Franks upon the "White Australia" policy. Will you permit a few remarks upon them by one who, though not of your political school, has been for many years a subscriber and sympathetic reader of the SERVANT OF INDIA?

Did space permit I should gladly deal with the economic and other fallacies of the advocates of this policy; this letter refers only to Mr. Franks's attempts to show that the policy is not aimed at India, as found in the second of the series in your issue of July 20th.

The writer assures the people of India that there is not the slightest feeling against Indians which makes the Australians take their present line, but rather their great sense of honour and fairness. With due respect for him I would submit that the method of reasoning and assurance adopted by him in the treatment of this subject is one that will no longer impress the vast majority of the people of India. It might have done so some years ago, but the stage is passed when intelligent Indians find any satisfaction in mere words, be they ever so plausible.

For what is Mr. Franks's argument? Let me quote a few sentences from it:—

Just before leaving for the Imperial Conference, Mr. W. H. Hughes very well outlined the fears of his political bed-fellows when he said, "We are five million people with a vast continent, capable of infinite development. Within a few weeks sail there is the bulk of the population of the world overcrowded. We have said we would retain the continent for ourselves...."

... take your map of the world, lay your finger on Australia, and then notice how this practically empty treasure-house lies inclosed with the nations whose lands are admittedly overcrowded.

... when it is realised that India is only a tiny link in that chain of "coloured" peoples, it must be admitted that Australia's fears as materialised in the "White Australia" policy are, to say the least, certainly not the result of fright towards India.

... there lies in the Australian mind the conviction that India is as vitally and emotionally concerned in the preservation of the Empire as is Canada or South Africa...

... although Australians bear absolutely no ill-will towards India and Indians, but actually regard them as fellow-citizens of the Empire... their sense of justice and honesty forbids them extending the hand of welcome to one "colour" while brandishing the clenched fist in the face of another "colour".

... Indians need have no fear that the "White Australia" policy is aimed at them. Far from it they find themselves, on the other hand, merely unfortunate victims of circumstances which neither Australia or India can alter just at present.

Mr. Editor, I have looked in vain in your editorial columns for any comment upon this argument to which you have allowed a place in your columns, and which you have placed before your readers. What is the reason for this? Does it seem valid to you? Are you comfortable under its implications? Do you not feel that it is a place of white-washing insulting to the intelligence of those who read it?

To me it seems that if Mr. Franks had set consciously to work with the specific object of exposing the unjustifiability of Australia's position, he could have done it no more efficiently. Had he wished to expose the nature of the political positions to which the Empire seems to have committed itself, he could have chosen no better way.

For after all what does it amount to? Briefly this: Australians have succeeded in getting possession of a vast and practically empty continent—a treasure-house of opportunity capable of almost infinite expansion, lying in close proximity to those areas where the bulk of the human race live overcrowded and seeking an outlet for their surplus millions. But Australians have said they will retain this continent for themselves, and they cannot shake the clenched fist in the face of the Japanese with justice unless they treat Indians in the same way. Of course they do not fear the entry of Indians; India is only a *tiny link* in the chain of coloured nations. Moreover they consider Indians to be their friends and fellow-citizens of the Empire, and wish them to realise that the policy is not at all aimed against them. Indians are "the unfortunate victims of circumstances" — circumstances which neither India or Australia can alter just at present.

"We have said that we will retain the continent for ourselves" though the bulk of mankind ever approaching nearer and nearer the verge of subsistence, starve and die for lack of room. "We" — the paltry five millions of Australian settlers! This seems to me to be the proposition upon which the whole of this precious argument is based. To put it forward is to insult the intelligence of its victims; to expect them to accept it indicates a failure to credit them with either common sense or self-respect.

Had it been postulated by the original inhabitants of Australia, one might have conceded a certain amount of justification despite its selfishness. But it is not; it is the determination of a comparatively insignificant group of individuals who, in very recent times, have left their homes in the Far West to find new ones in that vast continent which, with the American continents, form the natural outlet for the overcrowded millions of eastern and southern Asia.

"We have said we will"—this is the only moral justification the people of Australia can put forward; and that which they say they will do is incompatible with the interests — the *vital* interests — of the majority of the human race to which Mr. Hughes refers.

Then, in God's name, why waste time talking about "their sense of justice and honesty"? Why prate about this nation — a fifth of humanity — as only a *tiny link* of whom nobody harbours any apprehensions, and who "just at present" must be excluded so as not to offend the Japanese? It is nauseating constantly to hear the sacred names of *justice* and *right* and *responsibility* dragged forward to bolster up such be-draggled purposes as these. Cannot those who are determined to do such wrongs realise that their victims would respect them more if they would stop whining about their *duty* and acknowledge in a straightforward manner that neither duty or justice had anything to do with their determination to aggrandize themselves at the expense of their fellow-men? If they find it impossible to act fairly toward the rest of mankind while maintaining their own selfish interests, let them at least refrain from misrepresentation.

"How long will this banner fly" is Hughes question, "unless behind it are massed the legions of the Empire, and

unless it is ringed about by the protection of the British Navy?" He is profoundly right; it is upon these that Australia will have to depend, for side by side with the banner of a "white Australia", the spotless banner of justice and equity may never fly.

By all means let the people of Australia seek to bar the doors of that vast and empty continent against their needy fellows; when it is God's will the doors will open in their deserts. Only, in the name of common decency let there be no more talk about "sacred causes" and "sense of justice and honesty". We weary of it.

S. E. STOKES.

Kotgarh, August 8th, 1922.

[Mr. Franks has explained the Australian view-point in his articles, in publishing which we no more subscribe to the views expressed in them than to the views contained in Mr. Stokes' letter. We propose to deal with both of them in our next issue:—Ed.]

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