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CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	409
ARTICLES :—	
The Britisher in Indian Politics	411
The Abolition of Excise Duty	413
Opium Policy.—V. By C. F. Andrews	414
A LETTER FROM LONDON	416
REVIEW :—	
Travel through Kenya. By S. G. V.	417
MISCELLANEA :—	
Indians in Australia	418
International Opium Conference	418

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Swarajists' Opposition to Unity.

THE pourparlers about Hindu-Muslim Unity, now in progress in Delhi, have thrown into the shade Mahatma Gandhi's proposals for a United Congress. The conference that was to take place in Bombay on Tuesday last to consider the latter question has not come off and it is doubtful if even after the Delhi Conference is over it will again be convoked. But it is fairly certain that proposals of Mahatmajī will meet with strenuous opposition at the hands of the Swarajists. There is not a single prominent Swarajist who has so far declared himself agreeable to the proposals; on the contrary, several have expressed themselves unpromisingly hostile to them. Mr. Satyamurti, e. g., is unable even to recognise a basis of discussion in these proposals, and there is reason to believe that Maharashtra Swarajists to a man are at one with him in this matter. The Swarajists of Bengal, under the inspiration of Mr. C. R. Das, the other day formally resolved in their Executive Committee's meeting that Mr. Gandhi's terms were entirely unacceptable. They will not have spinning made a qualification for Congress membership. They suggest instead that the four-anna franchise may be raised to an eight-anna one, as if Mahatma Gandhi's object is somehow to restrict the franchise and make the Congress constitution less democratic than it is! One can well understand the objection urged to making what is in no way related to politics a condition of admission to a political body and also to making what has already become a subject of bitter contention a preliminary to unity, but it is hard to understand the purpose of Mr. C. R. Das's alterna-

tive proposal. The truth of the matter is that, being in control of the Congress, the Swarajists are unwilling to let go their hold on it. The prospects of a United Congress are very black indeed if the whole of the Swaraj party is opposed to it. It would be a thousand pities if the Congress could not be restored to unity and be again made the instrument of our constitutional progress that it once was. For our part we shall wholeheartedly welcome all proposals calculated to bring this about.

* * *

DR. PARANJPYE'S resolution before the Senate of the Bombay University, which sought to make military training compulsory for male students, was defeated by the narrowest possible margin—35 voting for it and 36 against it. Considering the novelty and boldness of the idea, Dr. Paranjpye has no reason to be dissatisfied with the result. There are two main ideas behind this resolution: physical improvement of the students and familiarising military life to them, so that they may bear their proper share in the defence of the country. As regards physical improvement everybody was agreed. Notice was given of several amendments which sought to substitute physical culture for military training and if the Vice-Chancellor had not ruled them out of order there is little doubt that the Senate would have passed those amendments. Naturally the idea of compulsion was repugnant to several. Allowance would have to be made here as elsewhere to conscientious objectors. But some of the arguments used against the resolution were almost puerile. Dr. Veigas, for instance, who was all for compulsory physical training not only in colleges but in all schools including primary, thought that Dr. Paranjpye's resolution would create in our students the German spirit—a lust for killing one's fellow-creatures. Such silly statements were fashionable during the war, but now we confess we would like the German spirit of manliness, application, etc. to prevail in our young men. The Hon. Mr. Hidayatulla used a curious argument. He had no objection to universal military training, but he did not want only the university students to be penalised. If he looks upon it as a penalty, how can he want to make it universal? If, on the other hand, it is a good thing in itself, then surely half a loaf is better than no bread. We are sure that if Dr. Paranjpye continues to educate public

opinion on the subject, he will soon have an overwhelming majority on his side.

* * *

A Fine Example. TRAVANCORE which is far ahead of British India in the matter of female education and women's progress generally, has now given a lead to the country in the political and administrative field by appointing a lady as head of an important department of the State and as member of the State Legislative Council. Mrs. Luckose, the lady so appointed, is a Syrian Christian and has the distinction of being the first Travancore lady to take not only an Indian but a foreign university degree as well. She is a distinguished doctor of medicine and has now risen to be the head of the Medical Department in the State. As the first important act of the Maharani Regent, this appointment augurs well for the future. The most universal disability, the disability of sex, she has removed from the field of public service and legislation. It should not be difficult for her to remove a smaller but more offending disability—the denial of access to certain castes to public roads. We earnestly hope that her attention will be given to that question and the long drawn Vykrom struggle will be ended. The impending visit of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya should give Her Highness a suitable opportunity of doing so. Meanwhile our congratulations to Travancore, its Regent Ruler and Mrs. Luckose.

* * *

THE so-called "Satyagraha" of Tarakeswar, which for four months furiously exercised the attention of the public in Bengal and with which Mr. C. R. Das has throughout been intimately connected, has now come to an end. The Mahant of the shrine and the Satyagraha Committee have come to a settlement under which the former abdicates his position in favour of his *chela*, and the properties hitherto under his management are to be divided into two schedules, those belonging to the temple and those belonging to the Mahant in his personal capacity, the former to be managed entirely by a committee and the latter by the Mahant's successor, subject to a certain degree of control by the committee. The terms may be readily conceded to be fair and equitable. But the points to be considered are whether a Satyagraha movement was necessary to secure this end, and whether this was the end aimed at by the Satyagrahis. As to the former, the Mahant had offered these terms at the very outset, and even if he had not done so it was open to any worshipper to get a scheme of management free from all abuses from a court of law. It was because this simple course was not adopted that Lord Lytton called this so-called Satyagraha movement a "colossal hoax" on the public. The matter was anyhow taken to the District Court of Hoogli, and some time previous to the present settlement, Sir Provas Mitter and some others had persuaded the Mahant to give up all his claim over the temple and its properties in consideration of a fixed monthly payment of Rs. 1500, a settlement which would have been

much less favourable to the Mahant and much more so to the public than the present one. As to whether this was the end aimed at by the Satyagrahis, Swami Sachidanand, the real leader of the Satyagraha movement, who has no political axe to grind, emphatically declares that he has been shamelessly betrayed by Mr. Das, and he now agrees with Lord Lytton's description of Mr. Das's part in it as a colossal hoax. Mr. Das started as the Mahant's enemy and ended as his protector. The only result of his intervention has been that a number of generous-souled young men have gone to jail, as in the case of the Mulshi Satyagraha. No one is the better for it, but such is the vanity of none too scrupulous leaders.

* * *

Generous Help Needed.

THE recent visit of H. E. Sir Leslie Wilson to the Navin Marathi Shala, a model primary school, conducted by the Deccan Education Society, Poona, brings to the fore the question of giving special aid to model institutions under private management. In the case of schools attached to Government Training Colleges, which ordinarily serve as model schools, the question of the rate of grant-in-aid does not arise, the whole of their expenditure being borne by Government; but there is no doubt that schools like the Navin Marathi Shala, which make new experiments in educational methods and set the pace to others in educational appliances, etc., will suffer gravely if they, like other private schools in municipal areas, are also given, by way of grant-in-aid, half of their total expenditure at the rate of Rs. 10 per child at the outside. This rate, proposed to be brought in force under the new rules, is certainly most inadequate when applied to schools which do not merely diffuse education by approved methods but which seek to effect improvements in the existing methods, and consequently require a large outlay of money. The average cost of educating a pupil in municipal areas was already in 1922-23 Rs. 27.6; the maximum limit of Rs. 10 per child would thus lower the proportion of grant to less than one-half, i. e. 36 per cent. The rate would thus appear to be insufficient even in the case of ordinary schools. A school like the Navin Marathi Shala cannot possibly exist and maintain its present character of a model and experimental school on this basis. The Shala is now receiving from the Government as a special case two-thirds of its total expenditure without any upper limit, and yet the Deccan Education Society has to meet the deficit every year of nearly Rs. 3500. Not a pie of this money is wasted, and indeed more can usefully be spent. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance in the interest of the spread of a sound education to frame the rules in such a way that, when the management of schools in municipal areas is transferred to School Boards under the Compulsory Education Act, they will not work to the detriment of such schools. These schools do not serve a merely local need, but inasmuch as they level up the educational standard of a wider tract, they may well lay claim to the financial support of the Provincial Government. They should, therefore, be helped, under proper safeguards, directly by Government. The only other possible way of maintaining the N. M. Shala at its present efficiency appears to be to charge exorbitant fees from pupils and thus to restrict the benefit of the school to a small well-to-do class, an alternative to which we must strongly object on behalf of the masses.

THE BRITISHER IN INDIAN POLITICS.

I

IN our leading article last week we called upon the Britisher in India to play the part of active conciliator amongst the Indian communities. The part is new to him, but it is a duty cast on him by the current policy of Britain towards India. It was no figure of speech, but an actual requirement, that by intimate association in the daily work of democratic institutions the Britisher was to train his Indian co-citizen in parliamentary government. Considered psychologically, this change of attitude is not a development nor a shift of emphasis, but a complete reversal of spirit. Instead of looking after his own interests primarily and promoting India's good as a by-product, he is to promote India's good primarily and only to the extent compatible with it maintain his vested interests. The Britisher, however, hugs the hope that he can serve himself and India without any serious conflict of duty, but it is a delusion and a snare. His position being one of privilege, direction and authority, in actual practice if not in law, he cannot but see a loss in every advance made by India. If one has been master in another's household and wishes to make restitution gradually, he must withdraw from the conduct of affairs in proportion as the other assumes it. A good deal of the friction which is experienced today is due to the failure of the British community in India to recognise that their mission in the future is the opposite of their mission in the past—that where they have exploited hitherto, they must henceforth foster tenderly; where they have discouraged, they must stimulate; where they have acquired, they must renounce; where they have divided or benefited by a division, they must reconcile. It is not right for them to go the same way as before, leaving the *swaraj* policy of Parliament somehow to realise itself.

II

To a considerable extent the British government in India regulates itself in accordance with the public opinion of the British community. This is proved by the tone of the Anglo-Indian press and by the general support given by the British element in the legislature to the policy and measures of the executive. Lord Curzon's proposition that the British capitalist exploits while the British official administers and the two are but different aspects of the same process, represents today as well as it ever did the mental attitude towards India of the two broad divisions of the white community. Still it is possible to notice a difference between the official and the capitalist in their response to the demands of the political movement in India. The official is brought into more intimate contact with it and understands its nature and strength more than the mere businessman. The needs of expediency are always more vividly present to his mind, while his notions of justice and fairplay are likewise kept more alive

by the ordinary work of administration. During the negotiations that preceded the repeal of the racial distinctions in the criminal law of the land the sympathy of the official with Indian sentiment was both quick and strong, and the British community was unwillingly drawn into the current of reform. In the pacification of the Punjab after the horrors of martial law the community did its best to thwart even the feeble and reluctant efforts of the Government in that direction, while its hallelujah to General Dyer is a deep stain on its reputation for common humanity or chivalry. Even missionary organisations, by their ill-advised opposition to a conscience clause in education, both disappointed and inconvenienced the government, whose sense of impartiality was more in consonance with British standards. The Indian civil servant has had to interpose his restraining authority, though not always to good purpose, between the British planter and the Indian coolie. It is also notorious how, on every occasion of political advance, the Government of India and the local Governments have shown greater appreciation of the needs of the country and greater power of accommodation than the non-official European community. The unfortunate impression caused for instance by the publication of various memorials and representations drawn up on their behalf by men like Mr. Welby, during the political agitation of 1916-19 will dwell long in the mind of the Indian patriot as an evil memory. One cannot recall an example during recent years of a harsh or repressive measure which was not advocated by representatives of the European community with far greater virulence of political animosity than by the official spokesman for the time being. As for the British press in India, its general unfriendliness to the educated and politically minded class is no less a contributing factor to the difficulty of the administration than the attitude of the Indian press which it continually admonishes. It plays up to the worse and not to the better feelings of its readers. One has often heard from broad-minded Europeans emphatic condemnation of the mischief done by newspapers on their side as well as on ours. For all their protestations to the contrary, Britishers do not appear to be immune from that disinclination to range themselves publicly against the prevailing sentiment of their community which they denounce in Indians as cowardice. Every student of affairs will be able to mention from his own experience several Europeans of note who would in conversation and in committee dissociate themselves from the views expressed by the Anglo-Indian press or their non-official organisations and recommend a policy more conformable to the sentiments of the Indian community and more expressly adapted to the requirements of the future. But they leave the field to the professional politician and wonder that the picture of Anglo-India as presented to the mind of the Indian is so unrelieved. One wishes some

means were available of enabling these moderate elements to assert themselves for the sake of the general peace and harmony of public life.

It would be grossly unfair to ignore the incalculable influence for good which British institutions generally wield in India. Not only have standards of efficiency and thoroughness in administration been raised far above the level reached at any time before in our history, but the springs of public conduct have been purified, official probity has received a new meaning, public opinion has been taught and encouraged in spite of frequent lapses to assert itself, and whether between the sexes, between capital and labour, or between teacher and pupil, a nobler and more chivalrous relation has been established, beyond danger, let us hope, of being forgotten when Britain's hand is withdrawn from the helm. Who again would hesitate to acknowledge handsomely the awakening of the social conscience towards the servile and depressed classes as a result of western ideals? Why, the national ambition, of which the intensity is proving a serious embarrassment to the government, is itself the product of English education. That these benefits are mainly institutional and part of the inevitable consequences of an enlightened polity does not detract from their value to modern India or from the general attitude of thankfulness with which we much contemplate a *raj* that has brought as its inseparable adjuncts so many attributes and instruments of civilization. Our tale of indebtedness would not be complete if we did not pay an unreserved tribute of admiration and gratitude to the loving devotion and heroic sense of duty with which many missionaries, teachers and officials from the west have laboured for the good of the people of this land, and the unstinted homage and welcome of our hearts to the men and women of another race who recognise in the present distracted political movement the throes of a nation's birth and rejoice in openly championing the claims of those brethren among whom their lot is cast.

III

It is this record mixed, it is true, of lights and shadows, but hardly to be matched for general beneficence in the long and chequered history of man, which we would exhort the Britisher to crown by a chapter of pure unselfish work. A higher ethic is now required—that of renunciation. Not that we ask individuals or firms to surrender their fortunes or their interests, not that we ask any European employee to serve on inadequate terms or in disadvantageous circumstances. But an end must now be put to the political conditions that enable outsiders, at the expense of the children of the soil, to enjoy economic privileges and facilities and occupy nearly all the positions of direction, authority and patronage. The idea that this country was acquired by their ancestors with much daring and self-sacrifice and that in their turn they are under an

obligation to preserve it for their children by fighting for it if necessary, is not in keeping either with the noblest human ideals accepted to-day or with the solemnly avowed purposes of Great Britain. The British population and the British army here ought no longer to consider themselves as the outpost of an annexing and exploiting empire. On the contrary they must prepare their minds for the new task of fitting the Indian peoples for democratic institutions by associating with them in the common duties of common citizenship on terms of equality, instead of maintaining themselves as a community apart with interests and rights and duties of their own and a citizenship of their own, distinct from, and elevated above, that of the natives of the land. A considerable number of Europeans, it is true, realize that India must have home rule, but cannot shake off their misgivings as to her fitness at present. Among the hindrances to Indian autonomy is the tension between Hindus and Moslems, which, while it provokes bloody frays at the bottom of society, manifests itself no less at the other end in the form of unending squabbles as to power and the loaves and fishes of office. Without questioning the genuineness of these misgivings, we desire to point out that it is part of the new duty of Britishers to help actively in the stoppage of this internecine warfare. Through several decades they have played the part of providence in Indian politics, and their civil and military policy has been so utterly jealous and exclusive that the intelligentsia are left without the power of bold initiative or organized self-help. The representatives of the British nation now occupy a position which, notwithstanding the decline of the last few months, can be truly described as one of unequalled prestige and arbitral authority. It is to the disinterested use of this rare position, assailed but still not conquered, that we now call the members of the European community of India. Indian politicians too, for their part, have to make a radical readjustment of attitude. When two communities are tied together as Europeans and Indians are in this country, they cannot hope to remain uninfluenced and un-influencing. Goodwill and ill-will must evoke their likes. Is it too late to try a little mutual trust? Whether in the first instance or under provocation, certain of our politicians and newspapers have indulged in indiscriminate abuse. We have insulted, we have bullied, we have threatened. We have been supersensitive and too prone to see national insult and humiliation. We have boasted of national virtues and capabilities to which our claim is doubtful, and we have denied national faults and weaknesses which blaze as the noonday sun. We have allowed political hatred to mar social intercourse. We have invented a theory of non-co-operation which should carry us to our destined goal in disregard and defiance of the Imperial Parliament, the British Cabinet and the Government of India. We have in the extre-

mity of despair actually inculcated a spirit of disobedience and direct action which, while creating disorders and tumults and embarrassments now, is certain to recoil with terrible force on our own heads and expose our home rule régime, when it is established, to the serious risks of continued and chronic public distemper.

IV

With such need of mutual forbearance and helpfulness, it is time we abated some of the intensity of our political campaign. No improvement in the situation is possible unless it be based on the universal recognition that *swaraj* for India cannot be delayed much longer, and that in the interest of all alike it should be achieved in peace and amity through the co-operation of Britishers and Indians here and with the consent and sanction of the Imperial Parliament. Assuming such an atmosphere to exist, the first suggestion we would venture to make is that the European community should forgo their separate electorates and merge in the general register. This refers only to the European community as a community and not to the representation of interests by means of their chambers of commerce, etc. It would be an insult to enlarge on the reasons for this proposal to a people whose achievement in the moulding of democracy has been not only the envy and admiration of the rest of the world, but an object of close imitation. If they thought more of the future Indian nation, using that word in a political sense, they would care less for their separate franchise and separate electorates. Their specific interests could be sufficiently safeguarded by the device known as reservation of seats. Though it might fall short of the final aim, namely oneness of citizenship, it would still avoid many of the evils of the present system. It is true the essence of democracy was first ruined in 1909, when the right of the Moslem community to separate representation was conceded. Surely it is for the European community to show the better way in India, not to follow the worse. If it is inexpedient in the present state of the Moslem mind to review their case, the minority which is undoubtedly the best organized and the one most liberally endowed with resources and means of self-protection ought not for a slight advantage to pursue a course which leads inevitably away from the goal of Indian *swaraj* which it has ostensibly accepted. Having indicated one direction in which the Britisher in India has to revise his outlook, if he is to fulfil the high mission of his nation in the East, we must postpone to a later occasion a consideration of the different arguments which may be urged on the one side and on the other.

THE ABOLITION OF EXCISE DUTY.

THE attitude adopted by Government in the recent debate in the Assembly on the cotton industry is typical of the unreasonableness and lack of sym-

pathy that have been characteristic of Government during the last three years. The resolution moved by the representative of the Bombay mill-owners, asked firstly, that the excise duty be abolished and secondly, that the question of giving protection to the cotton industry be referred to the Tariff Board for enquiry. Very early in the debate, however, Mr. Neogy moved an amendment for dropping the question of protection. Sir Charles Innes, the Commerce Member, if he had been disposed to be reasonable, would have welcomed this amendment and accepted the resolution. On the other hand, what he did was to oppose it altogether. The bulk of his speech was devoted to showing that the present state of the cotton industry did not justify protection being extended to it. To his arguments on this head no one took serious objection, for the mover of the resolution accepted Mr. Neogy's amendment, and even those who spoke for the industry admitted that the abolition of the excise duty would suffice to prevent the losses now suffered by the mills and enable them to work on without restricting output. On no essential point was there really a difference of opinion between Government and the non-official members. Both were agreed that the excise duty was an unjust political impost which had created much bitterness in the past and which it was desirable to abolish at the earliest opportunity. Both were agreed as to the necessity of encouraging Indian industries. Neither was inclined on the present occasion to forget the consumer's interest and favour the mill-owner at his expense. Why then should the Government have needlessly created an atmosphere of antagonism? This certainly is not the spirit in which Parliament has asked the Government of India to work the reforms or the spirit in which they were worked in Mr. Montagu's time.

The case against the excise duty does not need elaborate statement. It was imposed at the selfish dictation of Lancashire on an unwilling but helpless subordinate Government. A conscientious Secretary of State resigned office on account of its imposition. It has been condemned by every writer on India. The Government of India have always protested against it. In 1916 Lord Hardinge promised that it would be abolished as soon as financial considerations made it possible. On the present occasion Sir Basil Blackett admitted that it was bad in its origin and bad in its incidence, and that he was not averse to put right this historical wrong during his Finance Membership. What then were the grounds that were urged for its retention? Firstly, that the financial condition of the Government made it necessary. It is, however, noteworthy that this consideration for finances did not prevent the Government from recommending only a few days ago the adoption of the proposals of the Lee Commission. But Sir Purshotamdas Thakoredas had a ready answer. He said: "The House must vindicate the honour of India by abolishing the

duty imposed at the dictation of Lancashire. Let the House put any duty it liked, but for political reasons the present excise duty must go. If the Government abolished this duty, he for one would be prepared to consider other Government financial proposals on their merits and suggest alternatives." This answer was not lost on Government, for the Finance Member, who spoke later, mentioned corporation profits tax and a small tax on the the capital of companies as alternatives to the excise duty which deserved consideration. Having these and other alternatives in mind, and having only recently pleaded the cause of the Taxation Enquiry Committee, where was the need for him to oppose the abolition of the excise duty? Another argument that was employed by Government was that if and when there was a surplus, the first charge on it should be the reduction of provincial contributions. This argument has been employed before for refusing to lower the salt tax as desired by the Assembly. Nevertheless, we concede there is some force in it. But the non-official element in the Assembly is not less alive to the necessity of giving relief to the provinces than is the Government and it was open to the latter to have accepted the resolution and invited the co-operation of the former in achieving an object on which all were agreed. If this ground was urged with the object of splitting the non-official votes, it failed completely.

Both Sir Charles Innes and Sir Basil Blackett tried to prove that there could be no political motive in retaining the excise duty. The import duty on cotton goods was 11 per cent, while the excise duty was only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Indian cloth therefore already enjoyed considerable protection as compared with foreign cloth. The policy of free trade had given place to protection and there was no British political axe to grind. Much of the sincerity of this argument was lost in the eyes of the non-officials by Sir Charles Innes' declaration that whether Mr. Neogy's amendment was accepted or not, he reserved the right, in the event of the cotton excise duty being taken off, to ask the Tariff Board to consider the reduction of import duty in the interests of the consumers in India. If he had really the interests of the consumers, and not those of Lancashire manufacturers, at heart, there was no need to make this reference to the Tariff Board conditional on the abolition of the excise duty. But after this declaration what is one to think of the other arguments used by Government—the state of the finances and the reduction of the provincial contributions? If there was any sincerity in those arguments no reduction of the import duty could be thought of. Obviously the consumer's interest is only a cover to hide the real object, which is not to increase, but if possible to reduce, the advantage enjoyed by the Indian manufacturer over his Lancashire rival. It was in no other spirit that Sir Basil Blackett pointed out that by the abolition of the excise duty a crore and a half

would be put in the mill-owner's pocket, while the consumer would get no relief at all. Very likely he will get no relief, though Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya believes otherwise; but he will not be worse off and may even derive some satisfaction in the thought that the most important Indian industry is thereby helped better to withstand foreign competition.

OPIUM POLICY.

It has been for many years the universal practice of the Government of India to draw a sharp distinction between opium smoking and opium eating. In the Punjab Excise Manual (Vol. II, Chap. II, p. 15-16) we read as follows:—

"The Government of India has emphasized the distinction between opium smoking and opium eating. Opium smoking is uniformly reprobated by public opinion in India. It is a social vice and the danger of its contagion, when practised in public, furnishes strong justification for adopting measures which approach as nearly as is practicable to total prohibiting.

"The practice of eating opium stands on a very different footing. As a vice it scarcely exists in India. As taken in moderation by the average Indian, opium is eaten either as a mild stimulant, as a prophylactic against malaria, for the relief of pain, or in the treatment of various ailments. It is in fact a household remedy for many ills, prescribed by centuries of inherited experience. All the Government has to do here is to prevent excessive consumption. The obvious means of doing this is to enhance the price of opium so far as is consistent with the prevention of illicit traffic. Moreover, though it has not been laid down by the Government of India in this connexion, it is a principle of excise policy, applicable to opium as well as to liquor, to obtain the greatest possible revenue from the least possible consumption."

This is obviously an authoritative statement of the Government of India position, and many parallel statements could be found expressing the same ideas. I do not intend in this article to discuss the formula "maximum of revenue with minimum of consumption." But I wish to take this one authoritative statement that opium smoking and opium eating do not stand on the same footing and the further statement that opium eating scarcely exists in India as a vice.

In a long talk which I had on the subject with Sir Louis Kershaw in London, he laid the whole emphasis of the Government of India's defence on this distinction between opium smoking and opium eating. He seemed to have no knowledge whatever that this distinction was already out of date. I wish to give some of the evidence which tends to prove this.

The International Anti-Opium Association in Peking corresponded with certain medical societies and corporations in China. They asked for the best medical opinion as to the difference between opium smoking and opium eating. The quotation from the Punjab Manual was enclosed. They received answers from the leading medical faculties. It is probable that no body of doctors in the world have had more intimate knowledge, from daily experience, both of opium smoking and opium eating, than these medical professors and

practitioners in China. There was a remarkable concurrence of opinion that opium eating was as bad as, if not worse than, opium smoking. It must be remembered that in China both opium eating and opium smoking go on side by side. I give below some of the statements. The first is from Prof. Read, who represented the Peking Union Medical College. He writes as follows:—

"Cushny, the great authority, makes the general statement, that of the three methods, i. e. (1) smoking, (2) eating, (3) injecting, the first seems to be the least harmful. Cushny is a most conservative writer, and you may take it for granted that this statement is based upon the results presented by various scientific workers.

"The most recent article that I have come across on this subject is in the *Pharmaceutical Journal* (1920), p. 274, in which a careful analysis was made of the smoke from *chandos* (the Chinese smoking variety of opium) which gives only 0.016% of morphia; there was no carbon monoxide and no nicotine; the pyridine value was low from which scientific figures I think one can most safely conclude that the opium smoker gets very little morphia and certainly less nicotine and coal gas than the average tobacco smoker.

"I think we may very safely add from the above data that the opium smoker gets much less morphia than the opium-eater."

Dr. Korns presents also the following quotation from "Pharmacology, Clinical and Experimental," by Meyer and Gostlieb, translated by Halsey, p. 41:—

"In opium smoking undoubtedly a portion of the morphia passes over into smoke, but a large portion is destroyed and consequently the harmful effects of opium smoking do not develop so rapidly as in opium eating. In both cases however, in the course of time, the symptoms of chronic intoxication develop which closely resemble that of morphine."

This concludes the note given by the Peking Union Medical Faculty. The Faculty itself evidently agreed with the authorities quoted. The next statement is made by the Hunan-Yale Hospital, Ehangsa. It runs as follows:—

"After due consideration and discussion of your letter, and the appended extracts from the Punjab Excise Manual published by the Indian Government, the Medical Faculty of the Hunan-Yale College of Medicine feels ready to go on record as follows:

- (1) It considers opium eating the equivalent of opium smoking as a dangerous drug addiction.
- (2) It feels that opium should not be used in any form unless prescribed by a competent medical attendant."

The next statement comes from the Medical School of Shanghai, and was sent in the name of the Faculty:—

"That it is the opinion of this Faculty that the physiological effects produced by opium are the same, whether the drug is eaten or smoked. Furthermore, while recognising the very great value of opium and its preparations in the treatment of certain affections and conditions, a value far beyond that of any other drug we possess, we know of no scientific evidence that it has any value as a prophylactic against malaria, as indicated in the extract from the Punjab Manual."

The Moukden Medical College, Fengtien, writes the following:—

"We desire to express the opinion, based on experience in the treatment of those addicted to the use of opium in its various forms, that eating the drug is calculated to

do as much harm as smoking, as the full effects of the drug are experienced when it is eaten, and its deleterious action is more pronounced, especially on the digestive system."

The West China Union University, Chengtu, writes:—

"Our experience with China patients in this province has led us to the conclusion that since the eating of opium does not afford the same gratification as does smoking (at the same time producing disagreeable results) patients addicted to opium prefer to smoke large quantities of the drug rather than eat the much smaller amounts that would allay their craving. When, however, through poverty a man is reduced to eating instead of smoking the effects are even more baneful and are more difficult to relieve by medical treatment.

"At the same time, we are not satisfied, that the extract quoted by you from the Punjab Excise Manual means exactly what you take it to mean. The statement 'as a vice it scarcely exists in India' appears to us to mean not that the habit, as above defined, is an innocent one but that it 'scarcely exists.'

"Your letter also appears to traverse the statement in the extract quoted to the effect that in India opium is 'a household remedy for many ills, prescribed by centuries of inherited experience.' We desire to point out that this statement, slightly modified, would be true of Dover's Powder and Paregoric in Western countries which, though sometimes abused, have many legitimate uses.

"We request that if any use is made of the first paragraph of this letter, the second and third paragraphs should be given equal prominence."

The evidence of these different Faculties gives the whole picture of medical opinion in China itself. The University of Hong-Kong, which is in British Territory and controlled by the British Government of Hong-Kong, was, also asked to give an opinion. But the Dean of the Medical Faculty wrote to the Anti-Opium International Association of Peking stating that they did not wish, as a body, to express an opinion upon the extracts from the Punjab Excise Manual.

It would appear that this determination to keep silence was due to the fear of being mixed up with a political agitation.

It will be seen from all the above extracts that the universal medical opinion of China is against the Government of India's position, that opium eating is less harmful than opium smoking. With regard to the Government of India's statement that the eating of opium scarcely exists in India as a vice, the facts recently published about Assam by Miss M. Campbell and the further facts collected by the Opium Enquiry Committee in that province—these, along with numerous other facts, show that this statement of the Government of India is as fallacious as the statement made again and again by the Government of India authorities that opium eating is less harmful than opium smoking. The astonishing thing is that a Government with such prestige as the Government of India should go on repeating again and again these fallacious statements.

(Concluded.)

C. F. ANDREWS.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 4th.

THE 56th Annual Trades Union Congress opened this week. It was probably the most momentous event in the history of Trades Unionism in this country, for the Congress met with a Labour Government in office. Miss Margaret Bondfield should have been in the chair as she was elected President at the last year's Congress, but owing to her holding her present position as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, was precluded from doing so. Mr. Purcell, M. P. therefore, took the Presidential chair and made a very pugnacious opening speech, vigorously denouncing war as 'Murder which suits our master's game.' He dwelt at length on the Russian Treaty, and warned his hearers that it was well within the bounds of political possibilities that the opposition to the Russian Treaty may decide the fate of the Government. For that reason he begged them to throw their whole weight on the side of the Treaty. After dealing with the housing problem, hours of work and wages of shop assistants, he got on to India, and in no uncertain manner gave public utterance to sentiments that have been uttered much less publicly by members of the Labour Party.

In dealing with the Trade Union movement there, he said, "We cannot accept as satisfactory the bland statement that has been given to us, that even if men and women do stay down in the mines for 36 consecutive hours, they are not working all that time." The position of women and children in industry is as bad, if not worse than, in the forties of last century. We must insist that the legitimate trade union activity be freedom and scope as it has in this country. "There is a danger" Mr. Purcell continued, that we shall hand over India to the control of mere politicians. This must be avoided. Change at the top which does not alter economic conditions and leaves the workers at the mercy of the same set of exploiters who oppress them today, is no change at all. In my view, we should insist that political changes should be conditional upon certain necessary and overdue industrial changes." I am afraid Mr. Purcell showed a lamentable lack of knowledge of India. If she has to wait for political freedom until the industrial of her masses is secured, then Swaraj may be postponed for a much longer time than can be contemplated. When India's workers are sufficiently awake to their own interests, developed and organised, no one can exploit them, neither Indian nor British. But all through Mr. Purcell's speech, one felt he lacked vision and breadth of outlook. All the sentiments he expressed were sectional and breathed of class war. No new constructive ideas were put forward. The problems of poverty and unemployment he did not attempt to tackle, except to give voice to the same old cry for a more equitable distribution of wealth. It

seems difficult for many men to realise that real wealth depends upon the combination and co-operation of the best brains and muscles of the whole community, and no one section of it can say to the other "Give, give," and not for such an expression itself suffer.

To pull down capital does not necessarily build up a system without it. As Mr. Sixton later on in the proceedings said, "What was the use of talking about the exploitation of the British capitalist system when the Soviet's representative had come, cap in hand, to capitalist Britain for a loan to enable them to carry on their work?"

It is quite evident from the very heated discussion that took place on the co-operation of the British Trade Union and the Communist trade organisation in Russia, that the British neither considers such co-operation desirable, nor possible at the present time. By an overwhelming majority the suggestion was turned down, the spirit of the meeting being shown in the expressed sentiment that British Trade Unionism could not allow dictation from an outside source, and that it knew its own business best, having had years of organised experience behind it.

Rumours continue to float about of the likelihood of an Autumn election, or, if not Autumn, then in the early part of the Winter, anyway before the year is out. The announcement that Mr. Clynes has abandoned his trip to the East, and Mr. Thomas is to return almost immediately from South Africa, certainly lends colour to the suggestion that the Government anticipates trouble when it reassembles. Also utterances from various Labour Members on different platforms, all contain hints of the insecurity of their present position. The Russian Treaty seems to be the source of the trouble. The fact that the Chancellor of the Exchequer displays uneasy symptoms about it and is opposed to a Government guarantee, does not look like unity of purpose even in the Cabinet. Mr. Macdonald's assurance that no loan will be given until Russia acknowledges her debts, does not seem likely to help matters much. The Unionists, it is said, will vote solid against the Treaty, and Mr. Lloyd George has been using it to rally his followers round him, and so in a strong body oppose it. It seems to be a likely election cry, and it is very possible the present Government may have to go to the country over it.

The situation in India and particularly in Bengal continues to focus a considerable amount of public attention upon Indian politics in this country. Mr. Das's propaganda is viewed most seriously. All papers unite in condemning it. The *Sunday Observer* in its Editorial says that the Swarajists by their efforts to stultify the transferred departments have furnished the most conclusive reasons for not entrusting them with the rest. They have pursued their methods for full self-government by means which reveal a temperament wholly unfitted for anything of the kind. Later it goes on to say that we may have embark-

ed on a totally erroneous course, in seeking to apply the Western Parliamentary method to a community that has so little of the Western in its tradition. It then suggests the possibility that a regrouping of India's provinces may have to be effected before any further experiment can be undertaken. And what the *Observer* says in measured language, the other papers are saying in different words. Mr. Das's claim to knowledge of a big anarchical movement has been made much of, and the Government is called upon to show itself in accordance with the Prime Minister's declaration, "totally immune from fear," and to let nothing deflect it from its clear and imperative duties. Even the *Manchester Guardian*, one of the most liberal of papers, and most friendly to Indian aspirations, speaks of the present agitation in India to be most ruinous to her cause.

REVIEW.

TRAVEL THROUGH KENYA.

WHITE AND BLACK IN EAST AFRICA. By HERMANN NORDEN, F. R. G. S. (H. F. & G. Witherby, London.) pp. 308 (with 34 Illustrations). 15s. net.

THE title of this book is apt to be misleading, for it does not at all deal with the racial question, which one expects would be the theme of the book. It is just a record of travel and the pages are for the most part devoted to such experiences and impressions as a traveller gains in a foreign country. If the traveller has a penetrating eye, he sees behind the small incidents that befall him a world of meaning, and he forms a fairly accurate mental picture of questions of abiding interest that agitate the inhabitants there and conveys it to his readers. Our author is not blessed with an overabundant measure of this rare gift; nor can he boast of a particularly charming style. The result is that here we have this American traveller setting down in a very prosaic manner the most prosaic occurrences that he meets with in his pilgrimage through portions of Kenya and Uganda.

One exception must however be immediately made to the above criticism. For Mr. Norden has one whole chapter (pp. 172-200)—and a good chapter at that—on the folk ways of Kavirondo. Therein he describes in great detail the beliefs and practices of the inhabitants of southern Kavirondo, regarding birth, marriage, funerals, witchcraft, religion, tribunals, dwellings and dress in the way the Rev. John Roscoe has done and is doing. This is really a substantial contribution to the world's knowledge of a people of whom not much is known. Of the Swahili and the Kikuyu and the Masai and even of the Northern Kavirondo you have good accounts even in travel books, but where a *safari* has to be undertaken without the help of a railroad, natives are generally lost sight of, and therefore all the more heartily do we acknowledge our indebtedness to the author for the light he has thrown on a little known subject.

For the rest, the author shares the common prejudices of the European against the blacks. For instance, it is his firm conviction along with that of the average white that among the natives the male does not do a stroke of work, leaving everything to be done by the woman. This of course has long been exploded, for it is now known that the lighter portion of the work done on the *shambas*

is done by women, the heavier has to be done and is done by the males. But the white settlers always represent the black women as bearing the whole brunt of the field work, not from any partiality for the women, but to make the crime of the men look the blacker—the crime of their feeling a distaste for a life of wage-slavery. Our author has imbibed this general prejudice; he says, "the native has no liking for it (work) and must be begged to leave his home, where the women make life pleasant by doing everything" (p. 166). Again, at p. 152, he says, the qualities of kindness and considerateness "are always mistaken for weakness by the African negro."

The Government often protests that there is no forced labour in Kenya, but the writer of this book who did not go about prying into the dark corners of the colony could not but notice it. He says: "We saw much *corvée* labour. Whole families were at work mending the roads" (p. 164). Besides the *corvée* imposed for works of public utility labour was exacted for private farms by indirect means—the hut tax. "Were it not for the Government tax," says the author, "it is doubtful whether any could ever be induced to work," which means in plain English that, by means of the hut tax, natives are coerced to work on European *shambas*. "In the early days the hut tax was paid in crocodile eggs," but now it has to be paid in money, and as money can be had only by the natives hiring themselves out for labour on the farms of the whites, it means enforced labor. "The chiefs are responsible to the Government, and if a man has not paid his tax, the chief brings pressure to bear and makes him take a job" (p. 167). Latterly, the difficulties of recruiters grew enormously, for the natives showed a considerable reluctance to be coerced. This reluctance, natural enough, was attributed by the whites to the promptings of the Indian community. Whenever there is trouble with the natives, Indians are supposed to be at the bottom of it. When the author was on a *safari* through Kisii and Butende, he found recruiters had come all the way from Nairobi to gather seventy-five labourers. He asked the recruiters as to why the Wa-Kikuyu and the Wa-Kamba much nearer at home did not supply the required labour force, and he was told: "It had to do with Indian propaganda among negro tribes. The agitators were using that slogan of Wilson's about self-determination of nations, and equal rights for all. It is a phrase that has done much toward making the world crack. Passive resistance to the call of labour in fields outside of the reserves has been the result in many parts of Africa. The recruiters said it had taken the hardest work of their lives to get the seventy-five. Some had been drafted through the Greek *Duka* agency in Tanganyika, and none understood their language" (p. 240). It has to be remembered that all this coercion is used not for public good, nor for the good of the natives, but for the benefit of the white farmers, who were supplied labourers at an artificially lowered wage.

There are of course instances of coercion being applied, if not primarily for the benefit of the natives, at least secondarily, and as such there may be some justification for it. In Uganda, e. g., the natives were forced to grow cotton on a part of their ground. Our author observes: "In some instances, the natives were threatened with the loss of their cattle if they would not plant cotton. The instruction methods were simple. Equipped with string and sticks, the District Commissioner went around

the region to be planted. First he would stretch the string across a bit of ground; then indicate that along the line of that string, in holes eighteen inches apart, three seeds must be put. Then the string was stretched again, four feet from the first line, and the planting process repeated. When the cotton was up, and ready for picking, the natives walked again. They said: "this is no *chakula* (food). We will not pick it. The witch-doctors say it is bad to touch!" "It required a force of *askaris* (policemen), standing with loaded rifles behind the natives, to get the first crop picked. But the work done, the natives were glad to have money, instead of a string of cowry shells with which to pay their hut tax, and there was money left over which might be applied on the purchase of cows to trade for a wife" (pp. 267-8). Cotton has really been very beneficial to the natives, but there is no such justification for applying compulsion for turning independent cultivators into wage-earners for the good of the whites.

There is only one more reference to the Indians at p. 67. The author happened to be in the country when the whites were arming themselves to resist Government's concession to Indians. The *E. A. Standard* in an early issue of May 1922, had compared the whites in Kenya to the Boston tea party in America on the eve of independence. The Kenya whites had threatened to copy the example of the Britishers who set up a separate American State in 1776. At that time, the writer says, one could go into the streets and hear people talk of rebellion. "Most of us have been in the army; we all have rifles, except twenty-eight men. We have made a careful count, I heard. Obviously they were ready to shoot the Indians out of the colony." Here is proof if one were needed—and it is needed since the Kenya authorities deny it—of the whites being prepared to go to extremities, and it is also proof, incidentally, that the British Cabinet capitulated to this threat and therefore denied justice to Indians. Such stray remarks found in the work are valuable, but one has to wade through a number of dull pages in order to pick them up.

S. G. V.

MISCELLANEA.

INDIANS IN AUSTRALIA.

DENIAL OF FRANCHISE UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

A LAWYER friend from Melbourne writes as follows to the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri:

I desire to bring under your notice the state of the law in Australia with regard to the franchise as affecting your countrymen.

Section 41 of the Constitution of Australia reads as follows: "No adult person who has or acquires a right to vote at elections for the more numerous House of the Parliament of a State shall, while the right continues, be prevented by any law of the Commonwealth from voting at Election for either House of the Parliament of the Commonwealth."

In spite of this very definite Section, the Commonwealth passed the Commonwealth Electoral Act, 1918-22, which provides as follows: "No aboriginal native of Australia, Asia, Africa or the Islands of the Pacific (except New Zealand) shall be entitled to have his name placed on or retained on any roll, or to vote at any Senate Election or House of Representatives Election unless so entitled under Section 41 of the Constitution."

You will see that the Government has passed an Act which the Constitution forbids and it only requires the matter to be taken to the High Court of Australia, when it will un-

doubtedly be declared unconstitutional as it has done something which it has no power to do unless the Constitution is altered, which has not been done.

Might I request that you will put me in touch with one of your fellow-countrymen in Melbourne who can be relied on to see that the necessary steps are taken?

I understand that when you were here the Government promised relief but it has not carried out its promise.

What remains now is to force it to do what its law imposes.

INTERNATIONAL OPIUM CONFERENCE.

DRAFT PROGRAMME PREPARED BY A SUB-COMMITTEE.

WE give below the first part of the Draft Programme prepared by a Sub-Committee of the League of Nations for consideration at the Second International Conference on Opium to be held at Geneva in November of this year and also an extract from a Note explanatory of the proposals contained in this Programme. In this part of the Programme measures are suggested for limiting the imports and exports of opium and other drugs to quantities strictly required for scientific and medical purposes, and further for enforcing a limitation. The second part contains proposals to amend the Hague Convention of 1912. They are designed particularly to strengthen and give precision to the provisions relating to the control over the exports and imports of the substances to which the Convention applies. "Experience during the three years which have elapsed since the Convention came into force has shown that there are loopholes in the existing provisions by which persons who are engaged in illicit trade can evade the control over the national and international trade in the materials and drugs which was the object of the Convention and that a stricter control must be established if that object is to be secured effectively."

MEASURES SUGGESTED AS A BASIS FOR DELIBERATIONS.

1. That each country shall furnish an estimate of its annual import requirements for medical and scientific purposes, whether for domestic consumption, manufacture or commerce, of
 - (a) Raw opium
 - (b) Coca leaves.
 - (c) Morphine, its salts, and preparations containing morphine.
 - (d) Heroin, its salts, and preparations containing heroin.
 - (e) Cocaine, its salts, and preparations containing cocaine.
2. Each Government undertakes to refuse to authorise the importation into its territory of any of the substances mentioned in Article 1 beyond the quantities specified in the estimates furnished by it in pursuance of Article 1. The foregoing provision shall not prevent the Government of a country in which the use of opium for smoking purposes is still temporarily permitted under Chapter 2 of the Hague Convention from authorising the importation of raw opium, in conformity with the provisions of Chapter 2 of the Convention, until such time as the use of opium for smoking purposes shall have been definitely prohibited.
3. A permanent Central Board, composed of experts, shall be constituted by the Council of the League on the advice of the Opium Advisory Committee.
4. The Governments agree to send to the Central Board:
 - (a) Their estimates of their annual import requirements in pursuance of Article 1.
 - (b) Within three months after the end of each quarter, statistics of their imports from each country and of their exports or re-exports to each country during that quarter and, within three months after the end of each half-year, statistics of their manufactures during that half-year and, if possible, the stocks in the hand of the wholesale dealers at the

end of the half-year, of each of the substances mentioned in Article 1.

- (e) Within three months after the end of each year, the total quantity of each of the substances mentioned in Article 1 consumed as such in the country during the year.

The Central Board will communicate periodically to all Governments the position as regards the exports and re-exports to each country.

Should it appear that the imports of any of the substances mentioned in Article 1 already received in any country during the current year have exceeded the amounts specified in the estimate furnished by that country, the Central Board shall call the attention of the Governments specially to the fact. Each Government undertakes not to export any further consignment of the substances in question to the said country during the same year, unless a revised estimate of its requirements shall have been furnished by the country.

5. If any country furnishes no estimate of its requirements in pursuance of Article 1 or furnishes an estimate which appears to the Central Board to be greatly in excess of the reasonable requirements of the country and to be likely to be used in part for the illicit traffic, the Board shall fix the amounts of the reasonable requirements of that country after taking into account its population, climatic and hygienic conditions and all other factors which appear to the Board to be relevant, as well as any other special circumstances which the said country will be at liberty to submit to the Board. The Board shall notify the amount so fixed to all Governments. Each Government agrees not to allow the export to that country of amounts which taken in conjunction with the exports from other countries, will exceed the amounts fixed by the Board.

6. If any Government of any country which has commercial relations, in the matter of the substances mentioned in Article 1, with a country for which an amount has been fixed by the Board in pursuance of Article 5 or Article 7, paragraph XIII, considers that it is undesirable to limit exports to the latter country to the amount so fixed, it shall have the right to demand that a special conference of all the countries which have such relations with the said country shall be summoned to consider whether such limitation or any other measure should be put into force.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

The measures suggested as a basis for discussion consist of two parts. The first part, consisting of Articles 1 to 6, contains a scheme the object of which is to limit the export and imports of the drugs and of the raw materials from which they are manufactured to the amounts required for medical and scientific purposes. It has not been thought necessary at the present stage to work out the scheme in full detail, but the essential features are set out in Articles 1 to 6, and Article 7, paragraph XIII. Each country which becomes a party to agreement will prepare at, or shortly before, the commencement of each calendar year an estimate of the amounts of each of the materials or of the manufactured drugs which it will require to import during the year:

- (a) For consumption in the country for medical and scientific purposes;
- (b) For the manufacture of the drugs or of other medical preparations;
- (c) For the export trade.

Each country will undertake that it will not import more of the raw materials or of the manufactured drugs than it specifies in its estimates.

The estimates will be sent to a Central Board established in the manner proposed in the scheme.

The Governments will also send periodically to the Central Board statistics of their imports and exports, their manufactures, and their consumption of the raw materials and of the drugs.

These statistics will enable the Central Board to follow the course of the international traffic, so that whenever it

appears that the exports to or imports into any country have exceeded the amounts of the estimates furnished by the country, it will be in a position to notify the Government of that country, and the Governments of other countries, of the fact.

It is intended that the scheme should be worked in as elastic a manner as possible. In the first place, it is not expected that in the early years it will be possible to give exact estimates. At first, the estimates will in many cases necessarily be approximate only, and some margin will have to be allowed for errors in estimation. As experience is gained, the estimates will become more and more precise. In the second place, the estimates furnished by a Government at the commencement of a year will not necessarily be the final estimates for the year. If the estimates should be found by the Government in the course of the year to be insufficient, it will be open to the Government to furnish revised estimates to the Central Board. Or, again, the production of the raw materials will vary from year to year according to the rate of the crops. In a year of abundant crops, when prices are low, the manufacturing countries will desire to take advantage of the state of the market and lay in supplies for the future. It will, again, be open to the Governments of such countries to revise their estimates of the raw material required during the current year, a corresponding reduction being made in the estimates of the following year.

The experience of the Advisory Committee shows that it has to be anticipated that some countries will not become parties to the agreement, at any rate, not at first, or that they will neglect or declare themselves unable to frame any estimates of their requirements. It may be also that in some cases supplies will be demanded which are greatly in excess of the legitimate requirements of the country and which might serve to supply the illicit trade in the drugs.

It is therefore provided (Articles 3 and 7, paragraph XIII) that in such cases the Central Board shall have the power to fix the amounts which are reasonably required for the medical and scientific needs of the country, after taking into account all proper considerations, such as population, climate, etc., and any special circumstances which the country in question may desire to submit to the Board. The amounts so fixed will be notified to all Governments by the Central Board and the Governments will undertake to limit their exports to that country so that the amounts fixed by the Board shall not be exceeded. As explained above, Governments will be informed by the Central Board when the amounts fixed have been reached.

It has been suggested that political considerations may sometimes make it undesirable for a particular Government or Governments to limit its exports to a country in a case of this kind. To meet this difficulty, it is provided in the scheme that such a Government or Governments may ask for a special conference of the countries trading in the drugs with the country in question to consider whether the limitation should be enforced or some other measures taken.

It will be noticed that Article 1 provides only for estimates of imports being furnished. Some countries, however, provide themselves with their requirements of the drugs from their own manufactures, and the estimates furnished in pursuance of Article 1 will, therefore, not give the total requirements of the amounts needed for medical and scientific purposes. It is desirable, however, that the total requirements should be known. If the total requirements of all countries are known, it will be possible to compare the estimates of one country with those of another and so to reach some kind of standard for countries having similar conditions. The total amount of the drugs required to be manufactured to meet the world's medical and scientific needs, and the total amount of raw materials required to be produced, will also be known, and this knowledge should help to stabilise the manufacture of and trade in the drugs.

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