

Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

The late Moulana Muhammad Ali.

THE news of the death in London on Sunday last of Moulana Muhammad Ali, a member of the Round Table Conference, will be received with genuine regret in India. Poignancy is added to the grief in that he passed away just at the moment when he bent all his energies to bring about an amicable settlement between the Muslims and the Hindus and when he definitely threw the full weight of his great influence with the Muslims in India on the side of nationalism and the common electorate.

A product of Oxford, he was yet a militant and passionate Mussalman who devoted the best part of his life to the cause of pan-Islamism and the overthrow of western domination over Islamic countries, and among them India. He hated Britain most because she was the one European nation which had secured remorseless grip on most of the Islamic countries, and readily joined hands with Mahatma Gandhi in the latter's non-co-operation with the British Government ten years ago, and secured the support of the Indian National Congress to the Khilafat and Turkish causes. In recent years he parted company with Mahatma Gandhi and gave his support to the Round Table Conference.

When he left India to attend the Conference he knew he was taking grave risks. But nothing daunted, he took his place at the Conference and strove hard, according to his lights, to bring about a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question. He had accepted joint electorates in principle, though he added a complication to it, and he was prepared to support it through thick and thin. Candour and courage distinguished him to a remarkable degree.

The Kesari and Mahratta Jubilee.

THE *Kesari* and *Mahratta* journals celebrated their golden jubilee last week when people of all shades of

opinion in the Deccan united in congratulating them. This journal and Mr. Tilak's papers have not always found themselves in the same camp; but that does not come in the way of our heartily congratulating our contemporaries on the completion of fifty years of their existence. Whatever view one may hold of the politics of the Tilak school, the fact cannot be gainsaid that the *Kesari* has played a very prominent part in rousing political consciousness in the Deccan. The association of Mr. Tilak with the paper both as proprietor and editor ensured for it a measure of popularity among the Mahrathi public which falls to the lot of very few journals. To Mr. N. C. Kelkar more than to anybody else since the passing away of Mr. Tilak must go the credit for maintaining the paper at its high level. He has also maintained the *Kesari's* very deserved reputation for literary finish. The *Mahratta* has been, as it were, the English counterpart of the *Kesari* and has attained an All-India reputation. It had its own individuality unmistakably impressed on every one of its issues. The jubilee celebration of these papers is an occasion for universal rejoicing. We wish that they will live long to continue to render in an ever increasing measure the good and great public service they have been rendering during the last fifty years.

National Muslims.

THERE was always a certain section of Muslims who had a deeper appreciation of implications of separate electorates and realised their harmful effects, but it somehow kept itself in the background. It was not represented in the Round Table Conference either. But the disgraceful exhibition of communal wrangles in London and the thoroughly reactionary proposals of Sir Muhammad Iqbal at the last session of the All-India Muslim League and the offer of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Dr. Munge to agree to separate electorates if the Muslims insisted on them, roused it to a sense of the impending danger. The Raja of Muhammada-bad, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Hasan Imam, and others in the U. P. Moulvi Mahomed Yasin and Mrs. Sofia Khatoon and others in Bengal Mr. Yakub Hassan in Madras and Mr. M. C. Chagla in Bombay have hastened to condemn communal electorates and avow their adhesion to common electorates. The Raja of Muhammadabad and his collaborators in their manifesto declared :

The retention of separate electorates is most undesirable under a Dominion constitution. A large number of Muslims consider it prejudicial to their community. National honour demands a fight against the perpetuation of the evil. India shall never accept any constitution not based on joint electorates.

The manifesto issued by Maulvi Mahomed Yasin and others in Bengal goes further and says :

The Muslim masses will, under no circumstances, accept separate electorates in any form.

even if the Hindu delegates agree to accept the Muslim communalists' demand for separate electorates as it is detrimental to their best interests.

Mrs. Sofia Khaton, Secretary of the Bengal Muslim Women's Association, and 75 others have also denounced separate electorates as hampering the growth of nationalism. We join the *Bombay Chronicle* in hoping that the Muslims themselves will pronounce the doom of separate electorates. We hope also that these expressions of Muslim opinion will have the desired effect in London and will facilitate a right solution of the communal problem and pave the way to dominion status.

All-Asia Educational Conference.

FROM all accounts the All-Asia Educational Conference recently held at Benares seems to have had a successful session. The attendance of educationists from all over the country was surprisingly large, thanks to the sympathetic attitude of local Governments and Indian States towards it. The subjects discussed were varied, but in view of the variety of conditions in which educational work has to be carried on in different countries, the Conference very properly refrained from recording any formal conclusions or framing any cut and dried schemes applicable to Asian countries. But the exchange of thought on educational subjects that must have taken place in the various sub-committees appointed by the Conference must have been very valuable, and the close contact which the Conference must have established between some of the best minds engaged in education cannot but be without its beneficial results. Looked at from this point of view, it was a mercy that the advice to abandon the Conference in view of the unsettled political condition of the country did not prevail. A large part of the credit for this result was due to the veteran educationist, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who rightly insisted upon the Conference being held.

The Women's Section of the conference also transacted some very useful business. Miss Brockway emphasised the importance of the entire field of primary education being taken charge of by women. As she pointed out, women as teachers of little children would have special love for them and an understanding that came from child life. The day when primary education in India would be wholly staffed by women teachers still appears to be far distant; but if, as a result of this Conference, something is done to hasten it, the Conference will not have met in vain. Another important point that emerged out of her speech was that teachers engaged in rural education should know something about agriculture and allied problems. If this happened, each village school would be a centre of village uplift, as Miss Brockway, in common with many thoughtful Indians, wants it to be. Principal Seshadri also expressed sound views about girls' education. There is a school of thought in the country which would not hold up before our young ladies any higher ideal than motherhood. Mr. Seshadri protested against the idea that "girls should be taught in the school and colleges to be more attractive in the marriage market" or to be good house-wives. At a time when women themselves are clamouring for equality with men in all departments of life, it would be sheer mockery to ask them to be content with a lower standard of education than that received by men. If there are individual women whose vision does not go beyond motherhood, by all means let there be provision for it. But let not women, because they are women, be necessarily restricted to an inferior order of education.

British vs. Boer.

THE recent action of the Labour Government in appointing a British High Commissioner in the Union of South Africa and transferring to him the duties of the British High Commissioner for the Native Protectorates, which hitherto vested in the Governor General of South Africa has been criticised by Lord Buxton, a former Governor General of South Africa, and Major W. Ormsby-Gore, a former Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. Gen. Hertzog, too, has resented it in the diplomatic language open to him. He agreed with Lord Buxton who urged that the change would have an adverse effect on the Native mind and in particular, that of the Chiefs. Hitherto the Governor General, who represented the King in South Africa, acted as the mouthpiece of the King to the Natives as the High Commissioner for the Native Protectorates. With the bifurcation of the two functions, the Governor General would have no jurisdiction in the Native Protectorates and the new High Commissioner will not be the mouthpiece of the King as he will be the representative of the British Government and not of the Crown. He will not be entitled to the Royal Salute, which, according to Lord Buxton, "conveys much to the minds of the Natives." He, therefore, wished that the change was not made, particularly in view of the fact that hereafter the Governor General, no longer nominated by and responsible to the British Government, will to a greater degree be the representative of the King and less of the British Government.

But, as the *Manchester Guardian* pointed out, these criticisms are thoughtless of Native interests and of the British Government's responsibility for the government of the Protectorates. Hereafter the selection of the Governor General will rest with the South African Cabinet and not the British Cabinet. If there was no vital difference between the native policies of the British Government and of the South African Government, it would not have mattered much which Cabinet made the selection. But there is all the difference in the world between the two: the British Government paying homage to the British ideal of common citizenship and the South African Government avowing the Boer ideal of inequality of black and white. It would be an ignominious surrender on the part of the British Government to entrust their Native policy to a South African. The change was inevitable. And in it lies the guarantee that in the Protectorates British ideals will be upheld.

The South African whites would like to extend their policy of colour discrimination across the border; and in the pursuit of such uniformity, Gen. Hertzog wished that the Protectorates should be handed over to the Union of South Africa. According to the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, the natives in the Protectorates approve of the change as they wish to remain under Downing Street control, and even the natives in the Transkien Territories, now under the control of the Union Government, wish to be placed directly under British control.

As for the effect of the Royal Salute on the Native Chiefs, there is no reason why it should not be accorded to the British High Commissioner for the Protectorates. We have in the Viceroy of India a representative of the King as well as the agent of the British Cabinet.

Seva Samiti, Allahabad.

THE 15th annual Report of the Seva Samiti, Allahabad, is a record of very valuable and many-sided work of social service demanding an amount of self-sacrifice on the part of the workers and volunteers and done with splendid devotion. The Samiti is

conducting a High School for Boys, in which scouting and physical culture are a special feature, a reading room and a gymnasium in charge of a physical expert, a free hospital with a competent honorary medical staff in Allahabad; and night schools with about 460 students on their rolls for the labouring classes and agriculturists in other places of the province admitting all irrespective of caste and creed. A rescue and widows' home at Cawnpore supports deserted women and orphans and prepares them for useful professions such as Teaching, Nursing, Midwifery and gives instructions in *Navar* making and spinning. Some of the branches affiliated to the main body are conducting activities like restoration of lost property, cremation of unclaimed bodies and rendering social service in big fairs by helping in all possible ways the pilgrims coming from distant places. At the Kumbha Mela at Prayag the Samiti organized a campaign of relief to the pilgrims and as many as 3,000 volunteers were working under the Organizing Secretary of the Samiti at that time. Very valuable service was rendered to the pilgrims by the provision of shelters, regulation of traffic at the Railway Stations and in the temples and bathing ghats, restoration of lost women and specially children, conducting of dispensaries, prevention of communicable diseases, and saving of life from drowning. It is gratifying to note that some of the branches affiliated to the main body are conducting free and charitable Ayurvedic dispensaries and hospitals as a permanent feature of their work. The Samiti is also doing propaganda in the Naik community by means of schools, lectures, etc. against the evil practice of bringing up girls to lead a life of shame and immorality. As an adjunct to this a lady worker of the Samiti has started a Naik Kanya Vivaha Sahayak Mandal which greatly facilitates marriages of the Naik girls with suitable bridegrooms. The propaganda is not without its own effect on the people who in time will come to realise its real value.

Such widespread and onerous work as the Seva Samiti has been doing requires adequate financial help and we hope and trust that all philanthropic and generous-hearted people will respond to the appeal for funds made by the authorities of the Samiti and thus enable it to carry on its valuable work more efficiently and vigorously.

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Sholapur Convicts.

ON the desirability of commuting the death sentences on the Sholapur convicts on the merits of the question we have written more than once. The strength of the case for it has been greatly augmented by the incessant and wide-spread public demand for it. Influential men and women of all classes and creeds have joined in this appeal for mercy. The refusal of the Governor of Bombay to receive a deputation led by the President of the Bombay Corporation causes grave misgiving that the Bombay Government have made up their mind to carry out the death sentences and make an example of them in order to strike terror in the hearts of the political malcontents. The higher authorities will do well to consider if such action is likely to improve the atmosphere for the Round Table Conference. Far from lowering the prestige of the Government, the ready grant of the prayer for mercy will help to put them right with the people inasmuch as it will assure them that Government are not altogether impervious to the influence of public opinion at least in some matters. Law and order have been vindicated by the courts; it now remains for the Government to inspire confidence in the public by listening to their appeal for mercy.

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Articles.

FINANCIAL REFORM.

IN his well thought-out Presidential Address to the Indian Economic Conference in Lahore last week, Dr. Prāmātharth Banerjee, Minto Professor of Economics in the Calcutta University, gave an interesting exposition of the public finance of India, and subjected the scheme recommended by Sir Walter Layton in the Simon Report to sympathetic and discriminating criticism. Financial reform should be based on the needs of the financial units of administration, the Provincial Governments and the Central Government, which, in turn, depend on the functions assigned to them. The principal calls on the finances of the Central Government now are Defence, debt charges, civil administration, pensions, civil works, while the finances of the Provincial Governments have to meet the demands of education, public health, agriculture and industries, and police and general administration. In the nature of things, the functions of the Central Government should not entail ever increasing expenditure; while those of the Provinces necessarily do so. It is desirable, therefore, that the financial resources of the Provinces should not only be substantial but expansive.

To achieve this result, Dr. Banerjee discusses three courses: retrenchment, re-allocation and fresh taxation. He is decidedly of opinion, and wisely so, that it would be disastrous to the success of the new reforms if their inauguration synchronizes with fresh taxation imposed by popular Ministers. "India has until now been governed by an alien bureaucracy and the people have never felt that the taxes raised from them have been spent for their benefit." Time must be given to the new popular Finance Ministers to gain the confidence of the people before they are obliged to impose fresh taxation. Retrenchment and reallocation of current revenues are the only methods by which the financial position of the Provinces can be strengthened. Dr. Banerjee surveys the possibilities of both in some detail.

The Defence of India must remain a function of the Central Government. It now entails an expenditure of some Rs. 55 crores, or two-thirds of the net revenue of India. There is considerable room for retrenchment in this item of expenditure. "Military finance is very largely a question of policy" and change in that policy is overdue. A considerable reduction in the strength of the British element in the Indian Army involves no danger to the safety and security of India. With telling effect Dr. Banerjee pointed out that during War time the Indian Army was greatly denuded of its British element—there were only some 15,000 soldiers left—and it brought no disaster. Thanks to the international situation, the threat of foreign invasion has disappeared and with the rapid development of self-government in India, internal peace is secured.

It has been repeatedly admitted by the highest authorities that the Army in India was in excess of the

defence requirements of India and a large portion of it was being maintained to preserve "the supremacy of the British power in the East." It is but right that Britain should foot the bill for this purpose and not impose it on India. Indianisation of the higher ranks will also reduce the Army expenditure. In these three ways the military expenditure is susceptible of a reduction of some 10 crores of Rupees immediately and another 10 crores in another ten years.

One of the reasons advanced by Indian publicists for the Indianisation of the Services was that it would be cheaper. Dr. Banerjee proposes that the scale of salaries should be lowered and Indianisation proceeded with more rapidly. A comparative study of salaries paid to the civil services in the different countries shows that the scale of salaries in India are the highest while India is perhaps the poorest country. A considerable reduction is justified in the opinion of Dr. Banerjee. This change will also reduce the pension charges. While there is much to be said for the reduction, it is doubtful if it is expedient to introduce it just at this time or in the immediate future. Perhaps it is best to complete the Indianisation of the Services before a general reduction of the scale of salaries is brought about. It is also doubtful if any reasonable reduction will make any material saving in expenditure. Dr. Banerjee does not indicate the extent of the reduction he would have but he estimates a saving of some 2 crores of Rupees.

The next source of retrenchment is the debt charges. Financial purists were shocked when Mahatma Gandhi proposed that the public debt of India should be examined with a view to determining the share that might legitimately be debited to India. And here is the Minto Professor of Economics in the Calcutta University and no non-co-operator or Russian communist seriously proposing a similar course and suggesting that the charges incurred for the Afghan and Burmese Wars, for instance, should be taken off the shoulders of India and transferred to those of Great Britain.

Dr. Banerjee estimates that by these means an immediate saving of 10 to 12 crores of Rupees may be made, and there is then the normal expansion of revenue to add to the resources of the Central Government. This amount should be made over to the Provinces. But the method of transfer should not be in the forms of grants from the Central Government to the Provincial Governments but by the reallocation of the sources of revenue. Dr. Banerjee is opposed to the proposal of Sir Walter Layton that commercial stamps revenue should be made over to the Central Government in exchange for a Provincial excise duty on foreign liquor. While the former is an expanding source of revenue on account of the normal extension of trade and commerce, the latter is the other way on account of the growth of the sentiment in favour of Prohibition. And the arrangement would give the Provinces, which need expanding revenue, a diminishing source of it. Dr. Banerjee has no aversion to divided heads of revenue and as a matter of fact, he proposes a wide application of the system. For instance, he would

divide equally between the Centre and the Provinces the revenues from income-tax and supertax, and the export taxes on jute, rice and skins and hides, and oil seeds.

Dr. Banerjee does not shrink from suggesting fresh taxation, as, for instance, taxation of agricultural incomes and death duties and excise on matches, but he evidently wishes the Government of India to impose it and not the Provincial Governments. It is obvious that, excellent as are his proposals, they apply to a state of things which has passed away, even as the Government of India Despatch on the Reforms was out of date, when it was published. The federal finance of Sir Walter Layton was limited to British India and envisaged a Central Government which was not responsible to the Legislature. Dr. Banerjee, in limiting his vision to the Layton proposals and in failing to take note of the larger federation which is to include the Indian States in the immediate future, has failed to give a lead to the discussion on federal finance which is just now engaging the Round Table Conference. He has also overlooked the certain prospect that the Central Government of India will become responsible to the legislature, and the reasons which he advanced against starting the new regime in the Provinces with the imposition of fresh taxation will also apply to the new responsible Central Government. Nor does he seem to have taken adequate account of the large increase of expenditure both in the sphere of the Centre and the Provinces when the new reforms are inaugurated on account of the large increase in the size of the legislatures and executives, the creation of new provinces, the extension of the franchise, the multiplication of committees, etc. all the paraphernalia of democracy.

HINDU LAW REFORM IN MYSORE.

IN June 1929, the Government of Mysore acting on the resolutions of the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, appointed a Committee to consider and report 'upon the question of legislation to amend the Hindu law in certain directions'. The Committee was required by the terms of reference to examine in all its aspects the question of improving the position of women under the Hindu law and to submit a report indicating in what respects the Hindu law stood in need of reform and to prepare a draft bill embodying its recommendations.

The Committee was presided over by Dewan Bahadur K. S. Chandrasekhara Iyer, Retired Chief Judge of Mysore, who was pre-eminently fitted for the task by his learning, his long judicial experience and his well-known sympathies. Questionnaires issued by the Committee were sent to all persons of note in order to elicit their views on the question under reference. The report of the Committee has been recently published and it is expected that the Government of Mysore will soon take action on it.

The report is undoubtedly the result of a very thorough study of the question. Every aspect of it is carefully considered in the light of the law as it is according to the several schools of the Hindu law

and the Committee has endeavoured to make its recommendations conformable as far as possible to the law as accepted by one or other of these schools.

The Hindu law based on the *Smritis* and moulded by the various commentaries and modified by usages had a certain amount of elasticity and adjustability to changing conditions. The establishment of British Courts of Justice in India presided over mostly by foreign judges tended to deprive it of its elasticity and arrest its growth. Though no doubt the element of certainty which the British Indian Judicial System has thus introduced into the law must be counted a distinct advantage, the result is that, as pointed out by the Committee, the only means now available for bringing the personal law of the Hindus into conformity with the prevailing sentiments and opinions of the Hindu Society is legislation.

Nowhere is the retrogressive influence of the British Judiciary on the Hindu law more noticeable than in those branches of it which relate to the rights of women. Based on texts and commentaries written centuries ago when the position of women was one of utter dependence, the law as laid down in the decisions of the British Indian Courts in regard to rights of females is altogether unsuited to the conditions of the present day and is regarded by the cultured sections of the Hindu Society as harsh and unreasonable. It was natural, therefore, that the attention of reformers should have been first turned to the position of women under the Hindu law.

In making its recommendations, the Committee has examined the position of women with reference to the following branches of the Hindu law: Inheritance, Joint Family incidents, Adoption, *Stridhana* or Women's full estate, Women's limited estate and Maintenance.

Inheritance: Though the basic principles of the law of inheritance, according to the Mitakshara school, are professedly consanguinity and propinquity and not spiritual efficacy, yet as far as female relatives are concerned these principles do not seem to have been adhered to at all. Near blood-relations like the sister and her sons and daughters for whom a dying person would naturally think of providing are passed over in favour of distant agnates of whose very existence he might have been unaware. Again, widows of near relations like the son or the brother are not in the line of succession at all. Innumerable anomalies of this kind could be mentioned.

After discussing the Mitakshara law of inheritance with reference to the original texts, the Committee arrives at the conclusion that the treatment accorded under the law of inheritance as it obtains in Mysore and in Madras to female relatives and male relatives claiming through them, has no justification whatever and holds that, in accordance with the basic principles of the Mitakshara law of inheritance, the right of succession ought to be determined solely by "the twin test of consanguinity and propinquity". In the result, the Committee recommends that the law should definitely and explicitly recognise the principle that sex in the case of women should not be a ground of exclusion from inheritance, though it may form

a ground of preference, and proposes important changes in the order of succession so as to give certain female relatives and those claiming through them a more natural and reasonable position than they at present occupy.

A table of heirs based on consanguinity and propinquity is recommended for adoption. This table includes the widow of a predeceased son and widows of certain other *gotraja sapindas* among heirs and indicates the position which they should occupy in the order of succession.

The proposal for the inclusion of widows and daughters of distant agnates in the list of heirs may no doubt seem to go too far. But it is certainly based on the principle which the Committee has defined for determining the right of succession and it would be a great gain to have the law of inheritance simplified by basing it on some such definite principle. On the whole, the alterations recommended by the Committee in the law of inheritance are reasonable and can by no means be regarded as revolutionary. For all practical purposes, their adoption will only mean the adoption of the law of inheritance according to the Bombay school.

Joint Family Incidents.—The Committee next examines the position of women under the joint family system and the law applicable thereto. As pointed out by the Committee, the system has involved great hardship to women and under it their rights are precarious. Succession to joint family property is governed by the rule of survivorship—among the coparceners. Under the Mitakshara, female members of the family are not coparceners as under the Dayabhaga. According to the principles laid down in a series of decisions, there is a presumption of jointness in the case of Hindu families and further property in the hands of any member of a Hindu family is presumed to be joint. It is always very difficult to displace these presumptions. Such being the state of the law, the widow and daughter of a deceased coparcener are left entirely at the mercy of the surviving coparceners even where the property which the law presumes to be joint was really acquired by the exertions of the deceased himself.

The remedies suggested by the Committee are first, that the expression "self-acquisition" should be defined so as to include property acquired by the exertion, skill, learning or talents of a member of a joint family without direct aid from the family property, notwithstanding that such member may have been maintained or supported or have received education or training of any kind at the expense of the family; and secondly, that it should be enacted that the widow, the mother, the unmarried daughter and the unmarried sister of a deceased Hindu male should be entitled to certain shares in the property which belonged to him.

The former suggestion is in accordance with the principles of Mr. Jayakar's Gains of Learning Act of British India. As for the latter, it should be noted that, while the Committee says that it is not prepared to adopt the Dayabhaga rule of allotting to the female heir of a deceased member of the family a share equal to that of a son, in effect, it goes much farther

than the Dayabhaga law, since in many cases the aggregate value of the shares to be allotted to the several female relatives as proposed by the Committee would far exceed the value of a son's share. In view of the present economic structure of our society and of the smallness of average family estate in Mysore, the soundness of the Committee's proposal to invest several female relatives with the right to share in the family property is open to serious doubt. Moreover, since it is suggested that in the case of an unmarried daughter or sister the share will be inclusive of and not in addition to the legitimate expenses of her maintenance and marriage expenses, etc., the proposed rule will in some cases at any rate operate to the positive disadvantage of the very persons whom it seeks to benefit. All things considered, it seems quite unpractical and inadvisable to adopt this proposal of the Committee in its entirety. It would not be unreasonable, however, to provide that whenever a coparcener dies leaving only a female relative as his heir, she should be entitled on partition to his share or substantial portion of it.

Adoption.—The only alteration suggested by the Committee in the law of adoption is that, in the absence of an express prohibition by the husband, his widow should be presumed to have his authority to make an adoption. This is in accordance with the law obtaining in Bombay and is not open to serious objection though it is not very obvious how it would tend to improve the position of the widow herself.

Stridhana.—The law relating to *Stridhana* is one of the most complicated branches of the Hindu law. The expression "*Stridhana*" means woman's wealth and connotes full estate. There are several varieties of it. The line of succession in the case of *Stridhana* property is dependant on its character which again is determined by several factors such as the source of its acquisition, the occasion when it was acquired and the status of the female owner at the time of acquisition. The result is that the law on the point is intricate and cumbersome.

The Committee suggests that the law should be simplified by abolishing the distinctions between the several kinds of *Stridhana* (maintaining only the distinction between property obtained by a female by inheritance or partition and property obtained in any other manner) and recommends the adoption of a simple table of succession applicable to all kinds of *Stridhana*.

The Committee proposes that *Stridhana* should be defined as property belonging to a Hindu female, other than property in which she has only a limited estate, and that it should include, among other things, property obtained by a female as her share allotted at a partition, property inherited by a female from a female or from her husband or son or other male relative connected by blood and the income and savings from the income of property vested in a female whether absolutely or otherwise.

This proposal, it should be noted, is calculated to have a far-reaching effect. If it is accepted, women's limited estate will become an exception and will in fact be abolished for all practical purposes. This,

however, is a consequence to be welcomed rather than dreaded. For one thing, women's estate with the peculiar incidents attaching to it is a fruitful source of litigation. Secondly, the present rule which compels a woman to stint herself in order to preserve the property inherited by her from a near male relative for the benefit of some distant and unheard of agnate of the last male owner can hardly be regarded as reasonable or just and from the social reformer's point of view, it is this branch of the law which stands in most urgent need of reform if the position of women under the Hindu law is to be improved.

The Committee has satisfactorily met the possible objections to their proposals. It points out that the present state of the law is not justified by the ancient texts. The argument that women have not the capacity to manage their properties prudently and should not be vested with full and unqualified powers of disposition is rightly rejected by the Committee. If there have been wastrels among women there have been wastrels among men too, and no argument can be based on exceptional cases. On the other hand, as the Committee points out, there are prominent instances of women who have shown remarkable shrewdness and capacity in the management of affairs. It may also be pointed out that women are, as a rule, more thrifty and are liable to fewer temptations than men.

The other important recommendations of the Committee under this head of which mention may be made are (1) that the law should declare that any person, male or female, inheriting *Stridhana* property shall take therein a full estate and (2) that in the case of gifts and bequests in favour of women a rule of construction should be prescribed that in the absence of an intention to the contrary such gifts or bequests shall be held to confer full estate as in the case of gifts or bequests in favour of males. These suggestions are necessitated by certain decisions of the Privy Council and are in conformity with the prevailing views and sentiments of the Hindu Society.

Women's Limited Estate.—The Committee next deals with women's limited estate which is a peculiar feature of the Hindu law. The expression 'women's estate' means those limited proprietary rights which, according to the Hindu law, a female has in property inherited by her whether from a male or a female. It is somewhat higher than a life estate but lower than a full estate. There is no remainder vested in any particular person during the female owner's life-time. But a person who succeeds to the property on her death is not her heir but the heir of the last full owner. She can fully represent the estate in litigation concerning it. It is competent for her to alienate property in which she has a limited interest. By such an alienation she can convey to the alienee an absolute title to the property so as to bind the reversioners provided the alienation is justified by legal necessity. But where there is no such justification for the alienation it will be good only for her life-time. She can surrender the estate in favour of the nearest reversioners. But it must be a surrender of the entire estate in favour of all the nearest reversioners. Since the reversioners

have no vested interest at all there can be no surrender by them in favour of the limited owner.

Under this state of law the treatment accorded to women, especially widows, is extremely harsh. They are subjected to oppressive disabilities. As the Committee points out, "a man's wife who lives in comfort, if not in affluence, during his life-time is reduced to a miserable plight the moment he dies; she is at the mercy of his relatives and in place of comfort must be content at best with a bare subsistence". In effect she is obliged to stint herself in order to preserve her husband's estate for the benefit of distant and unheard-of agnatic relations of his. The law relating to women's estate is thus quite unreasonable and unjust. It has already been stated that it is a source of a great deal of wasteful litigation which is due to its complicated character. It is here, therefore, that there is the most urgent need for reform.

In dealing with this branch of the Hindu law, the Committee records its opinion that there is no authority in the ancient texts for restricting the rights of women over inherited property. It refers to the more generous treatment accorded to women in Bombay and contrasts the law on the subject as it obtains there with the law obtaining in other parts of India. The Committee then proceeds to dispose of the several reasons urged in support of the limitation of proprietary rights of women such as the alleged incapacity of women to exercise full rights of ownership, their natural dependence on others, the duty of a widow to lead an ascetic life and the impolicy of allowing the property of one family to pass into another.

The last reason where it is not prompted by selfish motives is a merely sentimental one. The first reason (namely, the alleged incapacity and natural dependence of women) is quite unsubstantial and betrays merely a sense of superiority of one sex over the other. As the Committee points out, instances of imprudence and reckless extravagance are to be found among men no less than among women while there are many instances of women of remarkable shrewdness and capacity. Assuming, however, that there is some truth in the allegation that women are incompetent to manage properties and are consequently in a position of dependence, it is obvious that by entrusting them with the responsibilities incidental to full proprietary rights they will be enabled to develop the capacity for management and to become self-reliant. With regard to the argument based on the duty of a widow to lead an ascetic life, the Committee rightly observes,

"The life proper to a widow is affirmed by various Hindu jurists of the past to be a life of utter self-denial. Abstemiousness and sacrifice are admirable virtues; and persons of both sexes and of whatever class and station would be all the better for practising them in due measure and of their free choice. But when the practice of them is imposed mainly as a convenient reason for curtailing the normal rights of one sex or of one particular class of persons, and worst of all for keeping a bereaved widow in compul-

sory wretchedness and humiliation, the injunction loses much of its ethical savour".

The Committee proposes the following modifications of the law relating to women's limited estate:

(1) A female heir should have a full estate in property inherited by her from a female relative or from her husband or son or other relation by blood.

(2) It should be provided that a female having a limited estate in any property may acquire a full estate therein by a release from the next reversioner.

(3) Surrender or relinquishment by the limited owner of even a portion of the property comprised in the limited estate should be valid and the mere fact that the transaction provides for or contemplates some benefit to the widow should not invalidate it.

(4) Unappropriated income or savings from the income of property in which a female has a limited interest and property acquired by such income should be deemed to be *Stridhana*.

(5) Alienations by the limited owner made with the consent or acquiescence of or ratified by the reversioners should be valid.

These recommendations of the Committee are on the whole reasonable. The recommendation for investing certain female heirs with full proprietary rights has already been discussed. The other recommendations do not involve such great departure from the present law as to alarm the orthodox, while at the same time they are calculated to make the law more equitable and fair in its treatment of women.

Maintenance :—Among the changes in the law relating to maintenance which the Committee proposes the following are worth noticing :—

(1) Under the present law, a Hindu male is personally bound to maintain his aged parents, his wife, his minor sons, legitimate or illegitimate, and his unmarried daughters, whether or not he is possessed of property. The Committee proposes adding to the list of persons entitled to be so maintained the following relatives:—step-mother, unmarried daughter (without any age-limit), unmarried sister during minority, widowed daughter or sister who is destitute and is unable to secure maintenance from her husband's family, and widowed daughter-in-law.

While the moral obligation to maintain these relatives is undeniable, it is hardly just or fair to impose a legal obligation to maintain such a large number of relatives without regard to the existence of the necessary means. Further, it should be noted that the liability to maintain unmarried daughters is not to be limited by time and as was recently pointed out by a distinguished Indian lawyer in a review published in the *Bharata Dharma* : "In view of the growing tendency to postpone the age of marriage and in view of the possibility of women choosing to remain unmarried, this provision would place an intolerable burden."

In proposing such a wide extension of the liability to maintain one's relatives, the Committee does not appear to have had due regard to the economic condition of an average Hindu family. Enthusia-

sm for the cause of women and eagerness to be generous to them have apparently prevented the Committee from seeing what is just to men.

These proposals of the Committee, therefore, require careful scrutiny by the legislature. It is not suggested that they should be totally rejected. A provision that a Hindu male, whether or not he is possessed of ancestral property shall be bound to maintain (i) his step-mother, (ii) unmarried daughter during her minority and (iii) widowed daughter-in-law, *provided he is possessed of sufficient means*, would be quite reasonable and just. To extend the legal liability for maintenance any further would be inequitable and involve great hardship in the case of average Hindu families. After all, in the regulation of human affairs a great deal depends and must necessarily depend on "the sense of right or sentiments of love and pity" which the Committee does not regard as adequate safeguards for the interests of females. Moreover, Hindu women, even among the higher middle classes are now taking to vocations, while among the lower middle class it has always been common for women to work for their livelihood. There is, thus, no crying need now for enlarging the circle of female relatives entitled to maintenance as proposed by the Committee.

Another material alteration in the law which the Committee proposes is that a statutory charge should be created in respect of the right of maintenance in the case of relatives other than the wife on the whole of the property liable to meet the claim and in the case of the wife on the whole of her husband's property. Such charge, it is proposed, should have priority over all alienations subsequent to the arising of such right except alienations made in good faith for legal necessity. The Committee at the same time suggests that it should be competent for the parties concerned to enter into an agreement limiting the charge to a specific portion of the property liable and that a *bona fide* alienee for consideration should be entitled to ask that the claim should in the first instance be satisfied as far as possible out of properties other than those alienated to him. These proposals of the Committee, calculated as they are to protect the right of maintenance against fraud, must be welcomed.

One other recommendation of the Committee deserves notice. It proposes that a wife should be entitled to live separately from the husband and claim separate maintenance (a) when he is suffering from any venereal or loathsome disease, (b) when he keeps a concubine in his house, (c) when he habitually misconducts himself with other women, (d) when he marries a second wife, (e) when he habitually treats her with such cruelty or harshness as to endanger her health or personal safety or with such gross neglect or lack of consideration as to make her life with him miserable or unhappy or (f) when he renounces the Hindu religion. This proposal is of very great importance especially from the social reformer's point of view. Under the law as it is at present the only grounds which would justify a wife's claim for living separately from her husband so as to sustain a claim for separate maintenance are desertion,

and legal cruelty, by which expression is meant such treatment as would endanger her personal safety, and the husband's keeping a concubine *in the house*. The alterations of the law proposed by the Committee would include among such grounds all circumstances which would render impossible for the wife to live with her husband without serious discomfort or unhappiness. This would certainly be a step in the right direction and should be welcomed.

The report of the Committee concludes with a draft bill embodying the several recommendations of the Committee. This draft is apparently intended only as a basis for the draftsman in the legislative department on whom rests the responsibility for preparing the bill in its final form for being placed before the legislature.

The Committee had a very difficult task to perform. On one side, there is the advanced social reformer urging for wholesale and almost revolutionary changes of the law and on the other, there is the advocate of rigid orthodoxy strenuously opposing the least departure from the ancient texts as he understands them and regarding such departure as nothing short of sacrilege. The opposition of the latter, however unreasonable, cannot altogether be disregarded. Appealing as he does to the religious sentiment, he wields immense influence over the public at large and it would be hardly politic to brush aside his views. The Committee has therefore wisely tried to conciliate the orthodox by basing its recommendations as far as possible on the interpretations of the texts accepted by one or other of the several schools of the Hindu law. If the enthusiast for social reform is dissatisfied and thinks that the Committee has not gone far enough he should bear in mind the practical limitations which no such Committee could afford to overlook.

On questions which the Committee had to deal with, differences of opinion are always bound to exist even among those who advocate reform. It is therefore inevitable that the Committee's report should be criticised on matters of detail; such details, we may be sure, will be considered by the Legislative Council in due course. Judging the Committee's work as a whole, it must be said that it has proceeded on right lines and that its report is bound to be of great value as indicating the general principles which should guide the reform of the Hindu law.

M. P. SOMASEKHARA RAU.

Reviews.

THE INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE.

THE BANKRUPTCY OF MARRIAGE. By V. F. CALVERTON. (J. Hamilton, London.) 1929. 22cm. 273 p. 7/6.

THE author of this book, who is a brilliant writer, wants to prove that the Roman Catholic ideals of marriage have ceased to guide the sex-conduct of American and German youth and thereby to support the plea for some sort of marriage reform. He does not present his programme of reform, but lavishes praise on the changes introduced by Soviet Russia,

in the laws of marriage and the status of women. One gathers the impression that that is his ideal.

Mr. Calverton contents himself with being an idol-breaker and leaves the task of construction to others or, perhaps, to another book from his pen. Mere criticism of an institution or a custom leads to exaggeration. That is why the book gets the name it has. May we not remind the author that there are still men and women—by far the largest number—even in America who find contentment and happiness in the practice of marriage according to the Roman Catholic ideal? Have not the old ideas of marriage, with their stress on the rearing of children, benefitted the race on the whole? Is this not enough on the credit-side of the bank account of the institution of marriage to prevent its being declared bankrupt? Perhaps Mr. Calverton is carried away by his journalistic inclinations or is utterly impatient with the old lady. It is important to remember that social institutions and customs are the growth of ages. In the process of growth they develop, in response to the biological and social needs of preservation, a slow-to-change tendency. It does no good to get exasperated with them for their sluggishness. To call names to a time-honoured institution is likely to stiffen the backs of the protagonists of the old order. It also bespeaks a lack of historical perspective.

Until recently the sphere of woman's activity was very restricted. To her was denied freedom of association with males on terms of equality. The only honourable role that she could play in life was that of a married woman. Even under marriage she was not an equal partner of her husband. Monogamy was the ideal which in practice meant that woman could have legitimate sex-intercourse only with her husband though the latter might visit prostitutes to satisfy his desire. Husband was the family potentate. If woman either dared or was led to satisfy sex outside marriage dire consequences awaited her. She might assume the aspect of a prostitute who is socially hated but individually liked by men. If she was unmarried her liaison, wilful or otherwise, would mar her chances of decent marriage; but if she got enciente the stigma of illegitimacy of her prospective child staggered her. If she was a wife her amorous conduct would be dubbed adultery and would entail grave consequences. Divorce was an escape always to be abhorred.

The first challenge to this scheme of life came from the conscious movement for the emancipation of woman and was strengthened by the economic possibilities opened up to woman by the 'great industry'. The last war enabled woman to prove her worth in most activities of life that were till then supposed to be the preserve of man. Above all the catastrophe gave the rudest shock to cherished social systems and quickened the minds of most persons that had not been actually fossilized. The necessity of freedom in the expression of sex-impulse was also greatly emphasised by the new psychology of Freud.

As a result, the practice about social intercourse between men and women and the gratification of sex-impulse has changed in varying degrees in Western countries. Particularly the youth have taken the lead in throwing to the winds the old-world ideas about decorum and respectability. Young girls, in ever increasing numbers, attach no importance to sex-morals of the older order and the professional prostitute is less in demand. America is far and away the leader in this line. The large number of divorces and of abortions, pre-marital sex-relations and the practice of companionate marriage, all these, have been made familiar to us by the writings of Holmes, Groves, Popenoe, and Lindsey. It appears that in England there is more of theoretical attack than of actual practice in the new direction.

Soviet Russia has already enacted laws liberating the marriage institution in the direction which thinkers like Havelock Ellis and Bertrand Russell are crying for in England, so much so that morality there seems to be made for women. There is no distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children. On the other hand, a man and woman, whether they are civilly married or not, are *ipso facto* registered as husband and wife as soon as the birth of a child is registered. The legal fiction of the communion of property between husband and wife finds no place in the laws of Soviet Russia. Woman under marriage is as free as without it. The fact of a couple living together as husband and wife is enough to create the rights and duties between them which are created by marriage. Neither religious ceremony nor civil registration is necessary to establish the fact of marriage. Divorce can be procured by mutual consent of the parties or even by one of them on the plea of incompatibility. Continuance of marital relationship is there made to depend on spontaneity and not on compulsion. Artificial control of birth is not only not looked upon with disfavour but is actually preached and facilities for it offered. Abortion is no crime. The State has established hospitals where competent obstetricians conduct operations for abortion on women who are allowed by law to resort to this method of getting rid of unwanted pregnancy. The fruit of the serious efforts to ameliorate the condition of woman is to be seen in the fact that no less than "fifty thousand women now hold public offices in Soviet Russia. Two hundred women are presidents of village Soviets. Five hundred thousand women are factory delegates. There are women factory managers, who each have as many as one thousand workers under them... Women judges are numerous." Madame Kollontai has held even the exalted office of an ambassador with great distinction. It is still too early to gauge the result of the various laws on the actual practice about marriage. Perhaps a dispassionate review is not feasible at this stage.

Without doubt Russia has made a bold change based on reason and the eyes of the world are fixed on the gigantic social experiments that are being conducted in this human laboratory. And rational humanity will always remain thankful to the brave spirits of Russian men and women of the third decade of the twentieth century.

G. S. GHURYE.

YUGOSLAVIAN POLITICS,

THE BALKAN PIVOT: YUGOSLAVIA. By CHARLES A. BEARD AND GEORGE RADIN. (Macmillan, New York.) 1929. 21cm. 325p. \$2.50.

THIS book is a clear and painstaking description of the politics, administration and economic conditions of Yugo-Slavia. Though the constitution was suspended on January 7, 1929, while the book was still in the press, the description of the substructure of administration and of economic conditions is valuable today and then, even the constitution, it must be remembered, is only suspended. The description of the political conditions of the country, and of the events leading up to the suspension, continues to be valuable. The authors possess a clear style and treat the subject in a detached and sympathetic manner.

In their earlier chapters the authors show the varied elements which constitute Yugo-Slavia, and the different degrees of unpreparedness for self-government from which they all suffered. Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Slovenia and Voivo-

dina, who together form nearly two-thirds of the Yugo-Slav kingdom, had all differing racial, cultural and religious traditions. There are Moslem landlords in Bosnia and Christian peasants, Parisian educated Serbians, and strict Catholics, Roman and the Byzantine Greek ecclesiastical influences. None of them had before 1918 experiences of responsible government, though many had experienced the apprenticeship in criticism which permanent opposition in the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments provided. It is not surprising that such a congeries of interests and prejudices should have found it difficult to work a unitary democratic constitution or that such accumulated and exuberant inexperience should have produced a Stephen Raditch and delivered itself into the hands of the veteran Pashitch. The result was the forcing through the constituent assembly of a centralist constitution by the Serbian Raditch and the Moslem landlords of Bosnia, the permanent discontent of Croatia, and a series of unstable ministries which culminated in the death of Raditch as the result of a shooting affray in Parliament and the suspension of the Constitution by the King on January 7, 1929. In this welter of conflicting personalities the figure of King Alexander has been the only real centralising force and it is probably his prestige combined with fear of Italian power which has prevented the kingdom from bursting asunder before now.

The position of Yugo-Slavia is insecure without no less than within, and indeed it is probably this foreign danger which helped to make Raditch say, in spite of all his discontent, that the secession of Croatia was unthinkable. Yugo-Slavia is afraid of Fascist Italy, with its "historic" claim to the Adriatic coast, and its virtual control of Athania; she is suspicious of Hungary with its aristocratic government and leanings towards Italy. The memory of recent enmities maintain coolness with Bulgaria and Greece, but with Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia and France her relations are close and cordial, while to Austria she is friendly. In spite of her membership of the Little Entente, however, her relations with Germany are improving. Economic ties are being strengthened and there is talk of an all-water route to the North Sea. (Elbe-Danube-Morava-Vardar). So between centrifugal forces within and centripetal without, Yugo-Slavia, aided by the address and ingenuity of the King, maintains a very unstable equilibrium. Perhaps, as in the case of Switzerland, the pressure from without, if severe and continuous enough, may end by welding the discordant elements into one united Yugo-Slavian nation.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL FIGHT.

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ. By R. G. PRADHAN. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) 1930. 20 cm. 311 p. Re. 1/-

THERE are not many books available on the history of India's political evolution during the last fifty years and more. Mrs. Annie Besant's *How India Wrought For Freedom* is a classic in its own way, but it has now become out of date. Events have moved with such rapidity during the last fifteen years that an account that leaves out the last ten years naturally appears to be inadequate. Mr. Pradhan's book brings down the story to the Vice-regal Announcement of last year. But even during the last fourteen months, much water has flown under the bridges. Mr. R. G. Pradhan, the author, is a veteran publicist in the Deccan. Till the last General Election he was a valued member of the Bombay Legislative Council from Nasik District. He is peculiarly fitted for the task of writing a

constitutional history of the last fifty years. For the last thirty years Mr. Pradhan has been in active public life. He has personally known a good many of the heroes of the struggle which he describes. Besides, he possesses a temperament which is capable of fairly judging both sides of an issue, and his outlook is pre-eminently nationalist. He has succeeded in writing an interesting account of the political history of India from the popular viewpoint since the days of the Ilbert Bill agitation. His analysis of the extremist and revolutionary agitations in India is fairly accurate, and though he often appears to be less just to the Moderates than to the Extremists, it is apparent that throughout the book he has treated both with sympathy and considerable insight into their inner minds. The description of the late Mr. Tilak and the late Mr. Agarkar as champions respectively of conservative and progressive nationalism is peculiarly appropriate, and the concluding portion of the book places Mr. Pradhan in the ranks of those who believe even now in constitutional political agitation for the realisation of India's goal.

Mr. Pradhan would welcome the assistance of England in building the future India. He winds up his fascinating essay thus:—"Our cause is just, and we know that freedom's battle can have only one end—Complete Victory. India cannot die. She shall not die. She has played a great part in the past, and shall play a greater part in the future. Her political freedom and her greatness are absolutely essential to humanity. Without them humanity will never attain the heights of culture, of civilisation, of progress, of happiness, of which it is capable. Her sons and daughters are still mighty enough to redeem her, and to become the architects of her destiny. They will welcome England's assistance, but if it cannot be had, they will march ahead without it. ... England's failure will not prevent her from succeeding." Inspiring words these and full of enthusiasm. But facts are facts, and India has become a dependency of England because of certain internal causes. The telegrams from London from day to day about the R. T. C. prove that those causes are still at work in a more virulent form than ever. As a historian, Mr. Pradhan appears to have done less than full justice to those causes. It is depressing to think of them, but they have to be faced and removed. The British people and Indians are not exactly in love with each other at the present moment. The Imperialist elements in British life,—and they are bound to be always the dominating element,—is not expected to remove those causes; they are likely to encourage their continuance. Indians have got to remove them. And unfortunately latter day politicians of all parties in India have generally tried to shirk that unpleasant task. The noble effort of the Nehru Committee was frustrated by the Calcutta Congress in 1928. The programme of anti-untouchability has been rarely carried out by the more vocal and more prominent non-co-operators in a serious manner. The Hindu Sabha with its conservative nationalistic outlook engendered by the Tilak School is constitutionally incapable of bringing about unity in the Hindu community. And as long as the Hindu community does not stand united there appears to be not the slightest hope of reasonableness being a distinguishing mark of the Muslim community as a whole. And bureaucrats and Imperialists will take advantage of the communalism of the Muslims as long as they can. These are facts which no patriotic Indian can ignore. If the Englishman has exploited India, he has done so because it has been possible for him to do that. It is no use forgetting that.

In describing the beginnings of the Congress, Mr. Pradhan has not done full justice to the part played by the late Mr. Justice Ranade in starting

that great institution. The first session was to be held at Poona, but it was actually held at Bombay for the simple reason that Mr. Wanjade was one of the most important, if not the most important, guiding spirits in the movement and the Bombay leaders were much less provincial in their outlook than their friends in Bengal. The notorious Surat episode has been fully described by Mr. Pradhan and generally in an impartial manner. But there is a latent inclination to vindicate the part played by Mr. Tilak and to minimise the long and oppressive shadow of his uncompromising attitude and amazing tactics. Mrs. Besant's work for India has been very accurately and impartially described. Mr. Pradhan appears to be rather fascinated by some personalities of the Responsivist party. That party was started by people who wished to adopt the Liberal programme without saying so, and who supported office-seeking in a full-blooded manner but with the tactful precaution of doing everything under the supposed sanction of the Tilakite tradition. The Party is now dead and the public have forgotten that it ever existed. It was composed mainly of second and third-rate men who tried to utilise the time when Mr. Gandhi was in jail for a political adventure. The adventure succeeded in getting two jobs for two members of the party, but the two gentlemen appear to have succeeded to an amazing extent in merging themselves with the bureaucracy and thus the poor expectations about the career of the party were made poorer still in actual administrative work. Apart from these minor criticisms, the book written by Mr. Pradhan is a very valuable addition to Indian constitutional literature and should be read by every educated person. Its translation into the vernaculars will be of great use to the masses of the people. Mr. Pradhan is no longer in the Bombay Legislative Council, thanks to the methods by which merit becomes the least important criterion in choosing a candidate. But Mr. Pradhan, with his knowledge and courage, can still be very useful in the public life of the country. And his present book creates the desire that he should write more books of the same kind. The printing of the book is nicely done, and the price is not heavy, looking to the high charges that are still required to be paid in the publishing trade.

M. D. ALTEKAR.

WAGES IN U. S. A.

REAL WAGES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1890-1926. By PAUL H. DOUGLAS. (Houghton Mifflin and Co., New York.) 1930. 22 cm. 682 p. \$ 7.50.

At the very outset Professor Paul Douglas brings himself into personal relationship by confiding that in the preparation of his book, he did not stint, for a major portion of six years, any outlay of time, energy or other material resources which, in other respects, he "could ill afford," and that altogether it involved him in some 18,000 work-hours and some 3 million computations. The book comprises too, over 600 pages, 231 statistical tables, 95 charts and a bibliography extending over 14 pages. The subject of the research extended to the computation of new indexes of cost of living, of wage rates, of earnings of employed workers, of amount of employment, not only in the aggregate, but also for each constituent sub-group, of items of expenditure, of industry, of the status of worker and so on, for the period of 37 years between 1890-1926, with a "postlude" for the years 1927 and 1928 (data of which became available during the period the book was in press), for United States, the universally noted land for Big Business. Industrialised America has a

"confirmed habit of measuring the degree of its material progress" mainly by index numbers, and in this book, Prof. Douglas measures the material welfare of no less than 22 million workers by some or all of the tests commonly known as money wages (weekly and hourly rates), real wages or relative purchasing power, fulness or otherwise of employment, and standard of comfort. He is not merely concerned with "dry-as-dust" statistics, but follows up to its fullest implications Lord Kelvin's dictum: "when you can measure what you are speaking about and express it in numbers you know something about it, but when you cannot measure it, when you cannot express it in numbers, your knowledge is of a meagre and unsatisfactory kind." The statistics must primarily fulfil the requirements of business and administration, in guiding credit policies, investment practice and stabilisation proposals. The author is anxious too that his statistics must fulfil "the standpoint of true humanism" in portraying as completely and as faithfully as possible "the condition of the peoples." Nor should he stop there; because from the standpoint of social appraisal, the success or failure of any economic or industrial system shall and must necessarily, be adjudged, and if necessary political or industrial revolution brought about, and the way smoothed for the attainment by the great masses of mankind—in spite of the scarcity that abounds in the world—of "those other aesthetic and emotional values which deepen and broaden the experience of those who realise them."

1. On facts the author finds that the index of cost of living varied between 75-100 during the period 1890-1914, but that it varied between 100-169 during the period 1914-28, reaching its highest value, 206, in 1920 and revealing a general stabilisation since 1923* ;

2. that for some 14 million workers the length of the standard working week showed an average reduction of 15 per cent. between 1890 (with 58.4 hours) and 1926 (with 49.8 hours); the average hourly earnings varied between 67-100 during 1890-1914, but that it went up to 225 by 1926; that the real hourly earnings varied between 90-100 in the pre-War period and between 100-130 in the years following, but that since 1914 farm labour has at the most secured only a fraction of the material progress which the urban workers had obtained.

3. the increase of 35 per cent. for the 17 million workers in urban and rural industries was composed of a 23 per cent. gain made by workers staying in industries in the same proportions as originally, and of a 12 per cent. gain made by workers shifting from low paid to better paid occupations;

4. the one exception to the rule that the non-manual workers have not fared as well as the manual workers is that of the teachers, who in 1926 were on a yearly basis 86 per cent. above the real averages for the nineties (in part to be accounted for, however, by the increase of approximately 25 per cent. in the length of the school year since 1890);

5. the average annual gains or losses from the 1890-99 base were as follows for the 27 years of 1900-1926:—

Gains		Losses	
teachers	37 %	clerical workers	4 %
coal-miners	33 %	postal employees	13 %
farm labour	11 %	ministers	15 %
manufacturing workers	7 %	gas & electrical workers	20 %
steam railway workers	5 %	Federal employees in Washington	
street railway workers	3 %		
telephone employees	1 %		

D. C. 24 %

* All indexes are here expressed with 1914 as the base year. Exceptions are specifically stated otherwise.

6. the worst years of unemployment were 1921 (23.1%) and 1922 (18.3%) but the decade of the nineties appears to have been characterised by a higher percentage of unemployment (average 10.4 per cent.) than the subsequent 28 years 1900-1927 (average 6.4%);

7. Labour gained during this latter period not so much in established weekly wage rates, nor even appreciably as in hourly wage rates, but through an increased use of bonuses, less lost time within employment, more overtime and a greatly reduced volume of unemployment;

8. workers generally enjoyed some 55 per cent. higher incomes in 1926 than during 1926, of which some 35 per cent. came through increased real earnings, some 8 per cent. through a lower rate of unemployment and the balance of some 12 per cent. accrued through other factors such as, change in the relative number of dependents per worker (6 per cent. less in 1920 than in 1890), increase in governmental, charitable, and welfare services (194 per cent. more in 1924 than in 1890), these two respectively claiming 5 and 7 out of the total of 12 per cent.

9. Some of the effects of the increase in real earnings have been the increased attendance at schools and colleges (in 1926 this being some 9 times as much as in 1890, relatively), increase in savings (even after deflation for lowered purchasing power of money) which in 1925 showed some 28 per cent. increase over that in 1912, and even in the decline in the strength of Trade Unionism and of radical, social and political thought.

10. As for the future, though uncertain, "it can be hazarded that, barring international calamities, there seems to be little danger of any long continued decline in the well-being of the workers and the degree of future progress will, as in the past, depend primarily upon the relative advance in production".

It is possible that in an investigation of such a comprehensive nature individual critics may quarrel with the suitability or otherwise of the author's "D" index of cost of living, or of aggregate index of unemployment, with this detail or with another, with even the relative shares between the middle classes and the working classes and so on, but offsetting all possible criticism, it must yet be owned unstintingly that the author has shown remarkable industry and accumen. I should, if I may, state also that authors (both of this country and elsewhere) who are habitually addicted to rush into print tomes and tomes of treatises on economic conditions may do well to ponder over both the volumes of work that this book reveals and conceals. A more detailed review is impossible; a less detailed review would be unfair.

K. B. MADHAVA.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE POLITICS OF BOUNDARIES AND TENDENCIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By **BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.** (N. M. Ray Chowdhury & Co., Calcutta.) 1926. 19cm. 322p. Rs. 3.

IN a belated review of this work, it is enough to state that Prof. Sarkar's publishers present in the volume as many as twenty-eight of his journalistic contributions on recent international politics written presumably from time to time during the years 1923 to 1925. The subjects dealt with are the politics of post-war Germany, the economics of Fascist Italy, the Balkan problems, careers of the new Baltic states,

the re-shaping of modern Turkey, the problem of the Pacific, the new face of China etc., etc. Prof. Sarkar had the advantage of having watched and studied the big social and political upheavals of Eastern and central Europe after the war at close quarters. The task of interpreting the cross-currents of European diplomacy and international developments has been facilitated for Prof. Sarkar by the first-hand access which he evidently had to the leading French, Italian, Swiss, German and Greek organs of public opinion. Readers who are interested in recent European history and to whom the classic volumes of Prof. Toynbee are not readily available will distinctly profit by a study of Prof. Sarkar's work. But they must be warned, however, that they would look in vain in Prof. Sarkar's book for any ordered presentation of his subjects. Being a compilation of the author's free lance work, the treatment of most topics has been of a scrappy character; nor is the recital of events always sufficiently informed by criticism which alone can make good faults and limitations of description. Prof. Sarkar has a *flair* of editing his writings with arresting headlines. But however pleasing they are to superficial readers, they are often likely to disappoint a careful reader of his works. Prof. Sarkar appears, however, in his true role as a political philosopher and student of social institutions in the admirable introduction to his present book, with a penetrating grasp of the real significance of all that happened in post-war Europe. The scholarly author stresses two propositions, viz., that the more characteristic and vital role of a modern government is economic; and secondly, sovereignty of a modern state is far more composite in substance than what the orthodox Austrian theory would recognise.

K. M. P.

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E. S. W

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INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF AVIATION. By KENNETH W. COBEGROVE. (World Peace Foundation, Boston.) 1930. 20cm. 234p. \$2.50.