

# THE Servant of India

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Office : BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY.

VOL. IX, No. 19. }

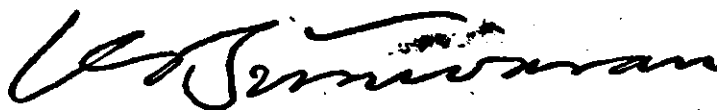
POONA—THURSDAY, JUNE 24, 1926.

} INDIAN SUBSN. Rs.6.  
FOREIGN 10s.

## An Appeal to the Public.

The Servants of India Society has sustained a terrible loss by the fire which brought to ruin the Arya Bhushan Press and the Dnyan Prakash Press. These had been built up with great patience and foresight by Mr. Gokhale, who knew the mutations of public support and desired to provide for the Society a constant source of income. Deprived of their mainstay, the members of the Society cannot but turn in their distress to their countrymen for that prompt and generous help in money which alone can put them back in their former position and enable them to resume their career of service to the public. I have already appealed to personal friends through private letters, and I wish by this means to reach the wider public who are interested in the Society and its work. Sympathy and help are flowing in from all sides, and our hearts have been gladdened beyond measure by the spontaneous expressions of good-will received from those who are not in habitual agreement with us on public matters. As I said on another occasion, it seems as though the essential kindness of human nature, being so often forced out of its natural current by conflict of interests, were only waiting for a pretext to come back to its own channel.

We calculate that two lakhs of rupees would be required to enable us to make a fresh start. The sum is large, and there is depression all round. Still my colleagues and I have every confidence that in a few months' time we shall get what we want. Our members will go round to various places, but they are not many and cannot be everywhere. We look to our Associates and sympathisers in all parts of the country for active help. We beg them to respond to this appeal as though it had been made to them individually and in person. No amount is so small but it will be welcome; in fact small contributions, if sufficiently numerous, will give us the pleasing reflection that we are known and appreciated by a wide circle of those whom we seek to serve.



President, S. I. S.

Servants of India Society,  
Poona, June 12, 1926.

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

OWING to severe trade depression large amounts in aid of the Servants of India Society are slow in coming; where ordinarily we could have expected thousands, we can now get only hundreds and even tens. But such help as is possible in the present slump is flowing in from all quarters, all of which is exceedingly gratifying not only for its own sake but as a mark of indulgent appreciation on the part of the public of such small service as the Society is able to render. To all our sympathisers and donors we tender our grateful thanks; but we are sure they will not take it amiss if we value the generous offers made by our own workmen more highly than anything else; for truly these offers represent the largest sacrifice of all. These, however, the Society does not find it in its heart to accept, for it believes that workmen are the very last persons to be called upon to undergo a sacrifice, being the least able to bear it. The Society therefore felt compelled to decline their offers with its best thanks.

Here is Mr. Sastri's reply to the employees of the Arya Bhushan and Dnyan Prakash Press:—  
Servants of India Society,  
Poona, 15th June 1926.

The members of the Servants of India Society as well as myself have read with great gratification your letter of 28th May last. You therein offer the bonuses that you have earned during your service with us as your donation towards the reconstruction of the Press and in addition you undertake to work ten hours daily on the present wage. The head of the composing staff of the "Dnyan Prakash" has also sent us a letter in which he offers to work for the paper as hitherto but without pay for a period of six months. These offers amount to a great sacrifice on your part and are a proof of the affection with which you regard the Press and the paper. We are profoundly touched by your letters and we fully trust that in the future the relations between our Management and the employees will be equally friendly and cordial.

It is our confident hope that the Press and the paper which, as you know, have been revived, will soon resume their original position and strength. We are making every effort to secure this result and can assure you that it will not be necessary to avail ourselves of the gratifying offers that you have made and we shall be able to avert the sacrifice which we know must in your circumstances be heavy.

V. S. SRINIVASAN,  
President.

THE Kolhapur Durbar is to be congratulated on the new law it has promulgated forbidding the marriage of a girl under 10 and of a boy under 14 years of age. The law makes it an offence for a guardian to marry girls and boys before they reach the prescribed ages and imposes upon him

the penalty of a fine not exceeding Rs. 2,000. The minimum limits of age here laid down are lower than in Baroda where they are, we believe, 12 for boys and 16 for girls. But we know also that in Baroda the enactment in question is practically a dead letter, the fines levied being regarded by parents merely as additional marriage expenses. If the Kolhapur State, however, is not unduly tender in administering the measure, its law will certainly be more operative than unfortunately the Baroda Act is, for the maximum amount of fine there is pretty high. There is another reason why we expect the Kolhapur Act to be put rigorously into effect, for we understand that the promulgation of the law was preceded by a certain amount of agitation among leading non-Brahmans, and as the new law is intended more for the benefit of the masses than for that of the upper classes, we hope His Highness the Maharaja will not be slack in working it. We regard this Act as the first-fruits of the reforming zeal of Rao Bahadur Latthe, the Dewan, and feel confident that it will be followed by more of a similar type calculated to redound to the credit and lasting good of the State. We have often had occasion in the past to make adverse criticism of the Kolhapur Durbar: we therefore feel it to be the more incumbent on us to offer our felicitations to it when the Durbar has taken a bold step forward on the road to social reform and the uplift of the masses.

YET another Committee has been appointed by the Bombay Government to consider the question of the Back Bay Reclamation. A Committee of engineers is already sitting and examining the estimates for the completion of blocks 1, 2 and 8. How far it has progressed with its business and with what results are matters upon which the public have no information so far. The work before the new Committee is by no means too easy. It has to consider the very important question of what should be done to reduce the appalling losses in which the Presidency has been involved by the reclamation operations of the Development Department. It will be remembered that the Government announced last March that side by side with dredged filling of block 8, a trial would also be given to dry filling. This has worked for some time past; and when the Committee meets, it will, we hope, have sufficient data to enable it to compare the relative advantages of both methods of reclamation. In doing this, business talent and experience, in which the Committee appears to be particularly strong, will stand it in good stead. Another of its merits is that the non-official element is in a predominant position—six out of the total of seven members are non-officials—assuming that the European and Indian members are able to pull on together. The Committee would of course have inspired greater public confidence if the chairmanship had gone to an Indian businessman of the status and position of Mr. Lalji Naranji who, we are pleased to see,

is included in the Committee. It is in the fitness of things that the Bombay Corporation should be represented on the Committee by its President, Mr. Rahimtoola M. Chinoy. The non-official view with regard to Back Bay Reclamation will be voiced in the Committee by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye and Mr. G. B. Pradhan, who may be relied upon to see that no more of the taxpayer's hard-earned money is sunk in Back Bay. While at first sight the Committee seems to be superfluous, it can hardly be questioned that the public, if anything, stands to gain by its labours. Even if all the questionable transactions of the Development Department, which in the past have attracted public notice, are subjected to a thorough and searching test by it, the Committee will have justified its existence. Moreover it is by no means going to take the place of the committee which the Government of India, in exercise of their superintendence, direction and control over the local Government, and at the Bombay Government's request, have some time back declared their intention of appointing. It is unfortunately true that they are taking unduly long to make up their mind as regards its personnel; but that should not blind us to the advantages which we shall reap by the new Committee's work.

A TELEGRAM of the 17th from Nairobi reports that,

"following upon the recent anxiety in regard to native outrages against white women", the sanction of the Secretary of State has been granted to the alteration of the law whereby the death penalty could be inflicted "for crimes against women and children." And now we are waiting to hear of the death penalty being inflicted upon a white profligate, guilty of the rape of a native. But perhaps we may have to wait a little time.

In Kenya generally the provisions of the Indian Penal Code are enforced, but in 1913 the Legislative Council of the Colony, passed an Ordinance making substantial changes in that section of the criminal law which dealt with rape by a native on a white woman. In the first place, all sexual intercourse between a white woman and a native was made an offence, following the model of the Transvaal legislation, both the parties to the factitious offence being liable to be punished. In the second place the penalty for rape was enhanced. The punishment provided under the Indian Penal Code for rape is ten years; it was extended by the Ordinance to 14 years. In the case of attempted rape the punishment was extended from 5 to 10 years, and in the case of an assault with intent to offend the modesty of a woman from 2 to 7 years. At the time this change was made the Government of Kenya had made strong representations to his Majesty's Government in England that the death penalty should be imposed in cases of rape of a white woman by a native, but the then Secretary of State (Mr. Lewis Harcourt) set his face against such inhuman legislation. The Select Committee which sat on the Bill and the Legislative Council itself accepted the lower penalty only under protest. The extreme penalty which was then turned down is now certain to be given legislative sanction under the regime of Mr. Amery.

IT is just four years ago (vide an article "Overseas India" in our issue of June 22, 1922), that, a *propos* of Mr. Tiwary's return from British Guiana, we

From Ganges to  
Amazonas.

wrote that "if within the British Empire an Indian is not welcome, it is well to remember that outside there are not a few countries only too eager to invite his help. If today Indian enterprise got in touch with some of the equatorial States of Brazil, for instance, there is no doubt that colonization by Indians would receive whole-hearted support there without the shadow of any suspicion of unequal status or racial inferiority." We may be forgiven for this long quotation, seeing that our prophesy has come true and that there is now some talk about a representative of the State of Amazonas being in India with a view of recruiting 10,000 Tamil labourers. Less than a year ago (August 27, 1925) we contracted "India's Overpopulation" with "Brazil's Underpopulation"—a topic which (Sept. 10th, 1925) called forth a reply from the Brazilian Consul in Bombay in which he invited "concrete proposals", of which he felt assured that "they would meet with every consideration at the hands of the Brazilian Government." We can therefore claim that we have consistently met the question of Indian emigration to Brazil with great sympathy and understanding, and that we did so long before others knew of its existence. We shall therefore not be accused of narrow-minded hostility, we hope, when we feel constrained to say that the present scheme, as described by Capt. F. McCullagh (in the *Times of India* of the 17th), is one that we think ought to be received with very much reserve. We have not the slightest doubt that the Amazonas is a State which would offer almost unlimited scope for the cultivation of rice and rubber and (strange oversight on Capt. McCullagh's part!) jute. But why speak only of Tamils? Would emigrants from Bengal be not more useful still for such cultivation—quite apart from the fact that Bengal is very much more overpopulated than the Tamil-nad. What one fears is that all that is intended is to get mere "coolies" for plantations: and if that is so, one can only, after all our past bitter experiences of Fiji, Natal, &c., emphatically say No!

AS for the potentialities of Amazonas we entertain no doubt: its size alone (731,363 sq. miles) compares with that of France, Germany, Italy, Spain and Portugal put together, or with that of British India minus Burma and Bombay Presidency: and the variety of its possibilities no less so. But there simply must be no question of creating further opportunities for Indian helotry. The sentence that "the class which is more at home on an office stool than in the seat of a plough is not the class wanted by Brazil" strikes one as ominous. If there is to be genuine colonization of virgin land by families of emigrants, well and good. But such colonies need their leaders, their doctors, their schoolmasters. Emigration therefore, if of the true colonizatory type, must not exclude the non-manual workers altogether. There is nothing that we would like better, than to see the creation of a little New India in the heart of Latin America: but if it is to materialize, guarantees will be needed, both as regards the freehold of the lands to be cultivated and the local autonomy of the would-be Indian districts. Let both the Brazilian Federal and the Amazonas State governments give such guarantees, and let a Commission of Indian agricultural, &c. experts report favourably on the material prospects of the region: and we for one shall be delighted to see large streams of our people flowing into the New World, to carve out for themselves in the spaciousness of a virgin continent new homes and for Indian culture a new future.

PERHAPS it is too early to speculate what the effect of the Brazilian and Spanish sulks Spain and Brazil. is going to be. For a member of the League only ceases to be such two years after notification of his desire to resign. And what may not happen before June 1928? In the meantime Spain has rendered a great service to the League, though the service is of a purely negative nature only, in dropping her obstruction and at last ratifying the amendment of article 26 of the Covenant, which regulates the manner of amending the Covenant itself. To come into force, this amendment still required to be ratified by Spain: but Spain, ever since 1921 (1) under one pretext or another had hitherto refused to satisfy it, the real reason being that she made this ratification, so essential to the working of the League, dependent upon her appointment as Permanent Member of the Council! Thus do these wardens of the League from proud Castile love the League. Is it to be wondered, if the plain man in the street thinks the resignations a good riddance of such people? Not so many years ago, the secession of Brazil from the League would have mightily pleased the U.S.A. Today the latter's Pan-American plans are at a distinct discount in Latin America: Locarno has come to pass and the U.S.A. begins to wonder whether it is really quite as indispensable, as it thought. Nor will the confession of impotence in discharging her arbitral duty in the age-long Tacna-Arica dispute between Peru and Bolivia enhance her reputation nor strengthen her claim to be able to settle international problems without "interference" on the part of the League. Neither therefore is Brazil likely to wish to "play up" to the United States nor in fact would she today be able to do so by spiting the League, with whom and the League's Permanent Court at the Hague the U.S.A. itself is today distinctly flirting. Moreover the Brazilian attitude is reproached throughout Latin America and so one candidly has to confess that, if there are deeper reasons behind the mulishness of Brazil, they have not yet come to light.

THE Special Commission to consider the composition of the League Council in the face of Brazil's and other countries claim to sit on the Council; as permanent members, met May 10th and following days and adopted an ingenious scheme of Viscount Cecil. This, while reserving permanent seats to the "Great Powers" (England, France, Italy, Japan, Germany, United States and Russia), creates "semi-permanent" seats by allowing an Assembly to declare by a two-third majority that a non-permanent member, though having completed its normal term of 3 years, is reeligible. The effect aimed at was to ensure that countries like Spain and Brazil (which have been reelected to the Council year after year since 1920) would remain there, whilst the increase of the number of non-permanent members from 6 to 9 would at the same time give an opportunity to all countries sooner or later to come by rotation on the Council for at least 3 years each. The Cecilian plan was adopted, delegates swallowing their objections to an unwieldy Council of 14 (or even 16, if U. S. A. and Russia join the League) in the hope of having found a generally acceptable "formula." Neither Spain nor Brazil voted against the scheme at the time (both however making "reservations"), and the Brazilian delegate in fact was thanked at the final meeting by Lord Cecil for his attitude and "devotion to the League". When however,

a month later, the Special Commission's report came before the Council at its June session, Brazil, as is now known, took up an altogether uncompromising attitude, its "devotion to the League" taking the peculiar form of giving notice of withdrawal from the League. Spain, while not going so far, resigned from the Council, in which she refused any longer to have any part or lot, except as a Permanent Member. And Castilian honour and prestige presumably are now satisfied.

THE whole performance is a melancholy illustration of the prestige mania in all its hollowness. Spain and Brazil do not mind whether they are permanently on the League Council: they want to be called Permanent Members. This new label would have added no army corps to the Spanish army and no battle squadron to the Brazilian navy; it would have enhanced the industrial importance of neither country nor raised the standard of literacy amongst their people. In what sense would they have become "Great Powers" by being called "Great Powers"? The whole of this attitude strikes one as amazingly childish and almost incredible in grown-up people and *soi-disant* statesmen, entrusted with the welfare of millions of human beings. But then, is the whole of this curious mentality not the same as that which regards the "glory" and "honour" of a State as sufficient reason for peaceful citizens to become transformed into bloodthirsty monsters? Not to be, but to seem, is for such the consideration that really matters: and if Spain and Brazil wanted to prove to the world that their present rulers are quite unfit to be entrusted with the governance of the world, they certainly could not have done better than adopt their present attitude over the League's Council membership.

THE German Referendum on the confiscation of the ex-rulers' property has resulted in less than 15 million votes being cast in favour of the proposal and 1½ million against it, whilst 26 millions abstained. The result therefore is anything but a victory for the Hohenzollerns and their *confreres*. Indeed it is significant for the real strength of monarchic feeling in Germany that only ½ million voters out of 42 had the pluck of voting outright against all confiscation. The fact of the matter is that the Communist-Socialist proposal on which the Referendum was taken was by no means satisfactory. The setting aside of all compensation outraged the sense of justice of wide sections of the population, who on the other hand had nothing but condemnation for the rapacity and egoism of the ex-potentates who in their insatiable greed were claiming further sums from the impoverished States over which they had once ruled. As a consequence the Catholic Party decided to abstain from the Referendum and its example was followed largely even by others. But the failure of the Communist proposal through failure of the referendum reaching the requisite 20 million votes must not be taken as the last word on the subject. Now that this wild scheme is out of the way, the Chancellor, Dr. Marx, himself leader of the Catholic Party, will no doubt soon place before the *Reichstag* a bill of his own, which, whilst guaranteeing to the ex-Princes their strictly private fortunes, will yet rule out the fantastic claims for "damages" and what is *de facto*, if not *de jure*, national property.

attaches to the Commission, for at that time the present knowledge of the causation of malaria was not available.

The case for a fresh enquiry is indeed very strong. The conclusions of the old Royal Commission are out of date, and medical science has made great strides since. So has the social conscience of the world, including India. We shall not repeat here the many important points that Dr. Datta for instance made in his speeches in the Assembly and which call for enquiry. The latest results of medical research regarding opium call for an enquiry as to what extent the low vitality and high mortality prevalent in India are due to the free use with which opium is used by the people and given to babies. India has besides to uphold her prestige in the League of Nations. These reasons are sufficient in themselves to justify a fresh enquiry. It may well be conducted by a Government of India committee, but if it is a convention that a Royal Commission alone can review the findings of a previous Royal Commission, it is worth while to secure one, even if it gave only negative results.

P. KODANDA RAO.

## INDIAN RAILWAYS, 1924-25.

### I.

THIS annual publication has since the war time been appearing so unconscionably late that it is time the public insisted on a serious effort being made by the Railway Board to issue the report within a reasonable period, say, of six months at the outside, from the close of the year to which it relates. Until about a couple of years ago, it was impossible to discover in whose name the report was issued. Commencing with the report for 1923-24, the publication bears on its cover the explicit impress of its authors being the Railway Board and not the Government of India. This is a move in the right direction and marks what we hope will turn out to be the beginning of the Railway Board realising and asserting their own individuality as distinct from that of the Government of India—a consummation to which attention was drawn at pages 40 and 46 respectively of the pamphlets "Railways and the Budget" and "Railway Problems" published by the Servants of India Society. We, therefore, congratulate the Railway Board on the courage shown by them in thus overcoming the weight of past tradition and resisting the the flattering merger of the two individualities. In fact, as the Chief Commissioner for Railways is the accredited head of the business administration of Indian Railways and shares his responsibility neither with the Government of India nor with his colleagues on the Railway Board, there appears to us to be no reason why the future report should not issue in the name and over the signature of the Chief Commissioner himself and be separately reviewed by the Government of India.

Another small but very useful reform which is necessary is that the narrative and the financial

and statistical statements in the report dealing with railways, which enter into the annual budget of the Railway Board, should be separate from those dealing with the railways which do not so enter, so that the achievements of the Railway Board may be seen clearly and in their proper perspective.

Introduced as a result of the recommendations of the Indian Railway Committee of 1920-21, guided by the sound principles enunciated by the Retrenchment Committee of 1922-23 for the businesslike management of railways, and freed from the cramping influence of the orthodox Finance Department of the Government of India by means of the convention separating the railway from the general finances of the Central Government, the new regime is showing signs of proving a progressive success. It is true that this regime has the distinct advantage of being able to shine on account of the extremely convenient background presented by its predecessor; but when it is realised, as those who have any experience of the administration of a concern can easily realise, how difficult it is for the administrative head to get the old executive staff to adapt themselves to new and improved methods of working, not on account of an attitude of wilful obstruction on the part of the latter, but solely on account of the difficult task of unlearning the old and learning and assimilating the new, the present regime is entitled to credit for such measure of success as it has shown within the short space of a couple of years, both on the technical side and on the side of economics. The improvement on the financial or accounting side, however, still leaves much to be desired, but we shall not take up space by repeating what has already been said about these defects on previous occasions, *vide*, for example, pages 8-13 (incidence of loss in working strategic railways) and 31-33 (proper accounts for catering colliery departments) and of the pamphlet "Railways and the Budget" and page 15 (Special Renewal Fund), 20-24 (true capital account), 24-25 (incidence of loss in working strategic railways), 28-29 (arrears of depreciation and loss in stores account), 83-84 (account of return obtained on new lines), 88-89 (true account of open line capital expenditure) of the other pamphlet "Railway Problems."

The most striking feature of the working of the railways in 1924-25 is the huge profit of Rs. 13.12 crores. This figure was only twice approached or exceeded during the whole history of the Indian railways, viz., during 1917-18 and 1918-19, when the profit earned was respectively Rs. 14.87 crores and Rs. 15.85 crores due principally to increase in earnings from the military and other special traffic created by the war and on the other hand to decrease in expenditure on repairs and renewals which had to be suspended during the war. The gross earnings of 1924-25 exceed those of 1923-24 by Rs. 667 lakhs, the increase being distributed as follows:—

	Rs. in lakhs.
Goods receipts	563
Coaching receipts	52
Other receipts	52
<b>Total receipts</b>	<b>697</b>

The increase in goods receipts is very much more pronounced than that in coaching receipts. Both classes of traffic continue to labour under the handicap of high rates and fares. It is possible that the detrimental effect of high charges may be almost wholly obscured by favourable crop and trade conditions in the case of goods traffic, as has happened in the year 1924-25, but not so in the case of passenger traffic. Increase in this traffic is induced more by general economic prosperity of the masses than by the mere physical circumstances of good crops and flourishing trade which affect only a few classes, but the influence of these factors is never so complete or pronounced as effectually to shut out from view the baneful effect of high fares, particularly of the third class. Although the third class passengers do not even now get the treatment, the conveniences and the comforts to which they are entitled as human beings, their position in this respect is undoubtedly improving, if only slowly; but in respect of the fares, their position which never has been satisfactory, whether absolutely or comparatively with other classes, is getting from bad to worse, with the consequence that the average distance travelled by a third class passenger has come down from about 41 miles in 1905 to as low a figure as 31 miles in 1924-25! Travel of 41 miles is itself a miserable average; but when every passenger feels compelled to curtail his travelling by as much as 24 per cent., the question of the incidence of the existing fares assumes an aspect deserving, nay demanding, serious attention by the Railway Board. Yet the whole subject is dismissed in the report with the remark: "Third class passenger traffic continues to shew increases both in numbers and earnings; but railways are carefully watching this traffic and, wherever necessary, are introducing concessions or reduced fares." The reductions recently announced in the scales of fares for third class passengers are calculated to afford relief to but a very small number of the third class travellers and that too to a section which is the least needy. It is the short distance traveller who is the neediest and yet this is the very class of traveller who is the least liberally treated in the distribution of the reductions announced. The position of the third class passenger *vis a vis* the railways is, in practice though not in theory, peculiarly favourable to extortionate charges. Railways in India are, owing to causes both inherent and extraneous, predominantly monopolistic in character, and more so in the case of passenger traffic than in that of goods traffic. The passenger traffic has far less scope for exercising its option in the use of railways than has the goods traffic, and even this comparatively limited scope grows narrower and narrower until the lowest (third) class passenger traffic is reached. A passenger above the third class has one or more alternative classes out of which to choose to suit his purse, but a third class passenger has no such choice. For a large percentage of these passengers, railway travelling is not a luxury but an absolute

necessity, it is not optional but compulsory, irrespective of price, inconvenience or discomfort. In the case of these passengers, railway travel is dictated more by social and religious obligations than, as happens in the West, by considerations of pleasure or of money-making business. This makes the third class passenger traffic extremely inelastic, that is, it does not decrease (or increase) with the increase (or decrease) in fares to such a marked degree as unquestionably to establish the extortionate or reasonable character of the fares charged. Railway rates and fares partake more of the nature of a tax than of the nature of value of services rendered. To the railway travellers the fares charged constitute a direct tax and in the case of that large volume of compulsory travellers of the third class, this direct tax is out of all proportion on the one hand to the quantity and quality of the accommodation supplied and on the other to their economic capacity. From the year 1920-21, the Railway Board have consistently omitted the statistics showing the rate of profit earned or loss sustained on the different classes of passengers and the ratio of accommodation provided to the numbers actually carried in the different classes. The ostensible reason probably is that the statistics are unreliable. If so, it took our railway administrators nearly half a century to make this discovery, just as it took them 50 years to discover that the third class passengers required facilities to answer the calls of nature! The best brains in the Railway Board have so far been unable to find reliable substitutes for the unreliable statistics. The taxes levied in the shape of railway rates and fares have remained outside the scope of the investigations made by the Taxation Enquiry Committee, whose report has been recently published. But there is no reason why the question should not be remitted for enquiry to the proposed Rates Advisory Committee. The subject is of too pressing an importance to be taken up at leisure and, as suggested in the article which appeared in the issue of this paper of August 21, 1924, the examination of the question should be the first duty entrusted to the Rates Advisory Committee and not the revision of the Indian Railway Act, which can well stand over until the former enquiry is finished.

ECONOMY.

## REVIEWS.

### INDIA'S MONEY MARKET.

MONEY AND THE MONEY MARKET IN INDIA. By P. A. WADIA & N. G. JOSHI. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.) 1926. 9×5½. pp. 420. 21s.

THE publication of a book on the Indian money market just on the eve of the Currency Commission's Report is so much the more welcome as it is an able exposition from the Indian view-point and will reinforce the already overwhelming evidence in support of an effective gold standard for India.

The earlier portion of the book relating to Indian Currency traverses much the same ground as

### THE BENGAL PACT.

THE stormy meeting of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee on the 13th inst. terminated, much to the surprise of his friends as well as his opponents, in a resounding victory for Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta. Not only is the Hindu-Muslim Pact saved for the moment, but he is himself placed in a position of unassailable supremacy in the Congress organization of the Province, to do with it just what he may be pleased to do. For, by a special resolution, he is allowed, in the capacity of President, to add to the Executive of the Committee as many nominees of his own as there may be elected members, thus giving him a standing majority on that body. However gratifying this personal triumph may be to Mr. Sen-Gupta's vanity, it will not avert a split in the Swaraj party, but rather make it inevitable. Indeed, it would appear that the split has already taken place; for the defection of a number of prominent members of the Swaraj party in Bengal, who were among the most loyal lieutenants of Deshbandhu Das, has already been reported; and the fissure will grow only wider and deeper as preparations for the coming election proceed.

And the Pact? It is dead as mutton. No one wants it and no one can appeal to it without imperilling his chances at the election. The Hindus as a body are sick of it and in their existing humour will make short work of the public career of any among them who proposes a larger share of the public employment and of representation on public bodies for Moslem brethren than at present. The Moslems, on the other hand, are confident, thanks to the unwearied efforts of Sir Abdur Rahim, of securing with their unaided exertion and without entering into a bargain with the Hindus, all that any pact might give them in the best of circumstances. It is publicly stated that Sir Abdur Rahim, though then in Government service, was with the Deshbandhu joint author of the Pact. If it suited him at the time to make a secret compact with the Hindus in order to advance communal interests, it does not evidently suit him now to do so. For one thing, he is now at liberty, as he was not before, to champion the Moslem cause, which he is doing with remarkable zeal. For another, the communal consciousness of his co-religionists has grown much keener now than before, and he himself is not a little responsible for intensifying it. And for a third, the pact was to come into full effect only after the attainment of Swaraj, which presents itself now even to the most ardent zealots as none too near an event. If, then, merely by appealing to communal conceits, the Moslems are now in a position to put their fellow-religionists into office and by that means fully satisfy communal ambitions and aspirations, it would indeed be surprising if they showed any disposition to rely upon the continued self-denial of the Hindus to give them a power and an influence which, in any event, under the Swarajist

creed, they could not use. What part Sir Abdur Rahim actually played in bringing the pact into being we do not pretend to know. But even if he were at any time keen on it, there is no reason why in the altered circumstances he should continue to swear by it. And, in point of fact, he does not swear by it; nor does any other prominent Mahomedan. With the result that the pact is already dead: Mr. Sen-Gupta's capture of the Congress organization notwithstanding.

Neither do we regret that the pact has no vitality left in it. For, ardently as we desire a speedy redress of the balance between Hindus and Moslems and a firm understanding between the two communities on the basis of right and justice, we confess we have no predilection for any settlement, which has in view only the political exigencies of the moment and has no reference to fundamental principles. The motive which inspired the framing of the pact was undoubtedly the desire to down the bureaucracy by a consolidation of the non-official element, and if Moslems could be persuaded to make common cause by doling out, or rather by promising to dole out, to them a few more jobs, Hindus thought they might do so. But Moslems have now realized that if they did not subscribe to the Swarajist creed but on the other hand combined with a few non-Swarajist Hindus, they could form their own administration, which would be infinitely better than any ineffectual defeat which they might be enabled to inflict on the Government by joining up with Swarajists. The Pact therefore has no advantages now to offer to the Mahomedans on the low plane of politics on which it took shape and the Mahomedans as a community therefore stand aside from it. As for the better order of Mahomedans, they have ever held this bribe as beneath contempt. What the newly founded *Moslem Chronicle* says of it may be taken to reflect the feeling generally of the Mahomedan community about it. "We have always had grave doubts," observes this paper, "as to the sincerity of its framers. It was to take effect after the advent of Swaraj, when, if it comes at all, the Swarajists will probably be nowhere. Moreover, it is our firm belief that, pact or no pact, the future of the Moslem community will depend upon their own strength and not upon the grace of others." Again it says: "We confess we were never enamoured of this artificial alliance which Mr. C. R. Das's instinct of self-preservation prompted him to conclude with the Moslems as a community. The Moslems never cared for it and always looked upon it as a hapworth of political cheese which could be thrown into the dustbin any moment they liked. And today the Moslem's position is so very secure that he can easily afford to ignore it altogether." This admirably sums up the prevailing temper of the Mahomedans in regard to the Pact. Combinations made with a view to a passing phase in politics cannot, from their very nature, outlast that particular phase and the Deshbandhu's Pact, intended to give strength to Swarajism, cannot endure

after the decline of Swarajism itself. But no one need waste a tear over it, as the Pact was never meant to subserve and never did subserve the broad national interests.

### THE NEW OPIUM POLICY.

THE internal policy of the Government of India is admittedly behind, if not in direct conflict with, international standards. It is true that at the present moment it is the Ministers in charge of "transferred" departments that are directly responsible for the internal policy. That does not however mean that the Government of India have no responsibility in the matter. In their Resolution, dated the 18th inst. the Government of India take on themselves the responsibility for laying down the policy. The Resolution states that "a policy aiming at prohibition of the use of opium in India for purposes other than medical and scientific would be clearly impracticable in the circumstances even if it were desirable... and the Government of India would regard it as an entirely unjustifiable departure from the present policy of non-interference with moderate use." Besides, the co-ordination of policy between the different provinces in British India, and between them and the Indian States, and the securing of a Royal Commission, if necessary, are entirely within the purview of the Central Government. Great then is the influence, if not the direct responsibility, of the Government of India in shaping the internal policies in the provinces and, we will add, in the Indian States as well. All the same, the inaction of the provincial legislatures and the popular ministers, except in Assam, where opium is in the portfolio of an Executive Councillor, is a severe handicap to the Government of India in moving forward. The explanation for this inaction is apparently due to the fact, admitted by even the Rev. Wm. Paton, "that for the larger part of the country, the opium evil does not exist." The agitation against the opium evil is to a certain extent artificial and imported. The absence of adequate allopathic medical facilities, the unorganised and, in the matter of opium, unreliable indigenous Vaidas and Hakims, create difficulties of no mean order. It is, therefore, much to the credit of the Central Legislature and the Government of India that, despite these circumstances, they took the initiative in asking for a review of the principles underlying the current policy. The Government of India drew the attention of the Provincial Governments to only three matters: inter-provincial uniformity of the selling price of opium, reduction of excessive consumption in certain areas and the doping of infants. On the first question the Government accept the views of Provincial Governments that absolute uniformity is not possible, though an effort will be made at the forthcoming Conference of Excise Ministers to co-ordinate provincial policies as much as possible. On the second question they find it necessary to "impress" again on

the local Governments "the importance that the Government of India attach to the unremitting endeavour to cleanse these black spots upon the map of India." With reference to both these questions the Provincial Governments have complained bitterly against the adjoining Indian States whose policies make any advance in the British Provinces almost impossible. It is reassuring to be told that the Government of India have under consideration proposals to bring about greater uniformity between the opium policies of the States and British India. It would be a distinct advantage if the Dewans, or other responsible representatives of the States concerned, were invited to attend the Inter-provincial Conference of Excise Ministers and the Chamber of Princes, if the question is also brought up before that body. If the Government of India make up their mind, they can persuade Indian States to come into line.

The third question referred to the doping of babies with opium. The Provincial Governments admit that the practice is almost universal, affirm that it should be discouraged, but plead that it could be done only by education, health and child welfare propaganda, and that legislation was powerless. The Government of India concur in this view. This is very disappointing indeed. It looks like trifling with the lives of millions of people. It may be that it is not possible to isolate this evil and fight it; it may be necessary to have to fight on a much wider front and prohibit every other kind of non-medical use of opium. Even so it is worth serious and even favourable consideration.

The other disappointing feature in the Resolution is the definite refusal of the Government, to institute a fresh inquiry into the whole question of opium consumption in India and their pathetic faith in the conclusions of the Royal Commission of 1893, except in one particular. The "authoritative and impartial" character of that Commission was fiercely challenged at that very time and one of the Commissioners himself wrote a memorandum on the methods employed by the Government of India to influence the evidence that was allowed to reach the Commission. In the opium debate in the House of Commons in 1906, Lord (then Mr.) Morley, Secretary of State for India said of the Commission, particularly with its reference to China, that "somehow or other its findings had failed to satisfy public opinion in this country." As for the medical point of view, which, in a matter like the use and abuse of opium, must be the determining factor, the Commission, far from expressing an authoritative opinion, merely said: "The whole question of the effects of opium as medically considered must be worked out later in detail upon a careful collation of the large mass of evidence before the Commission." Where it did venture on an opinion, as when it contended that opium was a remedy for malaria, the Government have now discovered it to have been mistaken, though, of course, no blame



several text books on the subject, but when they reach the subject of the gold exchange standard and the credit organisations of this country, the authors really leave aside their role of text book writers and warm up to the subject with a keen sense of the injustice and backwardness of India's position. It will be seen that a note of protest has been sounded in the introduction against the way in which "money, capital, machinery and large scale production have brought in their train inequalities, poverty, and destitution, crowded and smoking habitations where life itself is stifled. . . . There is no nobler work for the enlightened humanity of to-day than that of controlling money, and monetary policy, of regulating the supply of capital and the level of prices and the habits of consumption in the general interests of mankind." But when one looks into the book for something more in that strain for a fuller exposition of that principle, one is disappointed.

The public are particularly indebted to the distinguished authors for a careful and interesting analysis of the centralised Banking System of Britain, and the Federal Reserve System of the United States, and for their shrewd suggestions in regard to the co-ordination and perfection of the scattered institutions of this country, both indigenous and western, with a view to establishing a centralised banking network. The Imperial Bank has come in for severe criticism for the narrow restrictions, such as those regarding foreign Exchange business, period of loans and fluctuations of Bank rate, which prevent its automatic expansion into a full-fledged Central Bank. They further point out that "it should not be forgotten that the Bank exists primarily not for earning dividends but for developing the country's banking habits and fostering trade and industries by mobilising savings" and they suggest that Government would have been justified from the very date of the amalgamation in stipulating either for interest on its balances when they exceeded a given minimum, or for a share in the profits after payment to the shareholders of a definite proportionate rate of dividend. They also point out that there should have been an express provision in the Act for earmarking a portion of surplus profits for training banking apprentices abroad.

The Exchange Banks, while keeping the Imperial Bank at arm's length in exchange business, have a virtual monopoly of financing the foreign trade of the country, and have been found to be transferring funds out of India at times when there is considerable stringency in the Indian market. The authors therefore suggest that "it is necessary for the safety and stability of Indian banking and in the interests of the Indian money market that the Exchange Banks should be compelled by law to maintain a fixed minimum percentage or cash balance in India and they should not be allowed to disturb that statutory proportion by events affecting their position outside of India. The publication by the Exchange Banks of weekly statements showing their assets and liabilities in India is also desirable in the general interests of the country."

Messrs. Wadia and Joshi have treated unsparingly the Gold Exchange Standard system and have shown conclusively how it has not tended to economise the use of gold, nor to steady the Exchange, nor to steady the prices, nor to expand and contract the currency in response to the needs of trade and commerce.

They have made a point of the fact that the apologists of the system have completely ignored

the needs of internal trade when they pleaded that the system provided gold for foreign payments. What is more important is the very full reply to Sir Basil Blackett's plea of using the exchange to steady Indian prices.

A very pleasing feature of the book is the constructive scheme for the organisation of the Indian money market which is now in a rather nebulous state. It contemplates a centralised Banking system something like the solar system, in which the Imperial Bank is the central pivot surrounded by the Exchange and Joint Stock Banks, which in their turn have drawn in to their orbit the indigenous banks consisting of Shroff, Nagarathas, Sowcars, discount houses and brokers.

What adds to the value of this interesting book is its elegant get-up as well as its copious footnotes.

C. GOPALA MENON.

#### PARLIAMENTARY PRACTICE.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE IN INDIA,  
By DANIEL CHAMIER. (The Times Press,  
Bombay.) 1925. 8½ x 6. pp. 139.

AS everybody knows, law is made up of (i) statute law and (ii) case law. The law governing the procedure of business in legislative bodies in India may similarly be split up into two parts, that embodied in rules and standing orders corresponding to the former and the rulings given by the presiding authority in the different councils being in the nature of case law. Mr. Chamier's book is apparently not intended to serve as a handbook of procedure for the guidance of M.L.C.'s and M.L.A.'s though of course one occasionally finds rules of procedure mentioned. But this is with a view to enable the reader the better to follow the rulings he mentions. Indeed it has more to do with presidential rulings than with the rules of procedure. But this does not mean that the book discusses the rulings; it only reproduces them. The information about the procedure followed in the Mother of Parliaments in like cases, which the author is at such pains to give, is valuable as showing how parliamentary procedure in this country differs from that followed in Great Britain. To give one instance. Last year when the Punjab Council had to elect its own President, the nomination of one of the candidates had been proposed and seconded by the Ministers. This was "against parliamentary procedure, as it was not the usual practice in the House of Commons for members occupying Ministerial positions to propose and second candidates for the Speakership" (p 19). But the rules being silent on the point, the President held the nominations valid.

One wonders whether the author did not find anything useful for the purposes of his book in the debates of the Legislative Councils of U.P. Bihar and Orissa, C.P., and Assam, for the book does not contain a single reference to the rulings in those Councils. Nor can one say that he has exhaustively dealt with all the rulings in the other Councils to which reference is made in his book. For instance, an important ruling of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in the Bombay Legislative Council with regard to the remedy which non-official members should adopt in case they found answers to their questions unsatisfactory seems to have been left out. More than once he ruled that when members felt dissatisfied with the replies given by Government to their questions, their proper course was to propose straightaway an adjournment of the House by way of protest. True, this advice was never availed of by members; but that is no reason why it

should not find a place in a book dealing with parliamentary procedure in India. With a President of Sir Frederick Whyte's parliamentary experience for the Assembly, it is only natural that the author should draw liberally upon his rulings; and it is doubtless a tribute to the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's knowledge of parliamentary procedure that the Bombay Legislative Council among provincial Councils should have been singled out for frequent mention.

In dealing with the procedure for asking questions in the Bombay Council (p. 68) the author seems to have fallen into an error, though a minor one. There he gives the impression that a question can only be asked of a member of Government. This does not appear to be so. If we mistake not, under certain circumstances questions can be and have been addressed to and answered by M.L.C.'s who are not members of the Government.

Long speeches are now evidently out of date in Parliament; but there was a time when it also had its Malaviyajees. "On another occasion a visitor looked in at the House of Commons and heard a Member speaking and left again and took a horse and rode to the suburb of Wimbledon, dined there and then rode back to Westminster and again looked in at the House of Commons and found the same member still speaking on the same subject" (p. 82). Protracted debates in the House of Commons have not been uncommon. The following instance is interesting: "Sir Samuel Romilly once joined in an evening debate and then went home and dined and retired to rest and rose on the following morning and took his usual walk and had breakfast and then looked in at the House. He found the debate still going on and was able to vote on the question which he had discussed on the previous evening" (p. 82).

A too strict adherence on the part of the Speaker to the letter of the rules must have often landed him in difficulties. Here is an instance:—"A Speaker in the House of Commons was not only unable to call for a count of members present without his attention being called to the lack of quorum, but he was even unable to leave the chair until some member moved that 'The House do now adjourn.' One unfortunate occupant of the Chair was left sitting there without the necessary motion for adjournment being made, and his integrity in upholding established rules was so great, that he would have remained in the Chair during the whole of the night if he had not been released. It happened, however, that a member remembered that no resolution for adjournment had been made and returned to the House, to find the martyr to duty sitting in solemn silence in the empty House. The friendly member then moved that 'The House do adjourn' and as the Chamber was empty, the motion was soon carried and the imprisoned speaker released."

In spite of the drawbacks referred to above, this attempt—the first we believe of its kind in India—to codify, as it were, the presidential rulings in the different legislative bodies in this country deserves encouragement.

D. V. AMBEKAR.

### WILLIAM COBBETT.

WILLIAM COBBETT. By G. K. CHESTERTON.  
(Hodder Stoughton, Ltd., London) 1925. 7½ × 5.  
pp. 277. 6s.

THIS is the first book in the series of Intimate Biographies. The book under review is not, how-

ever, a regular biography and it is intimate only in the sense that it contains a psychological study of the subject of the biography, in his public career and writings. In fact, this is a long essay on Cobbett in the right Chestertonian style and those who will take up the book with the expectation of finding a consecutive life-story of Cobbett are likely to be disappointed. The book opens with a chapter on "The Revival of Cobbett." Only some two years back Cobbett was neglected by the present day generation of Englishmen. "In one sense, of course, Cobbett has never been neglected. He has only been admired in the way in which he would have specially hated to be admired. He who was full of his subject has been valued only for his style. He who was stuffed with matter has been admired for his manner; though not perhaps for his manners. He shouted to the uproarious many, and his voice in a faint whisper has reached the refined few, who delicately applauded a turn of diction or a flight of syntax. But if such applause be rather disconcerting to the demagogue, the real revival of his demagogy would be even more disconcerting to the academic admirer." By the revival of Cobbett, Mr. Chesterton means the revival of the things that Cobbett wished to revive, such as "liberty, England, the family, the honour of the yeoman, and so on." The Englishmen have, according to Mr. Chesterton, "come back to doing what Carlyle never really did, what Cobbett always wanted to do, to make a real reckoning of ultimate loss and profit on the profit-and-loss philosophy. Even in the economic sphere, the answer has been looking more and more doubtful. We talk of it as the age of profiteers; but it is a question how long even profiteers will make profits. We talk of it as capitalism; and so it is, in the rather sinister sense of living on capital."

In the beginning of his public career, Cobbett was a Tory of the first water and had extravagantly abused Dr. Priestley and Thomas Paine. But afterwards he turned a Radical of the same extreme type and made penance for the vilification of Tom Paine by bringing back his bones from America to England. In Mr. Chesterton's view, it was not a case of inconsistency. "He was an extremist all round. He was more Tory than most Tories, and more Radical than most Radicals. In other words it was because he was original; but also because he was universal. He did not altogether understand his own universality; and he expressed it mostly in the form of inconsistency." "It is not true that he belonged successively to two parties; it is much truer to say that he never belonged to any party." Cobbett was a leader greatly after Mr. Chesterton's heart. He was a great fighter and he was an outspoken writer. After his Tory fever had subsided, he had taken up the cause of the people. He thought that industrial wealth was industrious waste and so does Mr. Chesterton. Cobbett was a practical visionary: he loved the past and lived in the future. He was an eminent mob-leader; but was not merely a man mobbed.

The book, although not a regular biography, is a literary treat. One finds here all that is associated with Mr. Chesterton; his love of mediaevalism, his passion for democracy in politics and his hatred of modern industrial civilization. Paradox is Mr. Chesterton's breath of life and one finds it in plenty in this book. No doubt there is discursiveness and not a little repetition here and there, but there are also gems of thought. Of course, all his observations are not to be taken as literally true; perhaps he himself would not insist on having them taken as such. If we find inconsistency between his religious-

and political views, we must attribute it to his originality, as he says with regard to Cobbett, which he expresses in the form of inconsistency. Mr. Chesterton applauds Cobbett's logic, but rationalism is his *bête noire*. Rationalism, he says, is a romance of youth; there is nothing very much the matter with the age of reason, except, alas, that it comes before the age of discretion. Mr. Chesterton's golden age lies buried in the Middle Ages, and few in India will be disposed to accept his belief. A lover of everything English, he sometimes points out the failings of his countrymen. It is the paradox, he says, of the English that they are always being cruel through an aversion to cruelty. "Tyranny varies with temperament, especially national temperament. The English rulers simply forget the poor." The poor in England as well as in India will not question the truth of these statements.

One may not get the details of the self-taught English farmer's life in this book; but one is deeply impressed with his greatness, with his massive character and with his born leadership. One who looks for a narrative of life may be disappointed, but one who knows what to expect from Mr. Chesterton will be amply repaid.

P. G. KANEKAR.

#### THE FUTURE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

CASSANDRA, OR THE FUTURE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By F. C. SCHILLER. (Kegan Paul, London.) 1926 6 x 4. pp. 92 2s. 6d.

IN this little volume, one of the thought-provoking series of "To-day and To-morrow", the author has attempted in a masterly manner and lucid style to tell the world without reserve, or "fear of wrecking his career" what he thinks of the future of the British Empire. In his "Riddles of the Sphinx" he has his first fling and though in the present he is "committing further imprudence of having a second", to the reader in the Far East he has done a real service by lifting the veil and exposing, according to his lights, the dangers threatening the British Empire which to all appearances looks more powerful than ever after the Great War. The problem tackled is, generally speaking, fairly and adequately represented, which helps to a great extent to convey the impression that the conclusions drawn and the vision of the future depicted by the author are not unreasonably pessimistic. The essay is divided into eight sections. The last prescribes the remedies to cure the disease of the British body politic, whereas the preceding three, dealing with the labour problem, the European entanglement, and the Dominions, present three different aspects of the menace to the Empire trying to shake its foundations. The first part is mostly introductory and a general review of the past and present political history of England succeeded by a prophecy of the author about the future form the next three sections.

The argument of the whole book is somewhat on the following lines. In the past the security of England depended mainly on two essentials, viz. (1) naval supremacy, and (2) the attitude of aloofness from European squabbles, and her occasional intervention was simply to secure the balance of power and to prevent the formation of a single Empire on the Continent. But these cardinal principles of British policy were sacrificed in the Great War, along with the security they afforded. To-day politically Europe is dominated by France with the result that the balance of power is gone. "If M. Poincaré had had the nerve to order his

black troops to occupy Berlin in 1923 or to make *coup d'état* in 1924 no one could have stopped him. For the French air force is ten times as strong as ours." Likewise naval supremacy was abandoned, for the British statesmen failed to see that "the fleet that disappeared beneath the waves, at Scapa Flow was emerging sailing on the other side of the Atlantic." Hence U. S. A. is England's serious rival in this respect to-day, while she has ceased to be an island and lost immunity from air attack. So far in regard to the political situation. England's industrial and financial position is still worse. Home labour problem is critical and the "biggest of our bogies". The coal strike has fully justified the fears of those who think economic laws are defied when subsidies are given without counting the cost ultimately borne by the community as a whole. The labour problem has become entirely insoluble.

The various treaties from Versailles to Lausanne (from 1919 to 1923) have promoted only unsettlement which is likely to precipitate another international conflict or aggravate the animosity of feelings between the warring nations. They failed to adjust the natural order by drawing fantastic frontiers. "Intentionally or otherwise they multiplied every sort of political, economic and social sore and created a maximum amount of instability and friction." England's hands are tied, her resources are strained and her empire is rendered insecure by her undertaking obligations as a member of the League of Nations to place her fleet at its disposal. She has guaranteed the inviolability of "Security Pacts", because she dared not displease France and could not have induced her otherwise to abstain from exercising her right which she claims under the Versailles treaty of invading Germany at will. The treaty of Lausanne opened the Straits to British fleet, and the cutting off of Russian frontier from the Baltic resulted in the formation of little states, all protégés of England, who must look to her for protection against Russia.

These commitments of England lead to a consequence which constitutes another danger to the cohesion of the British Empire. The Dominions have no concern with European politics. They have no European attack to fear. Their interests are different from those of Continental nations. To expect them to support England's European policy under these conditions is to put too much strain on their loyalty to the Motherland in future, though they have suffered severely in the past for her. Their attitude towards Europe resembles American and in this state "the present informal, fluid and uncertain association of the parts of the Empire cannot endure". The alternative seems to be either disruption or some compact constitution providing for common action, involving common interests, and expressing common sentiments for the Dominions and the Mother-country alike. But the remedy would be neither Imperial Federation nor Colonial Federation, as some believe, because the whole world must reckon the American factor in all spheres of action in future. None dare antagonise her and escape with no harmful ending. The New York bankers who dictate their terms to all Governments, perceive how politics can ruin finance and impose political conditions. In a way this exercise of political control by financial means is a new contribution to the theory of government. So closest co-operation with America would in future be a *sine qua non* of the continuance of the British Empire. Neither the Imperial Federation nor the Colonial Federation would be tolerated by the rest of the

world who would combine to break it at the earliest moment. On the other hand, the policy of antagonising America, of intervention in European affairs and of imperialism elsewhere would be fatal. Another war with America would mean a downfall as complete as that of Assyria.

The author has thus endeavoured to establish his theory, with cogent arguments, appropriate analogies and deep insight, that the British Empire has emerged out of the great war, not more powerful as it appears, but with its strength greatly undermined and is not likely to endure for long in the present incoherent state. The book makes interesting reading from start to finish, and whether the reader agrees with the writer or not, it cannot be denied that it is an excellent presentation of his case. We warmly commend it to our readers.

S. Y. PONSHE.

#### SHORT NOTICE.

**BIRTH CONTROL AND THE STATE.** By C. P. BLACKER. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, London.) 1926. 6½ × 4½. pp.95. 2s. 6d.

THIS little book is one of the bright series "To-day and To-morrow." It is excellent from every point of view. The arguments for and against birth control are briefly discussed and the question is viewed from the individual, national and international standpoints. The author's object in writing the book is to get the support of his brethren in the medical profession for the demand of Dr. Marie Stopes and the Labour M. P.'s that doctors in charge of welfare centres and maternity hospitals should be permitted to give information regarding the use of contraceptives to working class women that seek it. The author rightly points out that if this permission is given, there will be a cessation of newspaper advertisement and general propaganda on birth control, which are now exercising a baneful influence on the imagination of young people,

V. V. S.

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