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Acting Editor: S. G. VAZE.

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE pathetic appeal of the *Manchester Guardian* "to some one, in a high position, commanding respect, for example, Lord Robert Cecil, to speak a few words of truth and honesty about such important matters" as the events happening in Russia, faithfully reflects the state of the public mind all the world over. The treaty of peace is being ratified by the legislature of one nation after another, and peace celebrations have taken place in several countries. But a large portion of humanity yet knows no peace and no security of life and property. War is still doing tremendous havoc in Russia, and the Bolsheviks there are teaching the people the benefits of their reform programme. But notwithstanding their temporary victories, they have not had it all their own way, and Denikin and K Itchak have led a more or less powerful movement against the Bolsheviks. The world has been witnessing a terrible duel between these opposing forces for months past, and success has alternately attended the arms of the two parties. British withdrawal from Russia was the declaration of Allied policy of leaving the people of that country to fight out their own battles, though the sympathy of England and France towards the forces working for peace, order and just government are undoubted. Reports have been recently received to the effect that the Bolsheviks are being rounded up and that their final collapse is imminent. Nothing will give the world greater satisfaction than a confirmation of the truth of these reports, but we have now learnt to take everything coming from Russia with a big grain of salt.

* * *

IF it is not counting the chickens before they are hatched, one would ask, how is Russia now going to be politically organized? When the evil

spirit of Bolshevism has been laid, that question must immediately assume serious importance. The Baltic States ardently desire autonomy which Russian national aspirations will strongly resist. The establishment of a stable Government in Russia, rid of the old autocracy, and the creation of proper constitutional relations among the various portions of the vast country, is the most difficult two-fold problem that has to be solved. A vigilant watch will have to be maintained over the German mischief-maker who has been largely in evidence in western and north Russia for some time past. The Allied attitude towards the internal affairs of Russia, must, of course, be one of neutrality, coloured by strong sympathies for the forces of order and democracy. But Russia impinges upon other nations at so many points that the latter cannot be indifferent to the final settlement of affairs in that country. That Germany will seek an outlet for her commerce and industry towards the East is obvious, and that cannot and ought not to be prevented. What the Allied powers must strive to achieve is a resettlement of Russia's internal and external affairs on the basis of the principles which have been their watchwords in the recent war and which must be their guide in the restoration of peace.

* * *

IT would appear from a cablegram received from South Africa that the terms of reference of the Commission to be pointed by the Union Government to investigate the Asiatic question are being drastically restricted. The full text of the announcement made by the Acting Prime Minister in the debate on the Asiatic Trading Act has not reached this country, but the impression here is that the whole question of Indian grievances throughout the Union was to be committed to the Commission. A prospectus of the Indian National Conference held at Johannesburg in August last states that the Commission will "inquire into the whole Indian question within the Union," which will show that the Indian community in South Africa, which could not be in error on such a point, held the same belief. However, we now learn that the Commission will be asked to only examine the question of Indians' trading rights, which is but one of the many questions affecting our countrymen in South Africa, the ownership of land, railway regulations, parliamentary and municipal franchise, and provision of educational facilities being some of the others. Mr. Mon-

tagu described this inquiry as an imperial one upon which the good relations of the members of the Empire depended. He could not have referred in these terms to an inquiry limited to the question of issuing trading licenses, but must have had in mind an inquiry which would, so far as possible, result in a permanent solution of the Indian question in South Africa.

* * *

IT is satisfactory to learn that Sir Benjamin Robertson is going to South Africa merely as a witness to place before the Commission the view of the Government of India. If, therefore, the Secretary of State's suggestion is accepted by the Union Government that two representatives of India, one an official and the other a non-official, should sit on the Commission, the India Government will nominate two members to the Commission. In fact, the Union Government's consent may now be taken for granted in view of the fact that General Smuts in his reply to the Durban Indians' address said: "India will be represented by members on the Commission to watch over the interest of the Indians."

* * *

THE withdrawal of orders passed against Messrs. Gandhi and Tilak will cause satisfaction throughout the country. These orders, which were by no means necessary or justifiable when they were issued, have no semblance of excuse in the present circumstances. The release of Mr. Gandhi is particularly welcome, because no one can render more valuable assistance in collecting and marshalling evidence before the Disorders Committee than he. It is to be regretted that the Punjab Government does not yet see its way to cancel the orders prohibiting Mr. Tilak from entering the province or forbidding the entry of the *Hindu* or the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

* * *

THE insistence by Mr. Lionel Curtis upon a divided purse as "essential to dyarchy" is a grateful reminder to the public of the diverse ways in which the Curtisian dyarchy is tempered in the Joint Report. The stark dualism in the scheme propounded by the originator of that idea is neutralised in the Montagu scheme by many devices for common deliberation and common action, and a vivid recognition of this fact alone should dispel a mass of prejudice with which the scheme of the Joint Report is overlaid in the public mind because of its being modelled on the Curtis plan. A separate purse for each half of Government is no doubt essential to the dual form of government as Mr. Curtis conceived it, but it is the merit of the M.-C. scheme that it has been evolved on principles which make a single purse system its vital feature.

* * *

IT may be mentioned by the way that Mrs. Besant's exposition of dyarchy in the *Nation* is hardly accurate. The form of government which obtained in Canada before Lord Durham's mission to

the colony, representative but irresponsible, can by no stretch of language be likened to dyarchy, the chief characteristic of which is responsibility to the legislature in regard to a few of the governmental functions. Nor is it correct to say that the scheme of the Lucknow Congress, if it had been adopted, would in course of time have inevitably developed into responsible government. But Mrs. Besant's exposition has afforded an occasion to the *Hindu* to quote profusely from Lord Durham's report in condemnation of what is misnamed dyarchy. The *Hindu* should have, however, realised that the extracts which it has given, with a show of learning but quite fatuously, are a condemnation more of the "irresponsible" government for which the Lucknow scheme provided than of the scheme of the Joint Report. Curiously enough, the *Hindu* is eager to attack dyarchy by hook or by crook, but when it comes to rejecting the scheme outright it cannot screw up its courage to the sticking-point.

* * *

IN breaking a lance on behalf of the Government in the recent tournament in the Imperial Legislative Council, the hon. Mr. Shafi claimed that "on the ground of judicial authority, on the ground of precedent, on the ground of statutory rules of evidence, the onus (of proving *mala fides*) is rightly placed on the plaintiff or prosecutor in this clause (sec. 3, Indemnity Act)." In support of his first position, he quoted sec. 1 of Act 18 of 1850 and cited *Calder vs. Halket*. A study of the case would show that the point for decision in it was only the extent of the protection conferred on judicial officers, especially in reference to mistakes in jurisdiction. All that their Lordships laid down was that, for judicial officers acting judicially, in the *bona fide* belief of having jurisdiction, the section provides protection, even if, as a matter of fact, it turns out that they had no jurisdiction. Neither the English Statute nor the Indian Act contemplates acts other than those done *judicially*. That this is so and that executive acts and omissions are not covered by them would be clear from *Sinclair vs. Broughton* (9 Cal. 341) and *Ferguson vs. Kinnoul* (9 Cl and F. 251). In the present case, it is not pretended even by the Government apologists that the acts of the executive officers in the Punjab were anything in the nature of judicial acts. It is difficult to see, therefore, what the authorities cited by the Hon. Mr. Shafi have to do with the class of cases arising out of the recent administration of martial law and how they support the contention that even executive acts are entitled to the same protection as judicial. All the learning displayed is, we are afraid, quite beside the point. As to the burden of proof, particular cases do not clinch the argument, but if Mr. Shafi wants case for case, we shall make a present of *Carra vs. Morley* (1 Q. B. 18), a case subsequent to the one cited by the hon. member, and noticed by Blackburn J in *Pease vs. Chayter* in which their Lordships held that "the Commis-

sioners should *show affirmatively that they had jurisdiction*," i. e., that the burden of proof lay on the officers.

* * *

NEXT as to precedent. The Hon. member quotes sec. 43 of the Police Act 5 of 1861, which provides that the production of a warrant on which a police officer acted shall be a complete defence to suits arising out of such act or acts. Mr. Shafi's argument is that, on an analogy, a certificate from a secretary should at least raise a presumption of the *bona fides* of, if not confer complete immunity on, the officers who acted under martial law. If the hon. member really believes that the two are similar, we do not envy him his legal perspicacity. In the one case, there is a specific warrant made out by a responsible officer, defining the nature of the act which the police officer is to do; and the latter has only to execute it. The protection is meant for cases in which, in doing this simple execution of the warrant, he should make a *bona fide* mistake, e. g., arrest the wrong person. In cases contemplated under the Indemnity Act, on the other hand, the officers were not doing simple ministerial acts or carrying out the terms of a specific warrant. They had the fullest discretion as to what they did and how. Between a police officer's acting without individual discretion and on a precise warrant or order issued prior to the act complained of and an officer's acting under martial law with unlimited discretion and at his sweet will and producing a certificate of *bona fides* months, perhaps, after the acts were done, the analogy is none of the closest. We shall leave it to our readers to assess the worth of an argument based on such a fanciful analogy.

* * *

IN support of his third point, the hon. member cited an illustration to sec. 101 and quotes sec. 102 of the Indian Evidence Act. Here is the illustration cited. "A desires a court to give judgment that B shall be punished for a crime which A says B has committed the crime (sic.); and the onus of proof lies on the prosecutor." Certainly it does; but Mr. Shafi forgets that A has to prove only the fact of B's committing the crime, and not in addition that B committed it without reasonable cause. It is for B to prove the existence of reasonable cause. If, after A has proved the fact of B's committing the crime, no further evidence is adduced in the court, B would be convicted; and the burden of proof, therefore, now lies, agreeably to sec. 102 of the Indian Evidence Act, on the accused. To place the matter beyond possibility of doubt or mistake, we shall make the illustration a little more concrete. A charges B with having, let us say, wrongfully compelled him to crawl on his belly. According to rules of evidence, the only burden resting on A is to prove that B compelled him to 'crawl' and that he 'crawled.' He has nothing to do, in the first instance, with the mental condition of B. The onus is on B to prove that he did it in the discharge of his duty, or in the reasonable belief of its necessity, etc. In other words, the onus of proving the

wrong having been primarily discharged by A's proving simply that B compelled him to crawl, the burden has shifted on to B. to prove *bona fides* or give some other defence.

* * *

THIS is what not only the provisions of the Indian Evidence Act, but rules of evidence in all civilized jurisprudence lay down. But sec. 3 of the Indemnity Act does exactly the reverse in requiring the prosecutor to make out not only a *prima facie* case, but also to prove *mala fides* of the accused, and is, therefore, anything but "in consonance with statutory principles of evidence." The whole confusion is the result of the failure of the distinguished member to differentiate between the primary onus of making out a *prima facie* case and the subsequent shifting of the burden to one party or the other, according to the nature of the evidence at each particular stage. It is amazing that such an elementary rule of evidence should have escaped a "professional lawyer," like Mr. Shafi, who gave up practice "not a large number of years" ago, but only very recently. The fact is that, in his eager enthusiasm to prove himself a worthy pillar and prop of the Government, he has rushed in without waiting to brush up his lore of logic and law, and, alas, as a consequence, has split on the dangerous rock of analogical arguments.

* * *

SOME people ask if the officers of the Government who were driven to adopt extraordinary measures in quelling riots have to prove the necessity of all such measures, what protection does an indemnity act purport to give to those officers? The answer is: if they have the protection of an indemnity act it is not incumbent upon them to prove the absolute necessity of the measures taken by them; it is enough if they prove that circumstances were such as to induce a reasonable belief that the measures were necessary. In answer to a member who had contended that an indemnity act would not cover actions which were not in fact necessary, the Attorney-General said in 1801 (while speaking of an indemnity act): "The hon. Gentleman supposed that if any person who had been taken up was really innocent, he might establish his innocence in a court of justice and of course obtain a verdict against the minister by whose warrant he was committed; but if it could be shown that the warrant had been issued upon probable grounds that would be a complete defence, even though the party should afterwards appear to be innocent." Here comes in the indemnity act; but a proper indemnity act must make the officers concerned show at least probable grounds, when challenged to do so. Section 3 of the Indemnity Act recently passed violates this principle: under it "malicious, and meritorious illegality are equally protected."

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THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN ENGLAND.

II.—THE PROBLEM.

THE measure of the problem at any given time depends on the relation of population to the house accommodation available and on the sanitary condition of such accommodation—in other words on the quantity and the quality of the houses available for habitation. It is easy to see how, in a sense, the latter would vary directly with the former. Whenever the proportion of accommodation available in a particular locality is or becomes low, comparatively to the demand, there is a run on the already existing housing; for human beings, especially in countries like England in which the cold and the fog are severe, naturally prefer even a house whose only recommendation is that it stands upright to camping in the streets. The inevitable result is that overcrowding and insanitary conditions soon make their appearance and increase in geometrical progression. Whenever, therefore, there is a sudden increase in the population of a locality, due to natural or artificial causes and permanent or temporary in its results, the problem comes into existence.

It is in this way that the great industrial growth of England during the closing years of the 19th century affected this question of questions. The creation of huge manufacturing industries, the enormous development of trade and transport and other kindred factors of the Industrial Revolution led to the massing of numbers of the people in convenient centres. Every additional industry in a centre meant the importation of thousands of work-people of 'all sorts and conditions' and from all parts of England. The results were only to be expected. Existing house-accommodation was rendered insufficient and their average hygienic efficiency gradually lowered.

But it is as well to state that it is none the less a mistake to suppose that the rise and continuance of the problem were due wholly to the factory system, as it is sometimes thought. In many factory towns the problem does not exist to any noticeable extent. On the other hand, it is quite acute in places totally innocent of big factories. If the factory system and its accompaniments are to be abolished to-day, there is no reason to think that we can see the last of the housing problem. Its causes, indeed, do not seem to be capable of exact determination and are always fluctuating.

But, after all, this is only a matter of historical curiosity. There is a point in the words of Mr. Shadwell, more "important than the extent of its application. The requirements of public health are indeterminate and indeterminable; knowledge increases, or rather changes and the standard continually rises. It is the changing standard which gives most trouble; housing thought good at one period is presently condemned. Fifty years ago, no house existed which would satisfy modern sanitary standards, and the mansions of the great were in some respects inferior to the worst quarters of to-

day. And to this process, there is no end. . . . The problem of quantity may be solved, that of quality has no finality."

As a piece of necessary warning against the misleading notion that the standard of minimum sanitary efficiency of housing can be fixed permanently, this is valuable. But, on the other hand, the writer has run away to the other extreme and has a theory that all the wretchedness, squalor and misery found in the poor classes of houses are simply due to the higher standard of comfort from which we view them to-day. The implication is that, in themselves, the houses are not so bad as they are made out to be. Now, every man who has visited an industrial slum knows that this is not a fact. There are houses which, apart from any standard, are so insanitary, and in such a dilapidated and dangerous condition that no human being ought to live in it. A kind-hearted man would think twice before stabling his horses there for a night. But we find that human beings, even tender children, do occupy such houses. It does no one any good to shut one's eyes to such facts. The better and braver thing to do would be to recognise and try to remedy the evil. Nor does it help anybody to say that the economic factor governs the situation and leave it at that.

In what, then, does the problem consist? On an ultimate analysis, it resolves itself into three broad heads, each of which has, of course, a number of side-issues which, for any intelligent handling of the problem, have also to be taken in hand. The three main divisions may be stated roughly as follows:—

(i) On the basis of the proportion of existing houses to the population they have to take in, an immediate shortage to the extent of about 500,000 houses.

(ii) The existence of a large number of very unhealthy and decaying houses which are utterly unsuited for human beings to live in.

(iii) Very narrow streets and crowded areas which are not totally unfit for human occupation, but which require a good deal of renovation and alteration before they can decently house people.

Broadly taken, therefore, three concurrent processes have to be undertaken to remedy this complex state of things. To eliminate overcrowding, due merely to shortage of houses, new and well-shaped buildings should be created until the number rises to the modest level of one room per every two head of population. Secondly, houses and areas totally unfit for human habitation should be demolished. And, lastly, the slum areas should be taken in hand and all alterations and clearings carried out, necessary not only to make them habitable but to render them spacious, hygienic and incapable of being converted again into a slum.

We shall take each of these points and look at a few figures which would give us an idea of their exact degree of urgency.

OVERCROWDING.

The census returns of 1891 and 1901 were con-

fined to the tabulation of tenements consisting of one to four rooms, as they were regarded as housing the greater proportion of the working classes. But census figures of 1911 include tenements of all sizes, with the number of rooms in each, persons occupying them and the proportion which each bears to the total. These figures have been brought up to 1918 for London and the districts surrounding it to a radius of twelve miles by the London County Council. The figures quoted below are from the Council's report.

According to the census of 1911, there were, in all London, 1,023,951 tenements with 3,920,322 rooms, housing 4,253,123 persons. Of these, one to four-roomed tenements numbered 718,565 (or 70.2% of the total number of tenements). These contained a total of 1,847,614 rooms (or 47.1% of the total number of rooms) occupied by 2,627,934 persons (or 58.1% of the total population). The most numerous class of tenements was that consisting of three rooms and the others, in order of numerical superiority, were the two-roomed, four-roomed and one-roomed tenements. The total population in one to four-roomed tenements was, as already indicated, 58.1%. But there is little doubt that the real proportion of the working classes was much higher. If we take the occupants of the five and six-roomed tenements also, the proportion works out to 77.2% of the total population; and this is no doubt nearer the mark.

One outstanding feature brought out by the census figures of 1911 was the extent to which two or more families were occupying tenements originally intended for one family only. In the years 1911-4, for instance, the London County Council scheduled sites for schools comprising over 2000 houses—2154 houses. Of these, 1497 or nearly 70% were occupied by more than one family. The total number of all the families living in the scheduled houses amounted to 4559, which gives us an average of 2.1 families per house, intended, be it remembered, for one family.

Some of these were self-contained tenements; but the majority were merely rooms. The census analysis of 1911 yields the following comparison between the number of buildings and that of families living in them. In 121,047 flats, there were living 122,672 occupiers. That is to say, the flats were not generally occupied by more than one family. But in 478,024 ordinary dwelling houses, there were 805,967 separate occupiers, or an excess of 327,943 families. It should not be forgotten that this number includes the dwellings of non-working-class men also who rarely live more than one family in a single tenement. If, therefore, the latter can be separated from the former, the disproportion between the working class families and the number of buildings occupied by them would be still more perceptible.

The question naturally arises at this stage as to whether there is any fixed standard according to which the over-crowding in buildings is to be judged. It is not difficult to see that there could be

no theoretic standard which would give one an accurate idea of the degree of congestion in a particular locality or at a particular time. But for purposes of practical calculation three standards have been adopted. The first is based on the average number of persons in excess of two dwelling in a room. In calculations on this basis, no difference is made between adults and children. The second basis is on the same principle as the first, with an allowance for children whose number in a room is also included, only on a different scale. And the last standard is the one legally prescribed under the Public Health Act and is based on the physiological principle of cubic space per head.

It is obvious that the degree of over-crowding will vary very widely according as one standard or the other is set up. A comparison of the figures viewed from each of these standpoints would make it clear; and it is, in addition, so interesting in itself that we make no apology to give them below. Based on the first of the three standards, there were 32,351 one-roomed, 47,048 two-roomed, 28,341 three-roomed and 11,148 four-roomed, tenements occupied by more than two persons. There were 116,552 persons in one-roomed, 277,592 in two-roomed, 223,137 in three-roomed, 108,670 in four-roomed and 32,058 in five to six-roomed, tenements, with persons living more than two per room. Stated as a summary, there were in all 121,587 one to six-roomed tenements occupied by more than two persons per room. These contained a total of 269,993 rooms and were occupied by 758,009 persons.

More interesting and instructive are the figures showing the several classes of tenements occupied by more than two persons per room in families of various sizes. These are given below:

No in family	Number of families occupying tenements of					Total No. of persons
	1 room	2 rooms	3 rooms	4 rooms	5 rooms	
3	19,006					57,018
4	8,841					35,364
5	3,261	22,419				128,400
6	928	13,292				85,320
7	246	6,886	13,623			145,285
8	52	3,025	8,213			90,320
9	13	1,035	4,050	5,879		98,793
10	3	299	1,684	3,166		51,520
11		70	547	1,413	1,363	37,323

The tale of the table is easily read. A high percentage of the larger families were living more than two per room. In the case of families consisting of 9, 11 and 13 persons, the percentage averages between 40 and 50. But, of course, we may safely take it that, in these big families, children formed the greater portion; and we can see from the figures that it was in these families with a large number of children that overcrowding particularly occurred. It will be remembered that

there were in all 758,009 persons living more than two per room. Of these 173,637 were living more than three, 38,346 more than four, 8903 more than five, 2349 more than six, per room, and so on, the most crowded room being occupied by more than 11 persons.

The above figures would, we hope, help our readers to form an idea of the kind of overcrowding that obtained in and about London. But it should not be lost sight of that the standard set up is a very high one. This brings us to the second test by which overcrowding is gauged. In the first, as already pointed out, no difference is taken between an adult and a child. But, in some respects, the number of children forms an important part in estimating the degree of overcrowding. Medical men contend, however, that a young child requires much less consideration than children of five to ten years of age and that the latter should not be counted as more than half an adult. It might be seriously doubted whether this is a safe rule. The question is, surely, not to be determined by the weight or the lung capacity of the children. Adequate space is essential for their healthy development. But, of course, from the point of view of decency, it is less objectionable to overcrowd a room with young children than with adults. The census report does not show the number of children under, and that of over, five years of age. But for purposes of its own, the London County Council has prepared such returns, leaving out of consideration all children under five and including children between five and ten as half adults. We shall quote figures based on these, side by side with the figures for overcrowding as judged by the first of the three standards mentioned above.

Size of tenement	More than two per room.		Proportion %.	
	Without allowing for children (1)	Allowing for children as above mentioned (2)	Without allowing for children	Allowing for children
1 room	116,552	72,976	43.89	27.49
2 rooms	277,592	130,512	41.21	19.37
3 "	223,137	86,587	24.75	9.6
4 "	108,670	30,703	13.81	3.9
5 "	26,197	4,751	5.41	.98
6 "	5,861	918	1.54	.24

The table explains itself. The difference due to the mere change in the standard taken in the two cases is very startling and, to a great extent, explains how it is that sometimes, when the degree of overcrowding is in question, widely conflicting judgments are given, the explanation lying in the difference in the point of view of comparison.

PROHIBITION IN AMERICA.

(Concluded from last issue.)

FOLLOWING are some of the most potent reasons for the coming of prohibition.

The issue was at first a moral one. This issue was without doubt too closely drawn at times, but it *was drawn*. For forty years drink has been regarded by the people generally as an evil; though by some as a necessary evil, and by others as a desirable evil. But it *was an evil*. Any minister, except in Roman circles, who was even known to "touch the glass," was discredited and discarded. No educator could use it and hold his position. On this basis it was made taboo in respectable society, and substantial people let it alone. The saloon-keeper was a social outcaste, and the distiller and brewer had to create a social circle of their own. This moral issue has been kept alive by the mothers of America. The women of America, broadly speaking, have never drunk liquor. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, while not the most effective in their methods of opposition to the liquor business, represent the eternal aversion of the American mother against the business. The instinct has been true in the younger women of the land, and it was necessary for the young suitor to convince the girl he loved that he either did not drink or would quit when they were married, if he was successful in winning her hand.

One vital factor in the success of prohibition was the thorough-going and effective method of education on the subject. It must be borne in mind that there is an almost universal system of compulsory education in America, and that unless one is an idiot or an imbecile one must have an education. With this system in force, there has been in the text-books of all the schools in the land the best and most up-to-date scientific teaching of the effect of alcohol upon the human body. If a boy took a glass of whisky he knew in a general way what went on inside of him. If a man indulged regularly he knew what the colour of his liver would be, and what the lining of his stomach would look like, and he knew the practical certainty of risking his chances of surviving in case of serious illness. The men, generally speaking, who drank were those who were willing to take the risk and to pay the price for the pleasure received.

Leading educators, university and college professors, were able after wide observation to arrive at solid conclusions as to the achievement of students who drank as compared to those who did not, and the whole educational system of the country was arrayed against the saloon.

What can be termed the decisive factor in prohibition was the principal of business efficiency. It became common knowledge in commercial circles that the man who drank was not able to maintain the pace that was necessary to keep ahead in the keen competition for trade. It, therefore, came to be regarded as *bad business* for a man to indulge even moderately. In a country where every man is a business man of one sort or another, where one's living depends upon one's own personal capacity and efficiency, for a thing to be regarded as *bad business* finally sounds the death-knell of that thing.

Twenty-five years ago commercial travellers, who negotiate a great volume of the business in the States held the opinion that a man must drink in order to be well met and to induce prospective customers to buy. Commercial travellers, "knights of the grip" they call themselves, are a mighty host in America, and they have had great influence. To-day the opposite view prevails with this group of men. Most of the important wholesale firms will not employ men who drink, and responsible retailers dislike to buy from those who do. They want men whose wits are keen, and who can with clear brain uphold the known policies of their firms.

Some twenty years ago, the labour unions began to grow strong and they demanded legislation for safety appliances in hazardous industries and employers' liabilities in industrial accidents. Employers began to fight the measures, and in order to make their case they employed expert statisticians to investigate the whole range of industrial accidents. This investigation revealed the fact that more accidents occurred on Monday morning than on any other three days of the week. Investigation was made as to the cause for this, as the men had just come from two nights and one whole day of rest. This revealed that the vast majority of the Monday morning accidents occurred to drinking men. While the pressure of public opinion secured laws favouring the labouring men, the employers in self-protection refused to employ drinking men, and to replace the drinkers with non-drinkers.

Further investigations on the part of railroad and tram-car companies, in a nation-wide "Safety First" campaign, disclosed the fact that a very high percentage of railroad wrecks and tram-car accidents were the result of the use of liquor. These companies then began to enforce a ruling against the employment of men who drank either on duty or off. This was purely a matter of cold-blooded business, as the same railroads fought strongly against prohibition, because it would deprive them of large revenues incident to the liquor trade.

Following close upon these developments came a national movement for "Efficiency." The daily papers were filled with *efficiency*; the leading monthly and weekly magazines talked it; the college Professor taught it, the commercial man employed it; the manufacturer introduced it; the preacher preached it. "Efficiency" was in the air. This was at the time the motor car industry was assuming such proportions and the motor manufacturer was faced with the problem of quantity production, both to supply the great demand and to return big profits. "Speeding up" was the watchword in industry, and in this strenuous game the drinker was left out of account. He could not stand the pace, and the fact became known.

Motor cars themselves have had a great influence in favour of prohibition. They are as common in America as bullock carts are in India.

There are many countries in the middle west that have one motor car for every five of the population. With an endless procession of power-driven vehicles on the highways of the nation, it did not take long to convince the public that the man who had just taken a few pegs was not to be trusted to go along the highway at twenty-five or fifty miles an hour. His reactions were too slow for safety. Not only has the danger of the motor car favoured the progress of prohibition, but some of its most legitimate and pleasurable uses have done likewise. When the man who formerly went to the saloon for a social evening got his new motor car, all the family wanted to go for a drive, and he would not, of course, drive by the saloon. He stayed with the family and kept sober.

Efficiency tests in the army and navy resulted in the banishment of liquor from both of these. It was found that the marksmanship of infantry men, artillery men, and naval gunners suffered greatly from even the moderate use of alcohol.

The manager of the biggest shipbuilding yard on the Pacific Coast took the position that during the war, when he was faced with the responsibility for maximum production in order to have ships to send food and munitions to the Allies, he would not reduce that production by alcohol. During the whole period of high pressure of war production he declared, under a military order, a dry zone of several miles about his ship yards. For the whole period this yard produced fifteen per cent. more ships proportionally than any other yards in the United States.

One of the great helps in the cause of prohibition has been the unremitting scientific research, and the dissemination of knowledge of results throughout the country. There is a decided attitude in the states toward knowing facts, and then fearlessly acting upon those facts. Chief among the leaders of this research have been the great life insurance companies. Their actuaries have compiled statistics on mortality for all the generations, of which they can secure record. The records of forty-three companies, insuring two million lives, show that a man who drinks not more than two glasses of beer a day reduces the length of his life by eighteen per cent., and that the more frequent indulger's chances of dying are eighty-six per cent. higher than the average. The fraternal insurance orders have tabulated results that agree with the above, and their attitude toward the drinker has forwarded prohibition.

In the last several years there has been a great interest in the study of sociology; and social experts, both of independent organizations and of the great endowed foundations, such as the Rockefeller Foundation and the Russell Sage Foundation, have investigated social phenomena covering the whole range of human organization. Without exception the findings of such investigators have been that strong drink is responsible for a great amount of the ills of human life. In America drink causes fifty per cent. of all crime, nine-

teen per cent. of divorces, twenty-five per cent. of poverty, twenty-five per cent. of insanity and thirty-seven per cent. of pauperism.

Over against these facts the states which were trying prohibition have been as a city set on a hill. In them crime has been proportionally reduced, with many jails closed. Insanity has shown the same proportionate decrease. The wealth per capita has shown a great advance, and the bank deposits, savings deposits and investments of the working classes have increased conspicuously above similar states without prohibition. Because of this condition the American Bankers' Association recently took a position favouring national prohibition, and their opinion had great weight throughout the country. In prohibition states the number of homes owned by working men has had a corresponding increase, and the building and loan organizations which furnish capital to small home-builders are universal in their endorsement of prohibition.

The Anti-Saloon League should be given mention as one of the factors in bringing about prohibition, but it deserves but very little of the merit which it claims, nor the blame which the opponents of prohibition ascribe to it. It has had some great men, but it has had many more weak ones. Its policy has been that of the opportunist, and it would send workers to the places where the prohibition issue was most likely to win, rather than centre on those places which needed it worse. When the smoke of battle had cleared away the League claimed the victory, but that was a talking point for further funds. The solid people who led the fight in the local issue were the people who won. I know of many of the most effective champions of prohibition who would have nothing to do with the Anti-Saloon League, and I know of a great many victories which were won before the League knew anything about them. They should be credited, however, with keeping alive the issue at times when other issues were likely to obscure it, and in helping in the dissemination of information concerning alcoholism.

The churches should likewise be given some credit. The Sunday schools of the country had their temperance lessons every three months, and the young people's organizations had frequent lessons on the ethics, morals and religion of the liquor business. Too often, however, the voice of the preacher was stifled by fear of withdrawal of financial support, and if he became too active he might be advised to "preach the gospel and keep out of politics." But in places the voice of the fearless prophet was heard, and it had a great place in bringing the country to the final issue.

The Prohibition Party should likewise be given credit for helping to keep alive the issue, but its direct contribution was very slight. It never won the fight in a single state, nor a single city.

Recent revelations of a most serious nature connecting the liquor interests of the country with

a widespread traffic in women and girls for immoral purposes have inflamed the people against the saloon. Many people who take the attitude that a man should be able to take care of himself are aroused to a degree when they see a pernicious organization reaching out its mercenary hand to lay hold of the pure and helpless. I think this has had more to do in shaping sentiment against the saloon than has the fact that one hundred thousand men died every year from the effects of alcohol.

Formerly national senators were elected indirectly by the state legislative assemblies. A recent reform has provided for their elections directly by the voters, and this has made the National Senate much more susceptible to the wishes of the people, and had some bearing upon the final vote when it came up in that body.

Prohibition in Canada has also helped. One great foe of prohibition is illicit border traffic, and with Canada dry the states upon the northern border had no fear of inability to enforce the law.

One can fairly say that the decisive factors in bringing about prohibition were economic. Personally I could wish that there were enough moral idealism in my country to bring it about upon a purely moral issue, but such has not been the case. It has been directly the result of wide experimentation, and finally a willingness to act upon the results of the experiment.

Prohibition represents, without any doubt, the will of the American people. Thirty-two of the forty-eight states were dry in 1908, and more were going dry each year. But for the political machinations and corruptions in which the National Liquor Dealers' Association and large interested corporations, such as the railroads, indulged to thwart the will of the majority of the people, America would have been dry ten years ago. The average American voter is happy to be rid of this dominating influence in the political life of the country, and now that he has his freedom he will not lose it. Any one who knows America knows that the legislative bodies represent the most conservative political thought and social reform, and when they move in a matter so great as prohibition they do it because they must. There is of course, and will be for a long time, a great opposition to prohibition. Some men oppose it from principle, but these are few. Many more oppose it because they are drinkers, and are made outlaws if they keep up their practice. Many of the newspapers oppose it because the capital invested in them represents some liquor or allied interest. When prohibition can be carried over the opposition of all the railroads, all the hotel men, all the un-Americanized immigrants, and all the vicious interests of the country, it represents a fairly solid sentiment. It must likewise be remembered that when one is hurt he makes the loudest noise. The noise coming from America now represents how sorely a considerable section, the most vocal section, is hurt, and this will

be heard for some time; but America has been getting ready for national prohibition for six years. Liquor manufacturers have been putting their surplus into other lines, and careful investors have been avoiding liquor stock. It has come, because the people have long wanted it and have been getting ready for it. It would have come if there had been no war, but it would have come a year later.

The present propaganda which is coming from America to India against prohibition is initiated entirely by the liquor interests, for they must look to some other country to absorb their stocks still on hand, and other stocks they will manufacture when they removed to some open territory. The prospects are that there will be keen rivalry for India's trade, and price will suffer sharp declines as soon as post-war conditions become more normal. The probability is also that they will use the methods they have learned so well in America to induce India's young men and boys to learn the habit. India, with over three hundred millions as prospective users, and China, with over five hundred millions, furnish a fairly rich field, with not an incommensurate return, as compared to the one hundred millions in America whom they have lost as their regular customers.

GARLAND CRAIG.

FROM A WANDERER'S NOTE-BOOK.

To many it may appear not a little strange that there should have been such prolonged and strenuous opposition in the United States of America to the signing of the covenant of the League of Nations. Among the belligerents, America was the most disinterested, and one would have thought that a nation which entered upon the war against Germany solely with the noble object of crushing militarism and establishing a righteous and permanent peace in the world, should most enthusiastically take up the idea of the League and work it out to fruition. Dr. Wilson's home-coming should have been greeted by his country-men as the return of a hero who had achieved a crushing victory over the enemies of civilization and who had ushered in a new era of progress in the history of mankind. The American people should have hung upon the words of their President who had played such a distinguished part in the re-establishment of peace as the respected representative of the greatest democracy in the world. But what did Dr. Wilson find on his return from Europe? A large influential section of his countrymen stoutly refused to approve of the covenant of the League of Nations and the peace treaty without important reservations. The President was taken aback and felt mortified. Modifications of a document which had been fully discussed and accepted by the responsible statesmen of England and France practically meant its repudiation. Dr. Wilson was placed in a false position for which he had hardly bargained. He went about the country appealing to the people to stand by him and the statesmen of Europe. It was a hard struggle which told upon the President with the result that he has become, let us hope and pray, temporarily, incapacitated for carrying on the campaign.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE correctly described the President's illness as "a serious blow to the peace of the world and the cause of humanity" and uni-

versal sympathy will go out to Dr. Wilson in the ordeal he was been called upon to pass through. The question, however, remains: what is the secret of the opposition in America to the covenant of the League of Nations? Is it mere political spite and factious agitation? Have the Republicans no more justification than the desire to give the President a good shaking? That is perhaps one of the elements that form the opposition. Several Americans, again, are instinctively averse to direct participation in the political and territorial brawls of European countries. The League of Nations, they feel, commits America to the principle that she must take part in the future European wars the seeds of which are being sown by the treaty of peace. There is a strong impression that the territorial dispositions made in the peace treaty, e. g., Shantung—are incompatible with the spirit in which America went to war and the objects for which the struggle was fought out. Certain admissions made by Dr. Wilson himself about secret treaties of which he knew little went far to discredit his cause. If America keeps out, the League and the Treaty lose most of their value, and the U. S. lose the opportunities they would otherwise secure to exercise their peaceful, wholesome democratic influence upon the affairs of the world. The American controversy, whatever factiousness there may be in it, is a sad commentary upon the declarations made by statesmen as to the future of civilization and international politics and the high hopes entertained about the birth of a new world. The British Prime Minister has recently appealed to the American nation to share in bearing the heavy burden of maintaining the new order and it may be hoped that, with certain reservations, the treaty will be ratified by the U. S. A.

IN one of his cartoons, F. C. G. characteristically represents Mr. Lloyd George as a boy indulging in the posture of blowing bubbles in the air. 'A New World' and 'Happy Ireland' are two the bubbles. As regards the first, though the peace has been already ratified by three leading Powers, it can hardly be said that war is yet ended. British troops have been withdrawn from Russia, leaving the people of that country to fight it out among themselves. Pressure has been brought to bear upon the German Government, making it refrain from even indirectly participating in the Russian struggle. A seesaw of victory and defeat is going on between the Bolsheviks and their opponents, and sensational reports are received almost every day of advances and retreats made by either party. The Russian riddle is hard to read and no one knows when peace and order will revisit that harried land. The settlement of the New East yet hangs in the balance, and the Turkish problem will be the hardest nut that European powers have to crack. What with labour troubles and monetary inflation, the regime of high prices continues all over Europe and the rest of the world, and the need of the moment is larger production. Politicians in England have been persistently emphasising the urgent need of all classes going to solid work with a will with a view to creating a surplus of national wealth with which to pay off creditors. The community is taking long to settle down to normal, productive work and to shake off the war spirit of waste, high living and indifference.

THE perpetual puzzle of Ireland has just put on a new phase. To say that there is unrest in that country is to make a statement about conditions

which have become almost normal. What is to be recorded as new is old, and a wave of crime and official repression is passing over Ireland. Government has taken drastic measures to put down newspapers and presses and associations which were believed to be fomenting violence; and numerous arrests were made and a mass of seditious literature was taken possession of. Mr. Lloyd George's Government appears to be undecided as to what it will do to solve the Irish question. While the rest of Ireland is in this restless condition, Sir Edward Carson has been engaged in Ulster in reorganizing opposition to any form of Home Rule that may be thrust upon that province. The extremists on the two sides will have nothing to do with a compromise, and Sinn Fein will be content with nothing short of absolute independence. Under the circumstances, the problem seems to be well-nigh insoluble.

IN the labour troubles which recently convulsed England 'direct action' was a subject of frequent discussion. Now, what is this 'direct action'? It is an attempt on the part of a section of the population to get certain things righted or to secure a particular reform by means which are not in conformity with the normal political practice or the usual constitutional methods. In a paper read before the International Brotherhood Congress, Mr. Arthur Henderson described direct action as "an attempt to substitute for Parliamentary action and the peaceful proceeding of the ballot box direct industrial action by the organized masses." It meant that "large masses of the people even in countries that were highly developed politically, had begun to lose faith in the Parliamentary system and the ordinary machinery of representative government." Mr. Henderson attributes the desire to resort to direct action in the place of the Parliamentary constitutional practice to "constant frustration of democratic demands for a real share in the business of Government and genuine popular control over national policy."

'DIRECT action' was the dominant issue before the Labour Congress which was held at Glasgow last month. Several hot-headed leaders wanted the general body of the representatives of trade unions to adopt a resolution in favour of direct action because the British Government would not accept a political policy urged by Labour with reference to Russia and conscription, and the ordinary Parliamentary methods had failed. But the extreme step did not commend itself to the sober element in the Congress and the proposal in relation to direct action was regarded as revolutionary. What the Congress, therefore, did, was to postpone the decision of the question for the present. Direct action is admittedly an unconstitutional method, and it is a weapon that is proposed to be used only where the ordinary ways of influencing the action of Government fail. It is to be used by the large body of the working classes going on a general strike. Will a resort to the weapon be ever necessary in England? That is the question every body is asking himself at the present moment.

A WANDERER.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, SEPTEMBER. 25.

DR. SAPRU AND OTHER DELEGATES.

DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU, who is returning to India by the R. I. M. S. "Dufferin" this week, has

I learn, been offered and has refused nomination to the Punjab Commission, to balance the non-official European whom it is proposed to add. Dr. Sapru has been obliged to decline the invitation on public as well as private grounds. As to the former, he feels that it is not possible for him to sit on the Commission, for, apart from the fact that he has already expressed his opinion on the events of recent months in the Punjab in public, he has also since his arrival in this country, been consulted professionally by the legal representatives of some of the convicted persons whose appeals are now pending before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and he does not think that, in the circumstances, he could pretend to bring a judicial mind to bear upon the matters that are bound to come before the Commission for consideration. We all deeply regret his approaching departure, for he is one of those who have, as he was bound to do, made a very great impression upon thoughtful Britishers wherever he has come in contact with them. Moreover, he is of a temperament to appreciate much in this country that would be lost or ignored by superficial visitors, and I should not be surprised if this proved to be the first of his many journeys to the West.

Another public worker here who has gained high opinions, by his modesty, quietness, dignity and sobriety of judgment is Mr. Vasudeo R. Gupte, the Hon. Secretary of the Deccan Sabha. His work here has been unobtrusive but none the less useful, and his outlook has certainly broadened. I wish I could say as much faithfully about some other of his compatriots. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao is also leaving for India shortly. I do not think that the rigours of an English winter have any attraction for him. His young colleague, Mr. Satyamurti, is flying about the country as a "delegate, Indian National Congress", under the auspices of the Labour Party, to tell British audiences what he thinks they ought to know about the relations between Britain and India. Just now he is one of the idols of young India in England. The Indian students here are very innocent and indiscriminating, and it is not to be wondered at that the flamboyant and vitriolic young politician from Madras appeals to them more than do the wiser and staid delegates.

A DEPUTATION FROM BRITISH GUIANA.

Very shortly you will have some visitors of another kind, to wit, a delegation, consisting of four Indians and an Irishman, from British Guiana, with the object of promoting free Indian colonisation for that British territory. They are representatives of the British Guiana Colonisation Organization, the only British member of the party being a member of the local Government. The leading Indians, all four being, I believe, born in the Colony, are professional men, Mr. Joseph A. Luckhoo, a barrister, and the first Indian member of the British Guiana legislature, and Dr. W. Hearley Wharton, a medical practitioner with an Edinburgh degree. The other two are merchants and planters, Messrs. Parbhu Sarole, a Hindu, and Abdool Rahman, a Musalman. It is not yet certain whether the last named will be well enough to undertake the journey. I am inclined to think that, in the existing conditions of the country, they will have difficulty in convincing India that she ought to encourage emigration, for colonisation purposes, to so distant a land as British Guiana, and even assuming that they have fulfilled all the conditions that they have laid down, before they would feel justified in asking India to send emigrants, they will have to compete in the open market against the increasingly large demand in

India itself and the adjacent lands for Indian labour. But it seems to me that India must first be satisfied that the bright prospects held out to intending or possible emigrants actually exist. At present most of them appear on paper only, and good will alone is insufficient to realize them. What may be the economic situation, both in British Guiana and in India in ten years' time is a matter upon which I should not care just now to speculate. The data are insufficient.

INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

Industrial conditions here are in a state of flux and general instability. An unauthorised strike of iron-moulders has occurred, which is having a remarkable influence upon the industrial position, for it threatens to leave unemployed vast numbers of workers who do not desire to go on strike, besides holding up the industry of the country. As an example of the difficulties of post-war industrial adjustment, the following may be of interest. There is every probability that, by the end of this week, about 9000 oilshale-miners and oil-workers in Scotland will be idle. The principal employers are now, it is said, combined in one company. In a statement on the financial position the company say that owing to the payment of the Sankey award of 2s. a day entailing an additional working charge of £250,000 per annum and the advance of 6s. a ton in the price of coal since July 15, entailing a further additional working charge of £215,000 per annum, the industry is now being worked at an annual loss of £190,000, not allowing for depreciation or any return on capital. The demand of the workers that the working day should be reduced from eight to seven hours would entail a further large loss. They claim that it is impossible to maintain the industry on these conditions and declare that if the miners insist upon their terms, which they show every disposition to do, they will have no alternative but to close down this important industry. It is an indication that things simply cannot go on like this. Increased wages and decreased hours affect not merely a single industry, but the cost of living all round. Some other means will have to be sought to bring down that cost without reducing the conditions of life to a lower level than is sought to be obtained by the constantly increasing demands. How to adjust the balance is one of the most difficult problems of the day. It is the case of the whole series of industrial disputes. The advocates of nationalisation have their remedy ready made. But they have not yet convinced the country that that way salvation lies. At the same time, Labour is deeply divided as to how to reach the ideal of nationalisation. The "constitutionalists" and the "direct actionists" are at daggers drawn, and no solution seems in sight.

LABOUR VICTORIES.

The latest result of the polls is taken by the Coalition as an encouragement. I doubt whether they can take much unction to their souls. The relative increase in the Labour vote was over 2000, which shows that public opinion is sliding away from the Coalition. Lord Haldane's confessions about the Liberal party's condition, of which you must have heard, show that that party will not carry the confidence of the public, and Labour is attacking seats held by Liberals in all the municipal elections that are about to be held. I doubt whether, at the next General Election, any one party will secure a clear majority. There will probably be a combination of groups who will coalesce for temporary purposes, much as happens in Continental Parliaments. That is Lord

Haldane's prophesy. He may be wrong, but at least he is under no illusion as to the difficulty for Britishers to adapt themselves to foreign political conditions.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Governments in the self-governing colonies have agreed to allow Indian settlers to bring in their wives and minor children and to provide facilities for travel, education or business on lines indicated in the resolutions passed by the Imperial Conference in 1917. This will no doubt remove a most serious hardship under which Indians were labouring under. But the Imperial Conference considered other questions also. One of the points urged in the Conference was that in respect of future emigration of Indians to the colonies for labour or settlement the Indian British subjects should be treated at least as favourably as other Asiatics who are not subjects of the British Empire. It is notorious that the Dominion Government places far more rigorous restrictions on the admission of Indians than on that of, say, the Chinese or Japanese. Indians must make a through voyage to Canada, which in the circumstances is physically impossible, and must produce on landing 200 dollars. Some other Asiatics, however, are comparatively in a privileged position. The Japanese can enter Canada to the number of 400 on producing only 50 dollars, and the Chinese can enter in unlimited numbers on payment of a head tax of 500 dollars. Curiously enough, the Dominion Government have not a word to say to this anomaly and do not promise its removal. But, more than all, we must insist on the conferment of all civic and political rights on those Indians who have been allowed to settle in the colony. This question, however, the colonial Governments do not seem to have considered at all.

WRITES Mr. Horniman:

"If we want India to manage her own affairs, if we want to rid her of bureaucratic domination, if we want to save her people in the future from the oppressions of the past and the present, if we want to make it impossible that the appalling events of last April in the Punjab can ever be repeated, if we want to make it impossible that the Rowlatt Acts can be forced down the throats of a protesting people, that is all to be done, not by accepting doles from the people who have scourged us, but by bravely waiting and standing to our rightful demands till they are admitted and conceded by those who respect us."

Brave words these, but the pity of it is that extremist leaders use them merely as a rhetorical flourish and never mean them as a serious definition of policy. Nay, more. When ardent spirits among the party take them for sober truth and urge this line of action in right earnest, they find themselves in violent opposition to those who do most to determine extremist policy. Mr. Horniman's statement, if it means anything, means that Indians should boycott the reformed councils and refuse to work the new constitution in two contingencies: (1) if the reforms prove inadequate, and (2) if we do not succeed in obtaining full redress for Punjab misdeeds and do not obtain the power to prevent the repetition of such occurrences in future. In regard to (1), Mr. Tilak has repeatedly proclaimed his willingness to take whatever reforms come, in the event, to be given, and he makes no reservation of any kind to his acceptance of the instalment offered. In regard to (2), we only recently saw the spectacle of Mr. Tilak opposing Mr. Satyamurti's proposal with all possible energy. In spite, therefore, of Mr. Horniman's vapid rhetoric, his party seems none too eager to rush along on the road suggested by him.

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