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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Rhabdomantics. THE discussion on dowsing in the Bombay Legislative Council last week was characterized by almost complete absence of all logic. First of all speakers failed to distinguish between divine (i. e. supernatural) powers and magical (i. e. preter-natural) powers; and all just because the English synonym for dowsing is "water *divining*." In the second place few seemed to be quite clear, as to whether dowsing is a preternatural or merely an obscure natural phenomenon. Preternatural we call for instance the case of an ass speaking Hebrew, as Balaam's did—it being beside the nature of an ass to speak at all. But dowsing is nothing preternatural at all: it having been amply established that quite a number of human beings have the faculty of sensing, in some as yet obscure way, the presence of subterranean water and metals under their feet. The method employed is usually the holding of a forked hazel twig, or of a withy or other rod, by the dowser, who, when above the hidden water &c., sub-consciously (i. e. without knowing it or thinking about it) receives an impression which leads to a motor automatism on his part and a consequent twitching of the twig or rod held by him. Whether the impression is that of the vibration set up by water running underground transmitted to a particularly sensitive diaphragm, or whether a natural explanation must be looked for elsewhere: the fact of the phenomenon being quite natural is no longer seriously doubted.

H. M.'s Dowser. BUT having cleared the ground on dowsing in general, there yet remains to consider the propriety of engaging Major Pogson as H. M. the King-Emperor's Dowser in Bombay Presidency; and of engaging him at an

outlay of something like Rs. 40,000 *per annum*. To begin with, it is agreed that water-finding *via* a dowser is not guaranteed. Dowsers are liable to error; all dowsers are; and Major Pogson evidently is no exception, since out of ten places indicated by him in Ahmedabad district only six were found to contain water. Now in the debate not a few of the speakers urged that there was plenty of native talent in the water-dowsing line to be had in this country at about Rs. 5 a piece. We believe these would be glad to serve the State on about Rs 50 a month. Now we have no objection to the engagement of a dowser on a sixty-fold pay, provided his efficiency is also sixty-fold. But is that so? As to *prima facie* aptitude, we gather from so unimpeachable a source as the Encyclopaedia Britannica (vol. 8, p. 334), that "the best dowsers are said to have been generally more or less illiterate men, usually engaged in some humble vocation"—i. e. people, whose instinct for sensing water underfoot has not been sicklied o'er by thought. The choice for such work of a major in the British Army does therefore not sound very promising from a scientific point of view; but from no point of view can it be defended, unless a superiority in efficiency of 60 to 1 is guaranteed. Nothing of the sort, however, is guaranteed: only a Rs. 40,000 is guaranteed to Major Pogson. Why was he not engaged to be paid by results?

* * *

Women Students
and Allahabad
University.

THE Executive Council of the Allahabad University, which some days ago passed a resolution—in the interests of the Crosthwaite Girls' College—prohibiting girl students from attending Senior B. A. Classes in men's colleges except with the permission of the Vice-Chancellor, has refused to reconsider that resolution. It has, however, requested the Vice-Chancellor, who had refused to exercise the discretion vested in him, to consider favourably the applications of those girls who have already studied for a year at the University to continue there. The injustice that had been done to particular students has thus been removed, but the general prohibition and the extraordinary power of discretion vested in the Vice-Chancellor continue, for which we can see no justification whatever. The legality of the resolution is questioned in responsible quarters; but that apart, it appears to us that the Executive Council has taken upon itself a burden that did not belong to it, in thus pronouncing itself against co-education. Since our universities are not residential, co-education

tion here has not the same import as it has in Western universities. Still, it is the parent and not others who should decide whether his daughter should attend or not a college intended for men. The Vice-Chancellor and the Executive Council of the Allahabad University appear to have got rather suddenly horrified at the idea of girls sitting in the same class-room as boys. If in their purdah-ridden province they have not sufficient opportunity to study the effect of so-called co-education, we earnestly invite those estimable elders to visit colleges in this part of the country, particularly in Poona and Bombay, and see for themselves how imaginary all their fears are and what a healthy diminution of sex-consciousness in both boys and girls has resulted from their attending the same classes.

* * *

THERE cannot be a more appropriate memorial to the late Sir Vithaldas Thackersey than a building to house the Central Co-operative Institute. With many calls on his time he yet gave unstinted attention to the promotion of co-operative societies in Bombay Presidency. Not only was he a founder and pillar of the Provincial Bank and of the Institute, but he also maintained a large number of night schools for the illiterate members of rural societies and had immense faith in the all-round uplifting character of co-operation. To have a building for the Institute, a "temple of co-operation" as it is aptly called, was Sir Vithaldas's own idea and he was collecting funds for it when his brilliant career was cut short. The memorial committee therefore did the right thing in spending their collections on a building for the Institute, which His Excellency opened the other day. But the building has cost much more than the memorial committee has been able to collect, with the result that the Institute is burdened with a heavy debt. We join in the appeal that has been made to Sir Vithaldas's friends and admirers and to co-operative societies, to see that this debt is paid off and the temple of co-operation unencumbered. Many a little makes a mickle: if every society sets apart a portion of its profits for two or three years, a large part of the debt would be cleared; and the rest might be found by the friends and admirers of the great co-operator.

* * *

C. P. Swarajists. BEING unable to agree among themselves, the C. P. and Berar Swarajists have once more decided not to accept office. Principles or party interests have not been urged as the reason. The Berar Swarajists are indeed willing but they see no chance of a stable Ministry and have therefore declined office. It is believed that H. E. Sir Montagu Butler will not follow the example of the Bengal Government but will dissolve the Council and cause new elections to be held in December. This is the right course and we are glad that it is likely to be followed. This is the course favoured by non-Swarajists, who at the recent voters' conference recommended it unanimously. That conference was indeed called to liberate the Swara-

jists from their election promise of non-co-operation and in the beginning had their approval, though later on the Swarajists changed their attitude owing to Mr. Das's death. Its opinion may therefore be considered fairly representative of the people. It is obvious that they are tired of the barrenness of Swarajist policy. If the Council is dissolved the electors will either force a new policy on Swarajists or vote for others. In either case the result will be welcome.

* * *

Mosul. THE Turco-Iraqi Boundary Commission, appointed by the League of Nations at the instance of England and Turkey has published its report. Stripped of all diplomatic verbiage the gist of the report amounts to this that the Mosul District as a whole must either be under British or under Turkish control, and that in the Commission's opinion it would be better for the country to remain under British Control. And further there are two plans that the Commissioners reject completely: tinkering with the present frontier by a few "rectifications" here or there; and handing over Mosul to an "independent" Iraq. The Commissioners certainly deserve praise for having had the courage of the commonsense judgment that the moment England withdraws from Iraq, Turkey will re-occupy Mosul—and perhaps a bit more. It is now for England, or rather for the British taxpayer to say whether they are prepared to shoulder the financial burden of controlling Iraq in perpetuity. The answer would undoubtedly be in the negative, if only Baghdad were not a vital junction in the air-way from London to Karachi. And Baghdad is never secure without Mosul. So that?.....Quite so. But there is just one other factor which our readers will do well to bear in mind. We mean Sultan Ibn Saud. In our issue of April 30th we gave a full description of the forces at work in Arabia today. Since then the Haj season has intervened and suspended hostilities. But the moment the last pilgrim left Rabigh, we hear of Ibn Saud resuming the offensive against what is left of the Hashimite Kingdom and every probability points to Sultan Ibn Saud's ultimate success. But once his sway extends over the whole Red Sea coast from Akaba to Asir, what "new worlds to conquer" is he likely to turn to? An "independent" Iraq for an absolute certainty and perhaps even a dependent one.

* * *

Mr. Macawber Baldwin. THE payment of £ 10 millions to the British mine-owners is surely the most damning evidence against the still prevailing system of running these mines as private concerns, that has yet been forthcoming. The Court of Enquiry has fully vindicated the miners' claim that further reduction of wages would mean their sinking below the subsistence level. On the other hand the owners are incurring losses and cannot carry on, they say, without reducing wages. The Government cannot risk sending the whole of its mine workers to slow starvation: it can as little risk interfering with the sacrosanct private property

of the mine-owners—so Mr. Baldwin calls upon the taxpayers at large to present £ 10,000,000 to these mine-owners, in order that these mine-owners may pass on the said sum to the miners! What a fit subject for a circumlocution department—and all just because a Tory Government must not seem to be paying the wages direct to the workers, who must remain private employers at whatever cost. For the principle of private ownership is at stake—that principle which alone is supposed to be able to provide an adequate incentive for the *efficient* working of industry. Efficient—ye gods and little fishes! When since the days of the Sankey Commission it is a commonplace that the British Mine Industry is radically, hopelessly, incredibly inefficient just because it happens to be run merely for the profit of one little group of private owners here and another one next door and others elsewhere. There is no scientific management for the whole industry, there is no policy for the whole country, there is overlapping of general charges, incapacity to incur capital expenditure for installing more up-to-date methods, there is muddling through from top to bottom. And so the industry has got stuck in the mud, as it necessarily would under these circumstances. But instead of saying—Let us clear up the mess, let us get a national policy, run the paying pits on the best scientific lines, close down the unremunerative pits and get rid of all this contradictory multiple ownership—all that an honest non-Socialist like Mr. Baldwin can think of, is to ask the nation to keep the muddle going for another six months, in the Micawber-like hope of something turning up. What other alternative does remain in the end, but the nationalization of the mines? Fuming vaguely and in impotent rage about “anarchical elements in the country” certainly does not prove the existence of another alternative, but only of one’s own—bad temper.

Suicide rate on Malay Estates.

IT will be remembered that when Mr. C. F. Andrews visited Malaya last year in July he had the opportunity of meeting the Planters’ Association, on whom he urged: (1) the need for abandoning recruitment of labour through Kanganis, (2) the defects of accommodation and lack of sanitary and hospital facilities on board the emigration ships and (3) the high rate of suicide among Indian labourers on the estates. It would appear these matters are receiving attention in Malaya and in respect of arrangements on ships we are glad to learn that from the middle of 1926 a new type of ship will be employed in which hospital, latrine and bathing accommodation and arrangements for the privacy of female passengers &c., will be all quite satisfactory. Regarding suicide Mr. Andrews’s position is challenged. Speaking without actual figures, he gave it as his impression that the suicide rate on the Malay estates was about six times as heavy as in India. The Controller of Labour, Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, has examined this statement in the light of statistics for the last ten years

and finds no justification for it. According to him the suicide rate among Indians per mille per annum in Malaya during the last ten years was .099 and in 1923 it was .1. This he compares with the figures obtained for a “typical district in the Madras Presidency,” viz., Coimbatore, where according to him the corresponding rate in 1923 was .067. We find, however, the Controller’s figures both inaccurate and misleading. His information is that Coimbatore is a “typical” district and that in 1923 it had 148 suicides for a population of 2,200,000. We do not know where he got his figures from, but we do know from Table VI appended to the Report of the Sanitary Commissioner, Madras, for 1923 (pp. 68-74) that the total number of suicides in Coimbatore district in 1923 was 91 and not 148. Moreover, far from being typical, Coimbatore happens to have had the largest number of suicides in the whole of the Presidency in that year. What would be fair is to compare the rate in Malaya with the rate in the whole of Madras Presidency. The latter had 1261 cases of suicide in 1923 in a population of 41 millions, against 46 cases in Malaya in the same year in an Indian population of less than 460,000. In other words the suicide rate in Madras was .03 per mille while in Malaya it was .1. The rate in Malaya thus is more than 3 times higher than in Madras. This is for the whole Indian population in Malaya. Mr. Andrews, however, was thinking only of the Indian population on the estates, among whom the suicides mostly occur, and who form only about half the Indian population in Malaya. Taking them only, Mr. Andrews’s statement seems to be quite correct.

India and British Foreign Policy.

MR. JOHN SCURR, M. P. writing in the current issue of the “Socialist Review”, of which he is the editor, says that the pivot on which the British foreign policy turns “is the retention of India as the foundation of the British Empire, and every diplomatic and military manoeuvre of our rulers is directed towards this end.” Sometimes honeyed accents and kid-glove methods prevail. But in its objective it remains the same, no matter what the political complexion of the ministry. The policy never alters. Its ‘continuity’ is sacrosanct. Mr. Scurr’s thesis is that India alone dominates the foreign policy of Great Britain. The water and land routes to India have been dyed red on either side to safeguard the passage to India; the Cape route as an alternative route to India was used as an argument to suppress the Boer Republics of South Africa; Egypt’s loss of liberty is accounted for by the fact that she is on the Suez route to India. While India undoubtedly is a very great force, it is possible to under-estimate other forces and motives in the British foreign policy and diplomacy. The method of imperial expansion had never any sanction except the right of conquest. The imperialist marches over the graves of other nations’ freedom and each step provides the urge and the sanction for the next. Theory has always followed the system. First ‘the sharp edge of the sword’ for selfish purposes, next the sheath of ‘composition of differences’ to cover it:

SIR SURENDRANATH BANERJEA.

BY THE Rt. Hon'ble V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

ONCE again we are in mourning. This time it is for one of the greatest sons of India. The late Sir Surendranath was a giant among men and held his ground for fifty years. The mere length of his public record is sufficient to inspire the pigmies with awe. In an age of sensations and unbalanced hero-worship his passing away has not stirred the nation as it should have. Political values have changed; our notions are topsy-turvy today. Real distinction and mere notoriety, lasting service and cheap vaporous flash, greatness and littleness mounted on stilts—modern India does not know the one from the other.

Even if the political distemper were not so acute, the popularity of Sir Surendranath would have suffered partial eclipse. He survived his early friendships, the struggles of his maturity and many of the causes to which he dedicated his uncommon powers. To read his first pleas for the liberties of India and then the noisy fustian and rhodomontade of the typical Swarajist of to-day is to pass from the period of sound thought and noble speech to that of unreason and mad screams. Then men studied hard, laboured for tangible aims, always appealed to the teachings of history and experience and never disdained concessions because they were small, or powers because they were subject to safeguards. Not losing sight of the ultimate, they were content to build slow so they built solid, and rejoiced to see the temple of freedom rising on secure foundations. Of these early builders Sir Surendranath was among the most industrious and skilful.

In the long roll of Indian patriots there is hardly a name so large and conspicuous as his. A few shone more brilliantly and with purer lustre, but none excelled him in magnitude or spread of illumination. In stately periods and glittering phrases he formulated the ideal of Indian nationality and taught the full meaning and scope of Indian patriotism. Thousands and tens of thousands of young men all over the country had their first enthusiasm kindled to fervour by the matchless eloquence with which he popularised in this country the story of the liberation of Italy and the great parts played therein by Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour. Surendranath was the morning star that heralded the dawn of our public life.

It is remarkable how the hope which he so surely imparted to others in the seventies of the last century remained undimmed in his breast to his dying day. The buoyancy of his spirits was indeed a divine gift. However dark the cloud overhead might be, his voice was as loud and resonant and his message as rousing as ever. Other Congress leaders might yield to despair and point with shaking finger to dangers ahead; but as soon as the well-known hero of Bengal made his appearance on the platform, the audience forgot its fear and was borne aloft on the wing of faith and courage. In the darkest hour of the partition agitation, when his own liberty was in peril, he still bade his follow-

ers be of good cheer and never talk of their province except as united Bengal. His speeches too in the conferences of moderates of 1918 and after, when non-co-operation swept over the country like a hurricane, uprooting and desolating, were always marked by a firm faith that Providence would somehow or other crown this holy land with the blessings of freedom and prosperity. He had no misgivings whether as to our policy in the main or as to our pursuance of it in detail. We were perpetually in the right. For our difficulties he had no ingenious devices. His mind worked quickly, but not long or strenuously. His solutions were simple and more or less obvious. Deep-laid plans, elaborate schemes, shrewd anticipations were beyond him. He knew no anxious vigils, no protracted consultations. He sacrificed neither meal nor sleep. Disappointment and defeat could neither daunt his spirits nor alter his course. He took whatever came in the spirit of trustfulness and marched on.

For one who dealt continuously with big affairs and met men of different types, he was almost without guile or suspicion. People could get round him easily. He was susceptible to personal attentions, and it used always to be said that he yielded to flattery. In committees he was often betrayed by his responsive and unsuspecting disposition into accepting compromises, in which he gave much more than he got. He had not the penetration which saw through the adversary. So long as business was done, he did not discriminate nicely between one way of doing it and another. In fact he took suggestions from old and young alike and was never so determined but you could try and shake him. Whenever he was too far committed, you were not annoyed with him, but with the fellow who had been before you and managed him. It was this openness, this accessibility, as it were, which made the young love and adore him. By this quality he easily outshone his compeers from other provinces. In fact at the annual sessions of the Congress he mixed with the common herd of delegates from his province and never stipulated for separate lodgings with a good cuisine and first class upholstery. It was a common saying that Bengal was the province in which democracy reigned supreme.

Among his contemporaries, that is to say, till some ten or fifteen years ago, his reputation was that of a man able but not skilful, learned but not profound, keen but not subtle. His most thoughtful utterances, forcible though they were in form, dwelt on the well-known and obvious features of questions. He never laid bare what was hidden, never unravelled the knotty parts of a case. His ideas though copious and varied, seldom touched the abstruse. He seemed to lack sophistication. Praise he swallowed greedily. He loved to say that he was exceeding his time in order that the audience might shout "go on, go on." When there was tumult and uproar, he was glad to be appealed to by the President as the one man who could restore order. Who but a natural and simple-hearted man, would give his autobiography the title of "A Nation

publishing a book on Indian music, and whose husband is just closing an exhibition of his paintings in Bond Street. Among the resolutions carried unanimously was one calling for the amendment of the Government of India Act, 1919, so that women may be made eligible for election or nomination to the Indian Legislature or the provincial Councils by resolutions to that effect in those bodies.

THE MONKEY TRIAL.

So Mr. Scopes has been found guilty by the Judge at Dayton of a breach of the State law for having taught that man is descended from the lower order of animals. An appeal to the State Supreme Court is noted and will, it is stated, be heard in September. If he has been rightly convicted, one wonders what public opinion has come to in America where such laws as Mr. Scopes is declared to have contravened, are tolerated. No wonder that a large body of French scientists have protested against the conviction as being a substantial denial of freedom of thought on matters of science, with which theology as such is not concerned. Mr. Bryan did, what would, of course, not be permitted in a Court where British procedure was followed. Not only was he the prosecuting counsel, but he actually gave evidence, which the trial Judge has ordered to be expunged, not on the well-known ground that counsel ought not to give evidence for his client, but solely because it was irrelevant. It is interesting to note exactly the nature of the evidence given by Mr. Bryan, in these days of the twentieth century, and to remember that, but for the views of a majority of his countrymen, he might have been on more than one occasion President of the United States. He declared that he sought to "defend the Word of God against the greatest Agnostic in the United States." Replying to leading questions, he told Mr. Darrow, who led for the defence, that he believed that Eve was made from one of Adam's ribs, that the snake crawls on its belly because it tempted Eve, that the Flood destroyed all mankind and the animals outside the Ark, and that God could make fish big enough to swallow Jonah. It is all very wonderful, but it makes one gasp to think that the affairs of men in these days may be placed in the hands of unashamed literalists like Mr. Bryan, whose views would be ridiculed any day by such well-known Anglican divines as Bishop Barnes of Birmingham, Bishop Temple of Manchester, and Dean Inge. And not content with this, Mr. Bryan has even threatened, in case of need, to have the Bible, in its every word, written into the American Constitution. By way of contrast with this solemn foolery may be put the light foolery of a comic paper here which makes Uncle Sam face up to a big baboon, the cartoon being headed, in parody of a well-known philosophical saying, "Sam know thyself!"

LORD READING'S RETURN.

Lord and Lady Reading left to-day on their return to India where the former resumes the Viceroyship. In all likelihood he will receive an extension of office. He looks very fit notwithstanding a somewhat arduous time here. A large crowd of friends

and associates saw him off at Victoria Station to-day, including the Prime Minister, Lord Birkenhead, Sir Alfred Mond, Sir Robert Horne, Mr. Lloyd George, Sir John Simon, Lord Winterton, and a number of the members of the Council of India. The rumour that has found currency in some quarters in India that His Majesty contemplates a visit to India next year finds no confirmation here and it is very unlikely.

MR. JOSHI AND OTHERS.

Mr. Joshi, who was a greatly interested listener to the debate in the House of Commons last week, and of whom nice things were said by more than one speaker, has been busy pressing for a larger representation, by election, of labour in the various legislatures in India. It is possible that his efforts will have some success. He has discussed the matter, it is believed, with Lord Reading and Lord Winterton. He will also be a delegate, next week, to the British Empire Labour Conference, as will Mr. Chaman Lal. When the discussion comes up on the position of Indian workers in the Colonies and Dominions, it is probable that they will have the assistance of Mr. Polak, the Hon. Secretary of the Indians Overseas Association. It is a great misfortune that, at this juncture, the services of Mr. C. F. Andrews are not available here. Mr. Joshi and Mr. Polak will be two of the speakers, on some aspects of the Indian situation, at the forthcoming Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation at Kipling Hall, near Northallerton. Mr. Goswami has already left on his return to India, Mr. Satyamurti is engaged on a lecturing tour in the north.

INDIAN STALL-HOLDERS AT THE EXHIBITION.

The Indian stall-holders at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley have been complaining seriously of the fact that goods not made in the Empire are being sold in the Indian Pavilion and of the competition they have to face from machine made non-Indian goods sold there. Mr. Lansbury in Parliament has asked that some part at least of the Pavilion should be set aside where the public could be assured that only Indian-made goods were on sale. Mr. Samuel, on behalf of the Department of Overseas Trade, said that the suggestions had been already forwarded to the Exhibition authorities, and that where there had been actual proof that the goods should not have been in the building for sale, they had been withdrawn.

REVIEWS.

THE IRISH CONSTITUTION.

STUDIES IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE IRISH FREE STATE. By J. G. SWIFT MACNEILL. (The Talbot Press, Dublin.) 1925. pp. xxiii + 244. 12s. 6d.

THE author of this book is held in high esteem by Indians as one who, before he was translated to the bench, interested himself, in the House of Commons, in the question of the extortion of confessions in India by the use of torture. His exposition of the

British Constitution, too, is well-known in this country to students of constitutional law and usage, but the present work, in which the text of the Irish Free State's Constitution of 1922 with detailed commentary on every article is given, will appeal even more powerfully to Indian politicians, intent on framing a Swaraj constitution for India, inasmuch as the Irish Constitution embodies the latest developments of the parliamentary system of government based on the prototype of the British Constitution. The book will be an invaluable guide to those who would take an intelligent part in the discussions that are now afoot on India's line of advance to dominion home rule, particularly because it is interspersed with very useful quotations from authorities on constitutional morality like Freeman, Bagehot, Anson, Jenkyns and Dicey.

The first article of the Irish Constitution declares that "the Irish Free State is a co-equal member of the community of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations:" which, interpreted, means that, by virtue of this Constitution, Ireland enjoys not only complete freedom in her domestic affairs, but a right to participate, on a footing of equality with Great Britain and other members of the Empire, in the control of the Empire's external affairs. Ireland, however, is not content with the voice in the determination of foreign policy which belongs to her because of her admission into the British Commonwealth of Nations; but by a later article she expressly reserves to herself the right of refusing her help in any war which may be decided upon against her wishes. § 49 says that "save in the case of actual invasion, the Irish Free State shall not be committed to active participation in any war without the assent of (the Irish) Parliament." What will particularly interest Indian readers of this book is the extract given therein from a speech which Mr. Bonar Law made as Prime Minister in the House of Commons on March 30, 1920, stating in the most explicit terms that dominion status necessarily involves the right of Dominions to secede from the Empire at will. Such an authoritative interpretation of the scope of dominion home rule should certainly render the embittered controversy that raises its head now and then in Indian political circles quite unnecessary: "Within or without the Empire?" The statement has such an important bearing on current politics in this country that it may be worth while to reproduce it here. "There is not a man in the House," said the Premier, "who would not admit that the connection of the Dominions with the Empire depends upon themselves. If the self-governing Dominions, Australia, Canada, chose to-morrow to say, 'We will no longer make a part of the British Empire' we should not try to force them. *Dominion home rule means the right to decide for themselves.*"

Article 2 declares, as is usual in all modern Constitutions, that "all powers of government and all authority, legislative, executive and judicial, are derived from the people." Compare with this the very first article of the Constitutional Charter of

Czechoslovakia, that "the people are the sole source of all State power in the Czechoslovak Republic." In these constitutions the people are not merely the ultimate holders of sovereign power and do not simply control the determination of policies indirectly through the medium of their deputies in the Legislature, but often directly and immediately by means of referendum and popular initiative, for which provision is made.

§ 26 provides that there shall be in the lower House of Parliament, Dàil Eireann, not less than one member for each 30,000 of the population, which rule, if extended to India, would require the number of elected members in the provincial Legislatures to be in the neighbourhood of 10,000 (whereas the present number of members is 717)! It is provided in the Irish Constitution that at least one session of Parliament be held every year. A yearly Parliamentary session is secured in the British Constitution by the necessity of the appropriation of supplies and the passage of the Army Act. Next follows a difference of substance. Both the place and the date of the meeting of Parliament are fixed, under the Irish Constitution, by Parliament itself, which is an innovation on the British constitutional practice and a limitation on the prerogative of the Crown. How long Parliament will continue to sit and how long it will stand prorogued are matters to be determined by Parliament itself. Dàil Eireann, the Chamber of Deputies, can be dissolved only on the advice of the Cabinet, which is called the Executive Council in the Constitution of the Irish Free State, but it is provided that "Parliament shall not be dissolved on the advice of an Executive Council which has ceased to retain the support of a majority in Dàil Eireann." The latter provision is regarded by the author as "the most momentous departure from the practice of the British conventional Constitution and makes the relation of Dàil Eireann to the Executive Council to the very fullest extent of the relation of master to servant." This point cannot be elaborated at greater length here.

As to the reciprocal relations of the two Chambers of the Legislature, the Senate, as the upper House is called, though wholly elected, is not a body of equal powers with the Dàil, but is a body vested with the right of being consulted and with the very limited power of suspending for a prescribed period the application of measures passed by the Dàil. A most important, if novel, provision is made in § 38 for informal conversations between the two Houses, with a view to the exploring of possible avenues leading to a mutual agreement, for it is provided that "when a Bill other than a Money Bill has been sent to Seanad Eireann (the Senate), a joint sitting of the members of both Houses may on a resolution passed by Seanad Eireann be convened for the purpose of debating, but not of voting upon, the proposals of the Bill or any amendment of the same." In this provision exception is made against a Money Bill, for, unlike the British Constitution, the Irish Free State Constitution provides for Money Bills

in Making"? He had no prudish reserve and, what is more remarkable, no moods of self-accusation or undue diffidence. A reader of his book would doubt whether he had any regrets such as come to the old when they remember what they had done which might have been omitted and what they had omitted which ought to have been done. There are few so lucky but must recall opportunities wasted and energies misspent. Supposing Sir Surendranath commenced his life's journey again, would his course have been just the same? Yet that is the implication of his book.

Of his inner life, that which one calls one's own, we do not know anything. Whether philosophy solved the riddle of life for him, what consolations religion afforded him, how he prayed and sought communion with the Eternal Spirit—must remain a mystery to those who were not privileged to enjoy his intimacy at home. Some men are like deep-sea creatures, live within their own mysterious selves, and come out only to take the air. Surendra lay careless on the beach the whole time, in full view of sky, water and land, living by the law of his being for all men to see. There were no "immutable fixities" about him, if we forget the inviolate routine of his secular life, no devouring attachments, no lasting resentments. He could bandy gay compliments with the official who had once insulted him. He could take office cheerfully under a Governor whom he had condemned and repudiated in advance. He could accept a knighthood after having been for forty years acclaimed as the king of Bengal, the tribune of the people, and one whose very name excluded the idea of surrender. Though balked of his early ambitions by the action of British authorities, he preserved to the end what he used to call the traditional and instinctive loyalty of the Indian people, and even while his immediate friends and followers forswore their first faith, kept on avowing and preaching an unquenchable belief in the essential justice and generosity of the heart of England. He lived long and died quickly—commanding excellent health and spirits, never letting his faculties rust, taking with both hands what the day brought him, and neither brooding uneasily on the past nor dreaming vaguely and wistfully of the future. His Calcutta Municipal Act, of which he was excessively proud as of the child of his dotage, will ere long be superseded. His paper and his college may soon join the undistinguished rank, each of its kind. Even his marvellous oratory, with its grand roll and ornate diction, may become a literary curiosity. But the patriotism, comprehensive, noble and fervid, which he taught will live in the breasts of coming generations, and his example of fearless and unresting work in great public causes will shine as a bright star for ever. And no matter how superior persons may scoff, the great heart of humanity will always love the man who ate well and slept soundly, who laughed heartily and forgave readily, who boasted without pride and quarrelled without malice, who was devoted to his wife and honoured her memory, who laboured

hard and did not think too much of the result, and who, till death claimed him, thought of his country and planned for her welfare.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY AND DELEGATED LEGISLATION.*

THERE was a time when the Parliament was considered to be an omnipotent and omniscient representative assembly. But during the last few decades the legislative monopoly of the Parliament has considerably decayed. Changes in the social conditions of England, enormous expansion of details of business of the House of Commons, demand of expert knowledge which legislation on many subjects requires and which the members of the Parliament do not always possess, are among the causes which have led to a large delegation of legislative powers by the Parliament.

With the widening of the franchise the House of Commons has been brought into contact with larger and larger social and economic interests. The field of legislation has continually expanded with the expansion of franchise. "The demand for government guidance and control in all affairs of life" has grown more and more insistent. Simultaneously with the expansion of the field of legislation by the widening of the franchise, the process of intensive industrialization of the society has gone on. Special trade, manufacturing and social interests have grown up with the grouping of highly specialized knowledge. In matters of legislation which affect special interests the Parliament does not possess the necessary expert knowledge which such legislation demands. In such cases the Parliament has no alternative except delegating some of its legislative powers to those who possess the requisite expert knowledge. If the Parliament has to pass laws concerning 'the tenth part of a pin' it has to a large extent to depend on its manufacturers and those who deal in pins. The Parliament has thus often to frame what has been called 'skeleton legislation,' leaving its detailed application in the hands of the department concerned. Since the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 and the subsequent Franchise Acts, the congestion of business in the House of Commons has been more and more felt and complained of. No less than 16 Select Committees were appointed between 1837 and 1913 to suggest means for better conduct of business of the House.

But while congestion of business, limitation of members and emergency make legislation through secondary law-making bodies inevitable, the method has its dangers. It undermines the responsibility of the mass of members to their constituencies. It makes for indifference on the part of members to re-

* 1. The English Constitution in Transition. By Sir J. A. R. Marriott. (Clarendon Press.) 1924.

2. Delegated Legislation. By Cecil T. Carr. (Cambridge University Press.) 1921.

3. The Case for Federal Devolution By J. A. Murray MacDonald. (P. S. King.) 1920.

4. Authority of the House of Commons. By Hilton Young. (Contemporary Review, July, 1925.)

gard various legislative measures from a national as against a sectional point of view. And, "Contrary to the whole spirit of our Constitution it makes Departments of State intended to be solely administrative in their functions, sources of law which they are themselves to administer. The effect of the practice on the spirit and working of our local administrative authorities is of the worst possible kind. New Provisional Orders, new Orders in Council issuing from this Department and that, pour steadily down upon them. Under this constant flow these authorities become more and more uncertain and confused as to what their powers really are, and friction between them and the central administrative departments grows steadily in extent and intensity. This is the main, if not the sole, source and explanation of the outcry in our time against the increasing bureaucracy of our State Departments." (The Case for Federal Devolution, p. 20.

Against the possible abuse of power by the secondary law-making bodies Mr. Carr suggests five particular safeguards: (1) The delegation of legislative power should be made to a trustworthy authority which commands national confidence. (2) The limits within which the delegated power is to be exercised ought to be definitely laid down. (3) If any particular interests are to be specially affected by delegated legislation the legislating authority should consult them before making its laws. (4) Publicity. (5) Machinery for amending or revoking delegated legislation as required. (Delegated Legislation, Ch. iv.)

The immense increase in the details of the business of the House has resulted in the multiplication of departments. No single Cabinet member can possibly make himself acquainted with the legislative activities of every other department. He must necessarily confine himself to his own department and formulate his own policy and make his own rules. He has to maintain and advance the interests for which he is particularly responsible. The Minister of Mines may have to defend the interests of his department against the Minister of Transport. This is an inroad on Cabinet responsibility. Outside the Cabinet among the members similar changes may be noted. Mr. Hilton Young observes: "We are getting two systems of representation superposed one upon the other. Legally, our representative system is representation by geographical areas, the constituencies. Actually, it is coming to be representation by special economic and social interests, organised into associations. Parliament is ceasing to be the deliberative assembly of one nation with one interest, that of the whole. It is becoming a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests." What is the remedy? "The danger is imminent; and if our experience is to count for anything, then the only effective means of meeting it is devolution (Federal)." (The Case for Federal Devolution, p. 30). But there are other voices. "Real democracy is to be found not in a single omniscient representative assembly but in a system of co-ordinated functional representative bodies." (Social Theory. By G. D. H. Cole p. 207).

J. B. SEN.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, July 23.

QUITE a number of people are asking what is the meaning of Mr. Gandhi's surrender on the question of the Congress franchise, and his undertaking to make the Congress the handmaiden of the Swaraj party, as a result of Mr. Das's death and Lord Birkenhead's recent speech in the House of Lords. Does Mr. Gandhi intend to resume political life, and give up the so-called constructive programme? Or is the constructive programme to become secondary and permissive? What exactly may be predicted of Mr. Gandhi's new move, no one seems to know. Probably he himself has not yet seen his way clear. What does seem probable is that the politicians have finally achieved the victory over the ethicists. Lord Birkenhead, as you will have learnt, has dotted the "i's" and crossed the "t's" of his long speech in another, of shorter duration and devoted to miscellaneous matters, taking care to emphasise that his general view point as to co-operation had received the substantial support of all parties. I believe, however, that some members of the Labour back benches are somewhat critical of the attitude adopted by Col. Wedgwood and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in the debate on the Indian estimates in the Commons last week. They are not, however, likely to cut much ice in the long run. Mr. Thurtle is evidently one of those who does not see eye to eye with his leaders on this subject.

A WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

Caxton Hall has been the scene of many gatherings and conferences during its existence, but few of them have been as important or as impressive as the Conference that took place there recently, organized by the very able secretary of the British Commonwealth League, a body recently formed to secure 'equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women in the British Commonwealth of Nations'. The Conference was well attended, and was opened by Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, who spoke on the existing and possible basis of consultation on Imperial policy, with special reference to the political power of women. Representative women from many parts of the world were present. Women from the Homeland, from Australia, from South Africa, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, India, Fiji and many of the outlying parts of the British Commonwealth came together, papers and addresses on some of the most important aspects of women's political life and responsibility were read or delivered, and discussions took place, showing keenness, earnestness, and a knowledge of the subjects under consideration.

A successful luncheon, with Dame Millicent Fawcett in the chair, at which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Lady Astor spoke, as well as Lady Chatterjee, took place on Friday, and on Monday the Duchess of Atholl, Under-Secretary for Education, was present at a garden party. Among those who took part in the main discussions were Mrs. Basu and Atiya Begum Fyze Rahiman, who is shortly

equally with other Bills being sent to the second chamber for its recommendation. In regard to the giving or the withholding of royal assent § 41 provides that the practice obtaining in Canada should be followed in the Free State, which means, in the interpretation of the Canadian practice by Sir Henry Jenkyns, that "the practical result is, that in Canada the power of the Imperial Government is merely that of disallowing an Act which has been passed, and not that of vetoing a Bill before it becomes an Act."

In the organization of the executive government, the Constitution of the Irish Free State presents many novel features. It is provided that the Cabinet Ministers (whose numerical strength is fixed by law) shall all be members of the lower House; (but shall have the right to attend and be heard in the Senate;) that the Prime Minister shall be appointed on the nomination of Dàil Eireann, and the other Ministers on the nomination of the Prime Minister, but "with the assent" of the Dàil. This last provision secures that the Prime Minister will select only such men as command the confidence of the Legislature and the electorate, which is not invariably the case in Great Britain. The collective responsibility of the Cabinet is statutorily provided for, as in fact is done in all modern Constitutions, thus justifying the demand of the minority of the Reforms Committee in this country for embodying the principle in a statute instead of leaving it to a convention. As in the case of all written Constitutions, the Irish Constitution vests in the High Court the power of determining the validity of any law, having regard to the provisions of the Constitution.

§§ 5—10 are devoted to an enumeration of the so-called fundamental rights and liberties of citizens, but it must be remarked that the Constitution does not place these rights and liberties beyond the caprice of the Legislature by making it incompetent to the latter to restrict them in any conceivable circumstances; on the contrary, it expressly provides that ordinary law shall lay down the limiting conditions under which these rights and liberties can be enjoyed by citizens. That is to say, it is open to Parliament to whittle away even the elementary rights of citizenship supposed to be secured by the Constitution.

S. G. VAZE.

SEXUAL PROBLEMS OF TODAY.

SEXUAL PROBLEMS OF TODAY. BY MRS. MARY SCHARLIEB. (Williams and Norgate, Ltd., London.) 1924. 8¾ × 5¼. pp. 245. 7s. 6d.

MRS. MARY SCHARLIEB, M. D. whose authoritative statements on sexual matters already form quite a literature on this subject in the collection of books published by the National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases in England, has made another pleasant and useful addition by editing a volume of essays dealing with moral problems—an exquisite bouquet of simple and instructive essays by several well known experts in Sociology.

Seven topics of burning and even sensational interest bring into this book all the arguments that the modern school of sober thought can muster against the iconoclastic and subversive ideas of the "modern" generation. The sanctity of spiritual ideals is defended throughout in a straightforward manner as against the materialism that prevails and threatens to uproot mankind. Is it not a fact that one's tendency today is to be more concerned with the problems of sanitation and industry which cater for the body than with moral obligations which nourish and purify the immortal part of man? We entirely agree with most of the standards set out by the writers in this book and we are glad to note that they are based on the truths of the Christian religion, which are after all common sense truths and hold good for any caste or creed that inhabits the world. Moral standards are universal standards; but to have universal sanction they have to be based on the will of God: anything short of this is bound to degenerate into a utilitarian quibble.

The book opens with an essay on sexual problems in childhood by Lt. Col. W. Shirley, a school headmaster exceptionally qualified to write on this subject. He divides the normal emotional development of a child into four phases: the *Mother phase*, as far as eight years, during which the child begins by being autocratic or self-loving and ends by letting its emotional interests flow towards the mother: the *Father phase* between 7 and 9 or as suggested in a note as far as 14, at which the hero-worshipping of the father starts and self-confidence dawns; the *School Fellow phase* as far as 18, when definite attempts are made by the growing child towards independence; and the *Mating phase* which begins after 18 when the adolescent evinces an interest in the opposite sex.

In enumerating the above stages Col. Shirley gives definite advice to parents regarding their attitude in each one of them. He warns the father not to interfere with the child in the mother stage and strongly urges the mother not to fondle and spoil the child in the father stage. A subversion of these principles would produce weaklings or boys who cultivate a rebel psychology and for good or evil grow up to be cranky. A definite note of warning is also struck regarding the care of the child in matters of self-abuse. Col. Shirley thinks that in all schools the majority of boys at some time of their lives fall victims to this degrading vice. We knew that this vice is threatening to ruin the physique and stamina of our school boys and that parents should be on the alert; but the statement that the majority of school boys are addicted to this habit is a revelation that we confess gives us a rude shock.

The care of the adolescent boy is the subject of the second essay. The Rev. W. H. Elliot, dealing with the question in a masterly way, gives a clear picture of a boy between 16 and 20, when a wonderful change operates on the child on his passage to manhood. The developments of the instincts of self-preservation and self-reproduction are depicted very

well and this difficult period of our age—the age of contradictions—is brought back to us in all its details. Beware, says Mr. Elliot, of this dangerous turn of life and endeavour always to find a level for these new forces that come into play lest your boy may unbalance and fall...

The problem of adolescent boys necessarily brings in an important question which has produced much controversy among educationists. Must a boy be tutored in sex problems before he attains puberty? Mr. Elliot is strongly of the opinion that it should be so. He thinks that boys should be taught the facts of life in animals at a young age and gradually initiated into the human sex questions before the age of maturity. To forewarn a boy in an objective way is to forearm him for the subjective sensations and thus caution him against being swept off his feet by the tide of passion when he gets into the vortex of life. Besides, is it not safer that he should learn these things in a clean way instead of learning them through the mystifying and misleading information of a class mate? We entirely agree with the Rev. Elliot but we are strongly of the opinion that such knowledge should be imparted to children by *specially trained teachers* as we fear that knowledge of this nature imparted in an unscientific way may in many instances awaken wrong feelings in an adolescent and prove decidedly harmful.

The "Problem of Adolescent Girls" by Miss Helena Powell runs more or less on the same lines as the problem in boys. The manifestations are different and call for different remedies. The excessive consciousness and peevish *accidie* of an adolescent girl needs a softer hand and a wiser counsellor to combine the influence of school with home and to keep her interested in something. The need of a *confidant* is urged as a *primæ* necessity and the mother is naturally pre-eminently indicated for the place.

Dr. Mary Scharlieb, besides compiling these essays, herself contributes an essay in which she introduces us into the secrets of courtship and marriage. Forty-six years of medical experience besides that of her own courtship, betrothal, marriage and motherhood gives her a wide range of personal experience on the subject. She defines matrimony as an indissoluble sacrament, carries the reader through the objects of marriage, discusses the preparation for marriage and gives much valuable advice on the married life. The chapter that deals with the evils that consorts bring into the constitution of the new family by reason of heredity and bad environment is the one that appeals to us most. I think it is high time that in the interest of the community racial poisons should not be allowed to tarnish a population and cause unhappy homes. Preparation for marriage presupposes attention to spiritual and physical health and if individual responsibilities cannot be roused towards temperance and chastity, something in the nature of the American mutual certificates of health and morals should be demanded from all consorts before they

enter the bonds of matrimony. And, would not this matrimonial survival of the fittest also solve in a very honourable way our population problem?

Following closely on Mrs. Scharlieb's experience comes the statistical assertion of Sir Arthur Newsholme that a steady reduction in natural increase of population by births is occurring in most Western nations and that this reduction is due to active control of conception in the main by artificial means. He thinks that this is undesirable from a national point of view especially for countries that are sparsely populated or possess overseas lands which have to be colonised. But he admits that there is a personal point of view in this question which needs consideration. Unlike most of our anti-conceptionists who take the extreme end of the opposition, Sir Arthur Newsholme meets the advocates of birth-control half way. He condemns the practice as a policy for a nation but admits that special cases need special consideration. Adam Smith's optimism and Mathus's pessimism find a middle path in Sir Arthur's sober views on this much debated question.

Divorce, cries the Rev. Eric Graham in the next essay, is inadmissible by the Church of Christ, because it is an indissoluble sacrament. The Church admits a kind of divorce "a mensa et thoro," from bed and board, which corresponds to the present day judicial separation as a measure of relief when the conduct of one partner has made cohabitation intolerable. But divorce in the sense of dissolution of marriage, giving the parties the right to re-marry is not recognised. The Church has several reasons for assuming this attitude, one of the great advantages of this limitation being that it leaves the door to repentance and reconciliation perpetually open and thus watches the sanctity of family life, guarding specially the natural rights of the children upon both parents.

In England until the year 1857 Parliament allowed the Church to retain jurisdiction in matrimonial cases but thereafter the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical tribunals was transferred to secular courts and the State today admits and grants divorce. The conflict between Church and State on this all important question is a very sharp one and the arguments that have been repeatedly advanced for and against divorce do not need here repetition.

Prostitution, the eternal social problem that baffles all our efforts at eradicating it, is the heading of the last chapter, by the Rev. Fr. Andrews. It is too large a subject to be compressed into a chapter of a book and Fr. Andrews has merely touched on a few points of this "horrible thing of immense power to hurt our own and every generation." Fr. Andrews believes in the efficacy of rescue work and kindred efforts to diminish the ravages of this evil but he believes above all in the cultivation of high ideals conducive towards the maintenance of a high code of honour for all individuals—for men and women alike. Where there is a demand there is supply; should we not therefore lay the blame of prostitution at the feet of men and reclaim them first?

We repeat: A most useful book and one deserving of wide and close study.

SOCRATES NORONHA.

SHORT NOTICES.

A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL EDUCATION.
By AUROBINDO GHOSH. (The Arya Publishing House, Calcutta.) 1924. 6½ × 4½. pp. 55. Re. 1.

THESE essays were first published in the 'Karmayogin' in the year 1909. At that time National Education was one of the main items in the national programme, and therefore the leaders of the movement naturally had to expound its principles. One of such attempts is the booklet under review. It is an incomplete attempt, and as the publisher says in his Note, it hardly touches the subject of national education, except in certain allusions. For instance, the author criticises the teaching of religious text-books while forbidding the practice of religion—the method adopted by the Bengal Council of National Education—as mere vanity and delusion; as also the teaching by snippets at the bottom and specialisation at the top. In the rest of the book he discusses the general principles of a true and sound system of education in any country. As a matter of fact there can be very little difference, if at all, between true education and national education. Education, as the author rightly holds, is not imparting anything from outside to the student, but is helping the growing soul to draw out that in himself which is best and make it perfect for a noble use. The teacher at best is but a helper and guide, the remover of certain obstacles in the path. To that end the instruments of knowledge, the five senses, the organs of action, the mind and the intellect must be fully trained to perform their varied functions quite accurately and regularly. For this purpose the author suggests certain Yogic practices for the purification of the nerves and the mind.

Among the topics discussed are religious and moral education, the medium of instruction, and the craze for uniformity. However incomplete and abstract the treatment of the main subject, national education, the book is thought-provoking and deserves careful perusal.

V. P. LIMAYE.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF BENGAL. By F. J. MONAHAN. (Oxford University Press) 1925. 9 × 6. pp. 248. Rs. 15.

THIS is the first part of a projected 'History of Bengal' from ancient to modern times, which, however, has not been completed owing to the author's unexpected death. Although it is named 'the Early History of Bengal' the book deals mainly with the Mauryan Dynasty of Magadha—modern Behar. The reason set out by the author in the preface is that "during the Mauryan period, Bengal and Behar were in close political asso-

ciation" and thus there is "the probability that similar political and social institutions obtained in both countries." Only at a later period does Bengal find 'a distinct political and social history of her own.' Covering, as it does, only a short period of 135 years, the treatment of the Mauryan Dynasty is not so detailed as one would expect it to be. The book claims to deal with the history, institutions, inscriptions and art of the Mauryan period, but it is only the institutions of the period that are studied at adequate length. But this deficiency is more than made up by the exhaustive and critical study of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. It has been critically examined and compared with the evidence of the Greek writers of the day—thus throwing a flood of light on the institutions of the period. The scattered information has been well sifted and arranged and this forms the best part of the book. Although the book can hardly be considered a history of Bengal, it is a valuable addition to the literature on ancient India and one deeply regrets that the author should not have been spared to complete his projected work.

S. G.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- H. W. M.: A Selection from the Writings of H. W. MASSINGHAM. (Jonathan Cape, Ltd. London.) 1925. 9 × 6. pp. 368. 12s. 6d.
- TORY DEMOCRACY. By WILLIAM J. WILKINSON (Columbia University. Selling Agent, Longmans, New York.) 1925. 9 × 5½. pp. 315.
- LABOUR AND HOUSING IN BOMBAY. By A. R. BURNETT-HURST (P. S. King and Son, London.) 1925. 9 × 5½. pp. 152. 10s. 6d.
- LABOUR POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION. By CHARLES A. GULICK (Columbia University. Selling Agent, Longmans, New York.) 1924. 9 × 6. pp. 194.
- SOZIALISMUS UND WELTGEMEINSCHAFT. By Heinrich Strobel (Der Firm Verlag, Berlin.) 1925. 9 × 6. pp. 250.
- FAMILY ALLOWANCES: the Remuneration of Labour according to Need. (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1924. 9 × 6. pp. 186. 3s.
- EUROPEAN HOUSING PROBLEMS SINCE THE WAR. (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1924. 9½ × 6. pp. 483. 6s.
- SOURCES OF CHRISTIANITY. By the Khawaja KAMAL-UD-DIN. (The Basheer Muslim Library, Woking, London.) 7½ × 5 1924. pp. 183.
- A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA from 1858 to 1913. By HENRY DODWELL (Longmans Green and Co., London.) 1925. 7½ × 5. pp. 326. Rs. 4.
- DEMANDS OF DEMOCRACY. By BALKRISHNA (Taraporewalla, Bombay.) 1925. 7½ × 5. pp. 174.

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| 7. Kautilya's Arthashastra. Translated by Dr. R. Shamasastry, B. A., Ph. D., M. R. A. S. With an introductory note by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet, Ph.D., C. I. E., I. C. S., A book of exceptional interest and value in the understanding of the art of Government, the duties of kings, the ministers, the officials and the methods of diplomacy written in about the 3rd century B. C. ... | 6 0 |
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