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** **				ł	AGE
POPICS OF THE WEEL		***	. 008	***	421
ARTICLES:-					
Special Europer	n Electo	rates	44#	***	424
The " Unity Con	ference '	at Delhi	: An. Impre	ssion.	
By Dr. H. C			***	***	425
How do they Con	ppere ?	British In	dia and Indi	an	
India ? By J.			010	200	426
CONTINENTAL LETTE		ofessor L	evin L. Schü	cking.	428
OUR PUNJAB LETTE	R		***	*96	429
Miscellanea t—	.*	-	*		
Indians in Austr	alia	***	, the	4.	430
The Rt. Hon'ble	Srinivas	a Sastri. I	By S. V. C.	***	430

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WE are privileged to print on Franchise for indiasanother page a letter from a barrister in Melbourne, addressed to Mr. Sastri, which contains the very gratifying news that the legality of the Commonwealth Govern. ment's denial of franchise to Indians residing in Australia was questioned in the Australian High Court, and that a decision favourable to the Indian continuity has been obtained. In the particular test case taken to the Court it has been decided that the withholding of the suffrage from the Indian is contrary to law, and the Court has therefore ordered the individual-concerned to be placed on the register. Another preliminary step has to be taken before the Granchise can be said to have been secured for the Indian community, but it is anticipated that there will be no difficulty about it. When that happens the most serious disability attaching to Indians in Australia will have been removed.

on special request, sent the following message to the Statesman for being published in its Unity Conference number: "On the clear testimony of competent witnesses the Unity Conference wea, marked by an admirable spirit of goodwill and compromise, as might have been expected from the unprecedented event which was at once its origin and inspiration. The resolutions have therefore more significance than the terms convey and, if promulgated earnestly in possible centres of disturbance, might produce ignest improvement. This is the immediate task arising from the Con-

ference and might well tax the energies and resources of the Conciliation Board of fifteen for a long time. I think however that the more difficult aspect of the question has yet to be touched. Perhaps it was wise to avoid it in Delhi. The adjustment of political and semi-political demands of the Moslem community with reference to the Swaraj movement involves subtler and more complicated issues. It cannot be effected without the fullest co-operation of the European community, -official as well as non-official. The marvellous healing quality of the part played recently by the Metropolitan, Mr. Arthur Moore of the Statesman and others is a measure of the vast influence presessed by their kindred in Indian affairs to be yet harnessed in loyal and disinterested devotion to the declared mission of Britain in the East. Britishers have to understand that the fate of an supire depends on the choice they now make between the pursuit as heretofore of their own emomentary interests and the adoption of a policy which, in communal if not in individual matters, is calculated to further the growth of a political nationality in India in place of the many sectional and communal loyalties, which the law sanctions and British example stimulates."

THE resolutions passed at the Political Settlement Unity Conference are regarded, and rightly regarded, as as only a firstthough an important, step in the achievement For the Conference did not concern of unity. itself with the settlement of political differences between Hindus and Moslems, and so long as these differences remain in an acute state the disorderly elements in these two communities will never lack an excuse or occasion to burst out in riots. To point out this emission in the work of the Conference is not, however, to impute to it a defect. We are assured that the question of political unity was not lost sight of, but it was felt that the present was not the most opportune moment for attacking it. If a durable settlement is to be arrived at, it can only be reached in the presence and by the help of Mahatma Gandhi. Such was the general feeling in the Conference and probably it was right to have postponed the other issue. But it is an issue which cannot be long neglected. Nor is it by any means incapable of settlement if the leaders approach the question in that spirit of tolerance and mutual adjustment which animated the deliberations at Delhi. As to the resolutions

actually passed, their practical value will depend upon the earnest attempts made by the leaders of the two communities to inculcate their lessons upon the masses. It is only when the resolutions make their way into the minds of the ignorant multitude that a check will be put to the riots which are only too frequent nowadays.

THE view advanced by us in our The Metropolitan. last issue, as to the great conciliatory rôle that Europeans can and ought to play in India, has since received a striking illustration in the person of none less than the Metroplitan of India, Bishop Foss Westcott of Calcutta. He was necessarily one of the most conspicuous figures at the Unity Conference in Delhi, a finely built man, in white cassock, purple sash and large pectoral cross, with the face both of a thinker and of a man of the world. But in no respect surely did he become more conspicuous than by the utter absence of that prestigecomplex, to which Indians are so painfully accustomed in practically all the British they have to deal with. The Metropolitan's simplicity moreover was natural, not artificially put on for the occasion, and just for that reason lacked the boisterous note so often thought a sufficient surrogate for real fellow-feeling. The Metropolitan's simplicity was always dignified, without ever consciously attempting either: it was just the natural outcome of a transparent goodness of heart which could but captivate every member of the Conference.

To see the highest dignitary of the, alas, still " Established " Church of India, squatting on the floor, with his boots off, amidst a crowd of other Indian leaders, just as one of them, was a sight worth going to Delhi to see. To hear him say Mass on the morning of the first day of the Conference, giving out in the big official "Station" church as special intention "the success of the Unity Conference and the sustaining in his fast of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi"; or to find him called up by Gandhiji to his room, to join in the evening prayers of the ashram : gave one an insight into the spiritual depth of his being, in which were rooted and out of which sprang all the characteristics that so surprised and charmed all who beheld him for the first time. To see him ride away in a motorcar—now between Mrs. Naidu and Mr. Motilal Nehru, now between Mr. and Mrs. C. R. Das; to see him dine with Mr. Mahomed Ali; to hear him speak enthusiastically of "my esteemed fellow-citizen Mr. Abul Kalam Azad"; to watch him day after day, patiently listening to the speakers joining in the private confabulations, now and then contributing great little speeches to the discussions, stressing responsibilities rather than rights, goodwill and generosity rather than uttermost farthings and grudging acquiescence: to do all this, was indeed a revelation of how much a European, a Christian, an Englishman could con-

tribute to questions which, narrowly considered. were but the concern of Hindus and Moslems.

And if the Metropolitan was the most conspicuous, he was not the only European at the Conference, who showed what power for good the Britisher in India could wield, an he chose : there was Mr. Arthur Moore, editor of the Statesman, who has set an example which one only wishes that all journalists in India, whether Indian or non-Indian, would copy; there was the clergyman who on the Sunday evening at the "Station" church preached a notable sermon on the Conference and on the necessity of a Christian aiming first at being a good man, before he could aspire. to be a good Christian; not to speak of the Andrews and Stokes who in so supreme a way have identified themselves with this country of their adoption. One and all, each in his own way, they showed, how great a contribution to India's future Britishers in India are called to make: once they conceive the part for which they are cast to be no longer direction, but assistance. The difficult task that is theirs is voluntarily to decrease, that India may increase: and for that supreme lesson we can indeed wish our British fellow-citizens no better teacher than the Metropolitan of India.

IN his reply to the representation of the Indian Association of Calcutta, on the situation created by the Bengal Council refusing Ministers' salaries, Lord Lytton's Private Secretary says:

Your Association is quite correct in saying that the situation in Bengal is different from that in the Central Provinces, and the demand for Ministers' salaries could be submitted again in a new session if any evidence were available that it would be voted by the Council. It would be useless, however, for the demand to be again submitted unless and until definite indication had been given of the willingness of the majority of the Council to support new Ministers if appointed by his Excellency."

That indication, with as much definiteness as one could desire, was given in the speeches of those who voted against the Government on August 26th. With the Nationalists and some of the Independents joining the Swarajists, the Government was defeated by only two votes. If the Governor had chosen more acceptable Ministers, and got the former to side with Government, they would have been in a majority of about 20 instead of in a minority. It is not clear how exactly His Excellency expects a fresh indication to be given. The initiative will have to be taken by him and with the best available advice he will have to appoint new Ministers. After that he may with confidence make a fresh demand for their salaries. If that also be refused—we don't in the least expect that result—it will be open to His Excellency to think of other courses.

One of Firearms. GREAT credit belongs to Mr. Rangachariar for having incorporated in a Bill, now moved in the Legislative Assembly.

the provisions regarding the use of firearms which Mr. Sastri proposed in 1921 in the form of a resolution in the Council of State. The most important of these provisions is that injured persons should be free to prosecute the officer responsible for firing in a court of law for either having opened firing when there was no need for it or for having kept it up after the need for it had passed. At present the Governor-General's sanction has to be taken before launching upon a prosecution and there has not been a single instance on record when the sanction was given, "though on several occasions, on the showing of the Government itself, officers have lost their head and have caused a greater loss of life than was absolutely required in the circumstances. The requirement that a previous sanction should be obtained is a virtual deulal of justice to the people of India. There is no such provision in England, where every aggrieved person is free to resort to a court of law, and yet officers in England are not deter red from using the requisits amount of force. Why then should they be in India, where apparently life is held too cheap and firing is commenced on a slight provocation and kept up for an unconsciously long time? There are other provisions in the Bill, but they are all subsidiary to this, making the officers concerned accountable for their acts in a court of law.

THE current number of the ModernHisdon in Hyderahad Civil Service. Review contains a detailed analysis
of the personnel of the higher posts
in the civil departments of H. E. H. the Nizam's
Government (as on 6th April 1923). The analysis
shows how preponderatingly Muslim the personnel
is, particularly in non-technical departments. In the
various secretariats there are in all 67 officers. Of
these 58 are Muslims, 4 Europeans, 4 Hindus and
1 Parsi. In the revenue secretariat, which is the
largest, all the 18 officers are Muslims. Out of 121
Tahsildars in the revenue department, 110 are
Muslims, 8 Hindus and 3 Parsis. The figures for
the Judiciary, on account of its importance, bear
detailed mention:—

respond treatment	/1E .		
Post .		Muslim	, Hindu
Chief Justi	ice	1	*
Pulsne jud		5	1 .
Mufti		1	***
Registrar d	X6	ŝ	***
	at Pleaders	5	ï
City Civil		5	***
	strate's Cour		
Kazi's Cou		1	414
Special M		ī -	***
Divisional		6	***
	vil Judges	1 5	•**
Additional	Civil Judge		***
Munsife		85	8
	-44		
	Total	141	10

It is to be remembered in this connection that while the Hindus form 85 per cent. of the population, the Muslims form only 10 per cent., animists and Christians making up the balance. While

the percentage of literacy is higher among Mus lims than among Hindus as a whole, the most advanced Hindu castes are very much in advance of the most advanced Muslim 'castes or tribes.' The Hyderabad Census Report for 1921 gives the following figures:—

	Literacy	Literacy in English
	(per 1000)	(per 10,000)
Brahmen	482	373
Komati,	307	41
Rajput	142	103
Syed	172	210
Moghul	147	123

Yet the Nizam wonders that the Hindus of Berar are not enthusiastic to get back under his rule.

Pudukotiah, comparatively Reforms in Possikot small State in Madrae Presidency, having an area of 1100 sq. miles and a population of about 41 lakhs, now possesses a Legislative Council which is composed of 50 members, \$5 of whom are elected and 15, including non-official representatives of minorities, are nominated. The State hitherto possessed a Representative Assembly, with 30 membars, and a smaller Legislative Advisory Council, but neither of them was an elective body with a popular franchise. The new Council has been constituted in accordance with the wishes of the people and in order to keep abreast of the times. The Regent in his well-conceived opening speech claimed for the present reforms that they did not fall short of what had been granted in other States. But what followed was better still. He said, "I shall, however, be very glad to give atill wider powers to this Council when the time is ripe for a further step being taken forwards. It should be our common sndeavour to hasten the advent of that time." There are much bigger States in Bombay Presidency and elsewhere which have not made even a beginning in associating the representatives of their people with the administration. Will the paramount power which has conceived its mission to be that of leading Indians to democratic selfgovernment, look on without actively using its moral influence on the side of progress?

COMPULSORY primary education will come into force in the city of Madras-not the whole of it, but in some of its most populous wards-from the next official year, and at present a census is being taken of boys between 6 and 11 and of girls between 5 and 10, under the guidance of Rao Bahadur T Varadarajulu Naidu, the energetic Chairman of the Education Committee, and one of the promi nent social workers of Madras. In the city of Bombay preliminary steps were taken long ago, but there is no prospect of compulsion being introduced in the near future. Madras which started much later seems certain to overtake Bombay; but then it has not to deal with the Bombay Government's present Education Minister.

SPECIAL EUROPEAN ELECTORATES.

THIS journal ventured last week to suggest to the European community in the various provinces in India that they should abandon the separate electorates which have been instituted for them. urged this step as an earnest of their fulfilling the exalted part assigned to them in the scheme of reforms inaugurated in 1919. Spokesmen of the community and writers in their press have not been slow to accept the rôle so assigned to them, which is no less than that of exemplar and teacher of democratic self-rule to the people of this country. In the recent discussions preceding the Lee Commission Report and consequent upon it, as well as in the overwhelming volume of writing on the Swaraj resolution of February this year, stress was laid on the education through which the electorates and their representatives had still to pass before they could be declared fit for self-government; and this education, it was confidently asserted, could only be given by the British official through a long process of years, provided he was kept by this employers in contentment, honour and undiminished power. It should not afford ground for complaint if in the circumstances it were demanded of the European community that they should set the example of subordinating their particular interests to the welfare of the whole people and abstain from such action as might retard the welding of the various communities of India into one political nation. One grieves, however, that in nearly all political debates British writers and speakers struggle for what they regard as the good of their community with as little reference to the good of the country as the representatives of any other minority of India. Often their self-importance carries them so far as to maintain that the good of their community is the good of the whole. Besides in the unreserved talk of the smoke-room and the tea-table the Britisher frankly admits that he is not in this country for any altruistic purposes, but to seek his own worldly advantage. He certainly knows, if anybody does, that the feeling of nationality cannot grow up where small and limited loyalties consume the one large loyalty, and the law of the land cuts up the national franchise into a number of sectarian and communal franchises. It is true there were sectarian and communal differences in India bafore his advent. But what was the clear duty of the political instructor trained in the latest democracy of the west? Was it quickly to imbibe the caste exclusiveness of his new environment and join in the assertion of superior claims and the clamour for special constituencies? Would it not rather have been more fitting if he had not allowed himself to be smitten by the prevailing madness but stood out for the principle, as cardinal as it is elementary, of one common franchise for all? It was an evil hour for his reputation and for the political salvation of India when he decided to violate the first canon of democracy and safeguard his fanci-

ed interests. After this fall the further descent to aid and abtement of all forms of narrow separatism was inevitable. What an irony of fate that the first lesson in the primer of democracy taught by professors with the best known hall-marks of the west should be, how not to be an Indian We have just used the experession "fancied interests'. It was not unadvised. For no objection has yet been taken, or is meant here, to the adequate representation of the material interests of the European community in the Indian or in the Local Legislature. But we cannot concede that Europeans, who are confessedly not among the permanent populations of India, can have any communal interests to be safeguarded even to the detriment of real effective Indian citizenship. It is due entirely to the disproportionate political influence that they enjoy in Indian affairs and not to their intrinsic importance or genuine needs that they have been allowed to disfigure the franchise law of this country by an inky blot of their own. Why, one remembers some vehement advocates of European special interests actually pleading that they were not a community of India although in India, that they never could and never would merge in the general population—as if that consideration were not a bar to their admission to the franchise itself, let alone special electorates. One may well exclaim, Save India and democracy from such teachers!

Should, however, the needs of this very important community appear to require special protection, it could have been provided by the device known as reservation of seats. There would then be one general register and while the desired number of Europeans could be always got, they would be such as had commended themselves to some at least of the general voters as distinguished from those belonging to their own community. One is aware of the usual objection to this plan. The successful European candidate might conceivably be one who owed his election entirely to the support of non-Europeans and polled very few votes indeed from his own community. Such an one could scarcely be called a representative European. For instance, Mr. Horniman could be always sure of being returned from Bombay. This instance, however, is so unique that it ought not to be allowed to influence the policy. If it be feared that the acceptance of the principale of reservation of seats would raise a crop of Hornimans from the bosom of the European community—in our opinion a very illfounded fear-a proviso may be inserted to the effect that the selected minority candidate should have polled at least a fourth of the votes of his community. It is not beyond human ingenuity for this purpose to avoid violation of the secrecy of the ballot. It being an imperative need in this country to get all sects and communities to regard problems in their bearing on the general welfare, every candidate must be placed under an obligation to seek the suffrages of all the people around

him and not merely of certain section thereof. There would then be some guarantee that the men returned to the Legislature would consider themselves responsible to the people of India as well as to their own kith and kin. So should we avoid the extreme communalist who always emphasizes separatism, and the brawling bigot who delights in mischief. We record with thankfulness our general satisfaction with the personnel of the British representation so far in the Councils. The members returned under this vicious system have generally been marked for urbanity, industry and desire to get on well with their colleagues. One qualification, however, we must make and we make it with regret. They have never manifested an appreciation of the Indian point of view in any matter of importance, being content to vote with Government except where super-tax or a similar measure was concerned. In such cases they have either opposed Government or acted as a brake on its progressive and conciliatory action. This qualification throws into relief the cogency of our general argument, that the true meaning and spirit of democracy cannot be taught through precept or practice by those who refuse to mix with the pecple or understand their views.

THE "UNITY CONFERENCE" AT DELHI: AN IMPRESSION.

OF all the surprises of a wholly surprising Conference probably the greatest has been its undoubted success. I believe I am not exaggerating when I say that the attitude of the whole country, including the actual members of the Conference, was one of scepticism and, in only too many cases, of cynicism. I may be wrong, but even half way through the Conference I still had the impression, that nobody really was optimistic enough to think that anything tangible would come of all the talk. The apostles of "the sword is mightier than the pen" have so prejudiced the modern mind, that it is very difficult, not to feel a priori con. temptuous of "mere talk " and impatient of people "wasting" hours and days in "futile" argument: so that this atmosphere of resignation, pessimism and non-expectancy, which permeated the Conference itself, was only natural. And if this was the best that actual participants could rise to, is it wonder that in the country itself the prevailing mentality fell-not to say falls-short even of that modest modicum of trust?

For all that, perhaps just because of that, the Conference after all has been an amazing success, The turning-point, I think, came on the question of caw-killing, when for the first time a generous move on the part of Moslems met with a similar response from the Hindus; and when I say Moslems and Hindus, I mean the very die-hards of both sections. For this is the main point to remember: that the Conference consisted not merely of Mahomed Alia and Abul Kalam Azads, of

been trusted, without any Conference, to advocate the golden rule of doing to other communities as one would like to be done by them. The really hopeful point about the Conference was that the obscurantists, the people who live and think in watertight compartments, who know no outlook but that of sectionalism, that these people, I say, were present too; that these people, who had the power of wrecking the Conference, in the end found themselves non-plussed by the facts which emerged; that it is they who were driven into a corner to face squarely these stark realities and who in the end felt compelled to choose the alternative of compromise rather than that of sliding further down the slope towards Civil War.

For I believe that nothing less than the cartain prospect of Civil; War was the ugly reality which forced itself upon all present as the inevitable goal towards which all events with evergathering speed were making, unless a halt was called at once, at what was becoming perilously near to being an eleventh hour. Religious fanaticism was to be dealt with, to be sure: but joined to it one descried an economic upheaval which moved towards a complete separation of the two great communities and which was directed towards the smashing up of the other's commercial or industrial prerogatives, the "capturing" of their business, the boycotting of what hitherto had been vital functions and the setting up of two entirely self-contained rival and ferociously hostile polities in the place of the one commonwealth of the past, wherein tradition had assigned different functions to different, but mutually necessary, sections Trying to ensure popularity with such inflammable material, aspirants to political power had been only too prone to outbid each other in appeals, not exactly addressed to sobriety of thought and loftiness of purposa. Only a little more of all such ingredients and it was evident that a fire would be ablaze, which all subsequent goodwill. all forces of peace and order, all the repressiva machinery even of a huge empire would be impotent to quench, until it had burnt itself out, leaving behind it the charred remains of what once was India . . .

It was visions such as these, that the Conference forced even its Kifayatullahs and Malaviyas to contemplate; it was with ugly realities such as these, that it made them come to close grips. As Mahatmaji had said in his message to the Conference, perhaps there was no alternative. to this tragedy inexorably working itself out: but, if so, at least 'twere better to know one's doom and meet it in full consciousness like men, than try to dodge it like cowards by shams and pretences. And thus sharply pulled up, even the dultest, even the most fanatical, could but turn aside with a vow that anything would be better than such alternative. It is out of such a temper that I believe the compromise was born, which found its formulation in the long string of resolutions Rajagopalacharis and Jayakars, who could have which were eventually agreed to namine contradicente even by the open Conference. The really hopeful thing, as I see it, is just this fact that the formula, as agreed to, is not ideally satisfactory to either side, but that it has been agreed to all the same; not because its unsatisfactoriness was at the time not fully realized, but because even the narrowest partizans had realized that the only alternative to such partially unsatisfactory agreement was the summum malum of nation-wide civil war upon which they could but resolutely turn their back.

Hence what to me seems precious, is not the formula, but that it has been agreed to, and by whom, and in what manner. I must candidly admit that, as I went to Delhi, I fully expected at its best an orgy of emotionalism: at its worst a desolation of futility. And that it managed to steer clear of the latter, was undoubtedly due to the fact that it avoided the former. And that really was the wonderful thing about Mahatmaji's fast that it neither unleashed the irrational impulses of its beholders, nor beclouded their reasoning faculties, but rather seemed to quicken, as all spiritual power that truly comes from above should, both the powers of thought and of will, of brain and heart. If "by their fruits ye shall know them ', surely this great three weeks of fasting and of prayer must be acknowledged to have been eminently good and to have proved itself the supreme method of casting out devils which by no other means would have yielded. Even so, the victory is not complete by any means: what has been said in Delhi, must be shouted from the housetops of every corner of India; what has been agreed to by a handful of leaders, must be ex animo accepted by the whole nation; the mentality born at the "Unity Conference" must permeate and leaven this whole continent of ours. Only a beginning has been made; let us over the magnificence of such a beginning not forget that it is only a beginning, any more than the magnificence of achievement over the fact that it is but a beginning that has been achieved.

Hence, if I may make an appeal, it would be that to-day it is laid upon everyone of us to be up and doing, each in his own little circle, in his own community, in his own party—to make universal this realization that there is nothing, absolutely nothing, that must stand in the way of achieving unity—not the evanescent unity of a common hatred, but unity born of commonsense, common fairness and common responsibilities, of a resolve at all costs to prevent civil war and universal chaos. Only thus can we neutralize the insidious cynicism of the inevitable "superior" critic, who, unwilling to help, unable to suggest a better way, still stands by sneering—a true Enemy of the People.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

HOW DO THEY COMPARE? BRITISH INDIA AND INDIAN INDIA?

AMONG the Indian States Baroda, Mysore and Travancore are considered to be the most progressive. Bombay on the other hand is in many respects the premier province in British India. In the present article it is proposed to make a comparative study of the administration of Bombay, Mysore and Baroda. Owing to the vast difference in area, soil, situation, population, revenue, assets and liabilities of these three territories, the comparison cannot be on all fours. It is however possible to compare administrative tendencies and efficiency and an attempt is made at such a comparison in the present article.

The area, population, revenue and expenditure of Bombay, Mysore and Baroda are as follows:—

	Área in	Population	Revenue	Expen.
	q. miles	1921	1922	-23
Bombay (excluding Ade	n,		lacs	1265
States and agencies)	123,541	19,291,719	14,28	13,72
Mysore	29,475	5,978,892	3,44	3,95
Baroda	8:53	2,126,522	2,21	2,11

From an administrative point of view the Baroda State has its peculiar disadvantages in not being a compact territory. The divisions are scattered and, beyond the tie of a common government, have little intercourse with one another. The isolated nature of the different administrative units renders adequate protection and supervision difficult and expensive. The Government of Bombay also have similar though not equally serious difficulties in the administration of Sind.

The population of Mysore increased by 3 per cent. in 1921 over the population in 1911. During the same period the population of Baroda increased by 4.6 per cent., while the population of the Bombay Presidency decreased by 1 per cent. No conclusion however can be drawn from the varying rates of increase in population as the main factors controlling them in the decade were influenze and rainfall.

The chief sources of revenue of the Bombay Presidency in 1922-23 were Land Revenue (45%), Excise (34%) and Stamps (14-1%). During the same period Land Revenue in Baroda brought in Rs. 1,13,63,559 out of the total revenue of Rs. 2,21,-26,491. The next important source of revenue was Abkari (excluding opium revenue of Rs. 6,12,844). Other important sources were Interest, Railways and Stamps in order of the amount of revenue they brought in. In Mysors the Land Revenue amounted to Rs. 1,18,42,112 (34%). Receipts from excise revenue amounted to Rs. 81,53,228 (24%). Among other important sources of revenue were Stamps --(Rs. 17,64,240 or 5.1%), Electrical works (Rs. 19,51,-529 or 5.7). It will be noted that although nearly three times the size of Baroda, Mysore receives only about 4 lacs more in land revenue than Baroda. The following table speaks for itself:

	Area eropped in Aeres	Area irri- gated in Acres	Incidence of Land Re- venue on ful- ly assessed area er acre	bead of population	Total Land Revenue
Bombay 1920-21	33,073,702	1,106,203	Ra. 1-3-8	Ra. 2-4-3	34563752
Surat Broach Mysore Baroda	61,19,959 (1933-23) 25,45,716 (1918-19	16,09,035 (1918–19) 173,629 (1918–19)	\$-11-11 \$-14-1 1- 4-2 (1918-19) 4-11-2 "(Approximate) (1918-19)	3-6-10 5-9-11 2-0-6 (1918-19) 5-6-9 (1921-22)	11794718 11363559

* The figures are obtained by dividing land revenue demand for 1918-19 by the area oropped in the year.

The total expenditure on army in the Baroda State amounted to Rs. 26,21,147; the expenditure -on the same head in Mysors was Rs. 16,22,851. The actual strength of the army in Baroda and Mysore was 3563 and 3078 respectively.

The total expenditure on Police in the Bombay Presidency amounted to Rs. 1,73,55,000 (correct 15 thousands). The total strength of police (-anotioned) was 1125 officers and 24,453 men. The -average cost per policeman was Rs. 514, which is lower than Burma (Rs. 617), Bengal (Rs. 586) and Madras (Rs. 553). The proportion of policemen to area and population in the Bombay presidency was as follows: in the Northern Division one to every 2.58 sq. miles, and 661 inhabitants; in the "Central Division one to 4.93 sq. miles and to 841 inhabitants; in the Southern Division one to 5.20 sq. mlles to 1953 inhabitants; in Sind one to 7.32 eq. miles and 545 inhabitants. The total sanction--ed police force of Baroda was 4976 and the total expenditure on police Rs. 13,71,032. The average -cost per policeman was Rs. 262. There was one policeman to 1.6 sq. mile and 427 inhabitants. The expenditure on police in Mysore amounted to Rs. 14,97,312 on a total strength of 6192. There was one policeman to every 4.76 sq. miles and 966 inhabitants. The percentage of literate officers and men to the actual strength was \$8.96 in the Bombay Presidency, 50.10 in Baroda and 52.08 in Mysore.

The efficiency and morals of the police force can be judged from the following facts. The percentage of value of property recovered by the police of the Bombay Presidency to the value of property stolen was 25; the percentage in Baroda and Mysore were 15.70 and 36.64. The percentage of convictions to the total number of persons sent up for trial was 55 in Mysore, 66.01 in Baroda and 91.03 in the Bombay Presidency. The percentage, of punishments, departmental and judicial, to men and officers of the police force was 61.57 in Baroda, 8.68 in the Bombay Presidency and 50 in Mysore. The very high percentage of conviction to the total number sent up for trial and the very low percentage of punishment, departmental or otherwise, awarded to men and officers in the police force in Bombay, indicate a degree of infallibility and impeccability of the Police, which one wishes were real.

The incidence of country liquor per head of

Bombay Presidency 5.3 drams. The figure for Baroda is not available. In all the three States excise forms the second chief source of revenue, Maximum of revenue with minimum of consumption " has been the the excise policy of these States. In actual practice however the consumption of drinks and drugs has not showed steady and marked diminution except during the heyday period of the non-co-operation movement. The fact is that 'maximum of revenue with minimum of consumption', however delicious its epigrammatio flavour, is a revenue policy and not an honest excise policy. An honest excise policy should be minimum of consumption with minimum of revenue', a policy which no State is likely to adopt just yet. The relation between the consumption of excisable commodities and excise revenue, after a certain limit is one of direct ratio and not inverse ratio as the excise authorities would have us believe. The subtle "gradualism" with which the authorities would wear away persons addicted to drinks and drugs, almost without the knowledge of the persons addicted, is at best futile. The fall in the excise revenue of the Baroda State owing to the Mata Movement among the Kaliparaj people is recorded in the Beroda administration report with ill-concealed embarrassment. very long ago the Bihar and Orissa Government, faced with a heavy fall in the excise revenue, began to exhort the people on the virtues of alcohol as food and drink and as being specially adaptable in a county where people are underfed. It is the duty of the State and the people to find some 'moral equivalent' for the excise revenue and till that is done the excise policy of Government cannot possibly bear any honest interpretation.

The number per mille of literate of persons of age 5 and over, are 147 in Baroda, 95 in Bombay Presidency and 84 in Mysore. On education Baroda spent Rs. 30,10,005 and Mysore Rs. 43,64,-295, the amounts in both cases being the greatest single item of expenditure in the State concerned. The Bombay Government spent Rs. 1,72,24 thousands on education, the amount being less than the expenditure on police by nearly Rs. 140 thousand. Each of the three States has passed a Compulsory Primary Education Act and the percentage of population at school to population of school-going age is 32:.74 (male 53:30, female 12.42) in Mysore, 74.4 (male 84.5, female. 60.2) in Baroda, 19.2 in Bombay. The number of literate females per 1000 females was 47 in Barods, 27 in Bombay and 23 in Mysors. The total expenditure on primary aducation in the Bombay Presidency amounted to 1571/4 lacs, of which the Government contributed 99.5 lacs. On the average one boys' primary school served 10-7 sq. miles of area and 2.3 inhabited towns and villages. The total number of primary schools was 10,972 and the average annual cost per school was Rs. 1433 and that per pupil Rs. 22. The number of boys' primary schools was 10,972 with 7,00,248 population was in Mysore 2.4 drams and in the pupils. Mysore spent Ra. 13,36,997 on 7,196

primary schools with 228,913 pupils. The average annual cost per primary school amounted to Rs. 185.8 and per pupil to Rs. 5.8. On the average one primary school served 4.09 sq. miles of area. Barodispent Rs. 16,89,113 on 2750 primary schools with 1,90,280 pupils. The average annual cost per school was Rs. 633 and that per pupil was Rs. 8.8. The area served by one primary school was about 3 sq. miles.

The number of public medical institutions in Baroda was 78, of which 6 were travelling dispensaries. On the average one institution served 104 sq. miles and 27,263 inhabitants. The total cost amounted to Rs. 6,72,123. Mysore spent Rs. 10,09-050 on 195 public medical institutions, one institution serving 151 sq. miles and 30,661 inhabitants. In the Bombay Presidency there were 782 public medical institutions, one institution serving 158 sq. miles and 24,669 inhabitants.

Both Baroda and Mysore have passed an Infant Marriage Prevention Act. In 1922-23 there was only one prosecution in Mysore and 15,341 in Baroda under this Act. The apathy of one Government to put the Act in force and the large number of prosecutions by the other prove that the volume of public opinion behind the legislation is not yet as great as might be desired.

An idea of the condition of Local Self-Government as it obtains in the three territories can be formed from the following tables:—

No. of Munio.	Percentage of rates and taxes to total income	Percentage of grants & con- tributions to the total income	Incid ence p-r head of popula- tion	Members elected	Members Nomi- nated	Income
Mysors 102.	60.43	19.82	4-C-9 (Max.) (Kap. a) 0-5-11 (Min.) Ramsun- daram	547	826	24,90,374 (Banga- lore City- 832093 and Mysore City- 342759)
Baroda 44 (includes Vishista Pancha- yats) 1921-22	52.26	47.74 Grants and other sources	2-5-2 (Rates and taxes)	315	303	11,53,633 (Baroda City- 6,15,064)
Bembay 159	45.05	10,30	Karachi 9-3-1 (Max.) Kanara 1-9-3 (Min.)	2476	1469	230 lacs Bombay City- 2,31,99,735

The total number of books and periodicals published in Mysore in 1922-23 was 218, of which 90 were in English. There were 7 weeklies, 1 fortnightly and 30 periodicals in Baroda during the same period. The newspaper "Baroda Samachar" was stopped by the State. The number of books and pamphlets published was 295, of which 9 were in English. During the same period there were 174 newspapers in Bombay; 1758 books were published of which 184 in English.

From the figures available in the administration reports it is not possible to form an adequate idea of the quality of life of the people in these territories. While the qualitative measurement of social phenomena is usually deduced from the quantitative measurement, the relation between the two is as that between spirit and letter; and in dealing with social statistics the danger of overemphasising the quantitative aspect is ever present. It is desirable that the Governments should make such measurements as would 'result in accurate and comprehensible description, that makes possible the visulization of complex phenomena', an ideal yet to be attained, so far as the administration reports are concerned.

Too often there is a tendency to regard social statistics as unalterable as fate, as causes and not effects of social forces. As often they are looked upon as functions of mathematical quantities. But social measurement is a means to an end; it is only a childish mind that delights in numbers for their own sake. Social statistics will have served their purpose only when it is vividly realized that they can be controlled and are not stamps of destiny; that illiteracy, poverty and diseases can be removed or reduced and that culture and civilization are not chance growth but the result of conscious human endeavour.

J. B. SEN.

CONTINENTAL LETTER.

Sassenburg in Westphalia, September 14th.

THE political sky begins to clear up in Europe. The return to reason which the French May elections announced progresses visibly. M. Poincaré has become silent and the German reactionaries have seen themselves compelled to approve at last the Erfillungs politik which they have been passionately combating during five years. Their situation was not enviable. If they did not give their consent to the agreements of the Dawes report, the Reichstag would have been dissolved. New elections would no doubt have brought their number down to less than a third of their present strength which they solely owe to M. Poincaré's politics, so they humbled themselves and one half of them voted for, the other half against, the Government in order that the Government might have the majority of two-thirds which is necessary for the transformation of the state railways into a company which the Dawes report demands. It is a pity that their stubbornness was not greater, for new elections would have cleansed the vitiated political atmosphere in Germany and reduced the noisy, pretentious and wholly incapable right wing to the merited insignificance. To bring about this result by all means the Socialists for a time thought of voting against the Dawes report themselves although they were strongly in favour of its acceptance, solely in order to enforce the dissolution of the Reichstag. In the end however they gave up this idea, because they might have been misunderstood in the country and at any rate this policy would have served to protract the final re-

gulation of things for some months. It is very doubtful however if by this loyalty they have rendered their country a real service. For in spite of its moral defeat the chauvinisté wing continues to press upon the Government. One result of this pressure has already become manifest in the Government's announcement that it intended to notify to the Entents powers that Germany would not acknowledge what at Versailles she was forced to sign as to her responsibility for the war. As to the question of 'War-guilt' the opinion of unprejudiced people in almost all countries of the world has come to pretty much the same conclusions since the war-psychosis has died away: that it is silly to single out a scapegoat for what was the natural consequence of a victous political system It was the political system of 1914 that was the real culprit. As to the moral attitude towards this system however there was no real difference bet. ween the cabinets of Europe; as to the deverness in handling it, there may, on the other hand, indeed have been very considerable degrees, the Berlin cabinet no doubt deserving about the worst mark in this respect. If the development of things however depended on the German chauvinistés or the retainers of M. Poincaré the very stem which has brought about that deluge of misery which we all suffer from still, would never be altered. That is why it jars on the nerves of the whole civilized world to hear people of this sort discuss the problem of 'War-guilt'.

Meanwhile at Geneva the change of the international system has been freely debated. Mr MacDonald and his French colleague M. Herriot have earned a good deal of applause. Indeed, judg. ing after the applause one should think, that the sittings of this year's conference had been more successful than all previous ones. This however would be only justified with regard to the general atmosphere and the goodwill of the leading politicians, less so of the actually reached results. As far as one is able to see up to now the tendency has become visible to make the 'Permanent Court of International Justice' at the Hague obligatory for controversies between the nations-it rested with them till to-day in every case, no matter if political or 'justiciable', to apply to it or not-but as to real political conflicts it seems that the aim is still very far off to submit them generally and without exception to a court of arbitration. It would no doubt be something to see at least the juridical or justiciable, cases referred to an obligatory court of justice at last, although this goal already seemed to be in sight years ago at the second Hague Conference of 1907 when the general agreement concerning this point was to all appearance merely by the contradiction of militaristic Germany frustrated. Since then Germany had been ruled out altogether, but the civilizatory progress which consists in the submission of power to right had made no progress in spite of it.

The entrance of demilitarised Germany into the League of Nations is another of the most dis-

cussed topics of the day. The feeling for the League in Germany is except with the socialists and some democrats-not to be called enthusiastic, in fact it is scarcely lukewarm even with the advo-. cates of the entrance. The decision of the Leaguein the Upper Silesian case which Mr. MacDonald himself has made the concession to call a mistake in his great speech at Geneva lately, has not been able to propagate its cause, neither has a conception of its justice been orested by its methods concerning the Saar valley. Moreover, most people in Germany have the feeling that entrance into the League means something like a second and volun-tary signing of the Versailles Treaty. Reasons like these are of course not difficult to be refuted. but what is less easily disproved is the statement that never up to the present day Germany has been given the assurance that on entering the League she will instantly get a place in the Council." After suffering so many humiliations during the last year it is intelligible that she should be suspicious in such a case. It is not to be understood that the Entente powers do not quickly remove this obstacle out of her way. It does not encourage your friend to call upon you if he is not sure that you do not receive him in the kitchen. (1)

LEVIN L. SOHÜCKING.

OUR PUNJAB LETTER.

LAHORE, SOTH SEPTEMBER.

THE whole of the province has been ringing with news of the brutal murders of men, women and children which have characterized the Kohat tragedy. The loss of the Hindu property which was burnt and looted is estimateed to exceed many lakhs. So far as the frontier officials are concerned they throw the responsibility for inciting the Musalmans upon a poem published elsewhere and included in a collection which was distributed at Kohat. We have not seen the poem ourselves; but it is likely that its attitude may not be reverent towards Islam, written as it was in answer to a Muhammadan composition under the heading. "Krishna, thy Gita shall have to be burnt." One wonders if it is possible to govern the country with two sets of laws: not to take legal notice of the effusion of the turbulent section among the Mahomedans because the Hindus do not seem very much excited over their activities, while to proseoute Hindus when some taring spirit among them ventures a retort-because Muhammadan fanatics in a place like Kohat may be incited to boil with rage over such an attempt. It is this halfheartedness of the Government which is partially responsible for a good deal of mischief here as elsewhere. Of course the leaders of different communities and the intellectuals among them have their part insemuch as they have not been able to let the turbulent section among them understand that their activities would not be countenanced. A very serious charge has been brought against the Kohat police and the border militia in connection with riots and

it has been stated by responsible journalists that not only did they not prevent the looting and the fire but themselves participated in such activities. The statements made by Government members in the Assembly about the entrance of outside men in the city when its doors were closed and a watch was being kept on all sides lends countenance to the assertion that it was by the active help of the local guardian of law and order that they came in. The statement of Mr. Bury who went to make local investigation on the spot is anxiously awaited. Meanwhile the duty of Hindus to their Kohat brethren is clear. The Hindu Mahasabha has issued an appeal and Pandit Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai are shortly expected to reach Kohat. The Hindus of Rawalpindi deserve the thanks of all the country for the hospitable welcome that they gave to these homeless exiles. The feeling among the refugees is that they will not return to the ruins of their erstwhile splendid city unless they can be assured that a repetition of such a deplorable event is made impossible by adequate safeguards.

At last a Minister of Agriculture has been appointed in the person of Chaudharl Chhotu Ram. a Jat brother of Chaudhari Lal Chand, the outgoing Minister. It is difficult to justify the delay in making the appointment if it was to be given away in such a way. The new Minister, a pleader practising at Rohtak, seems to have the only qualification of being a Jat and consequently in sympathy with the compact that was entered into between Chaudhari Lai Chand and Mian Fazli Hussain. Concerning his capabilities, I shall be surprised if the new Minister will be able to exact loyal service from his permanent officials. Personal. ly if I were an O. C. S. man under such. a Minister, I should not care very much for his opinions one way or the other. The story goes that an attempt was made to get Sir Ganga Ram to accept the job and that he was informally sounded by the Government about his accepting it. Of course he is not an M. L. C., but he could have very easily got in if he liked. At one time there were strong rumours about his having accepted the office, but the events have proved that the Government was all along preparing to make the stupidest selection that they could. Anyhow we have the unenviable reputation of possessing about the least capable of Ministers.

The revelations that L. Harkishen Lal, our ex-Minister of Agriculture, made about the working of the reforms in the province before the Reforms Enquiry Committee have confirmed the judgment of all shrewd students of constitutional law that dyarchy has not been given a fair trial in the Punjab. As a Punjabi writer in the Indian Review pointed out some time back, there exists a a sort of pentarchy in the Punjab Government. One wonders if Sir Malcolm Hailey can put an end to this undesirable state of things.

MISCELLANEA,

INDIANS IN AUSTRALIA.

THE Melbourne lawyer, whose letter to the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri was published in our last issue, has sent another communication to him, which we reproduce below:—

Since writing to you on 22nd uit. Mr. Mitta Bulleth, an Indian, instructed me to take the proceedings referred to.

I am glad to inform you that I have been successful. The ease came before Mr. Cohen, P. M., and he ordered that the name of my client should be placed on the Electoral Roll for the Commonwealth.

The Government will no doubt appeal to the High Court, but this is simply to get a ruling-from that Court which is necessary under our Constitution. I think there can be no doubt as to the result: it will be in our favour, as the Law seems perfectly clear.

I know you will be glad to get this news. I am forwarding to you a copy of the Melbourne Argus containing a report of the case.

[This journal has not yet arrived, but we shall make its contents available to our readers when it will come.]

RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, P. C.

"THE SILVER-TONGUED ORATOR."

A series of articles are appearing in the Englishman entitled "Indian Men of Mark." In this series the following appreciation of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri was published in the last issue of the Weekly Englishman:—

As a fraeman of the City of London, as a member of His Majesty's Privy Council, as India's ambassador to the Dominions, as the first President of the Servants of India Society lastly though not the least in importance, as "the Empire's and silver-tongued orator," the name of the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri is known throughout the British Empire. His courageous stand as a politician against the onrush of the tide of non-co-operation marks him out as a statesman whose sanity, sobriety and love of his country foresaw the perils on which the Indian National Congress embarked in the stormy session held at Calcutta in September 1920.

POLITICAL COURAGE.

Erstwhile friends and intimate on-work its in the field of Indian politics had regretfully to part company with one another owing to the dangerous doctrine of destruction, which was the ruling cry in those days. The present writer remembers visidly the last occasion on which Mr. Sastri appeared as a Congressman on a common platform with others. It was during the sessions of the Madras Provincial Conference held at Tinnevelly in the summer of 1920. Non-co-specation was in the air; the Congress had not yet given its imprimatur of sanction to this programme; men of the Liberal school made one last attempt to stem the tide. And among them were Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer and Mr. Sastri. Mr. Sastri, in addressing the Conference had to face a bitterly hostile audience. He was heckled, interrupted, hoote land abuse i. But, with a courage which has been the dominant note of his political career, he faced the music and pleaded, in earnest tones, the cause of sobriety and sanity. Although non-co-operators gained a victory, Mr. Sastri's courage and caution stood supreme at the hour of trial.

HUMBLE BEGINNINGS.

Before proceeding to deal with the details of Mr. Sastri's life, it would be useful to note the characteristics of his life and work. As a humble schoolmaster, he began life in poverty but embraced a poorer life when he joined the Servants of India Society. Self-sacrifice is the secret of his life. As politician, he has profound faith in the British connection although he has been one of the bitterest critics of the bureaucratic administration in India. He was and will ever be an Imperial asset.

To all these qualities, he has added an intellectual superiority and simplicitiy of life which have marked him as one of the noblest sons of India living at the present day.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri was born of humble parentage on September 22, 1869 in Valangiman, a village near Kumbakonam in the Madras Presidency. He was educated in the Native High School, Kumbakonam, and later in the Government College there. As a student he showed remarkable proficiency, standing first in the year, he took his B. A. degree. He then served as a schoolmaster in various educational institutions and finally became the headmester of the Hindu High Set ool, Trislicane, Madras. He resigned this position in 1906 and joined the Servants of India Scolety founded by the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale. He was elected the first President of the Society after the death of Mr. Gokhale in 1915. He was a member of the Madras Legislative Council in 1913, a Fellow of the Madras University in 1909 and he was elected to the Council of State under the Reforms Scheme in 1920. He was a member of the Reforms Committee under Lord Scuthbcrough; member of the Railway Committee under Sir William Ackworth (1921-22).

FIRST VISIT TO ENGLAND.

He first went to England in 1919 as a Member of the Moderate Deputation to give evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Reforms presided by Lord Selborne.

Mr. Sastri's second visit to Efigland was as a representative of India at the Imperial Conference. He also represented India at the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1921 and at the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments held in Washington. It was during his second visit that the citizens of London conferred upon him the Freedom of their City and His Majesty the King was pleased to appoint him as the member of his Privy Conneil, which was a well-meritad recognition of Mr. Sastri's meritorious services.

It was during the Washington Conference that America came to know Mr. Sastri and he created an excellent impression on the American mind by his bearing, ability and eloquence. After all this strenuous work, he returned to India in 1922 and was elected to preside over the Western India Liberal Federation at Bombay. But, soon after, he left India on a tour in the Dominions at the invitation of the Premiers of Australia. New Zealand and Canada.

This tour was to be a mission from India to the other parts of the Empire to place the cause of India before the Dominions in regard to the question of the rights of Indians overseas.

HIS IMPERIAL MISSION.

It was perhaps, the most alventurous mission undertaken by Mr. Sastri and was the first of its kind. His impassioned discourses and clear exposition of Indian culture and civilisation, coupled with his elequence and charm of personality, created a profound impression on the audiences he addressed during this tour, though many of his statements and arguments have been fiercely contested.

Mr. Sastri returned to India from his Dominions tour in 1928 and owing to ill-health had to take rest for a considerable time. But, he again left for England in 1924 on a mission of placing tefore the British public a programme for Dominion Home Rule to be granted to India at an early date. In this work, 50 was a collaborator of Mrs. Annie Besant. It will be remembered that Mr. Harry Hobbs held a meeting in the Oxford Tawn Hall to refute Mr. Sastri's and Mrs. Besant's arguments which are net such as commend themselves to European opinion in India.

HIS PRESENT AIMS.

He returned to India last month and is now trying to work for the unity of all sections in Indian politics to a common programme for a future Indian constitution. His recent political evolution has been markedly to the Left and he can no longer be termed a Moderate.

No account of Mr. Sastri can be described complete with out a mention of his oratorical gifts. The Master of Palliod is reported to have told. Lord Lytten that he never realized how beautiful language was till he had heard Mr. Sastri. Sir Thomas Emartt styled Mr. Sastri as the silver torqued orator of the Empire. Mr. Sastri is in appearance a picture of dignity. His inevitable white turban and elerical robust add to the picturesqueness of a personality, whose gracious manner and gifted speech charms and wins the sympathy of everyone he may occur in contact with. Mr. Sastri is well-known as an ardent Sectal Reformer.

6. V. C.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

A GUIDE TO PARLIAMENTARY AND OFFICIAL PAPERS by H. B. LEES-SMITH. Oxford University Press. Pp. 23, 1984. 2s.

NEGRO YEAR FOCK, 1921-22, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

14th Annual Report. National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. New York, 1923, Pp. 1924.

THE NEGRO QUESTION by MOOREFIELD STOREY. New York. 10 cents. Pp. 30.

THE RACE PROBLEM IN CROSS SECTION: The Negro in 1923 by M. N. Work, Ala. Pp. 7

THE NEGRO MIGRATION by M. N. WORK. Ala, Pp. 15.

HALFA CENTURY OF PROGRESS. A CONTRAST. THE NERGO IN AMERICA IN 1886 AND IN 1922 by M. W-WORK, Als. Pp. 12.

Proceedings of the AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION, 1923. New York. Pp. 350.

The 79th Angual Report of the PRISON ASSOCIATION .
N. Y. Pp. 230, 1924.

MUSIC IN CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS by WILLIAM VAN DEWALL, N. Y. Pp. 28. 1925.

PROTECTING SOCIETY AGAINST CRIME by E. R. CASE. N. Y. 1924. Pp. 13.

INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS AND DELINQUENCY by E. R. Case, N. Y. Pp. 8, 1923.

THE KENYA PROBLEM.

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The Samhita, Adialogue between Rishi Astavakra and Raja Janaka. Being an introduction to the philosophy of the Vedanta. Translated from the original Samskrita with an introduction by Sri Ananda Acharya.

Bengali Religious Lyrics, Sakta. The Heritage of India Series. Selected and translated by Edward 3. Thompson, and Arthur Marshman Spencer,

The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar Madras.

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