

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

SO at a long last the cotton excise has been, at least, "suspended"—*ad Kalendas Graecas*, we sincerely hope—and the generation-old grievance is on the way of being redressed. One would fain most heartily congratulate the Government on this, however tardy, act of justice and on its acknowledgment that India's fiscal autonomy is a reality. Yet, how difficult the Government makes it for us to appreciate any act of theirs, however good, when their method of acting is so disagreeable? Most statesmanship consists in putting lots of jam on a nasty powder: the Indian Government, *per contra*, seems to dust jam with quinine! If this iniquitous excise was to have been given up, why could not the thing have been done gracefully, at the last session of the Legislature, when both Houses passed resolutions clamouring for such suspense? The Government benches might have fought the resolution tooth and nail (as they did), but in the end have said: "Well, gentlemen, we are sure you are wrong, but since you seem to feel so strongly about it, we are not going to stand in your way. Have it, and lie on the bed which you are making for yourselves." This would have assured Indians anyhow, that all the talk about "steps towards self-government" was not altogether idle and it would have cut further ground under the feet of obstructionism, which after all is due entirely to that very understandable suspicion that all this talk is just—talk. But no—Government would not do anything so sensible: as usual, it took its customary *non-possumus* attitude, thoroughly exacerbating the position. And all for what? To do three months later with an ill grace, what it might have done with such good grace at once. But there is another point to remember. For over fifty years the battle of the cotton excise has swayed indecisively: its victorious termination has only come when organised labour threw in its big battalions. Had trade-unionism in Bombay not made the headway it has; had International

Labour not come to its assistance: it is certain that this victory would not yet have been gained. It is only because the attempt at further depressing the in all conscience already sufficiently depressing standard of life of the Indian workman has roused the class-consciousness and fear of Labour all the world over and brought the Bombay mill strike into the light of international opinion, that the workers of Bombay have been able to effect what apparently so much heftier forces in India have hitherto failed to do. And all praise to the self-same workers for having conducted their strike in so orderly and peaceful a fashion that never once has public sympathy been alienated from their cause, whether here in India or abroad. The textile workers of Bombay, and none other, have gained this victory, not only for themselves, but for all India; and not only gained it, but deserved it. Well done!

NOW that the cotton excise duty has been suspended and the immediately pressing difficulties of the mill industry are over, the employers may be apt to neglect the root causes of their trouble. It is therefore all the more necessary to draw their attention to the real crux of the matter as given by Mr. Ernest Kirk the other day in a most interesting lecture at Coimbatore. Mr. Kirk said:—

The real cause of the present crisis, apart from the general depression after the war, was mismanagement, and perhaps also corruption. The Agency system required overhauling. There was also wider difference between the price paid for cotton purchased from the grower and that paid by the mills. Some attention should be given to the question of these middlemen, brokerage and commission charges. Then again, look at the out-of-date machinery. No industry could pay on a competitive basis that did not keep up to-date machinery. In the years of 1916 and 1921, the Bombay mills made a profit of over 46 crores, or 26 crores more than the capital invested. Was it businesslike? What if efficiency not to overhaul the machinery out of this profit and not to have made sensible provision against lean years? Another cause was the highly-paid staff, largely consisting of Europeans. Experts in every business were necessary and had to be paid for. But no business could be run successfully if it were too top-heavy. Not long ago, Messrs. Tata and Co. at Jamshedpur received protection to their iron and steel industry by way of an increased tariff and also a gift of 50 lakhs of rupees from the Government. But, this help was not shared, as it ought to have been, by the labourers. Instead, one thousand seven hundred of them were dismissed under the guise of retrenchment, while immediately afterwards, 300 Americans and Europeans were appointed with big salaries. The fact was, there was something radically wrong with the management of an industry that, in a time of temporary stress like this, could find no other remedy than that of a wage cut. He thought that, in the interests of the industry, mill-owners should be willing to submit their case to an enquiry of impartial experts. It is a matter that affected the whole future of the industry.

ALMOST at the same time when a meeting was held in Bombay to consider the question of the formation of a new party, a meeting was held in Calcutta under the presidency of Babu Bipin Chandra Pal to discuss the desirability of a coalition of all Constitutionalist groups in the Presidency, and as a result of the discussion the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Bengal  
Constitutionalists.

(1) That this Conference is unanimously of opinion that immediate steps should be taken to form a coalition of the Liberal, Independent and other wings of the Nationalist Party who are pledged to strive for the early establishment of Swaraj in the sense of Full Dominion Status by constitutional means as opposed to direct action.

(2) That a Committee consisting of the gentlemen present at the meeting be formed with power to add to their number for carrying out the above resolution by consulting the political workers in the different provinces who are agreed upon the fundamental principle and policy indicated in the first resolution, and carrying on an educative propaganda along these lines and arranging for an All-India Conference in pursuance of it.

(3) That in the meantime a preliminary conference of Liberals and Independents of Bengal should be held to further the objects indicated above.

It was further decided to issue a manifesto signed by the members of the Independent and Liberal Parties in a day or two. It was also agreed that for future meetings of the preliminary conferences Mr. H. N. Dutt and Mr. K. K. Mitter should be the conveners.

We heartily welcome this move and wish it every success.

\* \* \*

Tilak's Advice to  
the Nation.

IN his very interesting address to the Fergusson College, Poona, on Monday last, Mr. Joseph Baptista gave a glimpse into the working of the late Mr. Tilak's mind when the latter, responding to H. M. the King-Emperor's call for co-operation, advised his party to work the reforms to the best advantage they were capable of yielding to the country. Mr. Tilak then said to Mr. Baptista that he was fully satisfied that the British government had finally resolved to concede self-government to India step by step and the proof of this he observed consisted in the fact that the department of education the most important of them all had been made over to the control of Ministers who themselves were amenable to popular legislatures. "Do you doubt," he asked, "that, with education in our hands, we shall not be able to shape our country's destiny as we desire?" "The transfer of education shows," he added, "that Government is willing to trust us and we must answer their trust in us by our trust in them." Such observations could only proceed from a real statesman and they show that Mr. Tilak was not a mere politician but a wise statesman, or that, to use Mr. Baptista's alliterative phrase, he joined to his apparent pugnacity a good deal of real sagacity. The occasion of these remarks must also be recalled. He expressed these sentiments not long after the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, which to ordinary people proved conclusively that the British government was of the very devil. Mr. Tilak however knew that if some British officials had perpetrated the massacre the British nation as a whole had been committed to the policy of conferring self-government on India and the latter was far more expressive of the Britishers' real mentality than the former. He realised again that if India found it expedient to co-operate with the British Government, she was to do so not for the purpose of conferring any obligations on Government but for the purpose of benefiting our own country. The people

had been given certain powers which they were to use for their own advantage. Mr. Tilak did not look for any sign of a change of heart in the rulers to justify the practice of responsive co-operation. To him the enactment of the Government of India Act was itself such a sign; but even supposing that it did not betoken a change of heart, the fact that some constitutional power was now conferred on the people which they did not enjoy before was enough reason for Mr. Tilak to utilise those powers, change of heart or no change of heart. It would never have occurred to him to ask, as the obstructionists keep on asking: Where is the Government's response to justify us in resorting to responsive co-operation? Is not the Government even now packing the Currency Commission? &c. &c. But this and similar other things are mere trifles compared to the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, in the presence of which Mr. Tilak sounded his trumpet call for co-operation. The infliction of wrongs appeared to him to make the utilisation of the new powers all the more necessary.

Attempt at  
Compromise.

A PRESS message wired the information the other day that Pandit Motilal Nehru was contemplating resignation from the Sken Committee. No confirmation has yet been received of the news, but we shall not be surprised if it proves to be true. The strength of the position of Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar consists in this that while Mr. Nehru is talking of civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes and preventing the formation of Ministries in Bengal and the Central Provinces, he himself and other fellow-Swarajists are all the time practising responsive co-operation in the Assembly, so much so that there can be discovered no difference whatever between him and Mr. Jinnah—indeed on a question like the Contempt of Courts Bill, Mr. Jinnah is far more firm in opposition than Pandit Nehru. If therefore the Panditji desires to carry on a crusade against responsive co-operation he must himself first renounce all positions which have accrued to him by the practice of co-operation. It is rumoured that Pandit Motilal is anxious to come to a compromise with the mutineers in the Swaraj party. All such compromises rouse our suspicion that they will be effected in order to patch up the quarrel without regard to the principles involved in the controversy. The suspicion becomes the stronger because of the suggestion of Lala Lajpat Rai that the fight about the name "responsive co-operation" should be given up by Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar, who in their turn should be allowed to carry on their propaganda for their policy without let or hindrance. This is really no compromise. The propaganda is in any case being conducted, and Pandit Motilal is unable, even if he desires, to hinder it. But Lala Lajpat Rai makes a great mistake in thinking that the quarrel is only about words. The immediate matter for dispute is of course the acceptance of Ministerships. This point can be gained only if responsive co-operation, of which the acceptance of Ministerships is a logical corollary, is adopted as the Swaraj party's official policy. Lala Lajpat Rai himself is inconsistent in advocating on the one hand abandonment of obstruction and on the other non-acceptance of office, and therefore the present quarrel seems to him to be one of mere words. It is in reality a question of fundamental policy that is at issue and we hope that some permanent solution will be found to it. If an amicable settlement can be arrived at nothing better can be desired, but it should be a settlement on a logical basis, not a temporary adjustment of differences, which will only aggravate matters in the end.

### A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY.

TO Mr. Jinnah's effort to bring a new Constitutionalist party into existence we wish well. Constitutionalism is still in danger. Non-co-operation of the orthodox type is quiescent if not dead; but non-co-operation of the obstructionist variety is still alive and is making a vigorous bid for popular favour. There were not a few indications recently which encouraged the hope that Pandit Motilal Nehru and his associates would quietly subside into constitutionalism. But, suddenly and quite unaccountably they have changed their tactics and are making a war on Constitutionalists in their own party. Mr. Aney of Amraoti, who has resigned from the Executive Council of the Swaraj party and joined Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar in conducting a propaganda in favour of responsive co-operation, has attempted an explanation of Pandit Nehru's *volte face*. Whatever be the reason, the fact remains that obstructionism will raise its head again for some time. We do not believe that it will prevail in the end in its fight against responsive co-operation. On the contrary a crushing defeat will most certainly be inflicted on it. Already in Maharashtra the policy of responsive co-operation has proved victorious, witness the resolutions passed at the Thana District Conference. What is true of Thana is still more true of every other Marathi-speaking district. Maharashtra has at heart been always cold to non-co-operation of either kind, whether practised from within or without. But the policy of responsive co-operation may not be able to win an equally rapid victory in other provinces. If it somehow suits his book now to revert to undiluted obstruction, Pandit Nehru may yet do so for sometime with the help of other provinces, and there is thus need for Constitutionalism to gather its forces and marshal them against obstructionism, though in our opinion such a need will be felt for only a short period.

It is a sad confession to make, but it must be made, that forces of constitutionalism are disunited and therefore deplorably weak. The only organization Constitutionalists have in this country (apart from the non-Brahman party whose centre of interest is different) is the Liberal party, and it remains, for no fault of its own, very feeble. But the strength of constitutionalism must not be measured by the numerical strength of the Liberal party. There are outside the party many times more men than those in the party who are sworn foes of non-co-operation or obstruction, but they seem to have an almost unconquerable objection to join the Liberal ranks. This is the sole reason and justification for the formation of a new party. If Mr. Jinnah succeeds in forming one in Bombay or Mr. Bipin Pal in Bengal or Pandit Malaviya in the United Provinces, its policy will in all essentials be identical with the Liberal policy. Mr. Jinnah of course tries to make out that the policy of the Independents in the Assembly is, and that of the new party when it is constituted will be, different from the policy of the Liberals. If he did not put forward such a contention, he would

be unable to account for his aloofness from the Liberal party or justify the new move on which he is engaged. But the contention is in fact wholly untenable. That the Independent party in the Assembly is to a certain extent composed of those who belong officially to the Liberal party and that these are able to abide by the decisions of the Independents without doing violence to their conscience is conclusive proof of the identity of the Independent and Liberal politics. We can conceive no Liberal, unless he be one of the very few who are hopelessly antiquated in their ideas, who would not conscientiously have supported any item in the Independents' policy in the second Assembly. Is it seriously maintained by anyone that Mr. Chintamani or Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru or Mr. Kamat or Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Aiyar or Mr. A. P. Sen or Mr. D. G. Dalvi is more backward in his politics than any of the Independents in the Legislative Assembly? Indeed, it will be found that the younger spirits in the Liberal party are much too radical to suit Mr. Jinnah's taste. When therefore Mr. Jinnah speaks of levelling down the Swarajists and levelling up the Liberals with a view to form a Centre Party he gives expression to what he must know to be tosh. The Constitutional party which he wishes to create is intended to carry on vigorously the same policy identically which the Liberal party because of its weakness in numbers is pursuing weakly.

We would ask the Liberals to join it just because the new party is to promote the same ends as they have at heart. It no doubt requires much swallowing of pride before a member of one party can be persuaded to join another for no other reason than that his party is weak and the other is expected to be strong. But after all it is a very small price to pay for imparting strength to a cause which, for one reason or another, has remained weak in spite of all the efforts of the Liberals. In our opinion the main cause of the Liberal party's unpopularity is that they took the initiative in combating non-co-operation. The movement of non-co-operation has no doubt now come into discredit, but at one time, it was so popular that part of the odium which they incurred in openly fighting it still attaches to them even after non-co-operation has spent its force. The Independents discreetly held aloof at the time and they have earned their reward. They are not equally unpopular and for the very reason for which they did not join the Liberals in giving open battle to non-co-operation they now shrink from joining a party which still remains unpopular. It is now up to the Liberals who risked so much then to make another sacrifice—of pride—in order to give Constitutionalism a better chance than they have by their unaided efforts been able to give. It cannot be that they will have to give up their party in order to join the Constitutionalist party if one is formed. If the new party eventually becomes strong and functions vigorously no harm will come if the Liberal party is merged into it, and if it does not gain much strength the Liberal party will remain to

carry on what work it is doing at present. The Liberals can only regard the new party as an experiment in a desirable direction. The new party must cast its net wide to draw into it Conventionists of the Besant party, Responsive Co-operationists of the Swaraj party, the progressives in the Justice party and so forth. It is necessary that all these should unite in order to lay obstructionism low and since the necessary union cannot be effected in the Liberal party, again we repeat for no fault of the Liberals, we for one would give our whole-hearted support to the plans now afoot in Bombay and Bengal to form a new party and would advise fellow-Liberals to fall in.

## LIBERALISM, SOCIALISM, AND CATHOLICISM.

### VIII. INVESTMENTS.

IN the previous section of this series I have tried to establish the principle that the limitation by society of interest accruing to the individual is legitimate, and I believe there is nobody who would deny that the necessity for applying this principle has ever been so urgent as it is today. For at no time has Finance been as powerful nor has the power wielded by it ever been so uncontrolled by the commonwealth. One of the contributory factors undoubtedly is that today Interest, as we have already seen, shades almost imperceptibly into Dividends: and we have therefore not hesitated to advocate the limitation of the latter, as well as of the former. But if the dividing line between Interest and Dividends has become more indistinct, so has that between Interest and Rent.

In considering Rent, then, let us again start with the fact, that landholding, like shareholding, may be quite genuinely an enterprize, and in that event deserves a reward, here called rent. The old type landlord who really managed his estates and provided for the technical and human needs of his tenantry, who launched out on the cultivation of new crops or of better varieties of them, who established central factories and dairies, who was prepared to suffer from bad seasons with his tenants and to prosper with them in good ones: such landlord is obviously fulfilling a very useful function and deserves all possible reward for his enterprize. But whilst rent for such a one partakes of the nature of profit, it becomes almost pure interest in the case of a man who buys an estate for £ 10,000, because he calculates that it will nett him back an average annual income of £ 500. If my argument is right, profit-rent surely should cease when the enterprize ceases, and interest-rent when *दाम दुःख* has been paid. Now all modern land reform really proceeds more or less on these lines and readers of Mr. Sen's recent articles\* on the subject will recollect that the usual practice is to expropriate big landholders (who are presumed not to be able to fulfil their functions any longer) and to compensate them by 40 times the average annual rent previously received: in other

words, the old Mosaic year of jubilee has been fixed at 40, instead of 50 years—an improvement with which I for one certainly have no quarrel.

At all events, the tendency seems to be that all lands should in course of time be vested in the State which should allot it to leaseholders and their heirs &c. *dum bene se gesserint*, i. e. in perpetuity but subject to the provisions of the lease being complied with. Now this tendency seems to me right because the function of the ancient feudal lords of the land has ceased: the protection, military or otherwise, which the latter formerly were able to afford, has now been entirely monopolized by the State and it is therefore not just that tenants should still pay for something which no longer exists. Having seen how well the system does work in the Federated Malay States, I am afraid I can here not follow Fr. Fallon who to my mind looks too much askance at the nationalization of land. Of course he is quite right in saying that land nationalization in new countries which start *ab ovo* as e. g. Canada, is a different thing from what it would be in old countries, where no land is ownerless and precious little of it "Crown land." I do not with Socialism advocate the expropriation on principle of all landholders, *qua* landholders, but I do say that expropriation for just reasons can not justly be resisted, if fair compensation is given. Nor do I mean by such nationalization the communism of the ancient Russian *Mir*: for the former safeguards the ownership of land in private hands and safeguards too its being passed on from generation to generation, provided the land is being put to the use intended, whether for residence or production, whether in town or in the country. But what State ownership does effect is the prevention of "land being joined to land and houses to houses" beyond the individual family's capacity of making good use of such land or such houses—a prevention effected by the limitation of mere interest, as sketched out already, and therefore I venture to think one which renders land nationalization not merely quite unobjectionable, but even most salutary.

And what holds good for rural property, holds equally good for urban land. If it requires enterprize to build a sky scraper, by all means let that enterprize be rewarded: but is it just to reward a slum-landlord who lets his property in such a way as to make any decent human manner of living an impossibility for his tenants—just because he can plead that he expects such and such a return for his investment? In such a case as the latter municipal ownership is surely preferable—in Bombay, I think, it is admitted that the Port Trust chawls are a step in the right direction and that, if they are still falling short of perfection, at least public opinion has now got a right of criticising and a method of improving them, which would have been altogether lacking in the case of property owned by individuals. The management of a large tenement house of course requires skill and that skill deserves to be rewarded: but here one is concerned with the income going to the landlord *qua*

\* vide issues of November 6th to 14th.

landlord and not *qua* tenement manager. If this income is merely in the nature of interest or dividends on capital invested, then let it come as such under the rules\* we have previously worked out and let the reversion of the ownership rights ultimately go to the municipality.

As will be seen, we come in all these questions eventually back to that of Investment; and I am afraid, we shall never be quite at our ease concerning the conclusions that have already forced themselves upon us, until we are quite sure in our minds that our attitude to investment as such is quite just. Now to get that doubt cleared up, I think it is essential to realize that investments in the great majority of cases are made for the purposes of insurance—whether for death, for old age, for sickness, for education of children or for holidays. Where investments are made for other purposes, they deservedly it seems to me, come under the principle of दाम दूपय and where for insurance, had they not better be treated as insurance *sans phrases*? The whole development of the business of insurance is something quite modern of course and it is equitably based on the principle that we are all members of each other and that we should all bear each others' burdens. Risks therefore are distributed and the individual bears his average share, as is right and proper. But how can the average be quite fair, as long as everybody does not insure—and how prevent that, unless the State itself takes over the whole business and makes insurance compulsory?

There is one point more. As in insurance business the actuarial work is really the foundation of the whole superstructure, so also does accountancy, and especially cost accounting, play an ever more fundamental part in all industrial business. The first great step towards efficiency is to have available scientifically accurate figures: but in an age when that information has become obtainable, it soon follows that the community will claim the right to sharing it, in order that the consumers may check the unlimited power of the producers. The claim to the right of scrutinizing the accounts is one that is increasingly being made. Already joint stock companies must publish accounts: it is a small step to oblige them further to include their costing accounts, but one that is fraught with tremendous possibilities. For publicity, like sunlight, will kill most microbes that thrive in the dark, whether they cause physical disease or moral. Only the other day we had a good example of what publicity will do, when the mere fact that Lord Bradbury's Food Council in England (which has no statutory powers beyond those of inquiry) issued a statement that, having gone into all the facts of the case, they had found that the just price of a quartern loaf should be 8½ d. and not 10 d. as currently charged, had the effect of shaming all English bakers into lowering their prices accordingly! The medieval idea of the Just Price is thus, al-

\* It is pertinent here to mention that already e. g. New York State law (of all places in the world!) forbids rents yielding more than 12% on the landlords' investments.

most accidentally, being recovered: for the just price cannot be ascertained without publicity and full rights of enquiry. Such enquiry will bring to light wasteful methods and inefficiency, technical and otherwise; it will thus benefit the public, but it will even benefit the owners too. Liberal Economists have accustomed people to approach "price" from the point of view of supply and demand; Socialists from that of cost of production—and if the latter view is not the only one that deserves to be taken into account, it is certainly time the former was abandoned as the sole criterion affecting the question. In practice it is being abandoned already, by trusts, rings and combines fixing prices; irrespective of supply and demand: and Mr. Panty is right in asking not whether, but by whom, prices should be fixed (III, 124). Catholic economics teach that "justice demands that in business there must be equivalence between the given and the taken" (I, 199) and that "a price is just, when it is fixed after due consideration of all elements which reasonably should be taken into account, such as the utility and rarity of the thing itself, the resources of the buyers, the needs of the producers, the morality of the needs satisfied" &c. (I, 200). The Just Price therefore is not a simple affair which can be determined by one consideration only: but just because so many legitimate elements enter therein, it is all the more necessary that the public right of enquiry be safeguarded and publicity be given an opportunity of bringing them all before the forum of public opinion.

But even when we have the Just Price, and when we have put a statutory limit to the at present unlimited power of investments for rent, dividends and interest to perpetuate themselves: even then we shall not yet have dealt with all the factors that enter the complicated economics of the modern world. As it is, the unlimited accumulation of compound interest of course puts an evergrowing power into the hands e. g. of insurance companies, investment trusts &c., and there is a very real and very great danger of all power, economic, industrial and political, being rapidly absorbed by and concentrated in a few big finance corporations who are in a fair way of casting the whole world into bondage. The danger is not an imaginary one and it is indeed one that is increasingly receiving attention. And the power thus wielded is so dangerous, because it is so irresponsible—a dozen or two financial autocrats being able to hold a whole world to ransom without anyone being able to withstand their power, just because it is so subtle and so all-pervading. This power is ultimately the power of granting and withholding credit: the principle of which is not affected by the price to be paid for such credit. Modern finance power, concentrated as it is in ever fewer hands, tends ever more to become arbitrary and autocratic: and if despotism in politics and in industry is perforce giving way to the democratic system of public scrutiny and consultation of the ruled, so also, one ventures to believe, is despotism in finance, in itself a thing of but yesterday, bound to meet sooner or later with a similar fate: if irrec-

responsible and uncontrolled finance power is against public policy, there is certainly nothing in the economics of Catholicism to rule out the legitimacy of the commonwealth limiting, and even superseding, if necessary, the power at present still granted to the few banking magnates who between them—all but unknown to it—hold in the hollow of their hand the weal and woe of this modern world.

In all these matters of interference of the community in the affairs of the individual the principle must clearly be that laws should be so framed as to make the moral conduct of the individual easy and his lapses into immoral behaviour difficult. Legislation cannot make man good by Act of Parliament: true, but, because all water in the last instance depends on the rain from heaven, that is no reason for decriing the building of tanks and reservoirs by man. Socialism forgets the rain, Liberalism the tank, and then each in its own way proceeds to build up an oversimplified theory of its own, neither of which can ever square with the facts, just because it is oversimplified. Human life is rich and the economics of that life must therefore be many-sided too. Catholicism bases itself on this very fact and attempts to equilibrate all factors. In the foregoing study I have attempted to show, how it tries to do this and the reader must be judge, whether in his opinion I have succeeded in proving that it does so harmonize all elements. Another point however that I hope has emerged is, that if the principles of Catholic economics are fixed, their application is constantly changing: not because justice and charity ever change, but because the circumstances alter in the midst of which God places man, to give him a chance of proving himself by working out ever new implications of these eternal principles. But if they are eternal, eternally true, they must be Catholic in that sense also that they must apply equally to East as to West. Just because Catholic economics, as Catholic philosophy, is neither British nor Indian it applies to Britain as much as to India; if they are true therefore, India would surely be well advised to leave aside both Liberalism and Socialism in economics, and Materialism and Idealism in philosophy, and examine further if Catholicism cannot here too both cure and prevent evils which threaten this fair land, as they do the rest of the world.

And with this suggestion I bid my readers—farewell.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

### UNIVERSITY REFORM IN BOMBAY. COMPOSITION OF THE SENATE.

ABOUT eight years ago the University of Bombay unanimously recommended to Government the amendment of the Indian Universities Act so as to increase the number of elected members in the Senate to 70% and as the Senates of all new Universities in India were then being constituted on a similar basis it was believed that this most urgent step would not long be delayed. But the recommendation some-

how got pigeon-holed in the secretariat so securely, that even Dr. Paranjpye—elected by the University constituency though he was—could not reach these papers during his three years' regime. The question has now got mixed up with a number of other questions dealt with in the University Reform Committee's Report, and it is feared that this simple and inexpensive but very important measure will again be delayed for a few years more.

It would however be difficult to make any suggestion which would be easier to carry out and yet would reach the very heart of the question of University Reform in Bombay. The Bombay University Senate and therefore also the Syndicate have nowadays become so antiquated, so wooden and ante-diluvian, that there is no hope of any reform in the University unless the Senate is completely overhauled. It has established no touch with the educational work in the distant parts of the Presidency, like Sindh or Karnatic; it seldom tries to study the educational problems of India, nor does it ever care to investigate the questions that are agitating the minds of educationalists all over the world. Men go to the Senate meetings not because they have any keenness about the questions discussed but because they happen to be on the Senate and can attend its meetings without much inconvenience to their usual work. All the power is thus concentrated in a small group who have developed strong despotic tendencies. As long as the members have not to face an electorate these things are inevitable and the only cure lies in liberalising the constitution of the Senate.

The Senate of the Bombay University as constituted at present consists of

- 7 Ex-officio members,
  - 80 Nominated by the Chancellor,
  - 10 Elected by the Registered Graduates,
  - 10 Co-opted by these 90 (Elected by Faculties)
- 107

It will be interesting to see how the nominations are usually distributed. In the present Senate there are

- 73 From Bombay,
- 21 From Deccan (including European professors and officials),
- 2 From Karnatak (one Englishman)
- 8 From Gujarat (including European Professors),
- 3 From Sindh.

Another method of classification, equally interesting will be

- 28 Europeans
- 23 Parsees.
- 41 Hindus.
- 12 Mahomedans.
- 3 Indian Christians.

Or again

- 19 { From the staffs of the colleges in Bombay excluding the Medical College,
- 16 { From the staffs of the colleges in Poona including European Professors.

6	From the staffs of the colleges in Gujarat,
2	"  in Sindh,
3	{ From the three colleges in Sangli, Kolhapur, and Dharwar.

From the above figures it will be obvious that the Senate of the Bombay University is chiefly composed of the residents of Bombay and has a disproportionately large percentage of Europeans and Parsees. Again the Colleges outside of Bombay and Poona are sadly neglected.

I have no wish to bring in here any communal or provincial considerations and I have no grievance against the residents of Bombay or the European and Parsee members in the Senate simply because they are from Bombay or are Europeans or Parsees. I would not have, for instance, the least complaint even if a larger number of Europeans and Parsees were elected to the Senate. I would rather consider it as an evidence of the discriminating power of the electorate. But, as it is, the Senate appears to have been formed with one purpose in view and that is to maintain a dominant majority of the men in Bombay. This might have been a necessity in 1903 but with the spread of higher education in the mofussil it is absolutely wrong to ignore educational workers outside of Bombay. This sort of weighting the Senate with Bombay men has another bad effect. People believe that all educational activities in this Presidency are still centred in Bombay Town and that there are hardly any prominent educational workers outside Bombay. When discussing the scheme of the projected University in Poona, a leading member of the Bombay University Senate asked me last year: "But can you have qualified men in Maharashtra to work on the Senate of the Poona University?" With this glorious certificate for Poona is it any wonder that people believe that the distant parts of Karnatak, Gujarat and Sindh are still in abysmal ignorance?

If only the Senate were a truly representative body, representing the interests of all the provinces in the Presidency, a number of problems constantly agitating the minds of educationalists would have been solved long ago. The question of the inclusion of vernaculars in the college courses and their use as media of instruction and examination has little interest for the residents of Bombay, and still less for an Englishman or a Parsee. There is therefore little hope of making any head-way in this direction as long as the present composition of the Senate is allowed to continue.

Again the Senate has lost a good deal of the vigour it showed twenty years ago. The members of the Senate formed in 1903 under the new Indian Universities Act, though nominees of the Chancellor were mostly prominent educationalists of the time. The best known of them like Mehta and Gokhale are no more; about 20 of the rest still continue to be on the Senate but they are now old and it would be too much to expect from them the same breadth of view, or independence or close study of educational problems. The later nominees have either not been

up to the mark or are cowed down in the presence of elders. But the fact is there; the Senate is now quite out of date.

The defects in the Senate have naturally percolated to the Syndicate and the School Leaving Examination Board. It is admitted by all, even by Syndics, that the present Syndicate is unable to cope with the task it has to face at each one of its monthly sittings. As many as 150 items are sometimes disposed of in about an hour and a half and members are expected to vote on problems even the *abc* of which they have not known. In fact, recently the Syndicate appears to be bent on making a regular exhibition of its inefficiency. The bungling over the exemptions, the rushing of the Matriculation reforms and consequent dissatisfaction in schools, the confusion *re* the study of the classical languages and vernaculars are the most glaring instances. The present School Leaving Examination Board contains five professors of science and two professors of mathematics. There is none to represent the languages (modern or classical) and history. The Syndicate thought that it may be difficult for a professor of science to get elected to the Board and has made a special provision for one; but the scientists have monopolised half the number of seats. In the last Board seven members out of ten were Parsees. These are of course coincidences, but when coincidences like this come one after another one has to investigate the causes of their frequency.

All this clearly shows that whatever happens to the other recommendations of the University Reform Committee, the reform of the Senate should not be delayed any longer. The suggestions of the committee in this respect, though not satisfactory, follow a sound principle and even without any modification will bring about considerable improvement in the work of the University. It is therefore unnecessary to discuss them here in detail but the following will be worth consideration:—

1. Principals in all affiliated colleges should be ex-officio members of the Senate.
2. There is no need to form a separate electorate for College Professors. They stand a very good chance of being elected by the Registered Graduates and co-opted by the Faculties. These seats therefore should be transferred to the graduate electorate, but a separate electorate should be formed of the University Professors. They, being men of retired habits, may not like to enter into the scramble of a general election.
3. The total number of the reformed Senate, excluding the ex-officio members and the nominees of the donors, is put down at 150. The Senate thus becomes unwieldy, but if University is to affiliate institutions all over the Presidency it would be impossible to make the Senate thoroughly representative without increasing the number of the members. It is difficult to understand, however, why the

- District Local Boards and Municipalities, or even the Non-official members of the Legislative Councils should send their representatives to the Senate and these 13 seats may safely be dropped.
4. The graduate electorate should be divided into the five provincial groups, each group being allowed to send its own representatives. When provincial universities are formed some of these seats should be given to the representatives of these Universities.
  5. All graduates should be automatically registered when they are given their degree and should be entitled to vote after three years' standing. No annual or periodical fees should be charged for keeping their names on the roll, but a small fee may be taken at the time of the first registration.
  6. The number assigned to schools is adequate if the Bombay University is going to be a City University; but if it continues to recognise schools all over the Presidency, the number of these representatives should be doubled.
  7. Some seats are allotted to certain associations (one representative in each case) in order to bring about co-operation between the associations and the University. While admitting the absolute necessity of better co-operation with these associations, it is difficult to understand how the presence of a solitary representative can bring it about. Co-operation is best established by creating a condition of mutual dependence. It should be the duty of the whole-time Rector to see that this is done. Some of these seats at least may conveniently be transferred to schools.
  8. The number of women senators should never be allowed to be less than seven.

M. R. PARANJPE.

### COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN KOLHAPUR.

ON the occasion of the prize distribution ceremony on November 19, the Educational Inspector of Kolhapur read a report on the growth of education in the State, which purported to show an all-round satisfactory progress during the last three years. The real facts, however, belie this complacent view. It is stated in the report, e. g., that the State spent Rs. 2,99,466 on education this year, and that this expenditure amounts to one-tenth of the revenue of the State. The truth, however, is that the net revenue of the State is, roughly, 40 lakhs, and 3 lakhs out of this amount applied to education constitutes a percentage of 7½ rather than 10. Again, we are told, out of the total educational expenditure of 3 lakhs, Rs. 2,24,828 is the share of primary educa-

tion. The figure for primary education given in the Administration Report for 1923-24, however, varies widely from this, for that Report informs us that in 1923-24 Rs. 1,49,457 was spent on boys' schools and Rs. 16,393 on girls' schools; or Rs. 1,65,850 on primary education all told. I find many such discrepancies in the Inspector's report, but it is not my present purpose to point them out. I wish instead to take this opportunity to review the extension of Compulsory Primary Education for boys in the State since it was inaugurated in 1918.

The action so far taken by the Kolhapur State to put the Compulsory Education Act in force may be thus described. In 1917-18 22 schools were opened in different villages; in 1918-19 40 aided schools were abolished; but most of them were re-opened as State schools under the compulsory education scheme and some more were established, thus making the total number of "compulsory schools" 95. The number of boys in these schools was 4,631 and the expenditure incurred in connexion therewith amounted to Rs. 5,986. In 1919-20 23 new schools were opened, raising the number of compulsory schools from 95 to 123 (the number of pupils being 5,389 and expenditure Rs. 12,859). In 1920-21 the total number of compulsory schools became 170, the number of pupils therein being 6,362 and expenditure thereon being Rs. 24,702. The number of compulsory schools added in 1921-22 was 43, in 1922-23 11, and in 1923-24 18, making the total number of such schools 242 at the end of 1924. How many pupils there were in these schools and how much expenditure they entailed we do not know; but taking them to be 1½ times the number of pupils and the amount of expenditure in 1920-21, thus we get the following result, viz. that the schools opened by the Kolhapur State in pursuance of its policy of compulsory education provided the means of education to 9,500 pupils at a cost of Rs. 37,000.

The subjects of His Highness the Maharaja are, I make no doubt, duly grateful for education being made accessible to the children of some 250 villages in the State under the compulsory education scheme. But there is another side of the shield to which I feel compelled to draw attention. On compulsory education the State spent in successive years Rs. 5,986 + 12,859 + 24,702 + 32,110 + 33,685 + 37,000 = Rs. 1,46,342 in six years. The figures of expenditure for the first three years are taken from the Administration Reports themselves and those for the next three are calculated from the figures given, and in any case these calculations are not likely to be far out. While thus the State expended nearly a lakh and a half on compulsory education within the last six years, it raised, by means of the education cess, in the year 1923-24 alone, Rs. 2,33,075. The enormity of it will be fully realized only when it is borne in mind that the education cess is only one of the four taxes specially levied for the purpose of financing compulsory education. Every pie of the proceeds of every one of these four taxes was earmarked for compulsory education and yet we find that one of these taxes alone yielded in one year revenue which is 1½

times the amount spent by the State on compulsory education in six years; that is to say only last year the State realised by one of the four taxes which it is levying from year to year money which would meet the expenses of compulsory education for nine years on the present scale! This surely is not a very commendable system of finance.

I would take leave to quote here from my article on the same subject that appeared in the *SERVANT OF INDIA* of February 9, 1922. I said therein that the late Maharaja in 1918 devised the following ways and means to meet the heavy expenditure that would be entailed by his scheme of making primary education free and compulsory throughout his State:—"First, he completely resumed some Devasthan lands and imposed on the others a tax assessed at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times that which would have been due from them had they been liable to a land tax. Secondly, he subjected all households in the State to an annual tax of one rupee, irrespective of the financial condition of the family, after the manner of the poll tax. Thirdly, he increased the portion of the income which the holders of inam villages paid to the State by way of service commutation from 10 or 15 per cent. to 20 per cent., the increased receipts to be earmarked for free and compulsory education. And, fourthly, he levied an education cess of from 6 pies to 1 anna on every rupee of the income of pleaders, doctors, money-lenders, etc." It is not easy to find out from the Administration Reports what the yield of these four sources of income, each one of which was, be it remembered, hypothecated for compulsory education, has been. The amount of receipts from the first source—Devasthan lands—was at first not given in the reports at all, but since my comments appeared, I find mention of the amount. In 1923-24 it seems to have produced Rs. 75,543. The yield of the second source is given, I suppose, under the head "education cess" and was Rs. 2,33,075 last year. How much the third source contributed I am unable to discover, since the Report does not give the figure at all. Rs. 65,454 was derived in 1923-24 from the last source, i. e. a tax on incomes of pleaders, sawkars, etc. Thus, omitting the third tax, we find that the other taxes yielded last year as much as Rs. 3,74,072. The receipts from all these taxes have been pledged to compulsory education, and yet last year the State could have devoted only Rs. 37,000 to this object, and indeed, as said above, a lakh and a half of rupees since the scheme of compulsory education was brought into operation six years ago. Measure Rs. 37,000 spent against Rs. 3,74,072 raised! The State takes 10 rupees from its citizens and spends only one out of them!!

There is another way of looking at the matter. In 1917-18, the year immediately preceding the year when compulsory education was introduced, Rs. 60,267 was spent on boys' schools and Rs. 12,026 on girls' schools, i. e. Rs. 72,293 (exclusive of the expense of the Educational Inspector's Office). This expense was partially met by a contribution from the local fund cess (which brought in Rs. 48,380) and

the municipal grant (which was Rs. 10,000). The balance of Rs. 13,913 was paid by the State from its general revenue. How much does it pay now towards primary education? In 1923-24 Rs. 1,49,457 was spent on boys' schools and Rs. 16,396 on girls' schools, i. e. Rs. 1,65,850. The contribution from the local fund cess and the municipal grant do not vary very much. These and the proceeds of the special taxes amounted to something like Rs. 4,33,000. That is to say, after the introduction of compulsory education, the State has not had to pay a single pie out of its general revenues on primary education. It has not only saved itself from a raid on its coffers, but is in a position to put into it well over  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs every year! The Educational Inspector says with much unctiousness that the State spends as much as  $2\frac{1}{4}$  lakhs on primary education. He might have said with greater regard for truth that the State treasury makes a clear gain of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs on primary education.

I would repeat again what I said in my previous article: "I have taken all possible care in making these calculations, but as the Administration Reports are obscure I should like the officials concerned to point out if the calculations are at fault in any respect." I have given these figures because I believe them to be substantially correct and if there are any minor errors they will in my judgment not be such as to vitiate the conclusions I have drawn therefrom. Still I say in all sincerity that I am open to correction and hope that the State officials will supply the necessary correction. But the suspicion felt by the general public that the Kolhapur State has made primary education a revenue-yielding department will not be dissipated until His Highness the Maharaja, who is reputed to be genuinely keen on the spread of education, maintains a separate account of compulsory education. Since the four taxes mentioned were ever meant to finance compulsory education exclusively, their proceeds ought not to be absorbed into the general revenues, but ought to be carried to a separate "Compulsory Education Fund," from which payments should be made for the establishment and maintenance of compulsory schools.

A. V. PATVARDHAN?

## REVIEWS.

### THE INDIAN CRISIS.

**SIDELIGHTS ON THE CRISIS IN INDIA.** BY H. HARCOURT. (Longmans, Green & Co., London.) 1924. 7 x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ . pp. 118. 3s. 6d.

THIS little book contains letters written by a retired I.C.S. to an Indian friend, and the latter's replies to some of them. They cover a period of more than a year from June 1923 to September 1924, and range over a variety of subjects from 'The Punishment of Crime' to 'Mahatma Gandhi'. They are refreshingly frank, and, at the same time, absolutely free from the slightest tinge of bitterness or ill-feeling on the part either of the Englishman or his Indian friend. It is, we believe, not a common feature of the relations between

English officials and Indians in this country that they should exchange views on even the most absorbing questions of the day with such sincerity, frankness and mutual regard and appreciation of each other's point of view, as mark these letters. Dr. Norwood, Master of Marlborough College, who has contributed a thoughtful little 'foreword' to the book, is perfectly justified in saying that "so long as an Englishman and an Indian can co-operate in such an interchange of views as are here set forth, it is premature to despair of the well-being of India and the problems of its proper government. For there is still common ground upon which forbearance and mutual respect, if these qualities are displayed on both sides, can give solidity to the political structure of India's future."

The first letter and the reply of the Indian friend thereto deal with the administration of law in British India. The views expressed in them deserve the consideration of the Government, the new legislatures and all those whose duty it is to administer justice in India. In particular, the practical suggestions made by the Indian in his reply merit the best attention of the Government. The letters on Mahatma Gandhi will, of course, be read with the keenest interest. Mr. Harcourt says that to all Westerners, Mr. Gandhi is an utter puzzle, and he sees in him a pathetic mixture of moral grandeur with intellectual absurdity. He opines that he (Mr. Gandhi) might make a fine leader of a religious or moral movement, but is quite out of place in the political world. The letters on "A Problem in Survival of the Fittest," are, perhaps the most important and suggestive. Mr. Harcourt disclaims any disposition on the part of Great Britain to resort to a policy of 'divide and rule,' and claims that her success in India is due to practical commonsense, not unmixed with higher moral considerations, and illumined occasionally by flashes of genius—genius, he adds, not of individuals, but of a people. He remarks that the British have survived many crises, not because they knew how to divide India, but because they understood the importance of cohesion among themselves in the hour of need. On the point of the policy of 'divide and rule,' the Indian friend frankly tells Mr. Harcourt that he disagrees with him, that Great Britain has taken advantage of such a policy in the past, is doing so now, and will continue to do so, on suitable occasions. But he rightly adds that he sees no reason why the British Government should not do so. Such a policy may be—is—immoral; but what foreign government is there, or has ever been in the annals of the human race, that will not adopt, or has not adopted, such a policy to maintain its rule and power? Why should not the subject races realize this elementary principle of politics, and give no ground for the effective adoption of such a policy instead of foolishly and fruitlessly fretting and fuming at alien governments for following it? It is curious that a ruling race shows more cohesion than the subject population that has so much the greater need for it. It seems to be quite a problem in psychology!

The book concludes with a brief epilogue in which the author considers the question: "How long will England's troubles in India last? "Does the road wind uphill all the way?" he asks. And his reply is 'yes, to the very end.' He observes, quite rightly that between the benevolent despotism which received its death-stroke with the Morley reforms, and a real democracy which is still far off, there is no logical halting place.

It is not possible, in this brief review, to survey the whole ground covered in the letters and draw the reader's attention to the numerous thoughtful

suggestions and observations made by the author and his Indian friend on various questions relating to India. The letters were written, not indeed at the time when the non-co-operation movement was at its height, but when the political sky was still overcast with dark clouds, and feeling against the Government continued to run high. They therefore naturally bear the impress of the political *milieu* in which they were written; and yet they reveal a levelheadedness, a breadth of judgment and a dignity of expression which make them delightful and suggestive reading. The book is not a formal treatise; nor is it a pretentious one; it does not treat of the difficult and many-sided Indian problem in a systematic manner. But the many shrewd and thoughtful observations it contains on several Indian questions either of policy or day-to-day administration cannot fail to be helpful both to Indians and Englishmen who are anxious to bring about an early and satisfactory settlement of those difficulties that lie at present in the way of the establishment of cordial relations between England and India. We heartily commend the book to our readers.

R. G. PRADHAN.

#### A MINIMUM WAGE.

THE LEGAL MINIMUM. By J. HALLSWORTH.  
(The Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., London)  
1925. 6½ x 4. pp. 95. 1s.

THE evils of gross underpayment in industries, especially the unorganised or ill-organised ones, led to a vigorous campaign in Britain in favour of a legal minimum wage resulting in the passing of the Trade Boards Act of 1909. This experiment in the legal regulation of wages, designed as it was to aid unorganised or ill-organised workers and sternly limited in application, was soon followed by a second one quite different in character—namely, the Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act of 1912, which applied to the very large and highly organised industry of coal mining. In 1913 the Trade Boards Provisional Orders Confirmation Act was passed and thereunder additional Boards were established for some more trades. A very large amount of sweating, however, still continued in trades not covered by the Boards, and particularly among women and girls. The Trade Boards Act of 1918 greatly simplified the procedure for setting up new Trade Boards and conferred additional powers upon them. By the end of 1921 there were 63 Trade Boards, 19 being in Ireland and 44 in Great Britain. No Boards have been established since then, further extensions of the system being strongly opposed by certain groups of employers. This opposition had its roots in the old objection to State interference with the wages bargain. Limited action under the 1909 Act against sweating employers had been endorsed at the bidding of the public conscience, but the pace at which the 1918 Act was applied spread alarm in the employers' camp. During the war period circumstances—particularly the employment of a large number of women workers—had justified a vastly increased measure of State intervention, but the cessation of war gave an opportunity of expressing their dissatisfaction to the employers. Stage by stage the collective legal regulation of wages, which obtained during the war period and for a short time afterwards, was abandoned. The booklet under review contains a brief history of the minimum wage legislation and also gives details about the rate-fixing machinery, rate-fixing duties and powers, rate-fixing considerations and results and arbitration awards in Trade Board occupations.

The author is one of those who have lost faith in Whitleyism. He complains that there were few

cases of absolute progress towards a higher standard of life than prevailed before the war, resulting from the work of the Joint Industrial Councils, and asserts that the frequency and severity of the wage cuts of the last few years have proved beyond all question that labour can expect little or no material advantage from Whitleyism. That such an impression should prevail in the sober quarters of Labour should prove an eye-opener to those who have made a fetish of Whitleyism. The prescription of compulsory minimum rates of wages in ill-organised trades is, as the author remarks, in the nature of a social service instituted not merely for the personal benefit of the wage-earners concerned, but also for the general welfare. Women form the greater portion of workers protected by State regulation. The evidence shows that the principal obstacles to the organisation of women in the past have lain in their low wages and precarious tenure of employment and that the establishment of minimum rates by the Trade Board had in several cases been followed by a greatly strengthened trade union organisation. Hence there is no inconsistency but rather an intimate connection between the protective measures and the belief that the best hope of real and permanent amelioration of the position of women in industry lies in trade union action. The author rightly says that the Trade Board method is only one of several means of modifying the excesses of capitalism, and that it is not and cannot be in any real sense a substitute for effective trade unionism. By publishing this booklet the author, who is the Industrial General Secretary of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, has made a valuable addition to the several useful handbooks on labour questions already published by him.

P. G. KANEKAR.

#### SHORT NOTICES.

##### A HANDBOOK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS,

brought down to the end of the Fifth Assembly with an explanation of the Protocol. By Sir GEOFFREY BUTLER. With an introduction by the RT. HON. VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD. Second Edition, London 1925. 8½ × 5½. pp. xvi and 239. (Longmans. 10s. 6d.)

One is very glad indeed to see this book emerging from its First Edition (published in 1919 in a rejuvenated and considerably enlarged form. For though of the writing of little books on the League there seems to be no end, this book is not little in any sense, though short. In fact it differs greatly from the ruck of brochures that come to one's notice in that it is not born of a momentary "problem" which catches the public's eye, but is rather meant to be of permanent value. It is a scholarly book, as befits authorship by a professor of Diplomatic History, and if the five first chapters and the last one (half the chapters in the book) deal not directly with the League at all, but rather with legal and political philosophy and development, the gain is the reader's, who just on these fundamental points can be presumed to need still a good deal of education. The other chapters (7—11), which with masterly brevity summarize the constitution and first five years' history of the League, one would therefore by no means deary: but the distinctive value of the book undoubtedly lies not there. The second half of the book is taken up by six appendices, of which the first two (a chronological table of the League's activities and a bibliography) are particularly useful. App. E and F perhaps (the "Treaty of Mutual Assistance" and the "Protocol") strike one already as of merely

antiquarian interest and no doubt would not have been included, if the book had been published after Locarno—so fast are things developing. Anyhow, a real student's "handbook" this, and one to be most warmly recommended for use in our Universities.

Z.

**GREATER FRANCE IN AFRICA.** By WILLIAM M. SLOANE. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.) 1924. 8½ × 5½. pp. 293. 8s.

THE book raises expectations which it fails to satisfy. For the most part it is a rapid description of a travel which the author undertook in company with some other Americans who were invited by the Committee France-America to tour Morocco and Algiers. Through an exalted narration of what often are the most trivial details, not infrequently of a wholly personal nature, one gets a glimpse of the beneficial works done by France in her North African Empire. The question of the development of the French colonial policy and especially as to how France faces colour and race problems in her Empire is very scantily treated and the book at times degenerates into a mere tourist's guide.

J. B. S.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

**IRELAND.** By STEPHEN GWYNN. (Earnest Benn, Ltd., London.) 1925. 8½ × 5½. pp. 252. 12s. 6d.

**THE EQUIPMENT OF THE SOCIAL WORKER.** By Elisabeth Macadam. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1925. 8½ × 5. pp. 220. 6s.

**THE REAWAKENING OF THE ORIENT.** By CHIROL, TSURUMI and SALTER. (Yale University Press, New York.) 1925. 8 × 5½. pp. 176. 10s. 7d.

**PHILOSOPHY OF LABOUR.** By C. D. BURNS. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1925. 7½ × 5. pp. 126. 3s. 6d.

**UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE IN GREAT BRITAIN.** (Macmillan & Co., London.) 1925. 8½ × 5½. pp. 67. 1s.

**WHAT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IS.** By H. W. HARRIS. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1925. 7½ × 4½. pp. 126. 2s. 6d.

**MONETARY STABILITY.** By J. R. BELLERBY. (Macmillan & Co., London.) 1925. 8½ × 5½. pp. 174. 7s. 6d.

**THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.** By L. O. JOSEPH. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.) 1925. 6½ × 4½. pp. 188. \$ 1.50.

**THE NEXT STEP: A FAMILY BASIC INCOME.** By A. B. PIDDINGTON. (Macmillan & Co., Melbourne.) 7 × 4½. pp. 68. 1s.

**MAIN CURRENTS OF BRITISH INDIAN HISTORY, 1757 to 1924.** By SRI RAMA SHARMA. (Bhasin Book Depot, Lahore.) 1925. 7½ × 4½. pp. 294.

**COMPENSATION FOR INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS.** (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1925. 9½ × 6. pp. 655. \$ 3.00.

**GENERAL PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL INSURANCE.** (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1925. 9½ × 6. pp. 136. 2s. 6d.

**COMPENSATION FOR OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES.** (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1925. 9½ × 6. pp. 76. 1s.

**BORSTAL IN 1925.** (Borstal Association, London.) 1925. 8½ × 5½. pp. 15.

**THE SLEEPER AWAKENED.** By H. CHATTOPADHYAYA. (Ganesh & Co., Madras.) 1925. 7½ × 5. pp. 79. Re. 1.

**THE BHAGAVAD GITA: THE DIVINE PATH TO GOD.** By RAMASWAMI SASTRI. (Ganesh & Co., Madras.) 1925. 7½ × 5. pp. 174. Re. 1.

**INTRODUCTION TO THE BHAGAVAD GITA.** By D. S. SARMA. (Ganesh & Co., Madras.) 1925. 7½ × 5. pp. 103. Re. 1.

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