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CONTENTS

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	117
ARTICLES :—	
United Nationalist Conference	19
The Indian National Party. By A Liberal	120
Tenancy Legislation in Bengal.—III, IV & V. By Syed Erfan Ali	121
Consumption in India. By Manilal O. Parekh	123
MISCELLANEOUS :—	
Indian National Party	125
BOOKS RECEIVED	125
REVIEW SECTION	126-131

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WRITING in the *Statesman* on the eve of the formation of the Indian National Party, "Trust England". Lord Sinha insists that Constitutionalists entering into a coalition party must trust the good faith of England, as they do not at present. *A propos* of this Mr. Srinivasa Sastri sent the following communication to the *Hindu*: "You published the day before yesterday the able and eloquent plea of Lord Sinha for continued trust in England. Curiously enough, yesterday's mail brought me a letter from Dr. R. W. Hornabrook of Australia (not unknown to your readers), in which the following passage occurs:

Smooth words are good in their place, but they should only come *after* and *not before* straight, hard hitting. Speak out and speak out and speak clearly; and after one has done the hard hitting apologise if you like, but hit first and hit hard. The British Empire politician is the same the whole world over. He will never fulfil his promise if he can possibly see a chance to side-step; and then, when he has been forced by circumstances to be true to his promise, he will turn round and say: 'See what a good boy I am! I am always true to my world—in the end.'

The compelling circumstances it is the business of the Indian politician to bring about. He must not trust wholly nor distrust wholly. He must be always and fully awake. England no more than India is to be regarded in the abstract or as one entity. There as here parties and policies emerge and subside—renunciation sometimes, grab at other times. Since Montagu's fall the worse type of imperialism is in the ascendant. I should have thought there was universal recognition of this fact in India, but apparently there are some among us who take a lot of awakening."

WHILE praising the spirit of harmony that prevailed between the various groups of constitutionalists which coalesced at the China Baugh Conference into Individual Civil Disobedience.

the new Indian National Party, the *Indian Daily Mail* animadverted very gently on the approval accorded by the new party to individual and group passive resistance under certain limitations. This approval, it thinks, must have been due to the give-and-take that becomes necessary in all coalitions rather than to unreserved acceptance by members of the Conference of the doctrine of civil disobedience, for, in its view, this doctrine is not strictly consistent with the other methods the party has adopted. This criticism is not quite just. For if there were any individuals at the Conference who felt some difficulty in giving their consent to the inclusion, in a statement of methods open to the party, of passive resistance of a limited character even in exceptional circumstances, their number was, we believe, very small indeed; the vast majority of every group which joined the new party could give such consent, we are sure, without any mental reservations whatever. The Party's position is this: it will ordinarily follow in the legislatures the policy of co-operation where possible and opposition where necessary, which is identical with responsive co-operation; this policy does not of course exclude parliamentary obstruction as and when necessary; and outside the legislatures vigorous propaganda. Individual or group passive resistance may be employed in extreme cases; but mass civil disobedience and general non-payment of taxes are in no circumstances permissible to the party. We cannot see how any one can rule passive resistance out altogether. Where it is a question of conscience, passive resistance becomes absolutely necessary for everyone, no matter to which party he belonged, in the case of orders which he cannot conscientiously obey. While this kind of civil disobedience is the duty as well as the right of every individual, a larger sphere of passive resistance is really covered by the phrase "constitutional means," which forms the creed of Liberal politicians. If this phrase was dropped in favour of the somewhat vague expression "peaceful and legitimate methods," it was because, with the specific exclusion of mass civil disobedience and general non-payment of taxes, that expression was believed to be narrower in its scope than "constitutional means." What an eloquent commentary on the backwardness of Liberals in politics that their creed had to be rejected because it appeared dangerous to the self-styled advanced politicians! We say this not with the desire of scoring a point but with the object of reassuring the Right-Wing Liberals that the new formula is not wider, but stricter in its ambit.

* * *

IT was not so long a while ago since Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, who, next only to Mahatma Gandhi, is the high-priest of virginian non-co-operation, publicly denounced the Swarajist policy as at once barren in practical results and unsound in theory. "If the Swarajists are bent upon taking the wrong course

of contesting the elections and going into the Councils, let them at least secure to the people the little good that is capable of being done in the legislatures: let them free the country from the evil of alcoholism, for instance." This was his way of reasoning even after it was known that Mahatma Gandhi had associated himself with the Cawnpore resolution. It might therefore be expected that an opinion at which Mr. Rajagopalachariar had arrived after such deep and independent deliberation would not vary inside of two months. But we find that it takes only a visit to Ahmedabad for Mr. Rajagopalachariar to be converted to the policy of wrecking the reforms. "The programme of the Independents, the Liberals or Responsive Co-operators means," he now says, "that, after all this struggle, India has settled down to work the reforms. If these are returned in a majority, it is the same thing as India telling England: 'We are discontented, but we shall try to make the best of your reforms.' If the Swarajists are returned, it would mean that India still rejects the reform scheme as inadequate. This rejection is necessary in the best interests of the country." This, of course, is a complete somersault, for the rejection of reforms which he now advocates does not go well with the enactment of a prohibition law, which he was recommending a few weeks ago. But such is the logic and moral integrity of even our front-rank politicians that we shall not be surprised if in his next public address Mr. Rajagopalachariar pleads for both together: rejection of reforms and enforcement of prohibition! It now only remains for Mahatma Gandhi to make perfervid appeals for Council boycott and at the same time to work for the introduction of compulsory handspinning in all Government schools!!

ROYAL Commissions are as a rule appointed in response to a strong public demand; but the recently appointed Commission on Agriculture is an exception to the general rule. There was no demand for it and public opinion can hardly claim any credit for bringing about its appointment. This is not to say that its work will not benefit an agricultural country like India. Soon after the intention to appoint such a Commission was made known, public opinion as represented by bodies like the Deccan Sabha emphasised the need of its personnel being such as to inspire public confidence. We are afraid, however, the personnel announced a few days ago can hardly satisfy that requirement. While the Indian element cannot be said to be particularly strong, even the European element appears to us to leave considerable room for improvement. Agriculture in the Deccan needs special attention; and while one is glad that Bombay has been represented by two members on the Commission, viz. Mr. B. S. Kamat and Sir Henry Lawrence, it is to us a mystery why Dr. Mann with his long and matchless experience of Deccan agriculture has been excluded. He may not be a *persona grata* with the Government; but where the whole future of Indian agriculture is at stake, one cannot help feeling that their prejudices should not have been allowed to come in the way. The only Indian member who has first-hand experience of Indian agriculture is Sir Ganga Ram. It is a pity that Indian non-officials are not in a majority on the Commission. Its personnel is equally divided between Indians and Europeans with the handicap on the former of a Maharaja! Let us, however, hope that the Indian members will find it possible to pull together. But the most serious defect of the personnel is that it includes none who will be universally acknowledged

as an expert in scientific agriculture of international repute.

INDIA'S demand for further constitutional reforms is opposed by the bureaucracy on the ground amongst others of lack of co-operation on the part of the people in working the present reforms. The hollowness of this plea has more than once been effectively exposed by Indian leaders and by none more so than the President of the last session of the National Liberal Federation, Sir M. V. Joshi. But even supposing that their contention has some substratum of truth, can it be truthfully maintained that the Government on their part is doing its honest best to make the reforms a success? We are afraid the answer must be in the negative. Take e.g. their appointment of a successor to the Hon'ble Mr. Sachidananda Sinha in Bihar. The Maharaja, for aught one knows, may be an estimable gentleman and a man of influence and wealth. But what may pertinently be inquired is, what are his qualifications for the post? He has no experience of public life worth the name to his credit and must be apparently innocent of any first-hand knowledge of the grievances and hardships of the poor. A landlord himself, he cannot be expected to overflow with sympathy for the poor ryots, who form an overwhelmingly large proportion of the population. Apart from all these considerations, it is no disparagement of the many amiable qualities which he may possess to say that he is not the best person available in Bihar for selection. Appointments such as these fill one with distrust as to the Government's professed fondness of fitness and efficiency.

WE daresay no one will shed a tear over the final rejection of H. E. H. the Nizam's claim for the retrocession of Berar. British Indians would have been better pleased if their Government's decision had been influenced by the wishes of the people of Berar, but anyhow it is a source of great relief to them that their compatriots of Berar are not to be handed back to Moghlai. The incidental advantage is that the Indian ruling princes' claim to a status of equality with the British Government in internal affairs has been categorically denied, and their position of subordination has been definitively asserted. The ex-Maharaja Holkar no doubt made a faint effort to question the over-riding power which the British Government exercises over all ruling princes called by courtesy their allies, but in effect acknowledged it by abdicating. It remains to be seen what action, if any, the Nizam takes to maintain the claim for equality of status, or whether he will quietly acknowledge the position of inferiority assigned to him by the Government. If the biggest of the rulers acquiesces in this position, it follows by necessary implication that all ruling princes occupy the status of "subordinate alliance with the British Government." Whatever the legal aspect of the matter may be, it is clear that the subjects of Indian States in their own interests will desire the autocratic power of their rulers to be controlled by a superior power, until they themselves are able to control it. The best means therefore of getting rid of the British Government's control is for Indian princes, not to make out a legal claim for independence which can never be sustained, but to establish popular government in their own States. How much better would it have been for the Nizam to introduce responsible government in Hyderabad than to promise it to Berar!

UNITED NATIONALIST CONFERENCE.

THE Conference that met on the 3rd and 4th April in Bombay under the presidentship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to consider the amalgamation of political parties and groups between which there is a fundamental unity of aim and method and whose bent of mind is constructive appears to have been a thoroughly representative one. The response to the invitations issued by the conveners of the Conference was more encouraging than we expected it to be. Among those who attended it were prominent Independents and Nationalists, Responsive Co-operators, members of the National Liberal Federation, National Home Rule League, the Muslim League, the *Justice* party and the non-Brahmans of the Deccan. In spite of the substantial agreement among all the sections of opinion represented at the Conference in regard to the goal of their aspirations and the means to be adopted to attain to it, and the earnest desire among constitutionalists throughout the country for united action, it seemed impossible to be optimistic about the outcome of the Conference. It is therefore with a sense of relief that we learn that the various groups rising above petty differences have combined to form a party called the Indian National Party, the membership of which will be open to all who agree to work for the establishment of Dominion status for India, by methods that lie within the limits of constitutional action.

But so far only the initial obstacles that prevented men, who should have been coadjutors long ago, from working together have been removed. Our satisfaction with what has been achieved must be limited by several considerations. In the first place the new party has yet to be set on its feet. It should receive extensive and influential support throughout the country; but its development will depend on the energy that we put forth. In the second place, if it is to be effective, it must be properly organised and provided with adequate funds. In the third place, its capacity to bear the strain and stress to which it will assuredly be exposed during the next few months has to be tested. We hope that the desire for unity will prove strong enough to overcome sectional feelings; but time will be needed to bring about a change in our way of looking at things. Lastly, the Responsive Co-operators headed by Mr. Jayakar who took a leading part in the deliberations of the Conference have not yet joined it. Their adherence to the National party is conditional on the approval of their party. Mr. Jayakar stated that had he stood alone, he would not have hesitated to join the National party immediately; but as president of the Responsive Co-operation party in Bombay, he felt that he must consult the Committee of his party, which is expected to meet soon. It will, however, be as unwise to minimise as to exaggerate the importance of the work done by the Conference. Having seen that unity is not only desirable but thoroughly practicable, we are not likely to revert completely to the

old state of things. The promise that the Conference gives may not be fully realized; but even if it yields a fraction of what was expected from it, it will not have been without great moral value.

The opponents of the Conference left no stone unturned to prejudice it in the eyes of the public and to belittle its significance. It was represented as a trap laid by the designing Liberals to catch the unsuspecting non-Liberals. It was described as anti-Swarajist and its purpose was said to be to wreck the Congress. Even a cursory examination of the language of the resolution defining the creed will show that non-Liberals had no little share in drafting it. It approximates more to the language of the Congress than of the Liberal creed. The fact that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has joined the National Party and that Mr. Jayakar is prepared to join it if his party does not stand in his way is by itself sufficient to disprove the malicious accusation brought against the Liberals and furnishes an eloquent testimony to the spirit of genuine nationalism that inspired the Conference.

The Conference was stigmatised as anti-Swarajist, because its object was to unite non-Swarajists. As the promoters of the Conference do not believe in the policy of wrecking the Councils or walking out of them, it is plain that they could not have invited the Swarajists. To invite them would only have been to court a rebuff. Besides it cannot be seriously contended that non-Swarajists should not consolidate their forces because it may give umbrage to their opponents. Lala Lajpat Rai wrote in the *People* some time ago that he saw no reason why the Independents, Nationalists and Liberals should remain apart from one another and advised them to join hands as early as possible. They have done so and are now being attacked for not going on fighting amongst themselves by those very men who are loudest in blaming Government for pursuing the policy of divide and rule.

The policy of those who joined the Conference, so far from being purely negative, is a thoroughly positive one. They do not believe in the policy of going into the Councils in order to walk out of them or to do nothing themselves and prevent others also from doing anything. The reforms satisfy no party in the country; but that is no reason why we should not make the utmost use of them. Where has progress been made in regard to education, sanitation, excise reform and industries? In provinces where there are Ministers or where Swarajists have succeeded in preventing the formation of a ministry? How can we decline to serve our poor and ignorant countrymen by utilising the limited opportunities of service that have been offered to us, because the privileged classes have not got all that they want and justly want?

The cry that the National Party has been formed to wreck the Congress should deceive nobody. The Congress has become the tool of a party and has pledged itself to accept the political policy and programme of that party, however futile they may be. To oppose them is an urgent duty that all

thinking men owe to the country. Those who talk about unity and the duty of joining the Congress will, we hope, realize that it is not the fault of the non-Swarajists that there is division in the ranks of public workers. The Unity Conference was convened at Delhi in order to devise measures for bringing all parties on a common platform; but while the Conference concerned itself with several other things, the question of unity between the various political parties was not discussed even for a second. No effort has since been made to bring about a reconciliation between representatives of different parties in the Congress and those who have no faith in the extra-constitutional methods favoured by that institution will not be persuaded to join it by the fact that Mahatma Gandhi is now playing a passive, instead of an active, part in the Congress. All that is left therefore for those who have conscientious objection to pursuing the methods which the Congress is following is themselves to combine in another organisation and carry on work on lines approved by them. This organization is not intended solely to offer opposition to the Congress or the Swarajists who dominate it. To the extent that the methods of the National Party and the Congress or the Swarajist party differ, there will necessarily be opposition, but the ultimate aim will be to unite all parties for common national work. We therefore bespeak the support of all who believe in parliamentarism to the Party newly formed and hope that it will survive all initial difficulties and go on from strength to strength until the need for an independent party to promote constitutionalism is no longer felt.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL PARTY.

BY A LIBERAL.

THE Conference that met in Bombay on the 3rd and 4th was attended by distinguished representatives of various sections of opinion from different provinces. The Independents like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Messrs. Jinnah, B. Chakrabarti, and K. Natarajan, Responsive Co-operationists like Messrs. Jayakar, Baptista and D. V. Gokhale, National Home Rulers like Dr. Besant, Messrs. Ratansi D. Morarji, and Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Non-Brahmans like Sir K. V. Reddi and A. N. Surve, Liberals like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Messrs Chintamani, Surendranath Mullick, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Dr. Paranjpye, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, and Sir Moropant Joshi, and non-party men like Mr. Harkishen Lal, all were there and appeared desirous of arriving at some solution. All were agreed that the policy of the Swarajists under Pandit Motilal Nehru and the non-co-operation of Mahatma Gandhi had not succeeded and will do no good to the country if further persisted in. On the other hand there was no bitter denunciation of these methods; there was apparent a readiness to stretch the hand of fellowship to all our countrymen, who accepted the goal of swaraj or responsible government such as exists in the self-governing dominions

of the Empire and who are ready to adopt legitimate and peaceful methods excluding such unpractical ideas as mass civil disobedience or a general non-payment of taxes. While everybody agreed that the present constitution was unsatisfactory and must be mended as soon as possible, all were of opinion that it should be worked to the fullest advantage for securing the good of the people, even though it included the acceptance of office.

The difficulties in arriving at the final agreed resolution were due chiefly to historical and sentimental reasons. One group was of opinion that the new party that was to be formed should be one inside the Congress as the name of this organisation was still one to conjure with. It was contended on the other side that the policy that was generally acceptable to all assembled there was opposed to that now officially accepted by the Congress and that its constitution was such that it would be impossible under the present conditions to get the opposite opinion even heard in the Congress. It was attempted to reconcile these two views by leaving it open to every member of the new party to continue to belong to any other political organisation with similar aims and methods and leaving it open to the Working Committee to negotiate with the Congress if at all a suitable solution was possible. Some were averse to being put down as belonging to an anti-Congress caucus or as having truckled to the unpopular Liberals. Others aspired to recapture the Congress and get a majority for their own opinions. Others again had definitely cut themselves off from the Congress and refused to agree to any arrangement by which the new party was to be a wing of the Congress.

In the end, however, an agreement was reached. The final result has already appeared in the papers and about eighty of those assembled signed the manifesto. Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Baptista expressed their personal agreement with the settlement though they postponed their final signing till they consulted their party, of which they were responsible leaders. We hope that the Responsive Co-operation party will finally decide to join the proposed united National Party and that it will include all who hold the same opinions as to objects and methods of India's political advancement. The work before such a party is great and immediate. The elections are coming on soon and it is necessary that the Swarajists should not be returned in a majority in the new Councils to be elected at the end of the year and make not only any further progress impossible but the continuance of the results so far achieved very difficult. The Royal Commission may be appointed very soon and in any case is bound to come out in 1929 and it ought to be made to see that every honest effort at working the reforms by large sections of the country does not produce all the results that were expected, that the machinery set up by the Government of India Act is very difficult to work with the best will in the world, and that therefore a drastic change in the constitution is immediately necessary.

The Liberal Party whose views are generally voiced by this paper co-operated whole-heartedly in the Conference and did not allow any questions of *amour propre* to influence the members. If the Indian National Party becomes an efficient machine, they will work whole-heartedly with it, sinking their former differences with their *quondam* rivals, and, if it proves stable, will be prepared to amalgamate with it. The members of the party must place the good of the country above personal or party advantage. Personal considerations must be scrupulously put on one side and everybody must be ready to make any sacrifice of any personal gain or honour. An even more difficult thing to do is to withstand every temptation to indulge in recrimination or to refer to unpleasant antecedents. Coalitions are always difficult to accomplish and can only be accomplished at the cost of very great effort. The separate groups will continue to keep up their organisations for a time until the members of all have acquired the habit of thinking in terms of the common larger party. In India we are peculiarly liable to fission; the process of consolidation into larger groups is essentially difficult. The new party is an attempt in the very difficult task. It can only succeed with the earnest co-operation of all and a conscious subordination of the interests of the smaller to those of the greater unit. That it may succeed is the devout hope of all true Liberals in India.

TENANCY LEGISLATION IN BENGAL.

III.

The Amount of Rent.

THE present Tenancy Amendment Bill errs on the side of omission. It keeps intact the right of enhancing the rent to the extent of one-eighth of the former every fifteen years by the zemindars. This provision for the enhancement of rent is based on an uneconomic doctrine inasmuch as the improvement of land goes to swell the purse of the landholder other than the tenant, who exerts his energies for its improvement. The giving of such a wide charter to the landholders by the legislature emanated from a false notion of the landholder's title to all unearned increment in land. It has stifled the growth of a strong impulse of improvement of the land in the mind of the agriculturist. Unless one is guaranteed the full enjoyment of the fruits of his labour, he cannot reasonably be expected to bend all his energies to the task of improving the land. The present state of the enhancement of rent coupled with all the persistent rack-renting on various frivolous pretexts by the zemindar's *gomashtras* or agents is working havoc among the ryots. A complex evil which has received such a long rope requires a bold and determined step to be exterminated. The legislature should cut the Gordian knot by positively interdicting all further imposition on the land by the zemindars and declare the rent at present payable by the ryots to be fixed

in perpetuity. I have already shown in my previous discussion on the "Historical Retrospect" that the sponsors of the Permanent Settlement, on which the zemindars base their preposterous claim to the unearned increment of the land, definitely meant that the rent payable by the ryots to the zemindars should be as fixed as the land-revenue payable to the Government by the zemindars in the permanently settled area. Sir Philip Francis, the redoubtable opponent of Warren Hastings, who was the first to urge for a settlement with the zemindars wrote in 1776 in these words:—"Many other points of enquiry will also be useful to secure to the ryots the permanent and undisputed possession of their lands and to guard them against arbitrary exactions." The words of Sir John Shore, another eminent advocate for the settlement with the zemindars and mostly responsible for its adoption, are more significant. He observed:—"And at present we must give every possible security to the ryots as well as, or not merely, to the zemindars." The Court of Directors, the ultimate authority on this question, in their letter of the 19th September, 1792, approved of the idea "to secure to the great body of the ryots the same equality and certainty as to the amount of their rents, and the same undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, which we mean to give to the zemindars themselves." The hopes of Lord Cornwallis "to make our subjects the happiest people in India" and to secure "happiness to the body of the inhabitants" in making the Permanent Settlement would have been mere chimera, had not the idea of fixity of rent of the agriculturists been in his mind. At the time of the proclamation of the Permanent Settlement, the zemindars were directed to grant *pattahs* or written contracts specifying the amount of rent to the agriculturists. But without proper direction and without necessary control, only one part of the Permanent Settlement which was favourable to the zemindars, namely, fixity of land-revenue was observed, while the other part, favourable to the ryots, namely fixity of rent of the land, remained unfulfilled. This partiality was due to the great influence of the zemindars and the weakness of the ryots. As generations have passed, the original purpose of the Permanent Settlement in favour of the agriculturists has grown fainter, and the question of fixity of rent has almost been lost sight of. We are strengthened in our proposal by another fact. At the Permanent Settlement, the land revenue to be paid by the zemindar was so assessed as to represent 90 per cent. of the rent of the ryots and the residue ten per cent. was left to the zemindar as remuneration of his labour. The zemindars have completely upset the balance and the zemindars, instead of enjoying one-tenth of the land revenue as their remuneration, now exact about ten times the land revenue! In spite of this swelling of the purse of the landholders out of any reasonable proportion, the rent-roll is allowed to be extended by the Bengal Tenancy Act. It is indeed high

time that the question of the interdiction of further increase of rent should be taken in hand. I have already quoted from Raja Rammohan Roy and Mr. R. C. Dutt to show how they urged the same step as far back as 1834 and 1875 respectively. Supported as we now are by historical reasons, the reasons of justice for contributing to the prosperity of the rural masses have acquired tremendous force.

IV.

Bargadari or Adhiari System.

THE Bengal Tenancy Act Amendment Bill contains a provision for giving the status of rayets to *Bargadars*, otherwise known as *Bhagchasis Bhagjotders* or *Adhiars*, a class of labourers who cultivate lands under the rayets and obtain a share of the produce as recompense for their labour. The Government seek to subvert this metayage, intermediate between peasant proprietorship and leasehold system. The system has taken rise from diverse, sometimes inevitable, causes. It sometimes so turns out that the head of a family is a minor or a widow incapable of tilling the land. In inserting this provision in the Bengal Tenancy Act Amendment, Government have ignored this and certain other actualities. When the provision was first incorporated in the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Bill by the Amendment Committee of the first Reformed Council, and a retrospective effect was sought to be given to it, most of the persons who have their lands tilled by these partners in produce refused to allow these labourers to plough the lands. As a consequence of this drastic step, a large number of these landless labourers were thrown out of employment and widespread distress and misery began to stare Bengal in the face. I had the unhappy task of repeatedly pointing out to the Government the inadvisability of this step and the misery that Bengal will be involved in as a result of the measure, in my capacity of the President of the Rayet and Labour Committee of the Bengal Legislative Council. After a great deal of consternation throughout Bengal and after a strenuous struggle with a determined Government, a communique was issued on the 11th May 1923 by the Government, declaring to forego the idea of the introduction of the clause as well as its retrospective effect. It is difficult to say how after this solemn pledge of the Government, they desire to put in this very clause again in the present Bengal Tenancy Amendment Bill. By this step Government are trying to rake up the trouble of four years before. The widows and minors will be the cause of the disruption of the lands of the family. They are obliged to allow their lands to be tilled by labourers on condition of sharing the produce. But with the working of this provision, the minor will be incapable to till the land by himself, because his physical incapacity compelled him to allow his land to be ploughed by others. This is too exorbitant a tax for tender age! Similarly, a widow has her lands tilled by others. The present law allows the right of direct cultivation of the lands in her; but the proposed amendment

seeks to transfer the right of ploughing the lands to the labourer, who is called in to supply the physical incapacity to do so. The widow of course retains something in the way of rent; but such rent is bound to be inadequate for her maintenance, and the family is permanently deprived of the physical possession of the property due to a chance. The provision threatens to depreciate the value of land, for it will take many years for these labourers to rise to that economic stability to buy lands, and those middle-class directors, who direct the agricultural works by their helpful enterprise, will fight shy of buying up the lands.

DIVERS OTHER RIGHTS.

The present nebulous provisions in the Bengal Tenancy Act profess to govern such necessary rights as digging of tanks, building permanent structure for homestead purposes, constructing mosques and temples. The proposed amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act does not go deep enough to protect to the rayets these rights. It is needless to add that such rights are the most preliminary necessities of decent life. This defect is a moral plague of the Bengal Tenancy Act Amendment. In order to ensure the prosperity and well-being of the agricultural masses, it is necessary to have a more effective safeguard of these rights of the rayets.

V.

Conclusion.

The net result of the proposed amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act may be summed up as follows. It will clear many of the vaguenesses of the Tenancy Act and make the law more distinct; but it will mean a great harm to the agriculturists. Rights which the rayets used to enjoy, sometimes any interference, will be subject to a compulsory taxation. In transferring land and in cutting down trees, the rayets used often to do so without reference to the landholders and without incurring any additional burden for them. Of course it need not be denied that these rights were an object of dispute and litigation and the cause of much worry, but nevertheless the rayets were often the gainers. Under the proposed legislation, the rayets will be bound to pay an exorbitant price for their rights. The trend of mistakes, which vitiated the legislation of 1815 and which made the legislators suppose that the zemindars were absolute proprietors of land and the rights of the rayets were merely the doles of charity, seems to sap the foundation of the proposed legislation. While the preamble seeks to benefit the rayets, the zemindars will actually derive more advantage than the poor agriculturists. Tenancy legislation has a great bearing on the economic problems of the country because it deals with men, who form the backbone of the country, its very foundation. A prosperous and contented tenantry will undoubtedly be a glorious achievement and an enduring asset for the welfare of the country. I have been repeatedly questioned why so much stress should be laid on the legal adjustment of the respective rights of the landhold-

ers and the tenants. People look askance on our attitude and are prone to call it an attempt to drive a wedge between the landholders and the rayets at a time when it requires all our concerted efforts to obtain the political salvation of India. Nothing is further from the mind of those who, like myself, want to see a prosperous tenantry, than to create unnecessary trouble between rayets and the zemindars. In fact I can fully reciprocate the view of Mr. B. Chakrabarty, the Secretary of the Bengal Landholders' Association, as enunciated by him on his assuming the editorial charge of the *Bengalee*. He writes in the *Bengalee* of March 12, 1926: "But I have always believed that the interests of the landholders, when rightly viewed, are not and can never be in any fundamental conflict with the interests of the tenantry. In our present land and agricultural system, the landholder and the tenant form one organic whole. The supreme need just now is of a just and reasonable reconciliation of legitimate interests of both tenants and landholders." How best to achieve the object is the real test of the question. Does a discontented tenantry, swept off its rights and barred from the enjoyment of such human amenities as building permanent structures and making necessary transfers of land, except on an exorbitant charge, contribute to the satisfactory solution of the problem? None except some hot-heads want to pull down the zemindary system all on a sudden. But I fear that the uncompromising attitude of some of the zemindars is adding strength to that party of irreconcilables. We are disposed to treat the Permanent Settlement, on which the zemindars base their rights, as a *noli metangere*. Our contention stands on the sure foundation of a fuller and more just interpretation of the Permanent Settlement. In fact we plead for translating the aims of the authors of the Permanent Settlement, into the guiding principles of tenancy legislation. In the Historical Retrospect, it has been discussed elaborately, and it is only necessary to add that the great authority on the Land System of Bengal and Behar, viz. Sir Willam Hunter, is emphatically of the opinion that the adverse effect of the Permanent Settlement was due not to the dearth of good motives of its authors, but because their "good intentions and express instructions" were not carried out. We stand for the right of the rayets to the unearned increment in land subject to the payment of a fixed equitable rent to the landholders. Upon the satisfactory solution of the problems of land system depends, to a great extent, the question of rural reconstruction. The disabilities under which the agriculturists lie in this department, cripple their progressive spirit. The undue subjection to the capricious will of the landholders has told upon the intellectual calibre and the mental outlook of the agriculturists. Submission to the violence of the whip reigns supreme where mutual amity and co-operation should prevail. The stunted growth of local self-government, in spite of its imposition by legislation, is mainly a corollary of this

state of affairs. When any tenancy legislation is taken up, the Government flourishes its trumpets and sings hallelujahs to the effect that it is going to save the poor agriculturists. But the actual legislation belies most of the cherished hopes of the rayets; an irresponsible Government assumes the role of an irresponsible task-master where the rayets are concerned. In the case of the present amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act, the old tactics have not been forgotten. With a zemindar at the head of the Revenue Department and with both of the Indian members of the Bengal Executive Council as zemindars, the Government is going to make a splendid patch-up of a system, which has been made inequitable by the caprices of men in high station. To persons, who are a little cognisant of men and their minds in Bengal, the personnel of the Select Committee will be extremely unsatisfactory. The composition of the Select Committee has been scrupulously made to register the wishes of the zemindars. In consonance with the well-known dictum that 'the king can do no wrong', the head of the Bengal Government, who is the representative of the Crown, is probably beyond our criticism, but this policy of drift, we fear, has some other tales to tell.

SYED ERFAN ALL

CONSUMPTION IN INDIA.

THE grave warning issued by Dr. Muthu, the tuberculosis expert of South India who is running a sanatorium for consumptives in England, in regard to the increase of consumption in India, deserves far more attention from the public than it has received so far. It is no exaggeration to say that this fell disease is our greatest enemy to-day, and what is worse is that it lays a heavier toll day by day. About five years back there appeared a book called "Tuberculosis in India" by Dr. Lankester, who was specially appointed by the Government to study the conditions regarding tuberculosis in India, Burma and Ceylon, and who embodied the results of his inquiries in a book. Although the book is a modified form of the report which he otherwise would have brought out, a modification which he had to make in accordance with the desire of the Government which was not prepared to see the situation regarding tuberculosis so dark as Dr. Lankester had found it to be, the picture that he has drawn is frightful enough and ought to have drawn infinitely more attention from the public than it has done. Says he in his introduction: "To sum up: the impression left upon the mind after careful inquiry, with comparison of such statistics as are available, is that many large cities in India, which 40 years ago were practically 'virgin soil' to tuberculosis, have now become to a considerable extent infested: that pthisis has been for generations, probably centuries, a common disease of the larger cities. Yet even in these there has been considerable actual increase during the last 40 years: that while in smaller towns and in the village districts it was formerly comparatively rare or even absent, yet in these during a similar period the disease has made its appearance and spread widely. The increase has been most marked in connection with those centres which have shown the greatest commercial and educational development, and in the village districts which have been

linked up with them by direct lines of communication."

In this connection, what Dr. Muthu says about the nature of the "soil" being more responsible for the spread of the disease than the nature of the germ is very significant. The low vitality of the people is not able to resist the germs which are always there as plentiful as they could be. Hence the chief thing to be done is so to raise the vitality that the germs may not effect an easy lodgement in the vital parts of the human body. In this task of raising the vitality of the people, if the Charkha can be of use either by simplification of life of which it stands as the symbol in Mahatma Gandhi's mind or by giving an extra income so that people may find it easier to make both ends meet, it is welcome and let us make the most of it. But more than a Charkha, the plough has place in this, and rural reconstruction and agricultural development would be of very great help in that direction as well as in others. The chief need of the people is sufficient food, let alone such essential articles of diet as milk, ghee, etc. It is no exaggeration to say that hardly 10 per cent. of the children in our cities and towns get enough of these articles. The condition in the villages is not much better, though sometimes it is worse, especially in famines. But it is possible to do more in regard to the development of agriculture than has been done hitherto. The educated mind of the country has not yet explored the possibilities in this direction, nor has the Government so far led the way nor shown any encouragement to the people. But a time must come, has already come when the mind of both the people and the Government must be turned in this direction and "Back to the Land" would be an almost universal cry in the country.

One need not think just now of the causes of this frightful increase. They are various, though perhaps the chief of them is the lowering of vitality of the people. In this connection the terrible toll of death taken by the influenza epidemic of 1918 might give a definite hint as to where we stand. The Government figures of mortality in that epidemic are sixty lacs, but competent authorities have said that they are much lower than the actual ones which may be taken as a crore or even more! Whatever they be, it is certain that the epidemic carried away more people from India during the brief period of three or four months than the last war which has been considered to be the greatest in human history. The same influenza wave went all over the world, but nowhere were the figures of mortality anything like what they were in India! The chief cause of this is the lowered vitality of the people. One has but to see the large number of emaciated men, women and children, whether in cities or in towns or even in villages, to be assured of this fact at once. Since Dr. Lankester was not allowed to produce his own report unmodified, a thorough-going examination is required to be made by our own doctors so that we may know where we stand exactly. The problem is a very big one and requires to be handled immediately on nothing less than a national scale. A body like the National Congress would be the proper organization to carry on such an inquiry and then to find out remedies for the evil which is already there in such a big magnitude and which is growing larger day by day. The present writer is not a politician in any sense of the term, but he wishes Swaraj to come to India as early as possible in order that the people of the land may be able to deal with this tremendously big problem of lowered vitality of thirty crores of people. In a country which has so much sunshine, a thing which makes open air life for every one

possible and easy for a good part of the year, and which is largely agricultural, tuberculosis should have been as little as possible, whereas as a matter of fact it is as much as in any country suffering from lack of sunshine and probably more.

Besides the economic, there are other causes that helped to lower the vitality, though the first is undoubtedly the chief one. Some of these other causes are social, such as child-marriages as well as early marriages, Purdah, etc., and others are want of proper sanitary conditions and the spread of infection from those suffering from consumption. All these causes require to be removed and something is being done already in these directions. But far more is necessary and what is more important still is that an educational propaganda should be carried on so that people might realise what an enemy they have to deal with and may be properly equipped for the purpose. The problem is one of prevention more than of cure, and hence whatever tends to prevent the rise and progress of this fell disease ought to be pressed into the service of the cause. For this purpose it is necessary to start anti-Tuberculosis Leagues in every city and town, the business of which would be to spread such knowledge concerning laws of health as might help people in not falling a prey to an enemy that is but too ready to miss any chance to do its work of destruction. It would also be the proper business of such bodies to so fortify the physique of our young ones of both sexes that they may be able to resist the insidious germ of tuberculosis. These and many other things of a like kind can be done by such Leagues.

At the same time the curative side of the work cannot be neglected. The people actually suffering from the disease, whose number may be millions in the country for aught we know, have to be looked to properly for their own selves as well as for others lest they might spread their infection through sheer ignorance. As in many other things, in this also we are moving in a vicious circle. Our vitality has become so low that we fall an easy prey to the germ and the germ, once it has taken hold of the vital parts, continues to make us weaker still and thus more and more its victims. For this purpose anti-tuberculosis dispensaries and segregation camps and sanatoria for patients are an essential part of any war that may be waged against this enemy.

The number of sanatoria for consumptives in India is notoriously small in comparison with the number of patients. Every province ought to have a number of sanatoria, where patients in various stages of the development of consumption can go and be treated in the proper way, a thing which can be done in the majority of such cases only in such places. The present writer has been a patient himself and has known the benefits of treatment in such sanatoria. It is a great pity that even such a pretty well-to-do part of the country as the Bombay Presidency has not one sanatorium where the patients from the middle classes can go and reap the benefit, let alone the poorer people. The one or two that are there hardly meet the need. The situation is perhaps much worse in other provinces.

All these things and many more require to be done, and that without any loss of time. The problem is as acute as it could be, and the ravages of the germ are like those of an all-consuming fire. No city, no town, no village, no street, one may almost say no house, is quite free from it, and no one can say where it will not enter. The rich, the poor, the old, the young, the literate, the illiterate, all these are already in the clutches of this all-pervading terrible foe, and only a most determined

attempt on the part of all concerned can keep it at bay. Ignorance may be bliss in many things, but in this matter it is the worst of curses that may fall upon any one.

MANILAL C. PAREKH.

MISCELLANEOUS.

INDIAN NATIONAL PARTY.

The following is the text of the resolutions passed by a Conference of seven groups of Constitutionalists (Liberals; Responsive Co-operators, Independents, Nationalists, National Home Rule Leaguers, Justice party and non-Brahmans of Maharashtra) held in Bombay at the China Bazaar on the 3rd and 4th April :—

I. (a) This Conference resolves that a party to be known as the Indian National Party be and is hereby formed.

(b) The object of the Indian National Party is to prepare for and accelerate the establishment of swaraj or full self-government in India, such as obtains in the self-governing dominions of the British Empire with due provision for the protection of the rights and interests of minorities and the backward and depressed classes.

(c) (1) The Indian National Party will employ all peaceful and legitimate means not including mass civil disobedience or general non-payment of taxes.

(2) Amongst other preliminary methods open to it, the National Party will inside the legislatures resort to responsive co-operation or opposition or co-operation as and when necessary and it will carry on intensive propaganda work in the country in the furtherance of its objects.

(3) The National Party may promote as occasion may demand a movement of individual or group resistance to authority for definite objects on particular occasions in particular localities.

(d) In the pursuit of its object the Indian National Party will work in co-operation with any other party or political group which has the same object in view and whose methods are consistent with the policy of this party.

(e) While the Indian National Party is of opinion that the constitution embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919 is inadequate and unsatisfactory, it will utilise it to the fullest extent it can (including in it the acceptance of offices) both to accelerate the revision of the constitution as well as to ameliorate the conditions of the people and to advance their interests in every possible way.

(f) The party will to the best of its opportunities strive for the social, political and economic uplift of all classes, castes and communities alike in rural and urban areas and will in particular work for the removal of untouchability and the amelioration of the condition of the backward and depressed classes.

(g) The party will seek by every means in its power to promote unity among the different communities.

(h) Every person who has attained the age of 21 and signifies in writing approval of the policy of the party will be eligible to be a member of the Indian National Party.

At this stage most of the members present signified in writing their consent to be members of the Indian National Party after which the Conference passed the following resolution :—

COMMITTEE FORMED

II. (a) This Conference hereby constitutes a committee consisting of the members named below with power to add to their number and with Messrs C. Y. Chintamani and M. C. Chagla as provisional secretaries.

(b) The members of the Committee belonging to several provinces do form themselves into the provincial committees of the party with power to add to their number and to appoint their office-bearers.

(c) The Committee is to take all necessary and desirable and feasible steps in the furtherance of the objects of the Indian National Party including the constitution of the pro-

vincial and district branches, propaganda among the people, all work relating to the election to Legislative bodies, the promulgation of the rules not inconsistent with the policy of a party, the collection of funds and the holding of an All-India Conference of the Party at such time and place as the Committee may decide.

The Members of the Committee are :—

Dr. Annie Besant, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. B. Chakrabarti, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Babu Bepin Chandra Pal, Sir Moropant Joshi, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Mr. J. Baptista, Mr. J. Chowdhuri, Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, Rao Bahadur R. R. Jayavant, Mr. Ratansi Morarji, Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, Sir K. Venkata Reddi, Mr. S. S. Kamat, Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, Mr. Surendranath Mullick, Mr. Bala Narayanan, Mr. N. V. Gokhale, Rao Bahadur D. G. Padhye, Mr. M. C. Chagla, Mr. D. G. Dalri, Mr. B. K. Lahiri, Raja Govindlal Shival, Mr. Jehangir B. Petit, Mr. B. Shivarao, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Mr. A. N. Surve, Mr. S. G. Vaze, Mr. G. K. Nariman, Mr. N. P. Patankar, Mr. B. Das, Mr. D. P. Khaitan, Mr. S. N. Bose, Mr. Manu Subedar and Mr. D. V. Gokhale.

It must be stated that Messrs. Jayakar, Baptista and D.V. Gokhale have not yet become members of the party. Mr. Jayakar explained that while he was in complete agreement with the resolutions passed that day and would have immediately joined the party if he could have acted alone, he held the position of the President of the Responsive Co-operation Party and therefore had to place the matter before his committee of which an early meeting would be called. But Mr. Jayakar agreed provisionally to serve on the Committee of the Indian National Party subject to the approval of his party.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF PERSIA. By MOUSTAFA KHAN FATEH. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.) 1926. 8½ x 5½. pp. 98. 6s.

WORLD DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COTTON INDUSTRY. With Special Reference to the Cotton Piece Goods Industry in the United States. By LOUIS BADER. (The New York University Press, New York.) 1925. 8 x 5½. pp. 187.

THE CAUSEWAY OF CAPITAL AND LABOUR. By S. E. BRENT. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.) 1925. 7½ x 5. pp. 109. 5s.

LEARNING TO READ A FOREIGN LANGUAGE: AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY. By MICHAEL WEST. (Longmans Green & Co., Ltd., London.) 1926. 7 x 5. pp. 56.

MUNICIPAL EFFICIENCY. (With Special Reference to the Bombay Presidency.) By SREWABAM N. PHERWANI. (Blavatsky Press, Hyderabad, Sind.) 1926. 7½ x 5. pp. 375. Rs. 4.

THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL PHENOMENA. By A. L. BOWLEY. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.) 7½ x 5½. pp. 241. 5s.

THE PRESS LAWS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES. With an Appendix Containing Press-Laws of India. Edited by MONTAGUE SHEARMAN & O. T. RAYNER. (H.M.S. Office, London.) 1926. 9½ x 6. pp. 328. 15s.

REPORT OF THE JOINT COMMISSION OF AGRICULTURAL INQUIRY (U. S. A.) in 4 parts.

Part. I The AGRICULTURAL CRISIS AND ITS CAUSES. 9 x 6. pp. 240.

Part. II CREDIT. 9 x 6. pp. 159.

Part. III TRANSPORTATION. 9 x 6. pp. 686.

Part. IV MARKETING AND DISTRIBUTION. 9 x 5. pp. 266.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION IN THE UNITED STATES. By RALPH H. BLANCHARD. (I.L.O., Geneva.) 1926. 9½ x 6. pp. 108. 1s. 6d.

WAGE CHANGES IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES, 1924-25. (I. L. O., Geneva.) 1926. 9½ x 6. pp. 143. 2s. 6d.

PRICES IN CANADA AND OTHER COUNTRIES. 1926. pp. 30.

REVIEW SECTION.

CONTENTS

The Dawn of a New Era. By Professor T. G. P. Spear, M.A.	126
The Future of Law. By T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, Advocate-General, Madras	127
Oriental Art. By B. S. Sitholey	128
The Era of Welfare Work. By P. Padmanabha Pillai, Ph.D., B.L.	129
Marriage and Divorce. By Mrs. Saralabai Naik, M.A.	129
Dictionary of Political Economy. By Professor V. N. Godbole, M.A.	130
Co-operation in Russia. By C. F. Strickland, I.C.S.	131
Short Notices	131

THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA.

THE WORLD AFTER THE PEACE CONFERENCE. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. (Oxford University Press.) 1925. 9½ × 6½. pp. 91. 5s.

THIS small volume is an epilogue to the six-volume "History of the Peace Conference of Paris" and a prologue to the "Survey of International Affairs, 1920-1923" which has been published separately for the general reader. It is a survey of the world of 1920, a comparison with 1914, an estimate of the world forces at play, and a look into the future. The book shows the touch of a master hand; for clarity of style, condensation of matter, balanced grasp of the situation, and penetration of vision it is a jewel among history books, "more to be desired than fine gold." It constitutes an indispensable guide to the world situation and should be widely read. But we must pass on, lest we quote the whole book under the pretence of a review.

As the first result of the war Mr. Toynbee notes the re-emergence of the small powers from political obscurity. Aroused from their false sense of security by the fate of Belgium and multiplied by the effects of the war, they have joined the League of Nations and are taking an active part in affairs. There by their support of the Protocol and their inconvenient tendency to mass enthusiasm for ideals they have caused considerable embarrassment to the Great Powers. For the small power political interests and the condemnation of militarism often coincide, with the result that the League of Nations is rapidly becoming the diplomatic clearing house of the world—a useful function enough, though one which will probably hasten rather than prevent the next war. Next to them, a new order of intermediate powers, like Rumania, Poland, and Yugoslavia, neither great nor small, has arisen. All these circumstances hinder, if they do not prevent, the continued supremacy of the eight Great Powers of 1914.

Indeed of these apparently unchallengeable Great Powers in 1914 Austria has gone, Germany is crippled, and Russia has withdrawn from the Euro-

pean system. Of the remaining five Great Britain and the United States are concerned more with world affairs than European, Japan is occupied by the Far East, and only an impoverished France and a disturbed Italy are left to fish in the troubled waters of Europe. The Great War, which gave birth to the League of little Nations, has dealt the death-blow to the Concert of Europe, the united front of the Great Powers to the rest of the world.

From one point of view the war has been the triumph of linguistic nationalism. The secession states of Austria and Russia, and the Balkan States all have their claims based upon language. Science replaces Tradition in Near Eastern groupings and instead of Austria growing into a nation with many languages but one nationalism, even historical states like Bohemia and Serbia have adopted such "scientific" jargon as Czecho-Slovakia and Jugoslavia for names. This new nationalism, bound by language and not by place, may easily grow in India and would be a further menace to all-Indian Nationalism. It is quite easy to imagine a Bengali, a Marathi, a Tamil, and a Punjabi nationalism growing up on this basis, and indeed one or two of them have already begun. The history of Nationalism in India will be the record of a race between vernacular and all-Indian nationalism. The Congress movement is really an international movement, resting on the inertia of the provinces. Once their feelings are aroused, real national feeling will be localised and the present Nationalists will find themselves the pioneers of Indian internationalism.

In some of his most suggestive pages Mr. Toynbee touches on the effect of the war on the contact of cultures. He points out how the Byzantine culture of the Balkans and Russia, after submission by the Turks, gradually recovered its political independence in the Balkans and power in Russia by adopting the culture of the West. Russia has now thrown off this veneer, and is perhaps returning to her natural path of evolution. But the Balkans are increasingly influenced. Similarly, Turkey after a steady decline and a series of resounding defeats is recovering her political independence and shedding her ancient culture at the same time. It is this which divides the Mohamedan world at present and in particular separates India from other Muslim countries; the Indian Muslims want to overcome the West by becoming more Muslim, the Turks want to overcome the West by becoming more Western (p. 79). The fact is that Mustapha Kemal has more sympathy for Lord Reading than the Khilafatists, and that is why Indian deputations are not welcomed in Angora. In India on the other hand, the reaction was in the other direction—to defeat the West by becoming more Eastern. Time will show which is the most successful.

Nowhere is the contact of cultures more marked than in Africa and nowhere are the results more startling. The science of Europe is unlocking the

door to the religion of Islam. "The opening up of Africa by Western Empire builders had not only cleared a physical path for the preaching of Islam; it had created the psychological condition for the mass conversion of native African society. Helpless and abashed is the face of this incomprehensible but overwhelming economic power which had suddenly taken possession of his material life, the African had discovered in Islam a cloak for his spiritual nakedness. Islam appealed to him because it was simple, fraternal, and non-Western." The West is losing Africa nearly as fast as it gained it, and like the migration of Buddhism from India to China, it is possible that Islam will flourish in Africa long after it has disappeared from Arabia.

Thus the result of the war has broadly been a weakening of the influence of the Great Powers and an increase in that of the Lesser; a weakening of the hold of the Great Powers over the world on account of rising nationalist opposition, lowered prestige and their shattered unity, and the continued vitality of the loosely knit confederations of the American States and the British Empire. Those who once hoped are now inclined to despair, those who despaired are beginning to hope. Everywhere are signs of a new world and a new era shaped by hands we hardly yet recognise and existing under conditions we scarcely yet understand.

It is refreshing to note Mr. Toynbee's natural use of "Mahatma Gandhi," a recognition of a popular title of honour which but few non-Indian writers have yet had the imagination or understanding to accord. The spirit and matter of the book cannot be too warmly praised and we hope it will find in India as many readers as it deserve.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

THE FUTURE OF LAW.

LYCURGUS OR THE FUTURE OF LAW. By E. S. P. HAYNES. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., London.) 1925. 6½ x 4½. pp. 94. 2s. 6d.

IT is an article in the creed of some eminent writers that the legal mind always looks back to, and is centred in, the past and rarely, if ever, looks forward to the future and its demands. In the opinion of these, the lawyer of all men refers to "the law made, the right established, the precedent set and consistently ignores or condemns the thing that is only seeking to establish itself." There is also everywhere a certain amount of prejudice in the public mind against the lawyer in public life. It is a common criticism that he takes not a statesmanlike but a lawyer's view of things, the implication being that he attaches too much importance to what is and too little to what should be and is struggling to be. In the administration of law with which he is in the first instance concerned, he has necessarily to refer, and cannot but refer, to the existing law. This does not unfit him to judge of what should be. He knows more than others how the administration of the existing law actually works, the hardship it inflicts, and the need for its mitigation or removal and the reform required to achieve the desired result. As the author points out, it is the lawyers that have in most cases worked for the reform of existing law. And the author,

in the choice and treatment of his subject, shows how little the lawyers deserve the common criticism levelled at their attitude towards desirable change.

The author says that lawyers might consider his book unduly sketchy and pleads in extenuation that he has to work in a small compass and is writing for the layman. There is reason to think that even the average lawyer in India may find difficulty in following the writer in some passages of the book. The reason is not that the author is unintelligible but he is allusive and assumes too much knowledge in the ordinary reader. Unless the average reader in Great Britain is much better informed than the average professional man in India on the topics dealt with in the book, the book may not be followed easily in all parts of it.

The book deals with the trend of progress-mainly of English Law considered in reference to the topics dealt with. In the "Introductory" chapter in which the author proposes to base his forecast on the assumption that the law will be reformed in accordance with the dictates of commonsense, he refers to defects of law and uninstructed democratic legislation which remind Indian readers of complaints nearer home. The author complains of bad drafting of statutes necessitating litigation and conflicting decisions, of absence of principle and indolence in its application, of faddist legislation interfering with the sacred rights of the individual, of uncertainties and delays. Of faddist legislation, the author gives "prohibition" as an illustration. In this country that will not probably be admitted to be a fad; but all but advanced sections might characterise the proposed reforms as to Hindu Law and the age of consent as faddist legislation. It is curious that the author should speak, in regard to England, of the harm of liberty, of "impatience with the complexity of human affairs and a tendency to dragoon citizens when it is easier to employ force rather than determine their rights."

The author's suggestion that there should be a department of State, a Ministry of Justice, employed in perpetually clarifying the case law and different statutes in order to introduce coherence and simplicity in legislation is a useful one even for other countries than England.

The mode of looking at the criminal as an imperfectly constructed creature and the change in criminal administration which that view involves are beginning to be familiar in this country. The author hopes for the reduction of crime by legal reform and amelioration of the economic condition of the people. Our hope can only lie in the more law-abiding character of our people of all classes and the spread of education. The abolition of grinding poverty will reduce crime; but that is not by any means easy of achievement in this country.

According to the author the marriage laws will become more rational. We shall have no conception of what that means just as we were told some days ago that in this country with its communal restrictions we have no conception of what is meant by the freedom of marriage. It may, however, be of interest to Indians to know that *legitimatio per subsequens matrimonium*, adoption and consensual divorce will become part of English Law according to the author. These changes in the generally conservative outlook of the English people and their laws must be due to conditions which have resulted from the recent war.

The author sees no prospect of the law costs being reduced within the next fifty years. Nor does one see any prospect of it in this country. The codification of laws into some degree of simplicity so as to make law determinable by the average lay-

man is very remote. The author remarks: "Popular government leads to endless complication of statutes; and even if these Statutes were intelligible the increasing power of bureaucrats to make rules for themselves becomes more and more profitable to the lawyers."

The author expects costs to be paid to an innocent man who has had to stand a criminal trial. His suggestion that the State should be liable to damages for malicious prosecution may open the gate to a flood of harassing litigation against the Government.

The author, like all lawyers brought up in the English system, is partial to the dual legal agency and sees no advantage in the abolition of the system by the fusion of solicitors and barristers. It is natural that they should be unwilling to alter a system to which they have long been accustomed without being shown any tangible advantage as accruing from the alteration. They ask, and rightly, why if the division of labour is needed, if the abolition will not reduce costs and will not mean greater dispatch or better advice, should any change be made?

Apparently the need for permitting direct contact between the advocate and the client at least when no legal proceedings are actually pending in courts seems to be felt. It may be difficult to suggest a satisfactory reason for distinguishing cases where proceedings are pending in courts from those where they are not. What is not pending in courts to-day may become a pending proceeding to-morrow.

When the community becomes so enlightened as to provide justice for the poor, the author hopes for the establishment of a Court of Domestic Relations as in America. I must leave the reader to study for himself the extracts from the testimony of Judges Lindsey and Hoffman which furnish very instructive reading on a topic on which the ideas of the vast majority of the Hindus in this country are so unlike what are gaining ground in Europe.

Not much interest, perhaps, is felt in this country in those matters that are discussed by the author in his chapter on International Law. The author refers to residence, nationality and domicile and their bearing on marriage and divorce, property and contracts and expresses the hope that in fifty years' time the tests of residence and nationality which are gaining ground will leave little to domicile as a governing test.

The author makes some remarks in the chapter on individual liberty which are worth pondering over.

"Democracy values equality more than liberty."

The ideal of equalisation, (which I substitute for "The Americanisation" for the benefit of Indian readers), "may well breed despair in any one who wishes to see the ideal of the aristocrat, the humanist and the peasant preserved by law."

"It is difficult to discern whether the old alliance between law and liberty will endure; but it is to be hoped that the ordinary citizen will take to heart the obvious truth that if liberty cannot exist without law, law equally depends on liberty based on responsibility, for any law which weakens or destroys liberty breeds anarchy."

"There are disquieting signs in Great Britain of gross tyranny exerted by our new bureaucracy against taxpayers and by the police against young men and women verging on blackmail in certain cases. The Victorian ideal of liberty is dead and no other ideal has come to life."

The book is highly interesting and provocative of thought and I wish that some competent hand did

something of the kind for the Indian Law. The progress of Indian Law depends on more complicated factors. It may not be easy to prophesy the change that will come over the Indian Law. One need not mind if prophecy as to what will happen is mixed up with a statement of what is deemed desirable and must be made to happen.

T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI.

ORIENTAL ART.

THE YEAR BOOK OF ORIENTAL ART AND CULTURE, 1924-1925. Edited by ARTHUR WALEY. (Ernest Benn, Ltd., London.) 1925. Two Vols. Vol. I—Text, pp. 142; Vol. II—Plates 60. £5-5-0.

THE Editor, who is an Assistant in the British Museum, assigns the place of honour to his own essay, mainly biographical, on the Chinese painter, Yün Shouping. He quotes a notable statement attributed to this artist, who did not view with favour the impressionistic and transcendental interpretation of nature of the earlier Chinese masters, which indicates that the Eastern artists were not altogether ignorant of the *motif* of natural representation—the dominant idea in European artistic composition—a *motif* the general absence of which in Oriental, particularly Indian, art gave Ruskin an opportunity for his biased criticism of Asia's artistic achievements. There are several other essays on Chinese art by well-known sinologists. Of these the most interesting are those on "Small Chinese Carvings in Steatite" by Karl With, and "The Tunes of Chinese Poetry" by Louise Strong Hammond. In the first essay, the writer lays stress on the fact that "it is the middle classes who fix the ideal of civilization which is carried far and wide into the masses of the people." The steatite figures, with all their picturesque and decorative charm, do not merely fulfil an aesthetic function, but manifest a religious feeling inherent in the people. The second essay discusses the peculiarities of Chinese language and its strong affinity to musical expression. Chinese is monosyllabic and the only method of conveying the exact meaning of the speech is by the correct intonation of syllables. A syllable wrongly pronounced may mean quite a different idea from that intended. The ordinary recitation of Chinese poetry therefore takes the form of the singing of a tune. In "The Three Great *Hakkei* of Hiroshige," Will H. Edmunds tells of the great Japanese artist, Hiroshige, who was supreme in depicting Nature's kaleidoscopic and evanescent moods, but who remained unnoticed in his country until the West discovered him for the Japanese.

It should not be forgotten that the attitude of European savants in the past in regard to Chinese art has been that of disdain. Instead of admitting their ignorance of matters Oriental, they preferred to be opinionated. It is, therefore, a welcome sign that the present-day scholars have cut themselves loose from their predecessors and are attempting to obtain first-hand knowledge of the peoples whose artistic achievements they desire to understand. This reaction has resulted in a complete change of values. Hitherto the tendency has been to deal with single subjects, be it painting, sculpture, ceramics or architecture, as if these were divided by watertight compartments. Now serious endeavours are being made to envisage the entire range of artistic activities of the Oriental people with a view to determining their cultural contribution to civilization as a whole and striking a balance-sheet of the obligations of the East and the West.

The most notable contribution to the Year Book is by Joseph Strzygowski on "The Northern Stream of Art from Ireland to China and the Southern Movement." The writer advances the theory that there existed an art which originated and developed in Northern countries extending from Ireland to China, independently of the influences of ancient Greece and Rome, though, as it found expression mainly through the medium of wood, sufficient specimens of which are not available, its individuality was entirely undermined by later streams of Græco-Roman and Hellenistic-Mesopotamian art. "Animal Standards in Indonesia and their Cultural Significance," by G. Elliot Smith, traces the symbolism of heraldic designs and national emblems as being genetically related to the system of Totemism. In his essay on "The Westward Movement of the Art of Printing," T. F. Carter tells us of ancient Khotan and Chinese Turkestan where the excavations and researches of A. v. Le Coq, Stein and Grünwedel have unearthed for us a wealth of material representative of the interaction and fusion of Indian, Chinese, Uigur, Syrian, Iranic and Bactrian civilizations. It is interesting to note that in the Oasis of Turfan Stein discovered in 1907 the oldest printed book in the world—a Buddhist classic sealed up and forgotten for centuries in the library of the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas. Dr. Coomaraswamy deals with two Mughal paintings and quotes the text from a MS of the Ragamala explaining the personification and symbolism of the musical mode Dipaka Raga. J. Przyłuski gives various versions of the legend of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana as depicted in the sculptures at the Bayon of Angkor-Thom. This exposition is very interesting as showing that India's artistic frontier eastward is to be found in Comodia and Java, though her cultural influences penetrated as far as China and Japan.

The essays are written by recognized authorities on their various subjects and provide very valuable material to serious students of the art of the Near and the Far East. It is not possible in limited space to examine the various debatable points raised in the essays. The exhibition of Chinese and Persian objects held in Paris in May 1925 by Mr. Charles Vignier has assailed many current hypotheses which will, in the interests of scientific study of art, have to be abandoned.

The Year Book is a sumptuous production worthy of the subject with which it deals. Messrs. Earnest Benn, Limited, are to be congratulated on their enterprise.

B. S. SITHOLEY.

THE ERA OF WELFARE WORK.

THE EQUIPMENT OF THE SOCIAL WORKER.

By ELIZABETH MACADAM. (George Allen Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1925. 8½ × 5. pp. 220. 6s. net.

THE last quarter of a century has witnessed a remarkable social development. In the domain of what are called the social sciences, pure academic theorising has been becoming more and more humanised, and there has been an insistent endeavour to study the conditions of the depressed classes—these exist in every clime and country in their native environment—and to formulate and apply practical programmes for their betterment. The fitful and unconsidered philanthropy of an earlier generation is now being displaced by a scientific and carefully thought-out system which realises that at the heart of every social problem is a moral problem, and that the best way of helping the 'submerged classes' is by a sympathetic, yet not patronising, attempt to teach

them to help themselves. The present writer has had some opportunities to study the work done in England by some well-known philanthropic organisations, such as the Salvation Army, the Workers' Educational Association, the Charity Organisation Society, &c., and what struck him most was the quality of the actual workers in this task of social amelioration. When speaking a couple of years ago at a meeting organised by the Oxford Settlement in the East End of London, he came into contact with some University men of distinction, imbued with an acute sense of their social duties and anxious to learn by practical experience how best they can fulfil those duties. The theme of Miss Macadam's book is the development of social study, inside and outside the universities, as a method of preparing workers for the coming profession of social administration in all its forms, public and private, paid and unpaid, and not less for the ordinary duties and privileges of civilisation. In addition to describing what has actually been accomplished, she has endeavoured to indicate future lines of development, and the increased equipment that will be necessary if departments of social study are to rise to the level of the great opportunities opening before them as the shadows of the war recede.

That the university is the proper place for imparting instruction in the theory and art of social administration will not now-a-days be seriously disputed; and in this connection reference may be made to Sir William Beveridge's forcible plea, at the second Congress of the Universities of the Empire, to give public administration as important a place in University teaching as the older Faculties leading to the "learned professions." Sir William's own institution, the London School of Economics, is perhaps the best equipped for this purpose in the whole of the United Kingdom, but several other universities there are devoting considerable attention to perfecting their public or social administration courses. Miss Macadam gives us a clear idea of the beginnings and development of social training, both theoretical and practical, in Great Britain and America. The universities in the great industrial centres have recognised the importance of this faculty and have sought to organise it in direct connection with private and public institutions: Health Departments, Employment Exchanges, Settlements, Charity organisations, etc.; and we may well hope that the day is not far distant when it will be felt that no education could be regarded as complete unless it fits a man properly to fulfil his social duties by giving him an adequate training in social work.

Miss Macadam has rendered a distinct public service by the publication of her book, and the practical suggestions she offers, though they may be dull reading, are even more important to organisers of social study than the more interesting descriptive passages. It is to be hoped that the book will be fully and freely utilised by all—and their number is ever on the increase—who are interested in the vast and difficult problems of practical social welfare work.

P. PADMANABHA PILLAI.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE. By JULIA E. JHONSEN. (Handbook series.) (The H. W. Wilson Company, New York.) 1925. 8 × 5. pp. 293. \$2.40.

THE appalling rise in the number of divorces in the United States of America has created a kind of apprehension in the minds of the people. It is

feared that if divorces are allowed to go on increasing with the present rate, the institution of the family will be soon obliterated and the social fabric will receive a rude shock. As a result of this apprehension various bodies interested in maintaining the social structure are agitating to reform the laws regulating marriage and divorce and a movement is set afoot to amend the federal legislation.

The book under review is a handbook written and published with a view to give the arguments for and against the proposed change in the Federal legislation. The analysis of arguments for and against, given at the beginning, is logical and clear though a little terse. Then follows a comprehensive bibliography of books and articles written in America on this subject. A selection of articles discussing the question from various view points is published next. In these articles, the question is examined from historical, sociological, ethical and other standpoints. Attempts are made to find out the causes of divorce, but after going through the various articles the reader is left a bit disappointed as to the fundamental cause of divorce—the rapidly growing social malady in America.

Each writer has his own theory. However Mr. Leonard Macege, Attorney-in-Chief of the Legal Aid Society, gives sound advice to husbands and wives about avoiding divorce or dissension by following certain rules of conduct. Although the book is based on the American social structure and the means to tackle the problems arising therefrom, yet it gives good food for reflection to those who are interested in sociological problems in general.

Divorce is generally accepted by almost all legal systems with the exception of Hindu law. Divorce is a malady and no sane person can ever be fond of it and so, though allowed, the proportion of divorces to marriages will naturally remain small. Besides the chief reason of the divorces being rare in olden times in all the countries is obvious. The ideal of marriage in the older civilizations was based upon the authority of the husband and the submissive loyalty of the wife who was, economically, dependent on him. Even in religion and spirituality "He to God and she through him" was accepted by the selfish man and the ignorant woman. But in modern times individualism and equality of rights and duties have made long strides. With these ideas and with the ideal of emancipation of women, this aspect of married life has changed. The woman is becoming economically independent and is gradually assuming her social and political rights and is reaching a stage when she cannot but resent the position of blind submission allotted to her in the home and in society.

The American woman has been the first to reach this stage. The attractions of authority and power are so great that it goes difficult for the man to give up the superior position of authority in the family and the woman cannot accept the secondary position so long forced upon her. This naturally adds to the number of divorces.

There is some truth in the argument that it is futile to stop divorces by legislation. Marriages based on mutual love and respect can have no room for authority or submission and there need be no fear of dissension—far less of divorce. It is true that such highly spiritual mentality is rare. Union between two free and fully developed individuals seeking to join, not because they are in need of some earthly gains or under some earthly coercion, but because they are inspired by some divine spark, are unions which care little for law. In fact they are above State laws.

But if marriages of ordinary people are to be more happy and divorces rare, the man and the woman desiring marriage should be educated and made to take each other as real friends trying his and her best to keep the other happy and not to expect too much from either party. Coercion of any kind is always irritating. It is all the more so in marriages, though laws are necessary for making the couple understand and fulfil its responsibilities and obligations to each other, to children and to society. This book is worth being read by every one who takes an academic interest in this important question of sociology.

SARALABAI NAIK.

DICTIONARY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.
PALGRAVE'S DICTIONARY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. Vols. 3. Edited by HENRY HIGGS. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd. London.) 1925-1926. 9×6. pp. 924,966 & 849,36s. each volume.

THAT the standard Dictionary of Political Economy edited by Palgrave should run into several editions within the small space of thirty years is itself sufficient testimony of the popularity of this encyclopædic work. The great care exercised in the choice of topics and the thoroughness with which the position of economic thought is presented have made this work an indispensable reference book to students of Economics. In the new edition appendices have been added at the end of all the volumes to bring the exposition up-to-date.

In Vol. I, the articles on Banking, Census, Commerce, English Economic History, and the American School of Economics are remarkable for complete exposition and impartiality of judgment. The treatment of 'Foreign Exchanges' in this volume is, in our opinion, inadequate and certainly more space than a couple of pages should have been devoted to this important topic. An article on Arthashastra of Chanakya is also necessary, considering how rich the book is in economic matter and that it is as ancient as even Aristotle.

Vol. II contains excellent articles on Finance, German School of Economics, Gold, Interest and Usury, Malthus, Method of Economics and Money. The article on Karl Marx ought to be much fuller in view of the fact that his book is still regarded as the Bible of Socialism. A curious omission is the land system in British India to which as far as we can trace there is no reference in the Dictionary.

Vol. III has articles on Physiocrats and Prices—giving complete bibliographies as guides to the advanced student. A one-page article on Sociology can hardly do justice to the great importance of the growing recognition of the close interrelation between these two sciences. We should like to see this defect removed in the next edition. Considering the enormous importance of the Wage problem in modern industry, 13 pages devoted to all the aspects of the question including wage-statistics are barely able to touch the fringe of the subject. Why should there be no reference to the Indian wage problem? Similarly Ranade ought to find a place in this volume as the pioneer of economic thought in modern India. (Dutt and Dadabhai ought likewise to be given a place in the first volume.) The article on 'Socialism' in the appendix is one of the best in the third volume. The account of the Rupee in the appendix covering the period of war is miserably poor, in the light of the fact that the Indian system is an example of the Gold Exchange Standard operating on the largest scale in the world. If the

"Dictionary of Political Economy" is to be an imperial affair instead of a national one, India cannot be treated with such scant courtesy.

However these are minor defects. The work on the whole is in its conception as well as execution a *chef-d'oeuvre* in economic literature and no library of any pretensions can afford to do without it. For obvious reasons we refrain from making any comments on the views expressed in the work because they emanate from various authors. But as to the general accuracy of the statements as well as the impartiality of the judgment of the several contributors we have absolutely no doubt.

V. N. GODBOLE.

CO-OPERATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN SOVIET RUSSIA. (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1925. 9½ × 6. pp. 352. 6s.

FOR those who have brains to understand, a more convincing case against bloody revolution was never presented. The International Labour Office is not partisan, and presents its facts objectively; the sources from which the facts are drawn are Russian (inside Russia, not refugees abroad), and the opinions quoted are Russian, frequently Communist. The disorganisation of the flourishing co-operative movement by the system of compulsory membership and of universal supplies, which was the first expedient of the Bolshevik Government, was one of the causes which led to the New Economic Policy of 1921. Co-operators ceased to co-operate since all alike were included in the officialized "societies"; the machinery of the movement was overloaded and broke down, when it was handled by new comers who lacked the old spirit and when it was applied to uses for which it was never intended. The central organisation, the Centrosoyus, saved itself temporarily by abandoning the co-operative idea, and seeking "trade for trade's sake," i. e. profiteering. When in 1924 the reaction restored voluntary subscriptions and to some extent voluntary membership, the local unions had collapsed, and the Centrosoyus was no more able to renew its connection with the local unions or societies than were the latter with the impoverished consumer. The record ends with a meeting of co-operators and private traders in 1925, which aimed at recognizing the right of the trader to a share in wholesale trade. The right to retail trade had been admitted by the N.E.P. in 1921, and it would appear that a return to a modified regime of private capitalism is inevitable.

However distressing to Socialists this story of failure may be, it serves also for valuable instruction and a warning. It does not follow from this Russian instance that Co-operation cannot handle large-scale trade, still less that Socialism and the shaking off of burdens are a delusion; but the conclusion does very clearly stand out that those who hope for a national gain through a policy of violence are insane; they are worse, they are just stupid, and perhaps too stupid to be taught. Revolutions are highly desirable; many of us dream of them, and some of us work towards them, so far as may lie in our power. They may even be sudden, almost catastrophic, but they must not be accompanied by the cutting of throats!

In an economic disaster, no element in a country's life is more grievously impaired than the delicate structure of Co-operation, which is based upon thrift and mutual good faith. When the foundations of the world are shaken, saving is idle, and faith appears only too often to be weakness. Some ex-

cellent comments on the moral results of civil disorder are made by Thucydides. Co-operators can only hope to win the world by patient work and honest dealing; the State can do much for them; but if the State asks them to undertake a task for which they are yet unfit, they should decline the responsibility and work quietly on. Above all, no violence, even in the best of causes!

The book is written in excellent English, and the thought is coherent and sober, but from the nature of the subject a discussion of Russian Co-operation in its diverse types cannot be consecutive, and close attention is required. A book for serious students; it will repay study, but the final chapter should be read first.

C. F. STRICKLAND.

SHORT NOTICE.

NEW DAYS IN LATIN AMERICA. By WEBSTER E. BROWNING. (Missionary Education Movement, New York) 1925. 7½ × 5. pp. 226. \$1.00.

WE in India know very little of the great Continent of South America, sometimes called Latin America. But the study of such a country with conditions in certain ways like those in our own land ought to interest all of us. A peculiar new race is coming to birth out of the medley of nearly every imaginable race in the world. The state of women is deplorable; alcohol, gambling, poverty, disease and infant mortality hold their sway as much as they do in India. But, unlike India, the religion of the majority is Christianity, and that of the Roman persuasion.

As an introduction to the study of such a country, Browning's book seems to be very useful. He has made a careful analysis of the situation in the country and treats the subject with an unprejudiced mind. Though himself a Protestant and a North American, he tries to see the good points in his southern neighbours and, wherever necessary, he boldly criticises his own countrymen. His attitude to the Roman Church is usually sympathetic.

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Surely there are very few Protestants, who could write in such a strain. Yet our author thinks that the Roman Church has failed in South America and his solution to the problem is that it should be revitalised by Protestantism.

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