

THE Servant of India

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Office : KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY

VOL. VI, No. 18.]

POONA—THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1923.

{ INLAND SUBS. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN s. 10.

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK

FURTHER news about Kenya only bears out the correctness of our view, that the conflict is not so much between Whites and Indians, as between the traditional policy towards native races of English on the one hand and Boer on the other. A study of the last mail papers to hand is very interesting. The *New Age* very rightly states that "all experience shows that neither White traders nor Indian Traders are fit to govern negroes", but that Indians only ask for "evenhanded justice and that a few white settlers should not invoke the might of the Empire to secure for themselves all the most desirable lands"; and the paper discerns still "in the British Commonwealth of Nations a living spirit which seeks modifications and adjustments and will eventually enable it to mediate between East and West." But it does not seem to realise that against that spirit is arrayed not India, nor England, but South Africa, which wants to Africanderize the whole of Africa. The "Manchester Guardian" gives a few facts—communicated by a retired official to our contemporary—as to the way that Africans fare under the present undisputedly White dominion: labour strikes and "absconding" are a serious criminal offence; no native can enjoy more than a squatter's right to land; Harry Thuku's agitation against reduction of all wages by one third led to the notorious Nairobi disturbances and to his deportation; a five million pound loan, to improve the condition of the natives, was spent on a railway to benefit the white settler; the natives are heavily taxed, the Whites pay £1 p. a. in direct tax—their seven million acres of cultivated land contributing next to nothing to the public exchequer, &c.

EDITORIALLY, the *Manchester Guardian* deplores that of the four delegations sent to London "none speaks directly for the 2¼ million natives." Similarly the *New Statesman* says that "there are more than the 10,000 Europeans and 25,000 Asiatics concerned; there are 3,000,000 Africans in Kenya. We are far from saying that the Kenya natives have no grievances against the white men; but we hope that the Colonial Office's decision will be based on longer and larger views, both political and economic, than those current either in Bombay or in Nairobi." It is really surprising to find such papers writing, as if India had been clamouring for a free hand in the exploitation of the native. The suggestion is now hailed as a heaven-born inspiration to put back the Africans entirely under the Imperial Government and to let Kenya revert to Crown Colony rule pure and simple: but had India ever pressed for a supersession of that system? It is the White Settlers, under the impetus of 5000 South African immigrants, who started an agitation for "self government"; it is they who aimed at turning Kenya into a second Rhodesia; it is they who wanted all these things so badly—not because of any inborn love of freedom, but because they deliberately wanted to get rid of all interference on the part of Imperial Authorities, so as to be able to deal with the native as suited their purposes. The short-lived compulsory labour law demonstrates what these white settlers are after and what good reason they have got for desiring a "Dominion" status, which will make English intervention on behalf of Africans impossible in future.

* * *

THE *New Statesman* falls foul of Mr. Sastri for having "made some very strong remarks" as to the dispute being one "between the white and the coloured persons in the Empire": but what else is it? The Indian was quite satisfied with his status of disfranchisement in the old Colonial Office days; he never did wish to get up Indian ascendancy over Kenya's natives. But when the White Settler wants franchise, the Indian naturally, *qua* Imperial Citizen, claims the same; if the white wants to run the country, the Indian refuses to be excluded from any such new privileges on purely racial grounds. As we said last week, the Indian as a matter of fact in this fights the battles of the African too; he stands for a universal test—of edu-

cation, of property, or what not—as against a racial test, and thus again he fights the cause of every coloured person in the Empire. Mr. G. K. Devadhar at the recent Empire Day function in Bombay took that opportunity of emphasizing that if Indians like himself prized the Empire, they only did so as long as it stood for equal citizenship and common service. But if the Imperial Conference Resolution of 1921 is whittled away, as Mr. Sastri said at the London School of Economics, there will be nothing left of those principles and still less will there be left any reason why India should care any longer for an Empire, which will not or cannot defend its pretended principles against a Fascist army of 5000 Kenya Boers.

* * *

A few questions
about the Army.

THE latest news about the Indianization of the army is distinctly ominous: all the more so as it coincides with an exultant outburst on the part of that pillar of law and order—the inimitable Sir Michael O'Dwyer—who revels that Indian privates are said to have refused to serve under Indian King-Commissioned officers. The latest news referred to, which is just now percolating through the Indian press, is to the effect that Indian Commissioned officers are declining offers of transfer to the eight wholly-to-be-Indianized units. No doubt the at present rather obscure situation will be placed under the searchlight of public criticism at the forthcoming Simla session when we hope the following points will be made quite clear: (a) whether the famous pronouncement of Lord Rawlinson last session was mere window-dressing, the military in reality trying their level best, to stultify its avowed purpose? (b) if the military are not really bent on sabotaging the scheme, what are its inherent weaknesses which keep back Indian Officers from it? (c) whether the scheme really is the best method of working towards complete ultimate Indianization of the Army? When there is so much talk about comradeship in arms—as there always is on such occasions—one should *prima facie* believe that an indiscriminately mixed army, with Indian and British Officers in every conceivable mutual relationship of subordination, comradeship or command, would be better able to lead to complete Indianization by gradual elimination of the British element, than would an army composed of watertight compartments, some painted black, some white—in more senses than one. And as a final question: (d) are the so-called "martial" races of our country really the only, or even the best material, out of which to form leaders, not of an old time army designed for the maintenance of sectional ascendancy, but of a truly national army, required for the protection of an All-Indian Commonwealth?

* * *

The New
Propaganda.

NOW that Mr. K. Natarajan has accepted the Presidentship of the Bombay Swaraj Party, he seems

to have developed some wonderful powers of obliviscence, not infrequent in a new convert. Last week we drew attention to his discovery of the Liberals as opponents to social reform. This week we find him giving currency to the atrocious propagandist perversion of fact—that the Liberals are responsible for the incarceration of Mr. Gandhi. This charge he now makes because last year the Liberal Conference which met at Bombay and to which he was a delegate, did not accept a resolution of his regarding Mr. Gandhi's arrest and imprisonment. It is noteworthy that though he criticised the Conference quite severely last year for this omission, it did not occur to him then to hold the Liberals 'responsible' for Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment. But what was this resolution which the subjects' committee threw out? It was as follows:—

That this Conference places on record its deep regret at the circumstances in which it has been found necessary to prosecute and imprison such a great-souled patriot as Mr. Gandhi and earnestly represents to Government that the terms and conditions of his life in prison should be reduced and liberalised to the utmost extent compatible with the object of his incarceration, namely, the prevention of his participating in political propaganda.

When it was explained that a great improvement had taken place in the treatment of Mr. Gandhi in prison, Mr. Natarajan admitted that the information 'went to meet the second part of my resolution a long way'. So only the first part remained which merely sought to record the regret of the Conference at the circumstances which necessitated the arrest. The Conference considered there was no point in passing only this part of the proposed resolution, because, as we pointed out last year, it "did not imply any censure of Government's action—Mr. Natarajan made that point absolutely clear; the regret which he wished the Conference to express was such as even the official signing the order of Mr. Gandhi's arrest might with a clear conscience have expressed." Last year he blamed the Liberals for not expressing regret at Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment—and we protested against such monstrous misrepresentation of the rejection of his resolution. This year he holds them responsible for it. That is how some people "advance"!

* * *

The Suspension of
Council-boycott.

Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon's resolution, which was passed by the All India Congress Committee at Bombay by a majority of twenty-five votes, and which directs that no propaganda be carried on amongst the voters in pursuance of the Gaya resolution relating to the boycott of Councils, is undoubtedly a severe blow to the non-co-operation movement, as it was inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi three years ago. This decision of the A. I. C. C. may be called a victory for the Dasites, but in no sense can it be described as a compromise, though frantic efforts are being made by some interested parties to give it that appearance. Some closer approximation from pretence to reality has at any rate been made—which is all to the good, as far as it goes. But whither will it go and what will be the end?

MR. BALDWIN'S CABINET.

To the student of British politics the outstanding feature of the recent Cabinet changes is the final relegation not only of the Lloyd Georgians but of the Die Hard Tories to a background, from which it is impossible to imagine that they will ever again emerge into cabinet rank. As regards the former, the realization, that no Premier can any longer rule the country from the House of Lords, seals the fate of that chamber and of the High Tories in general. That even the *Morning Post* opposed Lord Curzon's premiership, is proof that the right-wing Tories have recognized their inability of ruling the country directly. They must depend in future on forming an important fraction of the Conservative Party and on influencing by virtue of that position their party and the Government at large. But there is no future in the country for any party which seems to stand for the exclusiveness of the traditional high and dry Tory: if Conservatism is to appeal at all to the British people, it must at least *seem* democratic. In England the common man loves a lord, provided the lord pretends to be but a common man. Now Lord Curzon may be capable of many feats, but certainly not of this one. Hence Mr. Baldwin, who, as Mr. Rudyard Kipling blurted out the other day, was needed "to save the Conservative Party."

That it badly needed "saving" was of course patent to the naked eye. The Labour Party without any doubt not only dominates, but actually leads the Commons. The defeat of four Ministers in three weeks demonstrated the feeble hold the party in power had got in the country. Still more significant: two very important strikes (the Norfolk agricultural labourers' and the building trades')—so important as to have without doubt called forth Mr. George's intervention in the days of his premiership—were settled by the mediation of the leader of the Opposition, instead of by a Cabinet Minister! If proof was wanted, that "Labour was fit to govern", it would surely be found in this fact that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald was appealed to not by the strikers only, but by the employers, and that he found a formula satisfactory to both. Mr. Law's "tranquillity" was obviously leading the Conservative Party straight on to the tranquillity of extinction: what wonder that the party got a real fright and decided to turn over a new democratic leaf? Hence—we repeat—Mr. Baldwin.

Mr. Baldwin, as a matter of fact, stands furthest to the left of all Conservatives and is only separated from the right wing of the Lloyd Georgians by the shade of Mr. George himself. Mr. J. M. Keynes (in the last—his first—number of the *Nation*) gives a useful political rainbow scale of colours from the ultra-violet Fascism of Lord Carson on the Right to the ultra-red Communism of Mr. Newbold on the Left. Beginning with Lord Carson on the Right, he progresses by almost imperceptible distinctions to Lord Salisbury—Lord

Derby—Lord Curzon—Mr. Law—Mr. Baldwin—Mr. Austen Chamberlain—Sir R. Horne—Lord Birkenhead—Mr. Churchill—Mr. George—Sir A. Mond—Lord Grey—Sir J. Simon—Mr. Asquith—Lord Buckmaster—Lord Haldane—Mr. Clynes—Mr. Webb—Mr. Macdonald—Mr. Snowden—Mr. Lansbury—Mr. Newbold. Now it will be noticed that the High Tory trio (Lords Salisbury, Derby and Curzon) remain in Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet: but then everybody remains in his Cabinet, except Mr. Law (and Major Boyd-Carpenter: but *de minimis* . . .). The interesting point is that there is a new addition and that this addition should be Lord Robert Cecil. To have in the Cabinet two men whose outlook on foreign politics is as radically different as Lords Curzon and Rob. Cecil, proves that the very retention of Lord Curzon can only be of a temporary nature. With a vain person like him, anything must have seemed preferable to a pointed exclusion. The fiction will be that Lord Curzon naturally would have been the new Premier but for the accident of his birth; that he loyally accepts Mr. Baldwin, as indeed the latter joyfully accepts him as his Foreign Secretary. But his health will soon—we venture to prophesy—begin to fail; and whilst he takes a little holiday, who more natural to take his place than Lord Robert Cecil, whose nominal post (Lord Privy Seal) is of so exacting a nature, that Mr. Law never filled it all?

And Mr. Baldwin, as the shrewd business man he is, knows that the first necessity for England—good trade—will tarry, as long as Lord Curzon is allowed to pursue his insane foreign policy. His recent ultimatum to Russia revealed the man and whither he was steering the Empire. When Lord Curzon was young—for even he once was young—the tradition of the Foreign Office (and naturally of the India Office) was that of an essential enmity between Russia and England. To him and to his type the short period of an Anglo-Russian Entente under Lord Grey's guidance was but an interlude. To Lord Curzon Russia has been, is and ever will be the enemy; and for Lord Curzon an enemy must be fought, not placated. Lord Curzon very cleverly managed to detach Turkey from Russia and thus to obtain the right of putting Odessa and Batum at the mercy of British naval guns. But what wonder that this "cleverness" should have resulted in more intensive Russian anti-British propaganda in Persia and Afghanistan? It is a maxim of law, that you cannot inherit from those you murder: what else did Lord Curzon expect from Russia after its discomfiture at Lausanne, but that it would hit back? The official propaganda now in full swing, explaining the wickedness of "Soviet intrigues" in Kabul, quoting the request on the part of the Russian Minister at Kabul for a further £2500, and such like, only serves to emphasize the utter futility, miscalculation and failure of the Curzonian policy. That there are people on the borders of India (and inside them!) who will gladly pocket largesse shown by Soviet

emissaries, really needs no indignant protestation: what is to the point is that Mr. Rasolnikov himself says that "the existing organization will collapse", unless another £2500 can quickly be pumped into the veins of this obviously pretty moribund body. Our C. I. D. is perfectly capable of marking down every single "emissary" entering India and of dealing appropriately with him and with his money: what it cannot do, is to make Afghanistan and Persia our friends. Yet India needs their friendship, and Russia's to boot. But them it cannot have, as long as Russia and England are either at war or neither at war nor at peace. It is peace we want, a peace *sans phrases* with Russia: but we shall never get it, as long as Lord Curzon rules at Downing Street.

If Mr. Baldwin—with the help of Lord Robert Cecil—can be trusted to essay a clean-up of Lord Curzon's Russian muddle, he will be still more anxious to tackle the utterly dreadful Ruhr embroglio. For England needs German customers, whilst France's Ruhr policy aims directly at a barbarization of the whole of Germany. The mail papers to hand give details of the first "Communist" revolts at Mulheim: when it was noticed that these "red" bands saluted French officers and received from the French authorities all the succour that the most benevolent neutrality could give. Having disbanded the German police of the invaded districts, the French quite obviously now connive at, if they have not directly instigated, the lowest dregs of the German population taking the opportunity of sacking the defenceless districts. Yesterday's telegrams about Gelsenkirchen confirm that view in every detail: "Red pickets do not interfere with the French patrols"; "we shall find a way out with French help"; "the German Government request for permission to send police reinforcements will be refused." True, to-day's news seems to signal some French uneasiness at the Frankenstein created by them: but France's aims remain and these aims directly injure English business; and Mr. Baldwin is first and last an English business man. His choice of Mr. MacKenna, head of the City and Midland (one of the Big Five of English Banking), as Chancellor of the Exchequer proves that "business" will come "first" and that France will no longer be given a free hand in reducing the Ruhr to a desert and the whole of Germany to a wilderness,—to the detriment of English exporters. And again, it will be Lord Robert Cecil's rather than Lord Curzon's policy which thus will prevail.

The inclusion of Mr. MacKenna in the Cabinet and the exclusion of all Georgians, so loudly boomed by Georgian propagandists during these last days, marks likewise the end of the career of all those, who were beguiled by the arch-wizard from Wales to merge their interests in his. Neither Mr. Chamberlain nor Sir R. Horne has been called in: on the contrary, if Mr. Baldwin wants a quasi-Liberal, he deliberately chooses one, whose last

service was under Mr. Asquith. True, Mr. MacKenna is no longer much of a Liberal; like Sir A. Mond, he has discovered advantages in Protection and the tariffs now in force in England go under his name still. It is significant that Mr. George making another bid for Liberal reunion (at Manchester on April 28th), offered to scrap the Paris Economic Resolutions, the Key Industries Act and the MacKenna tariff—though pipe as he may nowadays, there is nobody willing to dance to his tune. Sir L. Worthington-Evans' inclusion in the cabinet as Postmaster-General—it is patent—is not due to his former associations, but to his present recantations.

Summing up: Mr. Baldwin's is a business cabinet in the sense that the interests of Big Business will come first and those of the big feudal land holders only second. One will be able to expect plenty of hard common sense from it and that kind of playing for popularity, of which the taking of a penny off the pint of beer is typical. But genuine social reform and nation building? Not under Mr. Baldwin's premiership, we are afraid.

INTERCOMMUNAL RELATIONS IN THE PUNJAB.—III. (*Concluded.*)

LET us now turn to the Lahore conference. The dispute which the Congress leaders were called upon to settle related to communal representation in the Legislative Council and other public bodies and also in the services. Mr. C. R. Das called them "fashionable" grievances and so perhaps they would have been had he succeeded in abolishing the Government or ridding the people of their communal consciousness. As things are, it is idle to ignore the deep distrust with which one community regards the other; which distrust, most unfortunately, extends to every post in Government service—including the police, magistracy, judiciary—only the High Court being excepted. When Government servants and the masses are alike involved in this communal distrust it cannot be brushed aside with a contemptuous gesture.

In this connection it would be useful to remember the following percentages:—

	Muhammadans.	Hindus.	Sikhs.
Population	... 55	34	11
Voters	... 40	30	30
Present distribution of seats in the Legislative Council	... 50	32	18
Lucknow Compact	... 50	50	
One proposed alternative	45	30	25

The Muhammadan case seems to be as follows. They are in a majority in the province. In other provinces where they are in a minority they have to submit to Hindu Raj. Why should not others submit in the Punjab to a Muslim Raj? On the basis of population they are entitled to 55% of everything. The Lucknow com-

compact gave them only 50% of the seats in the Legislative Council and certainly they are not going to accept anything less and convert themselves into a minority.

The case of the Hindus rests on their want of confidence in the sense of justice and fair play of the Muhammadans in dealing with non-Muslims, even though the latter may have made sacrifices for the sake of Muhammadans. The Hindus have joined the Khilafat agitation, got over prejudices of centuries, drunk out of the same cups as the Muhammadans and at the bidding of Mr. Gandhi even forgave the Moplahs of Malabar. There was no strong condemnation of the forced conversions in Malabar, no protest against Mr. Fazl-i-Husain's policy, no agitation worth the name against cow-killing. On the other hand, the Gurudwara Bill was passed in spite of the protest of the non-Muslim members of the Council, Mr. Fazl-i-Husain has been supported though he has not the confidence of the other communities, and riots have taken place at Multan and Amritsar. At Amritsar the Hindus sought the help of the Akalis instead of the police, because the latter are predominantly Muhammadans. In the face of this record the Hindus find it impossible to contemplate with pleasure the Muslim Raj. In fact they have a feeling of resentment against Mr. Gandhi himself for having dragged the Hindus at the chariot wheels of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Pan-Islamists, to whom birth in India is a mere accident. The conciliatory policy of the Congress, old and new, having failed to win over the Muhammadans—of the Punjab at any rate—to national solidarity and resulted only in the exaltation of Islam, the Hindus are now thinking of some sterner methods than self-surrender. The Hindus are to be knit together by the development of communal consciousness; they are to organise themselves for self-defence against Moslem insolence and avenge the least insult to the community. They are to decrease the number of Muhammadans and increase that of Hindus by permitting and promoting conversions of Muhammadans to the Hindu faith—and this feeling results naturally in sympathy for *Buddhi* work among the Malkhana Rajputs. They are also to insist on a change in the constitution of the Legislative Council with a view to keep Muhammadans just short of absolute domination. Hence their demand for the reduction of Muhammadan representation from 50 to 45 per cent.

The communal consciousness of the Sikhs is recent and in the beginning took the form of an attempt to rid their temples of Hindu influences. As some of these temples were under Government management, this Gurudwara movement took a political turn after the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre and the starting of non-co-operation. The signal success of the Sikhs in carrying out non-violent non-co-operation against Government has immensely enhanced their prestige and political importance, which they now demand should be recognised accordingly. They form 11% of the

population in the Punjab, but they claim a voting strength of 30% whilst their present representation in the Council is 18%. The Muhammadans in Bihar, they say, are also 11% of the population and yet they were given 30% representation because of their historic past. The Hindus were at first opposed to the separatist communal movement among the Sikhs, but the attitude of the Muhammadans has reconciled them to it and brought together the two non-Muslim communities.

Reverting to the conference, it would be profitless to mention here all the vicissitudes of the discussions. The final alternatives may be summarised as follows:—

The Hindus and Sikhs demanded that the population basis be dropped for representation in the Council and they proposed instead

(1) that communal representation be done away with;

(2) if it was persisted in, that it should correspond to the voting strength of the different communities, i. e., 40% Muslims, and 30% each Hindus and Sikhs;

(3) that they would even go the length of allowing 45% to the Muslims and share the rest between Hindus and Sikhs, 30 and 25 per cent. respectively; and

(4) finally they would unquestioningly accept the award of the All-India Congress leaders.

The Muhammadans refused to budge an inch from the Lucknow compact. It was nothing to them that the Hindus had agreed to give larger representation to the Muslims in Behar and other provinces or might press for its revision. The only alternative proposed by them was universal adult suffrage which would retain for them their majority in the Council. As this would only stereotype the existing arrangement, the Hindus and Sikhs did not accept it and the negotiations had to be broken off.

The present prospect is not very hopeful. The solution depends chiefly on Muhammadans who should realise the necessity of regaining and retaining the confidence of non-Muslims. It is a pity that Mr. Fazl-i-Husain has stuck to the policy of the Lucknow compact, which had been superseded by the loftier principle of identity of interests, albeit the latter had its inspiration in the non-co-operation movement. Even if he be right in doing so, there is such a thing as over doing a good thing and doing it at a wrong time. It is highly regrettable that he has not been able to find any support from the leaders of other communities. The consequences of his policy must have pained the Nationalist in him. Perhaps it is not yet too late for him to moderate his policy and win the support of the other communities. It is open to him yet to repeal the Gurudwara Act and promise to do nothing which is opposed by three-fourths of the Hindu and Sikh members of the Council.

That may, however, be expecting too much from Mr. Fazl-i-Husain. In that case it is the duty

of the Muhammadans of other provinces to put pressure on their brethren in the Punjab to give guarantees of fair play to non-Moslems and adequate representation to the Sikhs. Mr. Burghri has already set the ball rolling.

And if the other provinces take the matter up vigorously and arrange for a speedy meeting of all India Muslim leaders, it is just possible the Punjab Muslims might become more considerate and the situation may be eased. Perhaps the best course for adoption in the Punjab without reference to other provinces would be to accept the proportion of a 45 p. c. Muslim, 30 p. c. Hindu and 25 p. c. Sikh representation in the Council for the present, and to leave it to the next revision of the voting qualification, to make representation proportional to the voting strength.

If, however, this attempt at reconciliation and readjustment fails, the Hindus of the Punjab will organise themselves for self-defence and offer effective no-co-operation to the Muslim Raj. And the Hindus of the rest of India will show active sympathy with the Hindus in the Punjab. One would rather not dwell on this distressing alternative, but little is gained by shutting one's eyes to not very remote possibilities. Already the Sikhs are resolved upon resisting the Gurudura Act. There was a talk of non-Muslims boycotting the Lahore Municipal Committee when the reorganization came into force, which has since come into force and by which the Muhammadans get more than 50% of the seats. Multan and Amritsar riots are repeating themselves pretty frequently; Moharram, Dasara and Bakrid festivals will be occasions of even more anxiety for peace and order. The tension is likely to spread to other provinces by sympathy and the question will again become an All-India question. Efforts to withdraw the preferential treatment given to Muslims in the other provinces will be made and resisted; and a period of communal feuds gone through all over India, until the Hindus organise themselves effectually and make it not worth while for the Muhammadans constantly to quarrel with them. How long this period will last depends entirely on the organization of the Hindus in the Punjab and the sympathy of the Hindus in other provinces. The Hindus and the Sikhs must cling together. It is significant that in the last big Amritsar riot the Sikhs played the part of the keepers of law and order and did not identify themselves with the Hindus. It is certainly the proper course for all patriotic organizations to rush to the rescue of law and order when they are threatened, but when these organizations coincide with communal parties, there is some room for misgiving. A firm identity of purpose between Hindus and Sikhs will tend to keep the Muhammadans under check, but if the Sikhs should carry their individuality and separatism so far as to dissociate themselves from the Hindus and give themselves the function of arbiter between Hindus and Muhammadans, they will certainly have many occasions for the display of

this function and for the exaltation of their community, but that will not help national interests.

When will India learn that nationalism is greater and more vital for Swaraj than communalism—oh! when?

BHISHMA.

RAILWAYS AND THE RETRENCHMENT COMMITTEE—I.

THE necessity for placing a limit on the extravagant tendencies of our railway administrators was foreseen by the late Mr. Gokhale no less than 13 years ago. In 1910, speaking on his motion for a reduction of one crore of rupees in working expenses, he drew the attention of the Imperial Legislative Council to the extraordinary growth of working expenses which had taken place since the Railway Board came into existence and the deterioration it had caused in the country's financial position and he emphasized the necessity for fixing a proportion beyond which the Railway Board should not go in the matter of working expenses. The motion was, of course, lost as it was bound to do in the House as then constituted with a large official majority. But lapse of time has proved the wisdom of his advice. The Inchcape Committee have definitely adopted it and have laid down a definite minimum return on capital from the working of the railway property. This is a distinct step forward and therefore highly welcome.

If, however, the idea is to be properly worked out and adopted—as most certainly it should be—it is of the highest importance to ensure not only that the minimum return to be aimed at will be adequate and reasonable, but that the basis and the manner of calculating it are such as will make the return a reliable gauge of the results of the working of our railways as a commercial or business undertaking. We, therefore, propose in the first instance to subject the Committee's recommendation in this behalf to a close scrutiny, in so far as the basis of the proposed return and the manner of calculating it are concerned.

In paragraph 5 of Part II of the report the Committee says :

"We consider that, with economic working, it should be possible for the railways in India to earn sufficient net receipts to yield an average return of at least 5½ per cent. on the total capital at charge. The average return to the State during the 3 years prior to the war was 5 per cent. and, in view of the fact that large amounts of additional capital are being raised at 6 per cent or over, we think a return of 5½ per cent. cannot be regarded as excessive. A return of 5½ per cent. on the total capital at charge in 1922-23, after allowing for all interest annuity and sinking fund payments, would yield roughly Rs. 8.5 crores to the Central revenues."

It must be explained at the outset that the expression "net receipts" used by the Committee in the first sentence of the above quotation does not correspond to the same expression occurring in the table given in the paragraph immediately preceding (i. e. paragraph 4 of Part II of the re-

port). The net receipts as given in paragraph 5 represent the excess of total receipts over total expenditure *excluding* all interest, annuity and sinking fund charges; while the same expression as used in the table in paragraph 4 represents the excess of total receipts over total expenditure *including* all interest, annuity and sinking fund charges. This is made clear by the Committee's statement that "The average return to the State during the 3 years prior to the war was 5 per cent. and, in view of the fact that large amounts of additional capital are being raised at 6 per cent. or over, we think a return of 5½ per cent. cannot be regarded as excessive." The percentage of 5½ is, therefore, to be arrived at in the same manner as the average percentage of 5 obtaining during the 3 years prior to the war was arrived at, that is, by *excluding* all interest, annuity and sinking fund charges. We reproduce below, from page 22 of the Gazette of India Extraordinary, dated the 2nd March 1915, a tabular statement shewing the results of the working of railways during the 3 years prior to the war.

	(In thousands of £)		
	1911-12	1912-13	1913-14
Capital at charge at end of each year	331,247	340,103	351,302
Net working profit from railways excluding interest* charges	15,813	17,272	17,616
Percentage of net working profit to capital outlay ...	4.77	5.08	5.01
Net working profit from railways after meeting interest* charges	3,788	4,803	4,790
Percentage to capital outlay of net profits after meeting interest* charges	1.14	1.41	1.36

A SERIOUS MISCALCULATION.

As regards the specific figure of the net gain to the Central revenues of Rs. 8.5 crores as worked out by the Committee, there appears to be serious miscalculation requiring correction. According to paragraph 13 of the Explanatory Memorandum on the Railway Budget for 1923-24, the total capital at charge in 1922-23 was approximately Rs. 5,64,12,73,000. A return of 5½ per cent. on this amount would require that the railways should produce net receipts amounting to Rs. 31,02,70,015. The standing charges which the Committee suggests allowing for in arriving at the net gain to the Central revenues are, according to paragraph 4 of part II of its report:

	£s.
Interest on debt	17,03,62,000
Annuities in purchase of Railways	5,03,63,000
Sinking Fund	46,11,000
Interest on Capital contributed by Companies	3,32,04,000
Total standing charges	25,85,40,000

Allowing then for this amount, the balance left to the Central revenues out of the net receipts of Rs. 31,02,70,015, would only be Rs. 5,17,30,015

* This really means all interest, annuity and sinking fund charges and not interest charges only.

and not Rs. 8,50,00,000 as calculated by the Committee—a difference of Rs. 3,32,63,985. It appears that the Committee has omitted the Charge on account of "Interest on Capital contributed by Companies" amounting to Rs. 3,32,04,000, but has given no reason for omitting it. In any case it is certain that with a return of 5½ per cent. the gain to the Central revenues would be not Rs. 8.50 crores but only Rs. 5.17 crores.

Taking, then, that a net gain of Rs. 8.5 crores is the minimum desideratum, the railways must yield net receipts *excluding* all interest annuity and sinking fund charges amounting to Rs. 34,35,40,000. This would represent a return on the capital at charge in 1922-23 of 6.09 per cent., instead of 5½ per cent., assuming for the time being that the basis of capital at charge for calculating the return and the manner of calculating that return are both sound. Having corrected this arithmetical error, we shall, in our next article, examine the soundness of the basis of Capital at Charge proposed by the Committee for calculating the return.

ECONOMY.

THE BOMBAY AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

AGRICULTURE being the basic industry of the Presidency, any improvement brought about in that industry is sure to be beneficial to the people at large. But improvement in this industry is not quite so easy as it seems to be to a layman. The present practices in agriculture are based, in many cases, on the experience of centuries past and therefore any suggestion made by the Agricultural Department to alter any of them must be backed up by definite and repeated experiments. The Agricultural Department has also to face a very difficult situation in introducing tried improvements amongst cultivators who, in India, are not only conservative by nature, as are all cultivators in the world, but also very suspicious as to the intention of the Government in introducing these improvements, because they think that the aim of the Government in all these attempts is the ultimate increase of land revenue. It is a matter of congratulation, therefore, to the Minister in charge of Agriculture, the Director of Agriculture and his officers that the Agricultural Department has been able to achieve much both in investigation and propaganda work during the year 1921-22.

In the early years of the existence of the Agricultural Department its primary functions were statistical but gradually its purposes have widened and now as the Director says in his annual report, it is recognised as being an organization to ascertain, by experimental investigation and research, the methods by which the produce of agriculture can economically be increased in quantity and improved in quality and then to get these methods introduced into practice.

The Department seems to have given greater attention to cotton than to any other crop and great profits have been obtained by the cultivators on account of the work done by the Department regarding this crop. Sugar-cane and Rice are also receiving due attention and if more money is made available for the Department, it may be able to achieve quite as good result, in the important food crops of the presidency as in cotton. The chief line of improvement of crops at present taken by the Department is by selection and breeding. The experience of the Department shows that there is no more productive line of work towards the increase in the value of agricultural produce than the development of types of the main crops which will give either better crops or higher quality in the produce. This is perhaps right to a certain extent, but if the improvement in this direction is to be more or less permanent, it must be accompanied by improvements in cultural methods, use of manures on a scientific basis &c. These are not altogether neglected by the Department, but they do not seem to receive the attention which they deserve.

Improvement of crops by the checking of pests and blights is a very important question. In the opinion of the Department many crores of rupees are lost to the country on account of the pests and blights and yet the Department is very poorly staffed to fight these enemies. The annual report for 1921-22 says: "Some of these enemies have been vanquished, and all that is to be done is to bring known and practical methods into general use. Such is the case with the smut of Jowar where an expenditure of one anna per acre will banish most forms of smut and the mildew of grapes." And yet we find that the Government, instead of proposing to increase the staff of the Agricultural Department to save crores of rupees, propose in their Resolution on the Report that "As the field staff of the Agricultural Department is all too inadequate to reach all the villages and the Revenue Department alone has an organisation large enough for the purpose, the help and co-operation of the latter Department in the propaganda work of the former will be invaluable". It is difficult to understand how the members of the Revenue Department, who cannot and do not understand the importance of such questions can be relied upon to do propaganda work against crop pests.

The propaganda work of the Agricultural Department is being reorganised. Divisional Boards consisting of official and non-official members have been created. Under these Boards the direct work of the Agricultural and Co-operative Departments will be brought closer together. The Boards will control the propaganda activities of both the Departments. There will also be a system of local associations, subsidised by Government, for carrying on agricultural propaganda in areas which desire it. In this system the public are brought in direct contact with the working of the Agricultural and Co-operative Departments and can do

much in popularising the work of these Departments.

The boring and other work carried on by the Agricultural Engineer is very useful but this work can be carried on by other officers of the Department. Improvement of implements &c. is long neglected and the public will be glad to read in the Government Resolution on the Agricultural Department the following: "The designing and improvement of implements and production of working models is to be the duty of the Agricultural Engineer, while propaganda is to be carried on by the territorial staff of the Department aided by popular organisations." Agricultural Chemistry and Economic Botany are perhaps the oldest and most trusted sections of the Agricultural Department to carry on higher research work. Non-scientific minds may not be able to appreciate to the full the value of such researches but it is hoped that the Agricultural Department, in their enthusiasm for popular work, will not in any way put pure research work in the back ground, as only such work can give firm foundation and proper guidance to the problems which arise.

Fruit and vegetable growing is certainly important in a country with a large vegetarian population. Formerly Horticulture was included under Economic Botany but recently this work has been put under a separate officer and is therefore expected to make great strides towards the putting of good fruit on the market.

Equally important is the breeding of good cattle both for milk and work. A new section of animal breeding has been started under an independent officer. It is this branch more than the dairy that will be of permanent use to the country. The several thousands of rupees which the Department wasted on dairies, would have been very usefully spent on animal breeding. It is never too late to do anything and it is, therefore, hoped that the Government will leave the dairy business to the people and concentrate their attention on producing and maintaining good strains of cattle.

The section of Soil Physics has been newly created with the special object of mitigating the effects of famine in Sholapur and Ahmednagar districts where the crops often suffer from want of sufficient rain. This section is to devise methods for conserving moisture under the conditions of the districts and for enabling the crops to make full use of the rain that falls. The section itself, however, seems to have been put under famine conditions, since, as the Soil Physicist complains in his report, only a non-graduate assistant was given to him and even that assistant also has now been taken away. The Government, it is hoped, will soon see its way to provide necessary assistance to this section.

With regard to agricultural education, the Poona Agricultural College continues to be very popular, but the Agricultural Schools do no

hold out any great promise. The Government are perfectly right when they say in their Resolution that "The whole question of vernacular agricultural education requires serious consideration. The progress hitherto made with these schools is not such as to justify a firm belief that we are proceeding on the right lines." But the alternative suggested is in no way better. It is proposed to provide for an alternative upper primary school course with an agricultural bias for boys intending to follow agriculture as an occupation. If this is only an alternative course for those who wish to take agriculture as their occupation and if this course prevents the boys in any form being admitted into the training colleges and high schools, very few parents will like their boys to take the agricultural course. The only right way is to make the agricultural course compulsory in all rural areas and allow all these boys the same freedom and rights as the urban boys enjoy with regard to higher courses or their future career.

S.

REVIEWS.

J. A. RICHEY, C. I. E.: Grants-in-aid to Schools in British India. (Occasional Report No. 12 of the Bureau of Educⁿ

9½ x 6½. pp. 116. (10 As.)

THIS is a very useful reference book giving the details of the grant-in-aid system of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, U. P., Punjab, Burma, Bihar and Orissa, C. P., Assam and N. W. Frontier Provinces. An informative introductory chapter gives a history of the Grant-in-aid system, which, it is interesting to note, was introduced into India in 1852 by the Board of Education of the Bombay Presidency, in order to spread the meagre subsidy available for education as widely as possible. The system was soon found quite unsuitable for primary schools, but the Education Commission of 1882-83 still pronounced unhesitatingly in its favour, as regards secondary education. In 1913 the Government policy changed even in that respect in favour of "public management", in accordance with the fact that, as Mr. Richey says, "modern systems of education are based upon the theory that it is the duty of the State to provide, so far as its means permit, education for its future citizens and to see that that education is good; the duty of the parents being confined to supplementing the work of the State and their right to influencing through representative bodies the character of the education given."

For our part we are inclined to disagree with this definition: we are persuaded that the duty and right of parents for the character of the education given to their children should be exercised directly by them; and that the duty and right of the State consists merely in that of paying for the cost of the education, provided the education is a good one of its kind and not extravagant in cost. Centraliza-

tion and State monopoly of education—the present tendency—are of all tyrannies the worst, because the most insidious and most far-reaching: and the only way of countering that danger is by the principle of freedom of education. The present idea of giving State "aid", because otherwise the school in question could not carry on, is altogether vicious and opposed to the necessity in a democracy of an educated electorate.

At the present time there is a perfect chaos of conflicting principles on which these "grants in aid" are being made: the salary grant system, the proportionate system, the approved expenditure system &c., &c. All the more useful to have a handy little volume like the present for reference—but one does hope for the day, when a better and juster policy will sweep away all present compromises and establish the principle that, whilst on the one hand the whole Commonwealth must be responsible for enabling every child to get the education best fitted for the development of all its dormant talents, the parents on the other hand cannot divest themselves of their responsibility for the kind of authority under which their offspring is to come during the most impressionable years of their life.

Z.

* * *
 "MAN IN INDIA" (a quarterly record of anthropological science with special reference to India, edited by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy and published at Ranchi) in its last number only just to hand, though dated December last, contains amongst other interesting articles a short one by Mr. A. V. Thakker on a "Reform Movement among the Bhils" and an appreciative review by Mr. J. H. Hutton, C. I. E., of Dr. Rivers' book on the depopulation of Melanesia (reviewed by us at length in our issue of the 3rd instant,) with special reference to the Nagas of Assam.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, MAY, 10TH.

KENYA DEPUTATION AT WORK.

QUITE a number of things have been happening here. In the first place, all the members of the Indian delegation have been received by the Secretary of State who now knows beyond dispute and authoritatively the point of view of the Indian Legislature regarding Kenya. Mr. Sastri, in addition, has had a long private interview with the Duke of Devonshire, after an equally long conference with Sir James Masterton-Smith, the Permanent Under Secretary at the Colonial Office. The Kenya Indian delegation has been received by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, together with his principal officials, and has placed its case forcibly before him. Next, the anti-Indian propaganda sedulously fostered by the white settlers, under pretence of safeguarding the natives, a nauseating piece of hypocrisy, is being carefully countered.

In this work, Mr. Andrews's part is of the highest importance. Its value cannot be over-estimated, for he has access to missionary and other circles of moral influence upon which it is of the utmost importance to be able to draw at the present moment. I cannot, of course, give details, but it is certain that whatever good results may eventually be secured, they would have been impossible but for his never-tiring energy and wide experience. He has just had a letter accepted by the "Times," which, following upon two others from Prof. A. Berriedale Keith and Mr. Monson, lately a very high official of Kenya, has done a great deal to change the current of opinion and to place the Bishop of Uganda's letter, published just before the arrival of the Indian delegation, in a correct perspective. He makes it perfectly clear that the Kenya Indians have again and again authoritatively declared that they have no desire whatever to take part in the direct administration of native affairs, and that they are not asking for the vote with that object in view. He joins in the warning that no group of settlers ought to control native affairs, which, on the contrary, should remain the sole responsibility of the British Parliament and the Imperial Government. This of course, as the Indians Overseas Association has pointed out in its effective memorandum, involves the retention of the official majority. It may even involve, if this can be secured, divesting the Kenya Legislature altogether of native affairs. Bishop Whitehead, formerly of Madras, Mr. Herbert Anderson, formerly secretary of the National Missionary Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon, Rev. D. G. M. Leith, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, a well-known figure in Madras, and Principal John Mackenzie, of the Wilson College, Bombay, have written in support of the views put forward by the Indian delegations, following upon these letters, and have declared their conviction that only a solution that is clearly disinterested and dictated primarily by considerations of justice and humanity can prevent a disastrous estrangement between India and Great Britain. No one can say that these gentlemen have any special axe to grind, as have the Kenya white settlers and some of their ill-informed and misguided missionary allies. I have before me a letter from a missionary friend in Kenya who says: "The failure to study this aspect of their work, from the inside, is to my mind the weakest point of mission work here, for I do not believe that any of our missionaries have ever taken the trouble to approach this question from the Indian flank, or to sift native evidence upon which they rely for their information." As I said before, every non-white part of the Commonwealth should be intensely interested in the Kenya developments, and that is the reason that I have so lengthily dwelt upon the course of events here.

On Monday last, at the House of Commons the Kenya delegates had a further opportunity of putting their case before the Committee of the

Indians Overseas Association and a few selected friends. Sir Thomas Bennett was in the chair, and Mr. Sastri drew pointed attention to the dangers of South African intervention and its probable consequences upon Indian public feeling. On Tuesday, again at the House, the Committee recently formed of Friends of India, both within and outside the House, met. Col. Wedgwood presided, and those present included Mr. Chas. Trevelyan, M. P., Mr. Harry Snell, M. P., Mr. J. Hope Simpson, M. P., Mr. E. D. Morel, M. P., Lady De La Warr, Mr. D. Graham Pole, Mr. and Mrs. Wingfield-Stratford, Sir Howard d'Egville, Mr. S. R. Bomanji, Mrs. J. Ransom, Mrs. White, Mrs. Sharp, Mr. and Mrs. Sen, Mr. Richter, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. John Scurr, Mr. C. S. Best, Mr. B. Howell, and the members of the two delegations. Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas opened with a description of Indian feeling as a result of the Viceroy's certification policy and a very fruitful afternoon was spent generally.

INDIA IN PARLIAMENT.

In the House of Commons, there has been little interest taken in Indian affairs, judging from the paucity of Indian questions. Earl Winterton confessed his ignorance of anything more than had appeared in the papers regarding the resignations of Messrs. Chintamani and Jagat Narayan. He stated that the Government of India paid no subsidy or allowance to any cable company owning cables to India. In reply to Col. Wedgwood, he analysed the report on the Visapur Jail and circulated a summary of the report, and declined, in answer to Capt. O'Grady, to interfere with the Chauri Chaura sentences, announcing the Secretary of State's satisfaction to leave the matter to the competent authorities in India.

The personnel of the Indian Joint Parliamentary Standing Committee has not yet been announced, but I understand that there are some important changes. I have been informed that Lord Islington no longer finds a place there, among the peers being Lords Hardinge, Lamington, Harris, Chelmsford, Meston, Pentland, and Carmichael. Lord Sydenham is said not to have been appointed. Among the Commoners are Col. Wedgwood, Mr. C. P. Trevelyan, Mr. Harry Snell, Mr. Hope Simpson, Sir Thomas Bennett, Sir Percy Newson, Sir John Hewett, Col. Yate, and Sir Henry Craik. The list is not complete, but its publication is expected.

NOT WANTED.

I hear that Lord Sydenham's statue is still lying in the Chelsea studio where it was chiselled, because the donors do not wish to take the risk of attempting to set it up within the municipal limits of Bombay. Lord Sydenham is evidently not so popular there as he once was said to be.

An interesting sequel to the Tai Maharaj case has developed here. The Maharaja of Kolhapur was the appellant, with Sri Bala Maharaj, against Jagannath Maharaj, against a decision of the Bombay High Court upon a reference under the Summary Settlement Act regarding the Jagannath

Maharaj lands in British India. The Privy Council has decided against him, and thus Sri Bala Maharaja and the Maharaja have been deprived of an opportunity of indirectly reopening the old decision.

CORRESPONDENCE

KANARA FOREST GRIEVANCES.

SIR,—I have read Mr. Haigh, the Collector of Kanara's letter published in your issue of 10th May and as I have answered to many of his points in the *Times of India* and the *Indian Social Reformer*, I shall deal here with such only as have not been touched elsewhere by me or touched not sufficiently clearly.

When a certain scale in general is advocated for the grant of Kumki lands, it does not necessarily mean that the scale is capable of being observed in every place and in every instance without modification. That it is a matter of topography, goes without saying. In higher mathematics, we skip over the well-understood usual steps and omit mentioning the familiar formulæ. I have lived in Kanara longer than Mr. Haigh, and nobody is more aware than myself of the difficulty of laying down any hard and fast rule, owing to differences between tract and tract, village and village; but as a general rule for practical guidance in distributing Kumki, the scale observed in South Kanara (Madras) viz. 2 acres of Kumki to one acre of wet land may be safely followed. It may be mentioned here again prominently that it was after due consideration of all these difficulties and conditions of the problem that this scale (except in the case of bettas which received more generous treatment,) was actually recommended by the Conference of the three very responsible officials in 1919, the Collector whose "real acquaintance with local conditions" cannot be disputed and two other zealous officials of the Forest Department, whose desire to guard 'forest' interests as such is unrivalled.

The official statement that "all forest which is accessible from the coast has been assigned for the exercise of privileges" is too round to bear any precise meaning. It is our experience that even the slightest concessions are usually exaggerated in the official language, and what is most niggardly from the people's point of view is most generous in the language of the official draftsman. Let us then come to the truth of the matter by an impartial inquiry. When Mr. Haigh says that the new area assigned could be exploited for fuel for the Bombay Market and replanted with teak, I am verily reminded of the good old adage common in our part of the country that the dead she-buffalo is always reported to have been yielding twelve seers of milk each time. As I pointed out in my original article, the Forest Department simply denudes the forest and knows no replantation. My contention is borne out by the following remark of the Chief Conservator of Forests in his administration report for 1921-22. He remarks:—"Hitherto forest officers in Kanara had been so much occupied with the exploitation and sale of timber that they have had little time to devote to plantations and other improvements to the forests in their charge." If the past is any indication to the future, one may almost be sure that for Fifty years more, the denuded area will only lie fallow while at the same time, approach thereto by the ryots is being denied.

On the question of control, it pains me to find that the official mind is given to quibbling. Mr. Haigh points out a distinction without a difference. The main point is that the minor forest is still under the Forest Department's control, that the question of control by the Revenue Department is still under consideration, and that certain areas are not to be disforested because they are going to be gradually created into village forests. And village forests are to be created in future, only if village panchayats capable of managing them can be formed to the

satisfaction of the Collector. Can Mr. Haigh hope to satisfy us with such rickety promises and 'under consideration' propositions? Where is all the boasted efficiency of Government, if this question of control which is regarded as all-important by the people, is still kept unsolved after two and a half years' long consideration?

The Press-note says, and Mr. Haigh points it out as a very great point, that the old and new minor forests will not be exploited for the purpose of producing revenue to Government. But such were the promises held out by Government in almost all press-communications and G. Rs. in the past on this matter, and still the Forest Department clean out the forests without even consulting the people who enjoyed privileges therein. Where is your guarantee that in future the same thing will not happen? In the present press note itself, you find the following sentences—"It (the Forest Department) will also retain the right of disposing of any timber in the concession on the most profitable terms." Does not this last sentence put an end to all controversy? I would suggest that the division of the forest area, into "Agricultural forest" and "Forest proper" be introduced in Kanara, the first being completely independent of the Forest Department and the latter alone its proper sphere for exploitation. I am informed, such a system was recently introduced in the Kumaon District of the U. P. with satisfactory results.

Mr. Haigh's is a long record of distinguished service in Kanara, so much so that we have come to regard him almost, as a Kanarite. Instead of emphasizing and exaggerating some of the alleged tendencies of the Kanara agriculturists for which in no small degree the Forest Department's treatment of them is responsible, if he had supported their cause in the way that Mr. Tupper did, his service would have been gratefully remembered by the people. Perhaps, the love Mr. Haigh bears to Kanara is at fault. Is it not a fact borne out by experience that the Collector who has the hardihood of advocating the cause of agriculture in Kanara is not, allowed to continue long in the district, but soon gets transferred?

What pains me most, however, is that the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta should have been concerned in this light-hearted treatment of a matter which closely touches the very life of half a million people. Already our ryots in Kanara who possess a genial knack for comic versification, have begun to sing the following ditty:—

"Mehta Minister: Passed in motor;

He promised us bread; He gave stone instead."

Let Government realise that while it has ready access to all records, and can claim an army of highly-paid officials and competent clerks to assist it, to the non-official worker, this is all a labour of love, involving sacrifice of time, comfort, money and what not. And one has to work under very discouraging circumstances indeed when constitutional action is laughed out of fashion by the populace. And if Government does not choose to move and rectify the draw-backs so clearly pointed out in their policy, one can only think they are inviting trouble in the district.

Yours faithfully,

S. G. WARTY.

Bombay, 17th May.

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