

# THE Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE.

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK

**Age of Consent.** THE Poona Branch of the Women Graduates' Union at a well attended meeting held on the 7th inst. passed unanimously the following resolution to be forwarded to the Hon'ble the Home Member, Simla :

This meeting, gladly welcoming as it does, the raising of the age of consent from 16 to 18 years in § 366 of the Penal Code by the Legislative Assembly during its last Delhi Session,

Deprecates the decision of Government to defer the bringing into operation of this section, as amended, until it has ascertained the trend of public opinion on the question of similarly raising the age of consent in cognate sections of the Code ;

And emphatically declares itself of the opinion that the age of consent should be raised in all sections of the Penal Code, preferably to 21, but anyhow to 18 years of age.

We are very glad to find that our women are so splendidly taking the lead in this matter and trust that before the next session Sir Malcolm Hailey will be left in no doubt as to what informed Indian opinion on the point is. As regards the alleged difficulty put forward by him at the Delhi session, that you could not have different ages of consent for different offences, we would point out that already there has been such a difference all along—since the age of consent for kidnapping and procuring is fixed at sixteen and for rape at twelve. What is then the difficulty of having the ages respectively 16, 18 and 12? But of course we thoroughly agree with the Graduates' Union that the age should in all three cases be uniformly raised to at least 18.

**Enter the Postman.** ONE hopes that the general public will take notice of the proceedings, just held, of the Bombay Presidency Postal and Railway Mail Service Association. The fact that there are today workers, and State employees at that, who are given neither holidays nor weekly

rest-days year in, year out,—such as is the case of the mail sorters—ought to shock public conscience into speedy action. Or what can be said to a scale of overtime payment at the rate of 4 annas for every period of six hours? Since the Factory Act insists on a minimum scale of at least 1¼ times higher pay than that earned ordinarily, is one to understand that the ordinary rate of pay of these men amounts to only two annas an hour? And if not, why are the principles of overtime, adopted by every civilized country in the world, flouted by the Government of India? As it was a member of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. N. M. Joshi, who had been invited to preside over the Association's recent meeting, no doubt more will be heard of this matter and Government be made to understand, that though economy is necessary, saving on the lowest paid and most defenceless grades of their own servants is not national economy. Anyhow, seeing how intimately the Post enters into the life of every one of us, it is to be hoped that public opinion will not consider its duty discharged by the customary seasonal offerings to our friend the postman, but will wholeheartedly back this agitation for juster conditions of employment throughout the Postal Service.

**Air Expeditions.** RECENTLY some questions were asked in the Commons challenging the propriety of dropping bombs from aeroplanes in Waziristan and Iraq. In fact these air operations are subjected to unceasing criticism in and out of Parliament, and the whole matter therefore requires the closest scrutiny. From the purely military point of view it is indisputable that air expeditions effect an enormous amount of saving. In the Somaliland campaign of three years ago air power was able to achieve more at the cost of £30,000 than would otherwise have been achieved by an expenditure of £250,000. The Afghan War of 1879 cost 14 millions and lasted for two years. Sir O'Moore Creagh, late Commander-in-Chief in India, has expressed the opinion that if aeroplanes had existed at the time, the war "would have lasted two months at the very outside, and much money and valuable human lives would have been saved". The very substantial economies made in Iraq recently are due solely to the large substitution of air squadrons for battalions of infantry. Not only is there a saving of money, but the casualties are lessened by the employment of air power. The objection taken is on the score of humanity,

but it is maintained by air enthusiasts that there is no substance in this objection, and it is even claimed, e. g., by Major-General Seely, that far from being more cruel, it is much less cruel. Since these air expeditions are much in use on the Indian frontier it is necessary that a thorough inquiry be made into this question.

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**What Folly!** PUBLICITY has been given to a circular issued to all village officers by the Tahsildar of Cocanada—doubtless under the orders of the Collector—in which the following passage occurs:

You must notify that those who take part in this movement ( non-co-operation ) will not be given water for their second crop for three successive years and that their applications even for first crop will not be accepted. If there are license holders of rifles, sulphur and fireworks you must bring them to our notice separately.

One can hardly credit the possibility of such an illegal circular being issued or such bluff being practised in British India. But apart from it, such methods invariably defeat their own object. They become the opponents' propaganda. This circular roused so much indignation that Cocanada and the neighbouring villages have subscribed quite unexpected sums to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. We hope H. E. Lord Willingdon has now at last put some sense into this Collectors' head.

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**Whites' Policy of Non-Intercourse.** THE mentality of the Europeans in Kenya is now fairly well known in India; they want "their country" to be quit of Indians altogether. If there should still be a lingering doubt on the matter, it would be removed by a perusal of the circulars issued by the newly formed "European and African Traders' Organization," copies of which have been sent to us. This body makes it its avowed aim to exclude Asiatics definitely from the commercial life of Kenya by persuading all Europeans and Africans to have no dealings of any sort or kind with Asiatics. The organization is of course composed mostly of Europeans, and Africans are thrown in just for the purpose of giving a semblance of unselfishness to the movement. The latter are declared to be a menace not only to the profiteering of Europeans, but to the continued existence of Christianity and Western civilization in Kenya! Europeans are therefore to band themselves together and take a pledge to carry out a system of absolute non-intercourse with Indians, just as the Americans did with the English before the War of Independence. They are not to take Indians into employment and they are not to trade with them, the ultimate object being of course the entire elimination of Indians from a Kenya, which thereafter would present to the whites there a free field for that moral elevation and cultural development of the native African, of which the mining compounds of Jo'burg and the land and labour laws throughout Africa are already such splendid examples. Shades of Pecksniff!

**Unity of Aims.** THE *New Statesman* of 31st March has a penetrating article on the Indian situation, in which the writer truly says that the most serious manifestation of Indian Nationalism is found to-day, not on the non-co-operation platform, but within the Councils, which have been able to wring from Government such valuable concessions to non-official opinion as would have been incredible a very few years ago. Of Mr. Das's new party he says, again with true insight, that its policy of entering the Councils in order to smash them by obstructionist tactics has few adherents, and is not likely to obtain the approbation of the electorates. "On the other hand," he shrewdly adds, "there is always the possibility that once inside the Councils, they will become so impressed with their new dignity as to be as enthusiastic concerning the potentialities of the Councils as any co-operator." On this point, however, the writer of the article is far behind the times. For Mr. Das has already, even before contesting the elections, substantially modified his policy. It is true that when he first hoisted the standard of revolt against the Congress, he gave one the impression of a modern Attila sharpening his weapons against the Councils; but he no longer appears in that rôle and so far as one can judge, differs in no respect from other constitutionalists. This is a welcome change and will add enormously to the strength of the popular movement which, unless met in advance by the conferment of larger powers of self-government, will be, as the writer in the *New Statesman* puts it, "a far more serious matter, fraught with danger to Empire solidarity."

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**Motes and Beams.** NON-CO-OPERATORS still continue to make great play of the apparent powerlessness of the Council-wallas to counter the certification of the salt tax. We have not the least desire in the world to complain if they seek to exploit this episode for party ends, but it will then be permissible for us, we venture to think, to remind non-co-operators that they themselves are in no better case and to invite them to pluck the beam out of their own eye before they look for the mote elsewhere. The fourth anniversary of the deportation of Mr. Horniman, which is being celebrated with all due circumstance in Bombay at present, is a wholesome reminder of the fact that non-co-operators, for all their much-vaunted effectiveness of methods, are yet unable to wash out an indignity which is peculiarly theirs. Indeed, in our present position no party in India would lack occasion, if it is so minded, to taunt its rivals with failure at the hands of Government, and for our part we would regard the defeat of one party as the defeat of all parties, only to be avenged by the combined effort of all.

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**Judging by Results.** WHILE non-co-operators are, for the time being at all events, are

without remedy on questions which are their especial concern, their principle condemns them to inaction on most questions of general interest. In regard to the inferior status that is being assigned to Indians in Kenya, for instance, which awakens a scalding indignation in the public mind and moves constitutionalists to send a deputation to the seat of authority in England, non-co-operators do not raise even their little finger. In fact on all such questions they behave as if they were indifferent to the great mundane movement and recked nothing if every one of these questions was decided against us. In the matter of Kenya all that they have done is to pass a resolution declaring that if Indian settlers did not receive satisfaction, the Congress would seriously consider the advisability of changing its indeterminate goal of "Swaraj within or without the British Empire" into the unambiguous of one "Swaraj outside the Empire." This threat of a contingent passing out of the British Empire seems, however, to leave the Imperial statesmen unmoved; at any rate it has not impressed them so profoundly as to confer equality of status upon Indians out of hand.

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**Distinctions and Differences.**

BUT the party of non-co-operation has now taken action of a somewhat different sort which deserves to be scanned thoroughly. It has passed a resolution gratefully acknowledging the good offices of Mr. Andrews in accompanying the Kenya deputation to England as an adviser. Mr. Andrews has indeed laid India under an obligation by offering his valuable services and it is well that they are publicly recognised. But one is tempted to ask, is it open to non-co-operators, whose policy forbids them to send a deputation themselves, to accredit as their representative anyone who is going out in the capacity of an adviser to such a deputation? If to send out an embassy to make representations to the constituted authority is co-operation and if co-operation is sin, we suggest that it is equally sin, perhaps only one degree removed, officially to associate with an adviser to that embassy. Does it mean then that non-co-operators realise the futility of their ways and are prepared to adopt the policy of so-called co-operation, if only indirectly and furtively? But it should be remembered that it is only to Mr. Andrews that the Congress has given its credentials; it has not extended them either to Mr. Jinnah or to Mr. Sastri, whose mission is none other than that of Mr. Andrews. Does the Congress cast its partial eye on the latter merely because he is not a professed opponent of non-co-operation as the two former are?

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**Compulsory Education.**

A PRESS Note has been issued by the Bombay Government stating that rules under the Compulsory Education Act are in preparation and will soon be published. Steps will then be taken by the Director of Public Instruction to call upon the local authorities to elect the School Boards according to the constitution fixed in each case and each School Board will then be called upon to appoint an administrative officer. When these administrative officers have been appointed the management of the existing primary schools concerned will be formally transferred to the local Boards. Government trust that all these steps will be completed in time for the transfer to take effect from the 1st July, 1923, at the latest.

## THE INDIAN ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT.

### III.—DISESTABLISHMENT.

THE Government of India Act of 1915 devotes nine out of its 125 sections to the "Ecclesiastical Establishment," defining the jurisdiction of the bishops of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, their appointment, salary, pension and furlough, and those of the three Archdeacons of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. One of these sections (§ 122) provides for six chaplains of the Church of Scotland, whose salary shall equal that of "the military chaplains in the several presidencies," and the last section permits grants to be made by the Governor General in Council to other Christian sects, than the two named.

As will be seen, the Government of India is still living ecclesiastically in darkest Victorianism; it knows of three Bishops only, though their number, even in the Anglican communion alone, has long since risen to 13—quite apart from the numerous Archbishops, Bishops and Metropolitans, who flourish in India outside that communion amongst Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Syrians. But most important of all, it presumes to dictate to the three unfortunate prelates named how they are to exercise their episcopal functions (such as the ordaining of priests and deacons) and how they are to superintend "the ministers of the Church of England within their respective dioceses"! What, one wonders, would be the headlines in one's morning paper, if the Russian Government, copying section 115 of the Government of India Act, suddenly enacted that "the bishops of Moscow, Petrograd and Kieff may exercise such episcopal functions and ecclesiastical jurisdiction as the Council of Komissars may, by letters patent, direct"? To anybody unfamiliar with the conception of a "National Church"—referred to in our introductory section—that tyrannous presumption and meddling with religion by the Government of the day must seem quite incredible. Yet the thing has existed ever since a first bishop of the "National Church" was sent to India just over a century ago and apparently meekly submitted to by all his successors and colleagues of Madras and Bombay until quite recently.

How completely things have changed since 1814, when an Act of Parliament was passed creating the diocese of Calcutta, is best illustrated by the fact that this Bishop of Calcutta was given jurisdiction, not only over the whole of India, but over the whole of Asia, and that even Australasia was added to him! In fact the Bishop of Calcutta was the only Anglican bishop in existence outside the British Isles and North America, whilst to-day Australasia alone has 32 Anglican bishops, Africa 24, Asia 40. Again, in 1814, the Anglican Communion consisted of only three component parts which were independent of each other—the Established Church of Britain and Ireland; the Episcopal Church of

Scotland and the Episcopal Church of the United States. To-day the Established Church is that of England alone, both the Church of Ireland and that of Wales having since obtained disestablishment—the one at the hands of Gladstone, the other at those of Mr. Lloyd George. In Africa the ecclesiastical "Province of South Africa" is to-day entirely autonomous, as are in Asia the "Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui" and the "Nippon Sei Kokwai" (the Episcopal Church of China and Japan respectively); and in America the Church of Canada and that of the "Province of West Indies."

With the exception of the Anglican Church in England and in India, there is in fact now-a-days not a single Anglican "Established" Church to be found anywhere—and seeing that there are 283 Anglican dioceses in the world, and that out of their number England contains only 37, it is very evident, how rapidly the once in Anglicanism supreme principle of "the National Church" is dwindling away into nothingness. It is with these facts before one's eyes, that one must consider the strong movement afoot in the Anglican Church of India to-day for liberation from the bonds of the Establishment; a movement that is bound to be overwhelming, when disendowment removes the only *quid pro quo*—hard cash—which the State can offer. In fact, the only surprise is that it was not until 1920 that the Indian Church took the first official step in this direction. It was only in January of that year that the "Provincial Assembly of the Church in the Province of India, Burma and Ceylon" passed a resolution desiring "full Synodical Government for the Church in the Province with power to elect and consecrate its own Bishops": but since then very heavy work has been done (1) to devise a measure which would sever the legal connection between the Anglican Churches of England and India and (2) to provide a constitution for an autonomous Indian Church. Both of these instruments have now been drawn up—mainly by the Bishops of Bombay and Tinnevely—and been referred by the Province to each of the 13 Indian dioceses for their opinion. The Bombay Diocesan Council, which sat from the 10th to the 13th inst., has accordingly just been considering these two matters and it is significant that it unanimously passed—practically without the need of further discussion—the following two Resolutions:

"(1) That this Council respectfully informs the Provincial Council that it welcomes, approves and accepts the measure for severing the legal connection between the Church of England and the Church of England in India and Ceylon, and to enable the Church of England in India and Ceylon to exercise powers of self-government.

"(2) That this Council informs the Provincial Council that it accepts in principle the Declaratory Articles and Constitution of the Church of the Province of India, Burma and Ceylon, but urges the following amendments,—

into the details of which latter it is unnecessary for us here to enter. Only two guiding principles we

would emphasize as underlying the steps now contemplated: viz. (1) that Parliament is not being asked to grant any new powers to the Church of India, but merely to remove the restrictions at present placed on the Church; and (2) that it is not a new Church that is being formed, but that the existing Church merely means to exercise all its powers of self-determination.

It is clearly not for an outsider, to comment further on these steps, as they affect the denomination itself, but only as they may affect the commonwealth as a whole. (From this point of view one may perhaps be allowed to rejoice that an amendment moved by an Indian (!) at Bombay the other day, aiming at the division of the Church into two caste Churches, one white and one black, was negatived.) And India, as a commonwealth of citizens belonging to almost innumerable religions, cults and subdivisions of subsections of sub-sects, clearly can only live by adhering strictly to that neutrality in religion which has been so conspicuous a success in British rule: and that being so, an Anglican Disestablishment in India concerns not only the denomination in question, but all India; since all India must insist on equal measure for all and religious favouritism for none. One therefore hopes sincerely that the Legislative Assembly will take an early opportunity of moving a resolution that in the interests of maintaining neutrality in religion sections 115-123 of the Government of India Act be repealed. This Resolution would powerfully be aided by the simultaneous and analogous request of the Indian Church to the National Assembly of the English Church; just as of course the latter would receive an equally powerful backing by the former.

At the same time, let nobody conclude that the advocacy of Disestablishment for India is a futile running in of open doors. Apart from the general reluctance on the part of any Government to let go its restrictive powers (an attitude to which we have previously alluded), the fact must be reckoned with, that both Disestablishment and Disendowment will affect very unpleasantly the most influential section of English people (of the Anglican persuasion) living in India. These at present may take very little interest in Church affairs; and seeing that through their influence on Government they can ensure that things ecclesiastical are done both according to their way of thinking and at as small a cost to themselves as possible, these sections would have to be very exceptional indeed, if they were exerting themselves unduly under present conditions or were not disturbed by any movement which would threaten both their influence and their financial irresponsibility.

For obviously, once the Indian Church was disestablished and therefore self-determinant, it would follow naturally that the emphasis would shift from provision for the spiritual needs of sojourners to that of the people of the country.

It would follow naturally that even the most select of European congregations might at any time have to experience what to them could but appear as "interference" on the part of Indians (with or without a hyphen). It would follow naturally that, as time went on, there might even be a prospect of their white souls having to be placed in charge of a black clergyman; or of the proportion of Europeans to Indians occupying Indian sees being changed from 12 in 13 to 1 in 13. All these considerations however being rather in the nature of *imponderabilia* and not making particular good debating points, it is unlikely that any such frontal attack on Disestablishment will be attempted. More likely, the protests will all be about Disendowment—but to understand their full purport, it is as well to bear in mind that, consciously or unconsciously, their motive can but be tinged by fear of the loss of power and money which for them Disestablishment inevitably brings in its train.

#### IV.—CONCLUSION.

As we tried to show in our second section, the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment maintains at present 166 chaplains, out of which number only 100 are claimed as military. Sixty-six chaplains therefore are at present theoretically employed to minister to the Anglican Government servants born outside of India. It goes without saying that in practice nothing of the sort happens, and that the main work of these Civil Chaplains lies with those Anglicans who either are born in India or are not Government servants at all: and the cry that is bound to arise will be on the justice or injustice of depriving this on the whole very poor class of people of the spiritual ministrations to which they are accustomed. To this plea it is most necessary to reply that the Government of India's rules already explicitly exclude ministrations to any but British-born servants of theirs; and that the abolition of even 90% of the Civil Chaplains would not constitute a new departure, but merely the enforcement of an existing rule.

What of course will happen, when this rule is strictly enforced, is that the few wealthy (and mostly foreign) members of the congregations affected would have to be asked to rally to the support of their churches on what would have to be a scale of very real generosity—and that even if they did so, they would have less general say in the Church than they had in the times of the "Establishment." A charge of Rs. 2,000 or even of Rs. 1,000 per month for a Chaplain should in any case become manifestly impossible: with the result that the work would necessarily pass into the hands of Anglo-Indian and Indian priests, paid according to an Indian standard of life, or else of religious communities, such as the "Bush Brotherhood" of Queensland or the "Cowley Fathers" of the Bombay Presidency—neither of which alternatives, one imagines, would be very palatable to the *sahib-log* concerned.

Thus there are no doubt great difficulties to be faced by a newly disendowed and disestablished

Church; but not only is all life in itself a dangerous adventure, but in this case the difficulties are not even spontaneously embarked upon by the Anglican Church in India, but imposed upon it by the financial needs of India as a whole and the changing status of Indians within the Church. And difficulties though there be: no Church that is satisfied to wax fat has ever accomplished her *raison d'être*, but that one only which braves her tribulations and difficulties and refuses to purchase ease at the cost of freedom. What doubt can there be that the best friends of religion are not those who refuse to end the intolerable tutelage of Church by State, but those who, throwing her on her own resources, would have their Church live—dangerously, if need be; but anyhow, live her own life?

As citizens of India, as fellow-countrymen of Indian churchmen, we on our part and at least in India can but urge the fulfilment of the first promise made in that Magna Charta which has made English kingship famous: "THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND SHALL BE FREE."

#### THE CONTROL OF RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS.

THE Madras Legislative Council passed in its last session an important Bill which provides for the better governance and administration of Hindu religious endowments. The provisions of the Bill as passed by the Council deserve the careful attention of the public and of legislators in other provinces; for the mismanagement of religious charities is not confined to any one province, and the Akali movement has warned us forcefully of the danger of allowing this mismanagement to go on without checking it in time by suitable legislation. When the Bill was introduced in December last there was an angry howl against it all over the province, partly because some of its provisions were objectionable and partly because the country had not been prepared for it by propaganda. The Select Committee improved it almost out of recognition and removed most of its objectionable features. But on account of the great haste in which it was rushed through the Council, the public at large did not have sufficient time to digest the improved Bill and form a considered opinion on it. The result has been the passage of the Bill by the mere majority of votes at the command of the ministerial party, sheer superiority in voting power without the moral support of the educated public—which support would surely have come if more time had been allowed to elapse before the final reading of the Bill and if the case for it had been put before the country with sufficient clearness. Moreover, when the Bill was being discussed in the Council, the country was too much agitated by the Viceroy's certification of the salt tax to appreciate duly its provisions. The Bill has therefore not received the publicity that it deserves, but this circumstance makes it all the more

necessary for us to draw the attention of our readers to its provisions.

In no other province are there such magnificent or richly endowed Hindu temples as in Madras. The State had naturally a good deal to do with their management in pre-British days, as is the case at present in Indian States, where a special department generally looks after temples and mosques. The East India Company, as successor to the Hindu and Muhammadan rulers, took over the management of these religious endowments, but English public opinion was against a Christian Government having anything to do with places of non-Christian worship and compelled the Company to hand over the management of those endowments to committees or private persons about the year 1842. Then in 1863 an Act was passed which enabled the Government to constitute special committees to look after these endowments and transfer to them all the powers and responsibilities vested till then, so far as Madras was concerned, in the Board of Revenue. It was, however, soon discovered that the Act did not work satisfactorily: the main defects being that as in the committee membership was for life, an indifferent or undesirable person could not be removed, and secondly, the remedy against mismanagement provided through courts led to costly and protracted litigation. From time to time several attempts were made to amend the Act, with which attempts eminent jurists like the late Sir Muthuswami Aiyar were associated. But the Government of India, in pursuance of the policy of non-interference in religious matters, refused to listen and so the remedy had to wait till, under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, charitable endowments became a provincial (transferred) subject.

The application of this Bill is limited to Hindu religious endowments, unlike the Act of 1863 which applies both to Hindu and Muhammadan endowments and which is repealed by the present Bill so far as the Hindu endowments are concerned. Replying to a criticism on this score, the Minister explained that Muhammadan endowments were excluded because in the opinion of the Government it was inopportune to include them when the Khilafat question was still disturbing the minds of the Islamic communities, and he expressed the hope that after the Bill had become law and been worked for some time, legislation would be undertaken to bring these endowments also within the scope of the present Bill. That day does not appear to be far either, if we may judge from the fact that at present there is a private Bill before the Legislative Assembly for the registration and control of *wagfs* in some form—though how, after the provincialisation of charitable endowments, the Bill was permitted to be introduced in the Assembly, is not easy to understand. The non-inclusion of Muhammadan endowments, however, is no real objection to the Bill that has now been passed, just as the observance of the *purdah* by Muhammadan women is no

argument against the enfranchisement of non-Muhammadan women.

Another limitation on the scope of the Bill is that mutts and temples with an annual income of less than Rs. 500 and Rs. 250 respectively are excluded from its operation, though power is reserved to the Local Government to extend by notification any or all the provisions of the Bill to any such mutt or temple. The reason for their exclusion seems only the convenience of the executive, which at best is a very weak reason. On the other hand, abuses are likely to be more common in them owing partly to the quality of the trustees and managers and partly to the fact that they would not attract the attention of public-spirited persons. One would, therefore, like to see the Bill, after it becomes an Act, extended by notification to as many mutts and temples as possible, till the section itself is amended.

The most important provision of the Bill is the creation of a Board of Commissioners, whose position and functions will be analogous to those of the Charity Commissioners of England. The Board will consist of a President and two to four other members appointed by the Government. They should all be persons professing the Hindu religion. The President is to be a lawyer of considerable experience. For the present only one Board is intended to be constituted, but if experience should prove the need for more, others may be created for particular groups of districts. The members of the Board will be paid officers, the maximum salaries fixed for the President and other Commissioners being Rs. 1,200 and Rs. 800 per month respectively. The tenure of their office is for five years, but they are eligible for reappointment. The Board is vested with the general superintendence of all religious endowments in the area of its jurisdiction and "may do all things necessary to ensure that mutts and temples are properly maintained and that all religious endowments are properly administered and duly appropriated to the purposes for which they are founded or exist." The President of the Board has to maintain a separate register for every mutt and temple, with detailed information regarding its properties, customary usages, &c. All mutts and "excepted" temples, (*i. e.*, those which before 1842 had trustees neither nominated nor required to be approved by Government) have to submit to the Board their budgets and statements of receipts and disbursements. (Distinction is made between 'excepted' and other temples because the former have for long generations been under the hereditary management of zamindars and rich merchants who resent being subjected to the control of local Committees.)

If the Board have reason to believe that a mutt or excepted temple is being mismanaged, or if not less than 20 persons interested in a mutt or excepted temple apply to the Board for a scheme of administration, the Board has to conduct an inquiry and frame a scheme, which should be

decreed by the district court to come into operation. In the case of other temples, that is those not excepted, the Board is the appellate authority over the local Committees, the constitution, &c. of which are laid down in the Bill and which are invested with the power and duty of controlling and supervising the management of such temples. These Committees are corporate bodies, their creation, modification and abolition resting with the Local Government. The latter also fixes their jurisdiction and strength in each case. A Committee, however, may not consist of less than 6 or more than 12 members of whom at least three-fourths should be elected, the rest being appointed by the Board. The qualifications for electors and candidates, who should be professing Hindus, are needlessly high, being about the same as those for the Assembly. The Board is empowered to levy from all mutts and temples an annual contribution not exceeding  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of their income. The local Committees are similarly authorised to levy from temples in their jurisdiction an additional  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, the latter thus having to contribute 3 per cent. of their income. Out of the funds thus collected the Board and Committees have to meet, in addition to their own respective expenses, the cost of auditing the accounts of the mutts and temples in their respective charge, the auditors being appointed by Government.

The Bill has thus created an efficient machinery in the Board and the Committees (with the improved constitution and powers of the latter) for controlling endowments and remedying the evil of litigation. The functions of the Board are, therefore, both administrative and judicial, and it is therefore necessary that not only the President but the other Commissioners should be men of legal training and experience. That the functions and powers of the Board are wider, though similar to them, than those of the English Charity Commissioners will be seen from the following summary of the latter's powers:

- (1) Inquiring into the administration of charitable trusts.
- (2) Compelling the production of accounts.
- (3) Supplementing powers of trustees where defective.
- (4) Securing safe custody of property.
- (5) Extending the doctrine of *cy-près*.
- (6) Controlling, facilitating and reducing the expenses of legal proceedings.

When the Charity Commissioners were constituted in 1853 they did not interfere with the jurisdiction of the County Courts or the Court of Chancery. But the "easy and simple course of procedure, free from technicality and almost wholly free also of cost" afforded by the Charity Commissioners came to be more and more appreciated, and in a few years the jurisdiction of the Courts became practically obsolete. That result will be achieved in Madras more speedily than in England owing to the greater judicial powers vested in the Board. The Opposition in the Council disapproved of the transfer of the powers now vested in Courts to Committees and the Board, but if suitable men are

appointed to the Board, it is bound to give more satisfaction than the Courts are now giving. And one does not see any reason for the Board not being as useful and popular as the Charity Commissioners in England.

Objection was taken in and outside the Council to the creation of the Board on grounds of principle and expediency. The opposition was possibly due in some measure to the fact that the Board was not contemplated in the original Bill but was inserted by the Select Committee, the reports of which the public were not given sufficient time to appreciate. On the ground of principle it was objected that the creation of a Board of salaried Commissioners for administrative purposes was opposed to the principle of non-interference in religious matters, to which the Government by numerous proclamations is committed. This objection gains support from the fact that on several occasions in the pre-reform days the Government refused to legislate for the control of religious charities on the ground that it would amount to an interference with religion. But is it an interference with religion to provide for the proper administration of religious trusts? A clear distinction must be made between purely spiritual matters such as the form of worship in a temple or the distribution of *prasad* or the authority of the head of a mutt over his disciples—and the financial or other temporal administration of temples and mutts. The State may not consecrate a *sanyasi* or *swam* but certainly may appoint an auditor or frame a scheme of administration. The functions hitherto entrusted to Courts by the legislature may, surely, be transferred for the sake of convenience by that authority to another body, which in status and functions is more related to the judiciary than to the executive of the Government. We thus do not see any force in the objection taken on the ground of principle. From an expediency point of view, it is urged that the machinery is too costly for the endowments and that their contributions could not support it. There is, however, a difference of opinion about it, and in the absence of authoritative information as to the total income of endowments, it is impossible to say whether the machinery is likely to prove too costly. On the other hand, it is pointed out by the supporters of the Bill that the amounts now spent by endowments on litigation are larger than this machinery is likely to cost and the Bill will, therefore, effect an economy in their working, besides securing them audit without extra charge. On the ground of the costliness of the machinery it is suggested by some that the members of the Board should be required to give honorary service and that retired High Court Judges and others of high position could easily be found to serve on the Board. It is, however, very doubtful whether efficient whole-time workers would be ready to serve in an honorary capacity, but if the income from contributions should prove less than expected, the question of honorary service may

still be considered at a later date. The removal of the jurisdiction of Courts (where it has been effected) has been objected to as likely to lead to injustice, but if we may judge from the analogy of the English Charity Commissioners, the fear seems to be altogether groundless.

On the whole, this Bill is a very useful piece of legislation, which deserves to be adopted by all provinces and under which endowments of all religions, and indeed all charitable endowments should be controlled.

## REVIEWS.

### INDIAN AGRICULTURE.

#### REVIEW OF AGRICULTURAL OPERATIONS IN INDIA, 1921-22. (Superintendent, Government Printing, India, Calcutta.) pp. 164. Ro. 1-4.

THE Review of Agricultural Operations in India for 1921-22 issued by the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India is, as usual a short and concise report of the work of the various Agricultural Departments of the different provinces. It is meant for the general public and hence it is written in a popular style, free, wherever possible, from technical expressions. The Review deals with the improvements in crops, investigation work done in connection with the various agricultural problems, spread of agricultural improvements, agricultural education, the co-operative movement as affecting agriculture, and live stock.

At present the most important work on crops consists in the provision of improved varieties of existing crops which are more profitable than those in ordinary use. The measure of success achieved in this direction is not small. Under improved seed there are now 1,089,177 acres of cotton, 964,843 acres of wheat, 224,362 acres of paddy, 100,000 acres of jute, 96,917 acres of groundnut and 31,663 acres of sugarcane. There are several other crops of less importance in which improved seed has been successfully introduced. The introduction of improved varieties is only a beginning in the improvement of crops; good deal more can be done in future by the efforts of plant-breeders in producing drought-resisting and disease-resisting varieties. A time might soon come for paying more attention to cultural methods and the maintenance of soil fertility as important factors in crop production.

With regard to cotton, India stands second only to America in total area and the output of cotton, and, with the fall in area and yield of the American crop, tends to become increasingly important in the world's market. Increased production and better handling of long-staple Indian cottons and the prevention of adulteration are essential both for the development of the Indian spinning industry and the foreign market. On the recommendations of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, the central Legislature recently passed an Act empowering the Local Governments, with the assent of their own Legislatures, to notify for protection definite areas of superior cotton, and to prevent the importation into the notified areas of any other cotton, waste, *kapas* or cotton seeds. The Bombay Government, it seems, intends to apply the Act to two important areas of long-staple cotton in Bombay. The Central Cotton Committee is also endeavouring through Local

Departments to improve the marketing of cotton to induce the cultivators to market their cotton in a cleaner condition. A good deal of research is essential for the improvement of cotton, but it means funds and the Central Committee advises the Government to raise these funds by a cess of four annas per bale on cotton exported from British India by sea and on that consumed in spinning mills in British India. Accordingly a law to that effect was also passed in the last session of the Imperial Legislature. The Committee intends employing a technologist who would carry out tests on new cottons for Agricultural Departments and obtain satisfactory valuations. The cotton problems for the immediate attention of the Bombay Department are mentioned to be "physiological work into the causes restricting yield in Gujarat and the loss of crop by boll and bud shedding, wilt on cotton in the Kumpta area and further and more detailed plant breeding work on the Upland American type." The funds for this work will be provided by the Central Cotton Committee.

The country wheats, especially in the United Provinces and the Punjab, are being slowly replaced by better varieties known as Pusa 12, Pusa 4 and Punjab 11. The intrinsic values of Pusa wheats have been recognised even in foreign countries. At the 1921 Royal Agricultural Show at Sydney they got the first prize.

With regard to sugar, during the year 1921-22, 29 factories of modern type, produced 73,113 tons of sugar, which is 6000 tons over the output in the previous year. Refined sugar produced by the indigenous methods amounted to 50,000 tons. The total sugar imported in 1921-22 amounted to 718,000 tons as against the average of 634,000 tons of pre-war years. Considering the area that is under sugarcane India should be self-supporting. If proper varieties are bred and the right class of manuring is adopted, it would be quite possible to grow on the present area all the sugarcane required to meet the existing demands for both gul and white sugar.

In oilseeds while the area and yield show very little variation from the average of the quinquennium ending 1914-15 the exports now amount in quantity to only half of the pre-war average. It seems, therefore, that more oil-seeds are crushed locally, than before and that larger amounts of oil-cakes are available both for feeding cattle and for manuring.

In India with its large vegetarian population there is sure to be a great demand for fruit and there exist vast areas suitable for fruit growing, but very little attention has so far been paid to this question. Indigenous methods must be improved upon and this work can be done by special horticulturists. Every attempt must, therefore, be made to train and engage horticulturists to promote this line.

The work of research and investigation done during 1921-22 is given in the review in a very sketchy way since the details of research are not likely to be of much interest to the general public. These details are published in separate Scientific Reports for men interested in scientific work. The Review mentions that soil surveys are in progress in Madras, Bihar and Bengal and says that when these surveys are completed they will yield valuable information for workers on soil problems all over India. It is surprising that the Bombay Department has done so very little in this direction. It has, however, started good work in another line. In the Bombay Deccan the problem of soil moisture is very important, since in the Deccan



there are large tracts where rainfall is precarious and where irrigation is small. For these tracts investigation work has been taken in hand to determine the physical properties of the soils and the means to increase their water-holding capacity. Work done on the reclamation of the saline soils in the Punjab is given in the Review, but no mention is made of the valuable work which is being done to recover the salt-lands along the canals in the Bombay Deccan, perhaps because the work is not at present directly under the Agricultural Department.

Nitrogen in the soil is exceedingly important for all the crops and the fixation of nitrogen in the soils is being studied all the world over. It would be interesting to the general public to know the results obtained in the Punjab on this point. The Review says, "In the Punjab, a fixation of nitrogen amounting to an increase of 30 per cent. of the total amount in the soil has been observed to be common, and in one instance it reached 75 per cent. without the addition of any carbohydrate. The figures represent enormous amounts of nitrogen which would take impossible sums of money to purchase in the form of manures, and show not only the vital part played by soil bacteria in the agriculture of North-West India but the great possibilities which may follow on an investigation into the controlling factors." In the investigation work at Pusa it has been found that there is a close relation between the algae and the nitrogen-fixing bacteria. Cattle manure is important and the cattle urine which contains a large amount of nitrogen, is very valuable. The cultivators, who are always advised to preserve the cattle urine, preserve it along with the cattle dung in the manure pit, but it has now been discovered that a large quantity of nitrogen is lost by putting these two together. In order to get the fullest advantage the cattle dung and the cattle urine should be separately stored.

In connection with the district work the Review rightly says, "In India the introduction of new and improved varieties of crops and of better methods of tillage does not end with mere demonstration of their advantages. It has been found necessary to create an organization for the distribution and sale of better seeds, implements and manures, as well as for realizing a fair price for the produce." The district workers have to put in very hard work to introduce any improvement, and to make it popular they have to keep on hammering at it for years together. The task of these workers is very difficult and only too often thankless. A new system has been introduced in Bombay for the organisation of district work. Divisional boards with non-official representation have been constituted. They control the propaganda activities of both the Agricultural and Co-operative Departments. If this system works satisfactorily in the Bombay Presidency it may be extended to other Presidencies.

Since the reorganization of the Agricultural Department in 1905-06 the educational aspect has been given a prominent place in its activities. Although people have not yet fully understood the value of Agricultural Education, yet it is now more popular than it was some years ago. Many of the institutions for higher agricultural education are showing a tendency towards affiliation with the local universities, which is a welcome sign. At present, in the whole of India, there are two Colleges affiliated to universities. There are four more colleges which might before long follow the example of the first two and get affiliated to universities. There are also

four high schools and twelve vernacular schools for agricultural education.

From the report on the co-operative movement affecting agriculture, it seems that cattle-breeding, cattle insurance, and dairy societies have failed to make any progress, but societies established for such purposes as irrigation (in Bengal), consolidation of holdings and silt clearance (in the Punjab), indicate lines on which co-operative efforts may be used to great advantage. The total number of credit and non-credit societies is increasing steadily. Among the special types of co-operative societies are those for the sale of cotton. There are 13 such societies in the Bombay Presidency. The experience gained shows that small societies are useless, and an attempt to replace the dalals in large societies is not successful. Large societies have become attractive to large buyers and have proved to be very useful. These sale societies have also been the means of the supply of seed of selected varieties.

S.

### THE WORLD OUTSIDE.

#### *Land Nationalization in England.*

THE Bill to be introduced in Parliament by Mr. Philip Snowden for the nationalization of land in Great Britain has just been published. It provides for the expropriation of all private freehold rights in land and for their transfer to a "Ministry of Land"; owners to be compensated by 5% National Land Stock, redeemable after 30 years through the provision of a sinking fund. It goes without saying that there is no chance whatsoever of such a Bill passing the present Parliament: it is however equally certain that this or a similar law is bound to be enacted, if not in this, then in the next British Parliament. Gradually the old principle of "no rights without functions" is coming into its own again and its application in England is sure to begin with the rights of the landowners. For nowhere is it so patent as on the land that he who works hardest, gets least reward; whilst the one who gets most, gets it, not for any function he discharges, but for the prudence displayed by him in the selection of his parents. It needs no gift of prophecy to foretell the shrieks with which the promulgation of any such law would be greeted by an inspired press whether in England or—we may add—in India, in both of which countries the zamindar system has hitherto been able to maintain itself in almost its integrity to our very days.

#### *The New Peasant States.*

Is it superfluous to add, that the rest of the world is rapidly passing, if it has not already passed, this old feudalistic stage of capitalism? The whole Continent of Europe is rapidly being turned into a series of Peasant States, and in the cutting up of the large domains of territorial magnates there is unanimity between the Communist Bolsheviks of Russia and the Roman Catholic *Partito Popolare* of Italy. Czechoslovakia is a good instance of a *bourgeois* re-public, where the expropriation process

proceeded in a quiet and orderly, but none the less irresistible manner. By the law of 1921 a State Land Office was charged with cutting up all the big *latifundia* into small holdings and with supervising the working of all tenancy agreements entered into: a process which of course was facilitated by the fact that the big landlords were Germans, whilst the small peasants were Czechs, which reminds one that in the Irish land question also the racial conflict between English landlords and Irish tenants proved so powerful an "accelerator". In Czechoslovakia to-day a tenancy agreement is not extended, if the land is not personally cultivated or if bad use is made of the land or if the method of cultivation impairs the fertility of the soil; and the amount of rent is fixed annually on the basis of average prices. Latvia is another State, whose birth was signalized by an extensive agrarian reform, consisting in the confiscation and parcelling out of the large estates; and it is characteristic of the prevailing "land hunger" that the Land Committee in charge of this reform has had no less than 120,000 applications for small-holdings.

*Russian Land Policies.*

IN Russia before the Revolution much of the land belonged to village communes; *i. e.* the individual peasant family had only temporary use of its land—the total village area being periodically redistributed amongst the members of the commune. Much of Russia's agricultural inefficiency was due to this vicious system which penalized permanent improvements. To meet it, one of the last Tsar's ministers, Stolypin, made it lawful for an individual family to withdraw from the commune at the time of repartition and compelled the commune in that case to assign in perpetuity to the family in question its share in the land in a single and separate piece of land. The Soviet, it is interesting to find, has been forced to go back to this principle. On coming into power, they abolished (by the law of February 1918) all private rights in land altogether, reducing the whole agricultural population to the status of State employees, who were only allowed to keep of their produce enough to meet their personal requirements, whilst the balance became the property of the State. This policy broke down completely and was succeeded in 1919 by one based on the ideal of "group agriculture," which still refused to recognize individual rights in land, but at least substituted the private use of land by collective groups for the rigid nationalization of all land which had been previously attempted. But even this second policy proved a failure and the Soviet Government had last year to revert to the Stolypin laws, which of course spell the end of "group agriculture." At present therefore, although all land is still Government property, its usufruct is guaranteed to the small-holder cultivating it and, although inequality in land possession is strictly guarded against (all big landed estates

have of course long since been cut up amongst the peasantry), the Russian smallholder is now individually guaranteed in his holding in the most approved anti-communist style.

BUT the break-up of the great estates *Land Systems and Productivity.* is not restricted to Russia, Italy, Ireland, Latvia and Czechoslovakia. We have referred to these cases by way of illustration but the same process goes on in Estonia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, &c.—even in Mexico, as we have had occasion to point out in previous issues. An interesting result of this land parcelling has been a decrease in the exportable surplus of agricultural produce. This fact has of course been avidly exploited by capitalist writers as pointing to the higher economic efficiency of the zemindar system—when it must be obvious (at least in India, where the cultivator lives permanently 20% below the standard of full rations) that the first result of smallholding will naturally be that the smallholder, for the first time master of all that he produces, will retain for his own consumption so much more than he retained formerly, as normal consumption exceeds his former under-consumption. Eastern Europe is now said to export but 5% of the former quantity of agricultural produce: but, even quite apart from the state of civil and foreign wars which would have affected adversely any form of land-ownership, this fact surely proves at least as much the underfeeding of the agricultural labourer under the landlord system, as the economic wastefulness of the smallholding system. On our own part we would not minimize by any means the latter tendency, but we do maintain the pre-eminence of the factor of previous underfeeding and in it see the best proof for the necessity of expropriating all landlords.

*The Free Will Factor.*

NOT as if we were in love with the rigidly individualistic peasant system, such as can be seen at its worst (or best) in France—with all its anti-social tendencies, its obstinacies and limitations, its selfishness, pettiness and coarseness. For ourselves we certainly would give the palm to the "group system," provided its co-operation is voluntary—for only thus will the best results be possible. But before voluntary co-operation can become a reality, individual ownership must have been lawful and it would almost seem as if man had to pass through this individualistic stage, before he is ripe for that of voluntary co-operation. The growth of co-operation in Irish and Danish agriculture is too well-known, to need more than an allusion here but the fact remains, that the very nature of all such co-operation in agriculture depends on the freedom of the individual small-holder to do as he pleases. Education and education alone can make him choose the voluntary self-limitation inherent in all co-operative effort; legislation and repres-

sive measures alone are bound to fail, because no external means can make a man put forth his best.

Educate! Educate!  
Educate! Educate!

HENCE the failure of the Soviet policies; hence the stupendous difficulties that face all land reformers. The Mexican "peon" after centuries of virtual serfdom for instance does not want to be independent or to assume responsibility and still wants a master to lean on, though the Obregon Government has abolished the debt slavery of the peon in all its forms. But the peon has no aspirations and hardly any wants; and "it is a commonplace that if you double his wages, the Mexican labourer will work for you only half as many days", says Prof. E. A. Ross in a thoughtful article on "Land Feudalism in Mexico" in the *New Republic* of March 28th, and that if you house him decently, he will use doors and windows for firewood and reduce the cottage to the state of the brush huts to which he is accustomed. What immediate results can one therefore expect from the cutting up of the *Haciendas* (the big estates) of Mexico? Yet Prof. Ross agrees that "the thing to do is to get the land into the hands of those who cultivate it" but he would put his faith "not in the peons, but in their children." And thus we repeat that education and nothing but education is the real crux of the matter: for only suitable education can break up the old mentality of apathy and imbue all men, everywhere, with new hopes, new outlooks and new ideals.

### MISCELLANEA.

#### INDIANS IN AUSTRALIA.

DR. R. W. HOENABROOK writes in the *New Age* of April 5 as follows:—

The great cry of governing bodies throughout the Empire is that the whole foundation of the Empire is one of justice for all members of the Empire within the Empire. This is apparently merely the talk of hypocrisy, and we say it with our tongue in our cheek. The time to remedy the injustice done to British Indian subjects domiciled in our midst was at the time of Mr. Sastri's visit to Australia last summer. A measure could have been brought forward and carried without trouble, but instead of doing this, Mr. Hughes hedged and said that the time was not opportune: "I am afraid Mr. Charlton (Labour leader) and Dr. Earle Page (Country party) will make a party question of it and the Government may be defeated." In other words, Mr. Hughes had so small an opinion of his fellow-members that he thought they could not perform an act of justice.

It would be well for the Empire to remember that in 1899 the claim of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal for the franchise has less justice to support it than the present request of British Indian subjects already domiciled in the Commonwealth for full citizenship rights, especially in view of the admissions made at the Imperial Conference of 1918 and 1921.

The demand of the Uitlanders was made one of the great issues against the South African Republic, and cost the Empire many millions in treasure and thousands of noble lives.

As far as the Transvaal was concerned, the Uitlanders were really foreigners in the country, and we were not call-

upon to take up arms in its defence and maintain its integrity, whereas India has for generations fought for the Empire and her sons served alongside ours during the late War.

Australia, by her inaction, has considerably embarrassed the work of Lord Reading, the Viceroy, and played straight into the hands of the disloyalist section in India. "Why remain in an Empire in which it is impossible to obtain justice?" This is a question which is being asked seriously in India to-day, and I honestly think that many of those who are asking it are justified in so doing. But India does not really desire to leave the Empire. She will only do so if forced to by acts of injustice committed towards her by us. India knows perfectly well that it is to her interest and to the interest of the Empire that she remains as an integral portion of the Empire. But rather than continue to put up with what she honestly considers acts of injustice and breaking of faith towards her she will leave it, even though it means chaos for herself, and she knows this. It is absolutely impossible for us to-day to hold over three hundred millions of people within the Empire should they decide to break away. *Force cannot do it, not to-day anyway, though might have had some effect twenty-five years ago; but gratitude can, and we can obtain India's everlasting gratitude by giving her a square deal and justice where she is fully entitled to it.* There is not one British Indian subject domiciled within the Australian Commonwealth who is not on the ground of justice as fully entitled to the full rights of citizenship as an Empire subject as any member of the Commonwealth Parliament, or any citizen of the country, and certainly he is more entitled to it than are naturalised aliens. Australia has not only not performed a just act, but by her inaction she has considerably endangered her "White Australia" of which she is always talking, for she has inserted the thin edge of the wedge of disruption of the Empire by her action in assisting the disloyalist cause in India. Should India be driven from the Empire (a quite possible contingency if we go on as we are going) then our lines of communication with Europe will at once be cut and we shall lose our naval base at Singapore. For the unrest in the East is not merely confined to India, and with the loss of Singapore and India our White Australia policy will not be worth a damn. So that, at the present time, Australia is weaving a rope for her own neck.

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