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Editor : S. G. VAZE

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK

ON Oct. 30th Turkey was officially declared to be a Republic. Very soon after the Khalifa discovered that his health was quite unequal to the heavy strain of his office and resigned. Immediately the suggestion was revived that his successor was to be elected by a suffrage of the whole Moslem world. A sharp denial now comes from Angora, explaining that "the Khilafat is inseparable from the Turkish Republic." Why? On the face of it, there is a good deal less reason for this office to be inseparable from a one month old republic, than for it to revert again to the Arab Kingdom, from which the Turks originally wrested it by force of arms. The difficulty to-day is, which Arab Kingdom? Those ruled over by persons supported by British bayonets and gold—Iraq, Hejaz, Transjordan, Egypt—for that very reason seem hardly acceptable; any more than would be French puppets at Morocco, Tunis or Damascus, or a Russian one at Bokhara. Persia being Shia, is straightaway ruled out: so that of independent Moslem countries there only remain Turkey and Afghanistan, and of the two obviously Turkey has by far the best claim. But what impartiality in spiritual matters can be expected from, a Khalifa "inseparable" from a Turkish Republic? Formerly Turkey was imperialistic—an empire held together by the bond of religion: to-day it is nationalistic—held together by the bond of nationalism, pure and simple. That being so, what guarantee is there that its Khilafat will not be used, nay is not intended to be used, for nationalist, instead of religious, and Turkish, instead of Moslem ends? Our misguided Indian Khilafatist friends have now

got the scrub of their life by the Angora announcement that "the Turkish Republic has absolutely nothing to do with other Moslems (11) and cannot surrender this right, which is directly our own, to anyone else," which makes one wonder, how long it will be, before our friends, who now work themselves up over the Jazirat al Arab, will get an identical snub from Arabia too? The *reductio ad absurdum* of the Khilafat has certainly been effected and we are doubly grateful that this has been done by none less than Mr. President Mustapha Kemal. There seems only one way out now for Indians—and that, in our opinion, would be to revert to the old arrangement under which there were simultaneously as many as four Khalifas in the world of Islam. Let the Turkish Republic have and keep their Turkish Khalifa, we would say; let the Sherif of Meccas set himself up in the position he so ardently covets—that of an Arab Khalifa. But if so, why not also revive the old office of an Indian Khalifa? Mr. Shaukat Ali, we see, is proposing to visit the Near East: could he not take the opportunity of preparing the ground for this? Once the principle of National Khalifas is accepted, we should say that the claim for an Indian one becomes irresistible.

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ON another page we have discussed the merits of the draft bill on immigration into Kenya, so far as its contents can be ascertained, from Reuter's cablegram. But there is one point to which we wish to direct public attention, and that is the impropriety, to put it at the lowest, of going forward with the Kenya "settlement" when it has already been unsettled by the action which the Imperial Government agreed to take at the Imperial Conference. They gave their consent there to include Kenya within the scope of the inquiry which is to be carried on by means of Committees. If a fresh investigation is to take place, common courtesy demands that no steps should be taken to put in force a decision which is thrown open to further inquiry. The Colonial Secretary may think that investigation is not likely to disclose any new points, in the light of which the present conclusions of the Government will need to be revised. But at any rate he has promised to consider and dispassionately weigh every thing that Indians will urge. If, then, a reconsideration of the matter is promised, does it not follow, as a matter of course, that till the re-

consideration takes place and the former decision is reaffirmed, the Imperial Government should hold the decision in abeyance? Or is it the intention of the Duke of Devonshire to demonstrate to all concerned that the so-called re-opening of the question has no reality in it, and that the decision is not susceptible of modification? In no other way can the contemplated rushing of the Bill through the European-riden Legislative Council of Kenya be understood. And, if this is the meaning of the Bill, it is the duty of Indians that they on their part should not retract their boycotts even temporarily, but go forward with them as if this year's session of the Imperial Conference had never been held.

* * *

"The Great Awakening."

THE latest advices from Malaya show that the proposed £10 million dock in Singapore is likely to have an unexpected repercussion in India—unless a new Government in England countermands this little Imperial adventure. For the carrying out of such a big scheme is bound to demand a lot of labour—Chinese labour mostly, it is true, but since a goodly proportion of plantation labour is Chinese, any shifting of theirs from the plantations to the dock works is bound to result in the plantations having to make every effort to counterbalance that shortage by the recruitment of more Indians. Hence the Senior Unofficial's desire at the last meeting of the Straits Settlements Legislative Council, to extract a promise from Government that the Admiralty and their contractors would be made to recruit their own labour "and not come into competition with local industries for workers already there, and consequent booming of wages that might ensue." At the subsequently held Federal Council of the Federated Malay States the High Commissioner mentioned that "the figures for the first seven months of the year show a remarkable decrease in the number of passengers arriving from Southern India." No wonder that planters are beginning to consider "that the situation is going to be a somewhat serious one, in the not very distant future", as their Chairman remarked at their last general meeting.

"There are factors at work, in our labour forces," he continued, "to a much greater extent than most of us imagine, which tend to show that we are on the eve of a great awakening, and that it will be a most unpleasant one, when it does eventuate. The signs are evident and each employer of Tamil labour will have no difficulty in recollecting incidents, in themselves perhaps trifling, but aggregating to dimensions which we are not at present equipped to keep in check. In India itself a Tamil labourer can obtain wages for his labour very little, if any, less than we are paying him, and the inducement to face all the troubles of emigration to this country is not so attractive as it has been. It would seem to follow that if we are to rely on India as our principal source of labour, we must make an effort to set our house in order, and if we want the man we must pay him to come."

Another glimpse of the obvious?

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Economic Self-Determination.

SO it would seem, as far as the mere cash nexus is concerned: but as regards the limit of "incidents," there seems to be more behind it. Can it be, that even a Tamil labourer in Malaya should begin nowadays to demand a little more than even better wages? Anyhow, the *Malay Mail* (the Planters' organ) of the 1st is quite resigned regarding "the necessity for and inevitability of" a Workmen's Compensation Bill, advocated by Mr. Nambyar of Penang. Again, Rao Saheb D. Arulanandam Pillay, the new Indian Consular Agent for Malaya, who has just taken up his post there, in his reply to a welcome address, hoped *inter alia* to "concern himself at the present moment only with the labouring class and proposed, if possible, to introduce the co-operative movement among them and to inculcate the principles of self-help, thrift, economy and co-operation." Nothing could be better, for nothing really matters compared with the development of the principle of responsibility. Big wages and little work only degrade labour to the status of a capitalist: what is wanted to raise labour's status, is to apply the principle of democracy also to economic relationships. But in this respect, as everywhere else, God helps those who help themselves: and one cannot but be a little sceptic about the eagerness with which the representation in the Federal Council of the Indian labourer is being canvassed by the leaders of the various little coteries, into which Indian society in Malaya is split. "An interested Indian" had a shrewd letter to this effect in the *Straits Times* of August 22nd, emphasizing as he did, that none of the aspirants to the "Hon'ble"-ship had as yet evinced the smallest interest in organizing labour." *Hic Rhodus, hic salta*: mere nomination of an Indian to the Federal Council, though a long overdue courtesy to the Indian community in the F. M. S., is certainly not likely to go far in helping the bulk of our countrymen there to the only thing that humanly matters to them: their economic self-determination.

* * *

Mr. Jayakar's Claims.

THE *Indian Social Reformer* begged Mr. Jayakar some time ago to consider whether he could not retract the Swaraj party's pledge, taken by him, not to accept office. It is no doubt strange in a newspaper which stands for social reform to urge a leading publicist to disregard his promises; and it is stranger still that a newspaper which has pleaded in the past for the formation of a party whose avowed platform was to be "no post carrying emolument" to ask one already elected on that platform to go back from it and take up office, if offered to him. Whatever be our contemporary's position in this matter, we for our part genuinely desire to see Mr. Jayakar in office, in the country's interest. We cannot join with the *Reformer* in inviting him to cut himself free from of his pledges, but we are at liberty to suggest to the Swaraj party that they may absolve him from his former commit-

ments leave him free to accept the ministerial responsibility which should go to him as of right and which it is his duty to accept if he is not to play the role of a wrecker. The Swarajists of Maharashtra, we know, do not intend to pursue wrecking tactics; why not then release a man most eminently fitted among those now returned to the Council from a pledge unwillingly taken by him and unwillingly administered to him and give him a chance to do constructive work? We hope that this will be done in time. At any rate the Governor must give him the first refusal, of office, because, not only as a man of conspicuous personal worth, but as one who has the backing of the largest single well-defined party in the Council, he stands out as the one man who should be asked to form a Ministry and we venture to believe that will have the support of reasonable men from all parties in the Council.

* * *

How Pittiable! It is quite a sound position which the U. P. Association of European Government Servants takes up in regard to the civil service. "If Europeans are required in future," it says, "they should have a just and fair treatment and security and reasonable comfort." The Association may well have added, "if they are not required they should be plainly told so." And the standard of reasonable comfort it lays down makes Indians say regretfully but firmly that they are no longer wanted. Indian salaries, that is to say, the salaries of Europeans in India, are known to be among the highest in the world, perhaps the highest, and certainly grotesquely disproportionate to the country's resources. But, if with all this the European officer is heavily on the debit side, we can only sympathise with his difficulties and graciously refrain from subjecting his *confrères* any longer to such hardships. Why inflict upon them a banishment, why expose their families to insults in streets, why continue to surround them with an incendiary forest fire of 1921, when tours have lost their attractions, European clubs are closing, medical attendance is prohibitive in cost, and prestige has disappeared? No, it would be cruel to invite people to serve under these conditions. Indians, we think, must make up their minds to take leave of them with a tearful eye, and fill the imperial as well as provincial services with mere natives. The Europeans of course are too obliging to leave the invidious task of saying "no" to us. "Unless the lot of married men," says this Association "is substantially ameliorated the Briton is determined not to condemn his son or other Britons (how wide his sympathies!) whom he can influence to Indian service." We are sure Indians will do all they can to fortify him in his determination not to condemn fellow-Britons to such a service!

* * *

REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY.

A NEW DEPARTURE.

SEVERAL persons interested in the question of the removal of untouchability have of late come to the conclusion that time has now arrived for taking a new departure in its solution. Our efforts were heretofore directed to bringing the so-called high-caste Hindus to a realization of the utter sinfulness of regarding the touch of any human being as pollution. But such appeals addressed by a few progressive minds from the upper strata of society to the moral sense of the Hindu community cannot from their nature be of much avail, so long as they are unsupported by an energetic demand on the part of the depressed classes themselves for doing away with the degradation of untouchability. For one thing, those who work for the elevation of the depressed peoples are all too few, the great drive of Mahatma Gandhi in this direction notwithstanding. For another, a majority of the Hindus imagine that their religious feelings are engaged in this question, and such feelings, being reinforced by self-interest in keeping up the segregation of the "untouchables," cannot yield to the sporadic efforts made by a handful of workers to throw down the barriers that divide the depressed from the higher castes. An incident like the Kenya decision may occasionally bring home to us the humiliation to which the depressed classes have been subjected for ages past and the interested use made by Mr. Smuts and men of his ilk of the existence of several millions of untouchables amongst us for denying us our just rights in British Colonies may make us relent at times towards our unfortunate brethren. But this is often a passing feeling and must not be depended upon for any sustained action in the direction desired by us.

The initiative must, therefore, be taken now by the leaders of the untouchables themselves. To start with, they would ask for a complete civic equality with what are regarded as superior castes. The Provincial Governments can, in the first instance, declare that, so far as they are concerned, they will make no discrimination in regard to the rights of citizenship between caste and caste. The leaders of the depressed classes may subsequently carry on a vigorous agitation to have this principle translated into action and assert all the rights formally recognised by law. The Bombay Government has given, thanks to the Liberal members in the Council, a splendid lead to other Governments in this matter. Dr. Paranjpye, it will be recollected, laid it down as Minister of Education that in all schools wholly or partly financed out of public funds students belonging to the depressed classes shall be admitted on a footing of equality with students of other classes, and that no assistance from the public exchequer shall be given to a school which discriminates in any way against the depressed classes. Thereafter Mr. Bolé, a Liberal non-Brahman member, moved and the Government accepted a resolution throwing

open all conveniences provided out of public monies to the use of all classes without distinction. It is surely an elementary principle of administration that all public utility services should be available to all, but in point of fact in all provinces some of the services have by usage become the monopoly of the higher castes, the lower castes being denied access to them. The Bombay Government has consequently ordered that to no *dharma-shalas*, wells, cisterns, standpipes, &c., on the provision or upkeep of which public money has been or will be expended shall admission be refused to the depressed classes.

The enunciation of this policy in such explicit terms is only the first step, though a necessary step, to the realisation of the end in view. For laws conferring rights on people are put in force only to the extent to which those rights are asserted and, where the question is one of emancipating those who have been brought up in servitude for centuries past, the most excellent of laws will remain a dead letter unless special efforts are made to inform the persons concerned of those rights and to persuade them to exercise them. This work must eventually be undertaken by the leaders of the depressed classes, but so long as there is no sufficient awakening in them, those of the higher classes who realise the monstrous iniquity of keeping a whole section of human beings outside the pale of mere touch should temporarily take the work upon themselves. However, the point which we wish to put to our readers to-day is that they should work now to educate the depressed classes to assert their rights rather than to educate the higher classes to shed their privileges. It is not of course contended that we can at all dispense with this latter work. It will have to be continued till complete equality is attained in theory and in practice, but it will show better results if it is preceded by intensive work amongst the depressed classes themselves. As in political and economic, so in social matters, reform cannot be brought about if reliance is placed solely on the good sense of the privileged classes; their good sense has to be quickened by bringing pressure to bear upon them from the aggrieved party. Workers in the cause of the enfranchisement of the untouchables should therefore change the direction of their activities: they should first set to work to make the depressed classes fully conscious of their rights and to prepare them for the enforcement of those rights, and then to encounter the higher classes with an awakened mass of untouchables demanding an absolutely equal status with others. The sermons (none too many) now preached to the upper classes on the curse of untouchability will make a far stronger appeal to them when they are face to face with such a demand than otherwise.

It may be added here, by way of caution, that those who take such a movement in hand will be wise to do a lot of campaigning before issue is joined in fact with the higher castes. These somehow

fancy that the question enters into their religious beliefs: e. g. the question of admitting depressed classes to public wells or temples. We have therefore by a long course of persuasion to educate the higher castes out of their prejudices. It is only suggested here that persuasion should take the fullest possible advantage of an enlightened and insistent public opinion among the depressed classes. It is our desire of course that this campaign of moral suasion will ultimately pass into one of non-violent coercion. But we shall not countenance a move on the part of anyone to precipitate it prematurely. That some sort of compulsion will have to be eventually employed we make no doubt. We might take here the instance of railway travel. So far as railways are concerned, no distinction is observed between passengers of the higher castes and those of the lower castes. The railway companies never went about preaching to the people on the evils of untouchability. They simply made a rule that if the Brahmans would travel on trains, they must do so in company with any other passengers that may find their way in the same compartment, no matter what their caste might be. This was in effect the application of compulsion to would-be travellers by railway in the matter of the removal of untouchability. The same thing must happen to other public utility concerns. Only we would guard against rash action in regard to public wells, temples, etc., because people's prejudice goes deeper on this point than on that of railway travel. But our objective remains the same. When all these public conveniences are made available to the depressed classes on the same footing as to others, untouchability will not have completely disappeared, but it will have made a long step in that direction. And it seems to us that by the means suggested above we shall make an end of untouchability much sooner than by the orthodox method of enlisting the support of the higher castes without any agitation on the part of the depressed classes.

A very humble beginning is being made in Poona by a few workers in the direction indicated in the preceding paragraphs. They visit localities of the depressed classes, acquaint the people there with the new orders issued by Government and explain to them that if they are ever to shake themselves free from untouchability, they must try to be self-reliant and begin to insist that effect be given to the Government's new policy. Their aim is first to create a demand among the depressed classes for the removal of untouchability and then to approach the higher classes, pleading with them that they must meet this new demand in a sympathetic spirit. Every care will be taken to impress upon the untouchables the need for much intensified agitation before action is taken, and for firm but peaceful action, when time for it arrives. It is felt that if this work meets with success, the example will spread to other towns, and it will be the aim of the

present workers to carry this gospel throughout the Deccan, if conditions are not altogether unfavourable. Of the future, however, it is best not to speak. It is only to be hoped that the present attempt, however feeble, will approve itself to the judgment of those who stand for Progress and are opposed to Reaction.

IMMIGRATION INTO KENYA.

FROM a Nairobi telegram published in Monday's papers it would appear that the worst fears of the Indians with regard to immigration into Kenya will be realised. The telegram says candidly that the draft bill dealing with immigration makes "most drastic provisions"—against Indians of course, leaving Europeans free to come in at their pleasure and oust the native Africans or reduce them to slavery. It need hardly be said that the provisions do not discriminate openly against Indians on the ground of race, but they seem to be so devised that they will exclude all Indians without touching any single European. In the first place, there is intended to be a very strict limitation of immigration of employees. Naturally enough, while no Indian will escape out of its meshes, it will not apply to Europeans at all. The latter do not go to East Africa as labourers. Again, "if the immigrant desires to carry on trade, business or other occupation, the authorities must first be satisfied that an opening exists for such trade, and that it is in the interest of the natives that such trade be undertaken." This looks at first blush fairly comprehensive and even in its incidence on all races. But the fact is that the restrictions will operate only against Indians and Europeans will be quite exempt.

If the deciding factor is to be the welfare of the natives, let the natives decide who shall come in and who shall not. Indians are prepared to keep out if natives do not want them, provided that Europeans are also prepared to do likewise. If aliens are not now required as small traders or clerks or artisans in as large numbers as before, Indians will submit to necessary restrictions. The only question is whether the presence of European planters is at all desired by the natives or whether the former serve a useful purpose. That the Indian settler does contribute to the well-being of the native is accepted on all hands. The part he played in opening up the country is freely recognised but even when the prejudice against him had crystallised, there were occasionally frank admissions that the Indian immigrant was the avenue through which civilization found its way to the native. For instance, the Governor (Sir J. Hayes Sadler) wrote to the Colonial Secretary in a despatch dated 17th December, 1907:

"So far from the Indian cultivator being harmful to the native, I consider that if settled amongst them, more especially if with his family, he will set an example of thrift and

industry which the native will soon learn to follow when he realizes the advantages to be gained."

What is said here of the Indian cultivator is ungrudgingly admitted of the Indian trader and the Indian artisan as well. Indeed no responsible statesman ever contemplated till recently a limitation of Indian immigration, though the whites were crying themselves hoarse for it. Even in Lord Milner's despatch of May 21, 1920, which is regarded by the whites as their "Charter of Liberty" the restriction of Indian immigration finds no support. It says:

"As regards Indian immigration into East Africa, I could not countenance any restrictions which would place natives of India at a disadvantage as compared with other immigrants; and subject to the Protectorate Immigration Ordinances which are of general application there must be no bar to the immigration of Indians."

It is well known that Harry Thuku, the leader of the natives, who came recently into trouble because he dared to voice the grievances of his brethren, had a very high sense of the valuable services rendered by Indians as a class to the indigenous population. This is what he said on one occasion:

"The natives, by being in close contact with Indians in their every-day life, obtain the opportunity of learning from them all kinds of skilled work, such as masonry, carpentry, turning, fitting, etc., etc, and their experience, both in office where they work side by side with Indians and workshops, is that they are guided and shown every sympathy."

But what about the whites? They are surely unwanted in Kenya. Here is what Mr. J. H. Harris says:

"White immigrant cultivators of the soil are not needed, for their only object is that of getting land they cannot till, and then they demand for their own purposes the native labour forces which could be more economically employed in native production."

Not only are they not wanted, but they reduce the natives to a condition which, as Mr. Morel truly says, is slavery all but in name. The indigenous population, who should be the owners of the land, are prohibited by law from owning an inch of it, while the Europeans are free to appropriate miles and miles of the most fertile land available in the country: at present they own 22,000 sq. miles. The natives not only suffer from a special disability in regard to land-owning, but what is worse, the reserves to which they are restricted are liable to be invaded, and as a matter of fact are being yearly invaded by the Government. The reserves are cut down so as to force the natives to come out of them and slave on the farms of the Europeans. In putting the immigration rules in force will the Kenya Government consider the question, whether it is at all necessary for any

more Europeans to enter the country and occupy land; with the result that larger and larger numbers of natives are thrown into serfdom? How does it propose to answer the question which Mr. Sastri put in his Hotel Cecil speech: "Which is the greater menace to the welfare and the progress of the African native? Is it the small trader or the artisan who can be squeezed out by the ordinary laws of competition, or is it the farmer, who grabs land on a large scale and squats permanently and fortifies himself by every means that the law will allow? Does anyone seriously believe that the white man once established in political ascendancy over the semi-civilised, will ever help him along in the path of political evolution and in the end gladly surrender responsible government into his hands?"

In a word the British exploitation of Kenya can only be compared to the Belgian exploitation of the Congo of two decades ago, which stirred the moral consciousness of the whole civilised world to its very depths. And what makes the comparison still more poignant is the fact that while Britain is repeating the Congo scandals in Kenya, Belgium is setting her house in order and approximating her administration of the Congo to the best traditions of Colonial Government. This point has been well brought out by Mr. Leonard Woolf in his very interesting article in the *Labour Monthly* :—

"If you want to find to-day the spirit of economic imperialism of Leopold II. of Belgium and the exploiters who twenty years ago converted the Belgium Congo into a desert, you must go to Kenya and Downing Street, and if you want to find a remnant of that spirit of fairplay and decent administration which most people twenty years ago considered one of the glories of the British Colonial Government, you must go to the Belgian Congo."

To the extent to which the welfare of the native requires Indian immigration to be limited, India will not object to it, but she will insist upon seeing first that the white man who is stealing the native's land and making a slave of him is subjected to stringent restrictions as to immigration. But those who have no interest in asking for unrestricted Indian immigration and whose concern for the welfare of the natives is undisputed have come to the conclusion that Indian immigration ought to be free, and that certainly will be the line that India will take on this question. Mr. J. H. Harris has thus expressed himself on this subject:—

"In the bitter struggle which will soon reopen it must be insisted that any member of the Indian Empire is entitled as a British subject to enter any British territory with full potential rights of citizenship, subject always to the general condition that the immigrant is prepared to accept and abide by the laws and customs prevailing in the territory which he adopts as his future home."

IS INDIA OVER-POPULATED?

II.

THE total value of food-grains, sugar and other food-crops in India amounts to about 1000 crores of rupees; and that of the non-food crops amounts to another 1000 crores of rupees. Even if nothing is exported the share per capita comes to about Rs. 70 in good years.

Taking the normal net increase of population as 10 per mille, the yearly addition to population is 30 lakhs. Neglecting the increase by geometric progression, population would double itself in about a hundred years. Within the next hundred years then agricultural production must be doubled in order to keep up the figure of Rs. 70. Now according to agricultural experts there is no prospect of increasing production beyond 30 p. c. even if scientific agriculture becomes fairly common. The possibilities of canal irrigation are well-nigh exhausted and well-irrigation has become so dear as to be almost prohibitive.

So much on the supposition that nothing is exported. But actually about one-tenth has to be exported to pay for the imports. To that extent the food-supply is lessened. The prospect of food-supply is sure to be more and more a cause of anxiety.

The only possibility of relief lies in manufacture. The great handicap here would be the capital. India cannot save much more than she is doing at present while the possibility of getting capital from England will become less and less as the 'Reconstruction after the War' will absorb most of the capital England would accumulate.

Again the difficulty of securing raw materials will be greater in future. England herself has to apprehend a fall in the standard of living as raw materials would be dearer in a few years and food also would not be so cheap as it is to-day. The introduction of manufactures on a large scale should therefore not be regarded as if it would create a new heaven and a new earth. If new mines of coal are not found in India it would be more and more difficult to procure coal from European countries, as they themselves are thinking of husbanding their resources. According to experts Britain has a supply of coal lasting only six centuries and she cannot afford to exhaust it by exporting it on a large scale. This contingency has to be borne in mind by extreme champions of manufactures. Of course oil and electricity would be likely substitutes. But we need not be over-jubilant. In 1920 the world-production of oil was 90 millions of tons and this is not much. The difficulty of generating electricity is also great. Everything considered, the prospects of a manufacturing India are not such as to make us view the increasing population with equanimity.

A vigorous policy of protection might foster manufactures, but at present there does not seem to be much chance of any radical departure from the free trade policy.

In order to buy sufficient food for the additional 30 crores of population at the rate of Rs. 40 per head we must have a total manufacturing production of 1200 crores in addition to the present one, with which to buy the food. The present production is taken to be 500 crores or a little more. It has therefore to be trebled in order to keep up the present standard of living. And if we want to improve the present standard it has to reach the figure of 2000 crores so as to equal the agricultural production.

Everything points therefore to a limitation of population as the only way of adjusting food-supply to the demand for it. Our ideal ought to be a stationary population, the increase by births just making up for natural deaths. There is no fear of race-suicide in India at least. This conclusion might appear unduly pessimistic to some. But it is the only one which appears inevitable when the probabilities of future production are estimated. It may be said that we are looking too far ahead. But true statemanship lies in providing against even remote contingencies. It is easy to ridicule Malthus if one looks to the next couple of decades. But if we look at a whole century we are constrained to take his lesson to heart.

A plausible objection may be based on the results of the recent census. For example the population of the Bombay Presidency, instead of increasing, has decreased mainly on account of influenza. But we cannot count upon such agencies recurring and it is not desirable that they should recur. Much of the rigour of the epidemic was due to the poverty of the people and a limitation of population would be one safeguard against the sweeping character of such diseases. In any case it is better to have a small population well-cared for than a large one susceptible to diseases.

The development of Canada, Australia and the Continent of Africa may offer some solace to the world population. But India ought not to take any consolation from this fact. India ought to be self-sufficing in the matter of food at least. The case of Russia is parallel to that of India. In 1815 the population of Russia was 48,000,000. In 1915 it reached 150,000,000. The result is land-hunger and its *sequelæ*. A corresponding land-hunger in United Provinces and Bengal is well-known and it might become visible by and by in other Provinces also.

We might in passing answer a query, which assumes the following form: If there is over-population then shall we be happier with 20 crores of population? The answer is a decided affirmative. Although food-production would be reduced on account of the shortage of hands it would not be reduced proportionately. This is the essence of the law of diminishing returns. Of course in economic arguments we ought not to push any point to its *reductio ad absurdum*. A certain minimum of population is necessary for a large country whatever that may be.

For the development of manufactures a large population is necessary. Increase of numbers leads to a better organization and consequently secures increasing returns. But admitting this, we can retort: if the more the merrier, why not 100 crores? Why should a manufacturing country like England or Germany resort to emigration and other remedies if an increase of population is always welcome? The fact is that the food-supply is a barrier which cannot be crossed in any country, whatever might be the perfection of its manufactures. Herein lies the soundness of the teaching of Malthus and Mill.

V. N. GODBOLE.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, OCTOBER 8.

A FEW weeks ago, Mr. J. H. Harris, of the Anti-Slavery Society, charged South Africa with tolerating slavery and its associations in the mandated territory of South West Africa. Sir Edgar Walton, the South Africa High Commissioner, indignantly denied that there existed in South West Africa anything uglier than a mild form of serfdom. Mr. Harris now returns to the charge and proves conclusively that a Union Government Bluebook, in the library of the South Africa High Commissioner, explicitly admits, on the authority of the Administrator of South West Africa and the answers of the latter's officials who were specially instructed to inquire, that slave trade and slavery undoubtedly exist and they describe how the traffic is carried on. They also emphasise that children "become *ipso facto* slaves and remain such all their lives." South African statesmen have a useful knack of confusing issues and declaring things to be what, in fact, they are not. But Sir Edgar Walton will have some difficulty in getting over Mr. Harris' strong case.

Lord Peel, in a letter to the *Times* drawing attention to certain omissions from the summary of his speeches published by that paper last Friday, pointed out that whilst he was voicing the view generally held in India that the disabilities attaching to Indians overseas were largely racial, that was not a view that he personally held. I am inclined to think that this is true, in the main, as regards New Zealand, Australia, and, perhaps, Canada. But it is certainly not true of South Africa, Kenya, and Fiji. In any case it is difficult to say very often where racial prejudice ends and economic or political problems begin. That racialism is not entirely dead even in this country is clear from the following episode that drew the just indignation of Sir Robert Wallace, K. C., Chairman presiding at the London Sessions yesterday, when a question of race and colour was raised by a jurymen during the hearing of a case in which the prosecutor was an Indian. "It is scandalous," said Sir Robert "that such a point should be raised in a British Court of Justice. If there is anybody on the jury

raising such a question, let him at once leave the Court." And forthwith the jurymen concerned was ordered to leave the jury-box, and another member was sworn in. Yet it is of the very nature of things in South Africa and Kenya and some other parts of the Empire, where the King's justice is meted out, that such episodes should occur constantly. Race and colour decide many a knotty point of law and fact. But one may be proud that a judge in England should feel compelled by righteous indignation to deliver himself in this forthright manner.

Sir Valentine Chirol has once again deserved well of India. In last Friday's *Times* he had a letter strongly denouncing General Smuts for his wrecking part at the Imperial Conference. The South African Premier was not asked to bind himself to acceptance of the 1921 resolution. But he has flatly refused even conference and consultation with a view to diminish the difficulties of the Indian problem in the Union, independently altogether of that resolution. Sir Valentine charges him and his countrymen with having added fuel to the racial fires that have been stirred up in India and of having contributed materially to the ill-will that at present exists between India and this country. He reminds us that General Smuts has only recently flouted the League of Nations, that he pretends to uphold so strongly, by refusing information regarding the massacre of Bondelzwarts in the mandated territory of South West Africa, for which the League virtually censured South Africa. Least of all, therefore, does it become General Smuts, says Sir Valentine, to import his racial and colour prejudices into European and Imperial affairs, when to do so threatens the safety and cohesion of the Empire with far graver and more enduring dangers than any temporary complications in Europe. Finally, Sir Valentine reminds the public of the warning addressed to the South African Premier by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru: "I tell him frankly that if the Indian problem in South Africa is allowed to fester much longer it will pass beyond the bounds of a domestic issue and will become a question of foreign policy of such gravity that upon it the unity of the Empire may founder irretrievably." Contrast this forceful language of Dr. Sapru with the compliments showered upon General Smuts, as the best friend of India, by the Maharaja of Alwar!

Mr. P. D. Runganadhan and his colleagues at the Hostel at Gower Street are to be congratulated upon producing a programme of events for this month, which includes a group conference on "Literature as a means of expressing ideas," by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, another by Dr. Muthu, Director of the Mendip Hills Sanatorium, on "The secret of health." Yet another, by Khwaja N. Ahmad, on "Islam, the religion of Humanity". And a fourth, on "London's Open Spaces," by Mr. Pethick Lawrence. There are to be lectures on "The Upper Air," by Sir Napier Shaw, "Guru Nanak," by Prof. Beni Prasad, "Human Radio Activity," by Miss

F. Scatoherd, "India's Responsibility for her own Culture," by Prof. William Rothenstein, "The World menace of Drugs of Addiction," by Rev. E. J. Dukes, and "Real Education", by Colonel Wedgwood. Besides all these, there will be a concert, a debate, a visit to a motor-works, and the play of "Abraham Lincoln," by the Mansfield House Players.

On Tuesday night, at Lady Emily Lutyens's house, and under the auspices of the British Indian Union, Sir Stanley Reed opened a discussion on Indian Constitutional Progress, Lord Erleigh presiding. He drew attention to the immense changes that had taken place in India in the 27 years since he first landed in the country. It had made tremendous advances in all directions. He then surveyed the political changes of which the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were but the culmination. It was a matter of the deepest regret that those reforms, based upon a declaration of policy, in 1917, for which Mr. Chamberlain, and not Mr. Montagu was responsible, should have been almost completely obscured during the last three years by a movement of which the three main influences were the Khilafat question, the Punjab preventive massacres, which he energetically condemned, and the Swaraj campaign developing into non-co-operation. The worst feature of that campaign was the legacy of bitter racial hostility, and it was one of the ironies of the Indian situation that a movement aiming at national unity had raised racial animosities to the most dangerous pitch. The extreme forms of pan-Islamism and Sikhism were anti-national, inasmuch as they aimed at minority rule. There never was a time when strong impartial control was more necessary to keep India from drifting into chaos. But that control must rest on its moral sanction, if for no other reason than that it was British. To be successful, it must have the consent of the people. The Act of 1919 embodied not only a constitution but also a policy and a goal—that of full responsible government—and no British Administration could go back on that.

THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

Empire Visitors to the Empire Exhibition. THE "Manchester Guardian Weekly" of the 19th ulto. had an interesting little paragraph on what it called "A new housing problem"—which problem sheds a lurid light on the "common bonds of Empire" of which we hear so much. It appears that a great influx of visitors from abroad is expected for the Empire Exhibition (thirty millions are being talked about!) and that consequently many simple black souls in Africa and the West Indies propose to make their pilgrimage to what they fondly believe is *their* Empire Exhibition. Quite a thousand African merchants and chiefs apparently are going to London for the occasion: where then to put them up? Hotels and Boarding Houses catering for 100% Americans—the main-

stay of the London tourist traffic—will of course not dare to accommodate them: for any catering for "niggers" would drive out these sensitive whites at once. On the other hand, if one jim-crowded the black visitors into separate hotels and boarding houses reserved for their race, these unreasonable guests might say that they had come, not to live in another "coloured location," but to see something of London! As a consequence "the Colonial Governors have been instructed to warn natives on no account to travel to London without arranging for accommodation beforehand." And one would not be surprised to hear afterwards that owing to the extraordinary crowding in of visitors, all suitable lodgings had already been fully booked. Yes, it's a wonderful Empire, this British Empire of ours: holding together, not by any sort of coercion, but by sheer force of sentiment!

The Oriental in Canada.

THIS reminds one that a new Chinese Immigration bill became law in Canada last July 1st, under which Act all persons of Chinese descent have now been registered and given a certificate after the manner of dog licenses in England. The further to illustrate the strictly non-racial sentiment of Mr. King, one might mention that this Canadian Prime Minister announced in his House of Commons on June 26th that "negotiations had been carried on between representatives of the Japanese and the Dominion governments, as a result of which a very substantial reduction in the number of immigrants coming from Japan was anticipated." Still more significantly Mr. King continued: "If this reduction would not materialize, the question of further restricting Japanese immigration might be taken up at the next session of Parliament." which makes one remember, that it was Canada's pressure in 1921 which forced England not to renew her alliance with Japan. Incidentally this brings it home to one afresh, that even if India had all the *Swaraj* that Japan has got, and all her fine navy and army to boot, it would not follow that British Columbia would have to treat her Indian immigrants without making colour discriminations. The cold fact is, that the colour problem will not be solved, until all the coloured races unite in an organized effort of ridding the world of this nightmare.

Other American Developments.

IN contrast to the above, it is interesting to note the warm welcome given to Japanese immigrants by Brazil. There is a special Japanese Company (the Kaigai Kogyo Kabuchiki Kaisha) which has already settled 2274 Japanese in a settlement of their own in the State of Sao Paulo, setting up several factories there and a centre for agricultural training, etc. On the other hand, wherever the United States influence is becoming paramount, exclusion of Orientals becomes the watchword. Peru has already warned off Chinese immigration and

now the little Central American republic of San Salvador has instructed its consuls abroad to refuse visas to "undesirable immigrants", under which heading all coloured persons are included. The Argentine Republic has for long classed "Hindus" in that category, and as this country since the War has become the favourite goal of all European emigration, it can now well afford to pick and choose amongst those it would and would not admit. The present Immigration Act of the Argentine is consequently about to be tightened up considerably and to be so amended as to provide for probationary periods, at the end of which unsatisfactory immigrants can be repatriated. France, hitherto shining as the outstanding White example of "no colour bar," is also now in danger of coming down from her high estate, if the trouble over the "black maids" from Martinique is allowed to develop. The French middle classes, like their confrères throughout the world, are complaining of a dearth of domestic servants, to cope with which recently girls from the French Westindies were imported. We now read that the Servants' Union is up in protest against this move, alleging that these girls are being paid a mere fraction of what a white maid would receive by way of wages. From what one knows of the French outlook, one feels however that this economic problem will hardly be likely to develop into a racial one: but it is a useful reminder, that the wasteful standards of the whites—curiously enough considered "higher" by them—are a factor which adds not a little to the already sufficiently complex colour question the world over.

The Superior Race.

THE United States of course still hold undisputedly the record in colour bias, Gen. Smuts' compatriots notwithstanding. What makes one realize that afresh is the Tuskegee War Hospital scandal, which has been vigorously ventilated in recent issues of the *Crisis*. The facts of the case are, briefly, that the U. S. Government, decided in 1921 to erect a hospital for disabled Negro soldiers—thus entering upon a segregation policy: as between "heroes" of one complexion and "heroes" of another. (The colour of blood being the same, both in the case of Whites and of Negroes, the latter of course were unrestrictedly permitted, not to say encouraged, to shed it for the glory of their stepmother-land in the "Great War".) Having thus decided that Negroes could not possibly be allowed any longer in hospitals where White veterans were treated, the Government looked for a site for a black segregation hospital—and looked for it in the Southern States only, though every Negro in the country protested against such a hospital being put inside the lynching belt. But wherever the Government looked, the Whites of the locality were up in arms against a nigger hospital being inflicted on their own neighbourhood. At last, the Government arranged with the well-

known Negro Institution—the Tuskegee Institute—to let them have 300 acres of their land for this hospital. But whilst the Tuskegee people had been led to believe that they would be given afterwards the management of the hospital, no sooner was the hospital finished than a Southern White of the rabid type was put in charge, together with a purely White personnel. Now, gentle reader, do not run away with the idea that these Whites rushed in with offers of serving their black brothers, who had bled so nobly on their behalf. Such sentiments are out of place in the State of Alabama. In fact, they are illegal. One hopes, you will refuse to believe this: but unbelievable as it is, it is a true cold fact all the same that the laws of Alabama specifically prohibit a white person's nursing a coloured patient! Hence to each of the White nurses appointed at this hospital at salaries from \$ 1680 to \$ 2500 p. a. a coloured "nurse-maid" has been assigned (at a salary of \$720 p. a.), to do all the work. So that only one explanation is possible—viz. the Whites' anxiety to monopolize all the posts at this Negro Veterans' Hospital for the sake of the money that is in it. And that calls itself the *superior* race!

REVIEW.

DEFERRED REBATE SYSTEM, MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE IMPERIAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE. (Indian Shipping Series. Pamphlet No. 6.) 1923. pp. 103.

THIS is the sixth pamphlet of the Indian Shipping Series, issued by the Scindia Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. The pamphlet contains: (1) a memorandum on the Deferred Rebate System submitted to the Imperial Economic Conference to present the Indian point of view on the subject; (2) Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar's Bill for the prevention of the Deferred Rebates; (3) Opinion of the Scindia Steam Navigation Co. on the Bill; (4) Mr. S. N. Haji's essay on the Deferred Rebate System; (5) Laws as to Shipping Rings and Deferred Rebates in various countries including British Dominions; and (6) the questions circulated by the Royal Commission on Shipping Rings among various Government officials and commercial bodies in India and the replies thereto.

The need of creating an Indian merchant fleet is generally recognised. It is not only in the interests of Indian shippers and shipowners, but in the wider interest of creating a nucleus of a strong Indian merchant marine affording facilities to Indians to qualify themselves as seamen and marine engineers, that Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar's Bill on the Deferred Rebates should receive the support of the Indian public. Mr. Ayyar's Bill which is based on the provisions of the United States legislation on the subject is comprehensive in its character and by having a clause for fixing the scale of maximum and minimum rates, safeguards the

interests both of the shippers and the shipowners. The adverse effect which the Deferred Rebates have on Indian trade and commerce will be sufficiently clear from a perusal of the appended opinions of the Government officials and commercial bodies. The Agreement system which is recommended by the Imperial Shipping Committee as a substitute for the Deferred Rebate system has all the evils of a system based on the tie principle and is, therefore, as the memorandum points out, unacceptable. Mr. Haji has ably exposed the evils of the Deferred Rebate system and made up a strong case for an early legislation against it. It is hoped that in the absence of Mr. Seshagiri Ayyar, his Bill will yet not fail to find able advocates among the members of the next Legislative Assembly.

J. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"BACK TO NAGPUR."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—Now that the elections are over, the cry is raised in some quarters of going back to Nagpur. For my own part—I may be less intellectual—I do not understand the significance of this unhappy cry. On the contrary, in my humble opinion, that way will be the most disastrous and disgraceful to the country and the Congress as well.

2. Going back to Nagpur means, as I feel, reaffirming the three boycotts, which were proved unreasonable and impracticable. As long as the country is devoid of any power what will be the earthly use of asking the people to boycott the schools, colleges and the law-courts? How are the boys and girls to be disposed of who will boycott the schools and colleges? It is unscrupulous advice to ask them to work like a coolie. The country has neither power nor money to dispose of them. The money wasted in this should be spent usefully in educating the village-people, who do not in the least understand what is politics and what is India's salvation. And besides what is the difference in the national education which is given in the National Schools and that which is given in the Government Schools? Practically none, except that one school is called a national and the other a Government school. There is not a boy, now-a-days in Government school who imbibes no national spirit and believes that Maharaj Shivaji was a plunderer simply because it is foolishly and irresponsibly written in a book like Grant Duff's or other. Then what is the use of destroying all these schools and to throw away the money which is apparently given by Government but really which is ours? Instead of this destructive work, constructive work of educating the village-boys should be vigorously carried on.

3. If the law-courts are to be boycotted how are the civil and the criminal cases to be executed? As long as there is no military power behind the judges and the jury of the private courts supporting them, the people of this country will not accept the decision of the private courts.

4. As the Council elections are over there remains no question of the boycott of Councils. It will, therefore, be an unwise policy to reaffirm these three boycotts.

The Congress is at liberty not to take part direct or indirect in the Council activities. But that liberty will be misused and the country will be misdirected if the Congress will go on reaffirming the most futile boycott resolutions and thereby causing diversity in the Congress fold. The nation wants solidarity and that will, surely, not be achieved by the foolish policy of going back to Nagpur. I wonder that Mahommed Ali who tried his best to bring about unity in the Congress at Delhi, is on the point of causing disunion again by joining in this hateful cry. Even Mahatmaj under-

stood the futility of these resolutions and wisely changed his policy at Bardoli and asked the nation to carry on the Constructive Programme, which is of utmost importance. The wise followers of Mahatma are going to undo the work of him, which he performed at Bardoli. Is there no other work remaining for them than this?

I should have been glad to hear the cry of going back to Bardoli. For going back to Bardoli means the working of the constructive programme designed by Mahatma. It would redound to the greatest benefit of the country. There are numberless problems lying before us to be solved. There is Hindu-Moslem unity to be attained there, is Brahmin and non-Brahmin controversy to be settled, there is untouchability to be removed. Let us try to get these problems solved instead of going back to Nagpur.

This action only would be beneficial to the country. But, alas! the non-violent followers of the Mahatma know it not.—Yours, etc.

SHRIPAD GOVIND PENDSE.

23rd November,
Poona.

MISCELLANEA.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN TRAVANCORE.

One of the important items of business that came up at the last session of the Travancore Legislative Council was the Nanjanad Vellala Bill. The Nanjanad Vellalas are an influential and important section of the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja and number, according to the last Census, about 58,000. For the past sixteen or seventeen years, they have been agitating for a statutory enactment to regulate their social polity. They were originally Tamilians following the *Makkathayam* system of inheritance like the Brahmins. But when their original home of Nanjanad became a portion of Travancore, the customs of these Tamilian people automatically changed. Long and close association with the Nairs, whose system of inheritance has been matriarchal or *Marumakkathayam*, naturally influenced Nanjanad Vellalas whose habits and modes of living slowly imitated those of the Nairs with the result that a mixture of the two systems, namely, patriarchal and matriarchal, came to be followed by them. This led to a good deal of practical difficulty and the members of even rich families suffered. Women who had the misfortune to become widows prematurely found it difficult to maintain themselves, though their husbands might have had plenty of patrimony or self-acquired property. The uncertainty in law and usage led to much suffering. The tradition which existed for years could not be got rid of in a day. It is, however, gratifying to learn that the educated members of the community have come to feel that radical changes are necessary in their system of inheritance, and that women, more than men, require some protection of law. The leaders of the community began to agitate over sixteen years ago at the third session of the Sri Moolam Popular Assembly in 1906, and it was requested that they should be given a law of inheritance and intestate succession in consonance with the current ideas among the advanced section of the community. The Government of the time heard the representation and noted it for consideration. The request was pressed every time at the successive sessions of the Assembly. The then Dewan Mr. (now Sir) P. Rajagopalachari wanted on behalf of the Government an assurance that there was sufficient volume of opinion among the community to justify the Government to interfere in so important and delicate a matter as the social polity of the people. Public meetings began to be held, and memorials after memorials were sent to the Government praying for a law. Consequently, a Committee was appointed to report on the need for legislation. Mr. K. Karayana Menon who was then Dewan Peishkar of the Southern Division was appointed President. When he submitted his report recommending legislation, the members of the community

represented that a good deal of evidence was shut out as the Committee was only a stationary body. In response to this request a roving Committee was appointed. The necessity for a roving Commission of the kind was all the greater as the report was not unanimous and as there were sharp differences in the matter of the lines of legislation. The President of this Commission, Mr. M. Raja Raja Varma who, with the members, travelled from one end of the State to the other, and collected evidence and submitted a unanimous report and also a draft bill. It was this Bill that was introduced in the last session of the Council. The principle of the Bill was affirmed and it was referred to a Select Committee to report within six months. The Government have on previous occasions passed similar pieces of social legislation, viz, the Nair Regulation and the Christian Regulation. The Ezhava Bill has been passed by the Council and will become law after it is assented to by His Highness the Maharaja. Such is the triumph of social legislation in Travancore. The Vellala Bill in its present form stands a fair chance of being passed into law too. Mr. M. Subramania Pillai, a member co-opted for this purpose, made a telling speech reviewing the sentiments and views of the community and explaining the directions in which modifications are necessary. These suggestions were of an eminently practical character and appealed to the House as being perfectly acceptable. The Law Member in the course of his speech said that the observations of Mr. Subramania Pillai were absolutely pertinent to the subject and were greatly helpful, and that the Select Committee would carefully consider them and embody in the Bill the modifications proposed by the speaker.

—The Indian Social Reformer.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

From T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., London.

BRUNET, RENE: THE GERMAN CONSTITUTION. 1923. 8¼ x 5¼. pp. 339. 10s. 6d.

From George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., London.

ROMAN, F. W.: THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE—an Account of Recent Fundamental Changes in the Educational Philosophy of Great Britain, France and Germany. 1923. 9 x 5¼. pp. 271. 12s. 6d.

From the Fabian Society, London.

FINEB, HERMAN: REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AND A PARLIAMENT OF INDUSTRY. A STUDY OF THE GERMAN FEDERAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL. 1923. 9 x 5¼. pp. 273. 7s. 6d.

From P. S. King and Son, Ltd., London.

PIGOU, A. C.: ESSAYS IN ECONOMICS. 1923. 8¼ x 5¼. pp. 198. 10s. 6d.

SHAH, K. T.: TRADE, TARIFFS AND TRANSPORT IN INDIA. 1923. 10 x 6¼. pp. 450.

From the League of Nations, Geneva.

CURRENCY, MEMORANDUM ON, 1913—1922. 1923. 12 x 9¼. pp. 199. 10s.

From Children's Bureau of U. S. Dept. of Labour, Washington.

CHILD LABOUR: OUTLINES FOR STUDY. (Bureau Publication No. 93.) 1923. 9 x 6. pp. 63.

STEELE, GLENN: MATERNITY AND INFANT CARE (in a Mountain County in Georgia). (Bureau Publication No. 120.) 1923. 9 x 6. pp. 58.

McGILL, NETTIE P.: THE WELFARE OF CHILDREN IN BITUMINOUS COAL MINING COMMUNITIES IN WEST VIRGINIA. (Bureau Publication No. 117.) 1923. 9 x 6. pp. 77.

From H. M. Stationery Office, London.

JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS: REPORT ON THE ESTABLISHMENT AND PROGRESS OF, 1917—1922. 1923. 9¼ x 6. pp. 231. 5s.

MINISTRY OF HEALTH, FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1922—23. (Cmd. 1944.) 1923. 9¼ x 6. pp. 164. 4s.

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