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Editor: S. G. VAZE

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

**Responsive Co-operation in the Congress.**

**PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA** made a heroic attempt to bring back the Congress to pre-Amritsar days.

The attempt was bound to fail, but great credit belongs to him for having boldly stated to an unsympathetic audience that as both non-co-operation and indiscriminating opposition in the Legislatures had failed, there was nothing left for it, but to revert to responsive co-operation. His proposal was practically to expunge the last six years from the life of the Congress and restore to it the position which it occupied before Mahatma Gandhi had appeared on the scene. We greatly admire the Panditji's courage in putting forward such a proposition to such an audience. The proposition had only one defect from the Constitutiona- lists' point of view. It omitted all reference to civil disobedience as the ultimate sanction of political agitation and described the Congress policy as one of co-operation or obstruction when either may be necessary to advance the national cause. So far, it was beyond cavil. But then it went on to say that if the Government's answer to the national demand was unsympathetic, a committee should consider what policy the Congress should adopt next. This seems to suggest that in case the Government reply is not satisfactory, the Congress would resort to non-co-operation or obstruction or civil disobedience. This, however, is on Panditji's own showing not at all possible. If we are not resorting to non-co-operation or other like expedients now it is not because strong measures are not needed, but experience has taught us that these apparently strong measures

leave the country only worse than before. They are in fact less effective than responsive co-operation. We should have very much liked Pandit Malaviya not to have given colour to the idea that in his view non-co-operation and obstruction are more potent remedies to be applied in case of necessity and that his opposition to them only arises from his belief that the present situation does not require such drastic remedies. Such, we know, is not his view; but he must have drafted his resolution in that way only to make it less unacceptable to the non-changers in both the Non-co-operation and Swarajist parties.

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IF there is this little ambiguity in **A. Dubious Proposal.** Pandit Malaviya's amendment, that moved by responsive co-operationists in the Swaraj party's Council is full of ambiguities. Indeed the one anxiety of those who framed it seems to have been to make their group appear to the world as one of obstruction; only they wanted to make their policy of obstruction really effective by accepting office. Office was to be used by them not for passing measures of national good, but for the sole purpose of bringing the Government machinery to a deadlock, the only difference between them and the party led by Pandit Motilal Nehru being that while the latter were prepared to obstruct from without, Mr. Jayakar and others would obstruct from within as well as from without. The amendment ran thus: "That the programme should include, if desirable, a policy of responsive co-operation, that is, capturing of all offices of power, responsibility and initiative, whether connected with legislatures or local or municipal bodies in the country, so as to further assert the effectiveness of popular will and thereby obstruct Government at every step in their attempt to impede the nation's progress to Swaraj." We are, of course, quite aware that it is possible to interpret this amendment in such a way as to be acceptable to Liberals, and we knew in point of fact that Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar meant it in no other sense. But we are unable to appreciate the ingenuity of its framers so that while it would bear one meaning to one set of people, it would bear quite the contrary to the other. The amendment was heavily lost. But one does not regret the result very much when one sees that the issue was never plainly put to the meeting. In fact it is doubtful if the issue would have been made clear at all if Pandit Malaviya had not moved his amendment. Mr. Jayakar then made a speech

which showed that he favoured the acceptance of office, not because it would facilitate and strengthen obstruction, but because it would enable us to achieve what otherwise they could not. It is, therefore, the greater pity that at an earlier stage he and his coadjutors made a proposal that must be characterized as dubious in the extreme.

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THE position of Pandit Motilal Nehru and those who follow him is most queer. They apparently think

The "Cat and Mouse" Policy of the Congress.

that abstention from the legislative bodies is more effective than wholesale obstruction. There is no warranty for such an assumption. The Bombay Swarajists have recently been practising a policy which closely resembles this new policy of abstention. They did not walk out of the Council; they stayed in, but remained mute. The only result they succeeded in achieving was to draw down upon themselves ridicule from all quarters. We are convinced opponents of indiscriminate obstruction; but we are free to confess that such obstruction would any day be a more impressive demonstration than the dumb show of the Bombay Swarajists. And there is no reason why the abstention now proposed should prove better. In fact, those who have now put it forward as the newly discovered panacea of all national ills themselves betray some amount of mistrust, as they are not to clear out of the Council room directly they receive an unsatisfactory reply, but are to wait till the end of the session in the hope of rejecting the budget. This supposed compromise arises from the belief that obstruction is a more efficacious remedy than abstention. If so, why not adopt it on all occasions? If the rejection of the budget is useful next year, it may be so the year after next. It is surely a disadvantage then for any party to forego the use of that weapon by committing themselves unnecessarily to the policy of abstention. And if the rejection of the budget next year is beneficial, the rejection of other Government measures may be equally beneficial. Why then decide upon the Sinn Fein method of leaving the seats in the legislatures empty? Indeed, the resolution adopted by the Congress permits its representatives or the Swaraj party's representatives in the Councils to return to the Council rooms on crucial occasions and take part in the debate and voting. This has been very aptly described by Mr. Kelkar as the "cat and mouse" policy of the no-changers among the Swarajists. Nor are they committed on such occasions to vote against Government. What could be more vague than this?

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Government's Reply still Awaited?

THIS change in policy is to be adopted if the reply of Government to the "National Demand" is held by a committee to be appointed *ad hoc* to be unsatisfactory. The "National Demand" here referred to is the demand made by the Swaraj party's representatives at the beginning of the second Assembly for a Round Table Conference to formulate the future constitution. Is a reply to that still awaited? We had all thought that the reply had already been

given and had been pronounced by the Swaraj party to be entirely unsatisfactory. We had further thought that that was the reason and justification of the policy of wholesale obstruction which it then professed. If one were so curious as to ransack the pages of the Assembly proceedings, one would possibly come across statements by Pandit Motilal himself that the only condition on which the Swarajists could practise co-operation or refrain from offering indiscriminate opposition was not fulfilled and that therefore the Swarajists had no alternative but to embark on obstruction. Then followed the speeches of Lords Birkenhead and Reading, which also have been authoritatively pronounced by the spokesmen of the Swaraj party to be altogether disappointing. When the question has thus been decided once for all, we cannot understand what the Congress means by pretending that a reply from the Government has not yet arrived or that it can possibly be satisfactory. The "demand" to which a reply is still to come is the demand, made by the combined Nationalist party in the Assembly in September last, for a certain measure of responsible government. But all reference to this demand has been deliberately omitted from the resolution passed in the Congress. The Swaraj party is thus put in a false position—it is now made to wait on the reply of Government which it has already received and declared to be unsatisfactory!

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THE event has proved the soundness of our contention that Responsive Co-operators lost everything by the

truce they made with Pandit Motilal and that the latter gained everything thereby. Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar ought to have realised that the Congress would only endorse Panditji's proposals, coming as they would with the silent approval of Mahatma Gandhi. The doctrine of responsive co-operation would require a good deal of campaigning in the country, which the truce would make impossible. It is true that they can try and beat up a party now and we hope they will. But now they will have to work in opposition to the Congress mandate, which till the other day they have taught their constituencies to regard as the final word in politics. Pandit Motilal on the other hand would have on his side not only the prestige of the Congress and the personality of Mahatma Gandhi but the funds of the Congress as well. They will, therefore, have to fight against heavy odds. Already they seemed to have felt it necessary to give up their places in the legislatures. They will not really lose much if anyhow the Swarajists have to vacate their seats in February or March next. But if this action of theirs was in response to the demands made upon them by Pandit Motilal and Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, we should very much deplore the step they have taken. If on the other hand they have resigned now with a view to re-election, so that in case they are returned to the legislatures, they may not be under the necessity to follow the new Swarajists' policy of abstention, we should applaud their action. Whatever may be the feeling elsewhere, in Maharashtra at least, responsive co-operation would be supported everywhere and the general public would welcome the severing of ties which bound Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar to the policy, whether of obstruction or abstention. Mr. Kelkar's declaration that he is determined to go ahead with his rebellion makes us believe that his resignation is meant to show that he is not willing to abide by the discipline of the Swaraj party. If this is so, he will really have to resign from the party itself. One cannot very well remain within the party and still be constantly defying its rules.

## THE CAWNPORE CONGRESS.

THE general feeling outside Congress circles at the proceedings at Cawnpore will be one of grief at the continued negativism and sterility of its counsels. Men of the world may remind us of the law of inertia and bid us not be disappointed if a political body is unable to put its formulæ behind and adopt fresh lines of action. But have we no right whatever to expect a bold change of plan in those who have frequently bewailed the failure of their plans, and a real change of heart from those who demand a complete change of heart on the part of the adversary? Self-respect, regard to prestige,—love of consistency, incapacity to take new views these are but different names for a defect of character more deeply rooted in our nature than we are willing to realise. Even a rebel like Mr Jayakar pleads that if he pursues a new policy, it is only with the object of achieving the ends of non-co-operation more quickly and effectively. It is true that Mr. Kelkar has shown a clear grasp of realities; but from his anxiety to restrict the area of dissent to the single question of acceptance of office, one may well doubt whether he realises the full meaning of responsive co-operation and is prepared for the whole of the cleavage that it would involve. What is not so open to doubt is that Pandit Motilal Nehru has apparently reached the limit of his adaptability. He is like one who is alarmed by the greatness of his own virtue. Having been caught in small trespasses, he now shrinks from the wide departure which they imply from the prescribed bounds. To say in one breath that, as far as one can see, civil disobedience on the part of the masses is not within practical politics, but that a practical body like the Congress should aim definitely at preparing them for it, is a position open only to a teacher of men who believes that civil disobedience is a virtue of high rank to be practised at all times and in all relations of life. In a leader of men engaged in the pursuit of tangible and realisable aims, it is a miserable ineptitude. It is clear that the Allahabad Pandit has paid a heavy price for the alliance of the Mahatma, and that price is the arrest of his march from idealism to reason. If ever the Swarajists or Congressmen—for the terms are now synonymous—settle down to the uninteresting but profitable work of legislation and vigilant criticism of administration, it will be when the reins have fallen from his hands. Pity! But not everyone is fit to lead in constructive as well as in destructive work.

With a patience and hope, which would be extravagant in a Liberal politician, the Swarajist Congress has resolved that it will repeat the national demand another time and wait till it is refused again to adopt its drastic remedy. Before we say a word on this remedy, it is necessary to glance at the procedure. When the reply of Government is known, a special Committee is to decide whether it is satisfactory. The indefiniteness of the word "satisfactory" is apparent-

ly to be cured by the multitude of minds converging on the task of definition. The year before the last the Swarajists and Independents decided a similar issue by a three-fourths majority. The wise course is to leave it to the leader who shall be bound to consult a small committee of three or four men. That would be a consummation to be reached after much tribulation and sorrow had taught the lesson that a fateful decision must be taken by a trusted few.

It would be easy to say now what the answer of Government would be and what the opinion of the special Committee. So the conclusion is foregone that by the end of next February the working strength of the Assembly will have shrunk to very mean proportions. The proceedings except on rare occasions will be smooth and perhaps dull as well. The bureaucracy cannot have it all their own way, but their time may be economically spent and their temper will never be ruffled. The country will be less fortunate. It is true that bye-elections will occur; but that does not mean that there will be peace. The absentee members will certainly not seek the quiet of their study, but go about calling on the people to prepare for civil disobedience and other strong measures for the overthrow of a Government heedless of their wrongs and mindful only of its power. We all know the rest of the story. We have seen it enacted more than once. History has no lessons for us; experience makes us none the wiser. Why go to the Bourbons for unteachability? Non-co-operators and Swarajists will do just as well. It is only they who are capable of erecting a fantastic franchise for the Congress and proclaiming at the same time that their door is wide open to all patriots. Poor electors! If their education is to be under such masters, they are to be pitied indeed.

## THE LIBERAL FEDERATION.

THE presidential speech of Sir M. V. Joshi at the eighth National Liberal Federation of India is a plain unvarnished utterance, and is perhaps on that very account the more powerful and convincing as a plea for further constitutional reform. The address contains naturally enough a reiteration of the Liberal party's vindication, but in justifying its policy, no harsh word is employed against any other party, and in fact the address displays a studious anxiety to avoid criticism and condemnation, insisting on points of agreement with a view to evolving a national instead of a sectional policy. We are particularly glad to note this feature of the address, for we are emphatically of the opinion that in the present posture of public affairs, when the consolidation of all constitutional forces in the country is felt to be the supreme need, the differences between the various groups should not be unduly stressed, but a deliberate attempt should be made to discover the greatest common measure of agreement among all groups so as to offer united opposition to the reactionary forces, which seem to be growing in strength.

The first point of contact between the Liberal party on the one hand and the Non-co-operation and Swarajist parties on the other, to which Sir Moropant drew the attention of the Liberals, is that while the methods adopted by these parties in giving expression to their dissatisfaction with the present position and in enforcing the common demand of the country are such as not to meet with the approbation of the Liberal party, still the dissatisfaction itself is not without reason and is not confined to these parties either. There is no party in the country which is content to live under the present regime and which does not desire a radical change in the existing system of government. The N.-C.-O. way of standing aloof from the administration and the Swarajist way of obstructing the Government machinery at every step are not likely to bring advantage to the country, but there have been causes enough in the past to drive Indian politicians to desperation, of which these policies are a striking indication. Government, however, ignore the causes and blame the parties in the Congress for assuming an attitude of hostility to them, which is unreasonable. Again, these policies have met with a patent failure. In spite of all talk of non-co operation and indiscriminate obstruction, the fact remains that the government machinery is everywhere in full blast, receiving in actual fact the co-operation of the people. In face of these facts the Government have no justification for their present *non-possumus* attitude towards the question of extending the scope of the present constitution.

Sir Moropant Joshi adds the testimony of his personal experience to the very weighty evidence adduced so far that the system in force is not easily workable and that in the interest of mere administrative efficiency the system requires to be altered wholesale. The fact that Sir Moropant was in charge of the reserved portfolio and of the portfolio of law and order, which are supposed to come last in the list of subjects to be made over to popular control, very greatly enhances the value that attaches to the observations made by him. He gives wholehearted support to the demand made by the Nationalist party in the Legislative Assembly in September last, which indeed is none other than the demand that is being made from the Liberal platform for the last several years, and gives elaborate arguments to justify every part of it. Having pronounced clearly against the continuance of the dyarchic system, it becomes necessary for Sir Moropant to explain why, in spite of such an emphatic opinion the Liberal party as a whole are prepared to work dyarchy till the constitution undergoes the desired revision. It seems somewhat inconsistent to an unobservant mind to see people holding forth against dyarchy and at the same time administering it in actual practice as if it was the very last word in political philosophy. The inconsistency is, however, more apparent than real. Bad as dyarchy is, there is something worse than dyarchy and it is unmixed autocracy. While, therefore, Liberal politicians are doing their level best to have dyarchy

changed into unitary responsible government, they will rather prefer dyarchy when the only possible alternative to it is unitary irresponsible government. However inadequate the reforms may appear to us, they have without a doubt effected a considerable improvement in the position existing before and it is not the part of wisdom to return to the unreformed constitution because we are unable immediately to advance from the reformed to the still further reformed constitution.

Sir Moropant ranges himself definitely on the side of those who would bring about a coalition of all the groups in the country which still believe in the methods of constitutional agitation. "From our national point of view," he says, "the union of all political parties is extremely desirable at this juncture. It is quite conceivable that the Liberals, Independents, Conventionists and Responsive Co-operators would not find it difficult to have a common platform and the efforts that are being made in this direction will, I hope, prove fruitful." Not only is such unity conceivable, but really disunion between parties holding self-same opinions should be quite inconceivable. "The greatest difficulty," says Sir Moropant, "in achieving union is perhaps the desire of each party to have its own policy and methods adopted by the rest." It is really not a question of principles or policy at all, so far as the parties mentioned by Sir Moropant are concerned. They are already agreed on this fundamental issue. The only question is how to bring together into one party organization members professing the same political faith. It is essentially a question of personalities and of *amour propre*. It is our earnest desire that the leaders of the Liberal party will so conduct themselves in solving this question that they will give no room for a reasonable complaint that they stood in the way of unity. We are by no means certain that even if the Liberals were prepared to surrender everything—their leadership and their name—in the interest of constitutional progress, still unity would result. There are many other factors which are beyond their control. Be, therefore, the ultimate result of the present negotiations what it may, we hope no leader of eminence in the Liberal party will do anything to hinder unity; on the contrary we trust that the party will do all that it can to promote unity.

Sir Moropant has done well to devote one paragraph in his address to the quiet and unostentatious, but solid and extensive, work being done by the Liberal party in the non-political fields. "The Liberals are doing," he remarked, "constructive work in fields other than political. Co-operative and other social work, famine relief, and work for labour welfare are undertaken by many Liberals. The Liberals have throughout the year been acting on all convergent lines of national progress. Their sympathy for the depressed classes and their efforts for their uplift are anterior to the new emphasis laid on the uplift of these classes as political units. We must keep up these efforts so that the awakened consciousness of the depressed classes might result in

their getting full justice at the hands of the higher Hindu castes." It is in fact the distinguishing feature of the Liberal party that they think of political reform only in association with and as part of social reform, and although work on a far wider scale is necessary, we can confidently affirm that their work does not suffer in comparison with the constructive work done by any other political party in the country.

### REVIEWS.

#### INTELLECTUAL PACIFISM.

##### NOW IS THE TIME: AN APPEAL FOR PEACE.

By ARTHUR PONSONBY. (Leonard Parsons, London.) 1925. 7½ × 5. pp. 192. 5s.

INDIA is at present in the throes of an acute reaction against the pacifism of Mr. Gandhi. The ideals of 'soul-force' and of non-violence are heavily discounted. Recently in a speech before a large gathering of students a prominent Swarajist leader declared that he wished to teach young India "to kill, and to kill scientifically and systematically," for political ends.

It is well then that at such a time the foundations of a belief in pacifism should be carefully examined. There has recently been published an interesting book on this subject, by Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, which has the distinction of having been the object of the only genuinely reactionary bit of review-writing which the author of this article remembers having seen in the *Times Literary Supplement* during a period of many years. Mr. Ponsonby passes in review a number of arguments against war, and finally fastens upon a recognition of the imbecile futility of war as the only satisfactory basis for the new pacifism which he seeks to establish. The contest between pacifism and the war-spirit he regards as a contest between sanity and insanity, meaning not slight mental derangement but sheer madness. In the course of his analysis Mr. Ponsonby notices the religious argument against war, but vigorously and scornfully brushes it aside, on the ground that in the past this argument has hopelessly and ridiculously failed to have any effect, and that it is better to keep the Almighty out of the question. The humanitarian argument, which emphasises the horrors of war, suffers a similarly cavalier dismissal. What appeals to Mr. Ponsonby is that war so obviously and completely fails to achieve any desirable object. It is utterly irrational and futile. "I maintain that by far the most tragic thing about war, is not its immorality, nor its cruelty, but its manifest and colossal futility and imbecility."

The insistence which Mr. Ponsonby lays on the futility of war is undoubtedly well-founded, and he works out his thesis in an effective manner; but it must be confessed that this type of intellectual pacifism falls far short of providing a satisfactory means of fighting the war-spirit. As Mr. Ponsonby himself acknowledges, the mass of the population of any given nation is always liable to be jockeyed by

organised authority into the belief that in any specific instance war will obtain for them something which they badly want, whether that something be new markets for their manufactures or the vindication of their national honour. Furthermore, as used to be urged against the economic pacifism of Mr. Norman Angell, "It is true enough that war does not pay but that is the one good thing which can be said about it". The fire of a genuinely self-sacrificing patriotism is not to be quenched by the mere humdrum contention that the glorious and terrible adventure of Warfare for the Right (as it always appears to the patriot to be) will not in the long run yield an adequate profit or any profit at all for that matter.

There is nothing in reality strong enough to fight the spirit of war except the spirit of religion. Even the high and pure ethical idealism of Mr. Gandhi, reinforced by an extraordinarily magnetic personality, has failed to hold the mind of a people so responsive to the call of idealism as the Indian people. Ethical idealism is not enough; humanitarianism is not enough (here we agree with Mr. Ponsonby); nothing is strong enough to fight the spirit of war except a living personal faith in a God who has demonstrated to all time that He is Himself a pacifist: that He seeks to counter wrong not by force and destruction, but by bearing the wrong Himself to the uttermost, in His own person, by suffering it to wreak its worst upon His own Divine Being, that through His love and self-sacrifice, He may defeat the evil will itself in man, and transform that evil will into His own will of love.

J. S. HOYLAND.

#### THROUGH GERMAN EYES.

UM INDIENS FREIHEIT. By VON H. WARBURG. (Dr. Franz A. Pfeiffer & Co., München.) 9¼ × 6. pp. 148.

THIS book was written at a time when the non-co-operation movement in India was at its height and the motive of the author in writing it was to acquaint his countrymen with the methods adopted by Mahatma Gandhi so that the Germans might derive inspiration and stimulus for carrying on their own campaign of passive resistance against the French in the Ruhr. With a view to enabling his German readers fully to grasp the significance of the non-co-operation movement, Herr Warburg devotes quite a half of his book to a description, on the usual lines, of the various stages of political development and constitutional progress in India between 1861 and 1920. And this is after all the most valuable part of the work from the point of view of the German student of Indian politics. The author is by no means an Anglophil and his sympathy with the agitation for self-government in India—even in its extreme and irrational forms—is obvious. But this has not made him withhold his sincere admiration for the sterling qualities displayed by the British race in building up the Indian Empire, nor has it altogether blinded him to the many serious defects in our own national character which make our pro-

gress towards complete self-government so mad-denyingly slow, halting and uncertain. By reading this book, therefore, the German reader will in the main get a correct view of the Indian situation such as it was before the initiation of non-co-operation.

The author confesses to a sense of pained surprise at the fact that when the war broke out, the Indians ranged themselves almost with one accord on the side of England and even those who had before the war come into the sharpest conflict with Government joined in a vigorous anti-German propaganda. He ascribes this, among other things, to the prevailing ignorance in India about Germany and to the unscrupulous campaign of vilification carried on against Germany by the English press. But as the author himself recognizes, the deepest reason was a very "practical and selfish one." "Ein sehr realistischer und sehr egoischer." The Indian people saw quite clearly that they had everything to gain by assisting England whole-heartedly in her life and death struggle with Germany and everything to lose by a German victory and by perceiving this, established for themselves, an unshakable reputation for political sagacity and astuteness which will always remain an asset of incalculable value in their fight for constitutional liberty.

In the palmy days of non-co-operation, it required some courage on the part of those who saw the futility and the danger of the movement to speak out their minds. Many much preferred to hold their tongue lest it should be cut out by non-violent non-co-operators. There were others, however, who were dazzled by the apparently brilliant results achieved by the movement and in spite of his otherwise robust commonsense our author must be classed with these latter. To us living in this present time of disillusionment it is almost comic—were it not for the tragedy of it—to read his glowing account of how Mahatma Gandhi had at last succeeded in bringing the Hindus and Mahomedans together never to separate again and had thus turned a seeming impossibility into an accomplished fact. It is, however, only fair to the author to admit that in this matter he erred in company with a number of other people who were in a much better position to judge. Contemporary misjudgment about Mr. Gandhi's methods was indeed almost universal. But although this ought to acquit the author of any special blame, it detracts from the value of the book in its present form. The story of the non-co-operation movement must be revised and brought up-to-date if it is not to mislead public opinion in foreign countries with regard to its present position in Indian politics.

We are told that there is much profit in seeing ourselves as others see us. But often there is much amusement in hearing ourselves as others hear us. To quote only one of several examples from the book under review, apparently the nearest Teutonic equivalent for "Shivaji" is "Schiwadsohi." This is curious; but not altogether mysterious for anyone who knows something about the peculiarities of German pronunciation. But, why, oh! why

add yet another to the many transformations of the supple Bepin Babu by calling him Bebra Chandra Pal?

G. B. JATHAR.

### WAGE-SLAVERY.

**WAGE-SLAVERY.** By J. K. HEYDON. (The Bodley Head, Ltd., London.) 1924. 8×5. pp.215. 5s.

THIS book deals with the relations between capital and labour, and the author is an employer of labour in Australia. He has a message to deliver and his present work is in a way a contribution towards the solution of the labour problem, from an enlightened employer's point of view. He believes in the efficacy of the exercise of individual justice for justice's sake, as the precise requirement of the present times for the abolition of wage-slavery. A workman is called a wage-slave not because, like a slave, "he is deprived of the natural hope that by industry, and with a little good fortune, he may some day benefit by his work, save capital; and gratify those ambitions which act as an incentive to exertion among workmen no less than among employers—to provide for his family, to educate his children, to have a little leisure for thought and reading and recreation, to spend the evening of his life in honourable rest. But instead, he is condemned to lifelong toil on the hunger line, or near it, without hope of its ever doing him any good." According to Mr. Heydon, there are three sources of injustice which lead to this wage-slavery. They are (1) wage-contract based on the law of demand and supply without reference to morality and humanity; (2) appropriation by the employer of the whole of the profits of the industry, even when they cannot fairly be regarded as being deserved by him; and (3) the inflation of capital, this falling under two headings: (a) inflation by pure capital, and (b) inflation by non-existent capital. This third injustice may be included in the second one in that much of the undeserved profits is absorbed by inflated capital. The author of the book under review defines deserved profits as those which accrue as fair recompense for initiative, originality and fair interest on capital according to the risk run; and the undeserved profits are those that result from sheer good fortune, such as is caused by the effect of protective tariffs, exceptional buoyancy of trade, accidental monopoly, and the introduction of improved methods. The author suggests that the emancipation of the wage-slaves can be effected by giving a share of the undeserved profit of industry to the individual men engaged in it. He proposes that the first undeserved profits should go mainly to enterprise until its deserved reward shall have been converted into such reward as may have been reasonably agreed upon as generous, and thereafter undeserved profits should go to those who create it, that is to say, to enterprise and labour, and in proportion to their deserved rewards. The author arrives at this conclusion after examining various profit-sharing schemes and gives an elaborate explanation of his ideas.

Mr. Heydon's proposal is an improvement on the idea of profit-sharing and no doubt is left in the reader's mind as to the sincerity of his motive. The views expressed in this book are an outcome of an investigation undertaken not in the first instance for publication, but to enable the author, who is an employer himself, to decide what he ought to do in the case of a manufacturing concern under his own control. He has tried his best to hold the balance even between capital and labour, and though often he is hard on Socialism, some of his criticism of the ways of capitalism is refreshingly outspoken. In certain important respects the industrial conditions in Australia are materially different from those in other older and especially industrially advanced countries. And, therefore, it may be reasonably doubted how far the remedy suggested by him will prove useful in allaying the discontent of labour which is a world problem. Nor is the author certain that the correction of the three particular injustices, enumerated above, is all that will be necessary to produce an ideal state of industry. There would remain countless problems; but he hopes that through his scheme the pressing necessity of the moment, i.e., the recognition of a duty of personal justice between employers and their men, will be met, and thus will the workers receive what is their due for the time being and all future problems can safely be left to the moral public opinion that may arise in the course of time. Indeed, from the labour point of view, the remedy suggested by Mr. Heydon is at the best a palliative, which is so also on his own confession, the injustices pointed out by him and many other injustices and inequities being inherent in the very capitalist system. Mr. Heydon's proposal leaves capitalism almost untouched, and much is left by him to the individual sense of justice of the employer without much interference from the State. With all admiration for Mr. Heydon's optimism, one feels that his remedy is quite unequal to the all-pervading economic disease. The real demand of labour is not only for more cash, but for an effective democratic control of which even generous employers like Mr. Heydon fight shy. The book under review bears testimony to the author's hard thinking and balanced judgment. The latter, however, has been seriously warped by his ultra-conservatism in religion. He rightly condemns the "bastard economics" that ignores moral issues, but overestimates the virtues of Christianity. God and Christianity have been unnecessarily dragged into the controversy. Science, rationalism and socialism have come in for undeserved castigation. The whole book is interspersed with such uncalled for remarks. The author is an ardent admirer of Britain and the Briton, while he entertains, of course, rightly, a low opinion about the American economic system. True Christianity, undiluted by materialism, according to him, existed in the Middle Ages and the first century of the Christian era. He alleges that the Americans have discarded Christianity and thence their fall in economic morality. But is not

America, in this twentieth century, the land of Fundamentalism which may be likened to the Christianity in the first century or the Middle Ages? He attributes the want of justice in the present-day economic system to science, nationalism and socialism, but where were they a hundred years ago in his favourite England? Were not then the social and economic conditions far more horrible than they now are? The cheap sneers at international rationalists, socialists and scientists in which he has indulged detract a good deal from Mr. Heydon's book, which is otherwise suggestive, critical and highly stimulating. The style is lucid and forcible, such as would do credit to a professional writer of note.

P. G. KANEKAR.

### BRAHMACHARYA.

#### CONFIDENTIAL TALKS TO YOUNG MEN.

By SATYAVRATA SIDDHANTALANKAR. (The Gurukul Academy, Kangri.) 1925.

THERE is a type of mind which is so wedded to tradition that it will undergo the most monstrous contortions to support antiquated theories and will resolutely refuse to consider new discoveries or points of view if they are at all likely to disturb its cherished beliefs. For it the Rishis possessed all knowledge. The Rishis said nothing about Evolution, ergo it cannot be true. Railways and aeroplanes were known in Vedic times. If any new theory has to be accepted, it must be tacked on to a Sanskrit word which will then be evidence that it is not a new discovery. The learned professor gives evidence of such a type of mind in the present work. Let us say at the outset that the book is written with a laudable object. A world of harm is done by keeping adolescent youths in ignorance of the essential facts of sex. The book attempts to give these facts as well as practical advice based on them. All credit is due to the author for this. How far the facts are correct and the advice sound, we shall proceed to consider.

In his struggle not to part with tradition, Prof. Satyavrata is guilty of the very error he attributes to other people. "Half-digested Western notions give a wrong lead to our English-educated young men who, without making themselves up-to-date with the latest verdicts of science, hang on to old theories and distort them to serve their selfish ends" (p. 180). His idea of digesting them is, by hook or by crook, to make them fit in with the supposed omniscience of the Rishis. If he cannot find any physiologist, however obscure, or any faddist like Bernard Macfadden (I may mention that a strong man recently starved himself to death under the personal supervision of that gentleman) to support the Rishis, he has recourse to his native inspiration and dons all the dignity of a Rishi to make the most astounding statements without any further proof than his intimate knowledge of the Great Artificer's designs. His ideal youth does not even think of sex till he is twenty-five, when according to him, semen is produced for the first time. What does it

matter that a distinguished authority like Forel puts the age of complete maturity at twenty and says that continence is facilitated by nocturnal emissions, which do not affect the health, provided that this state of things is only temporary? If facts do not support the author, he thinks that they ought to! His ideal man can live, 'nay does live to a hundred years without having a single nocturnal emission,' because 'Nature intended it and God ordained it!' On page 16: 'A poet, an artist, a literary man, a scientist, a philosopher, one can acquire at this age any character that one likes'. How easy! The youth has only to 'guide his impulses properly', and hey, presto; he is a poet or philosopher or artist!

It would be impossible and undesirable to consider in detail all the vagaries of the author's imagination within the limited space, so we shall confine ourselves to state briefly three points on which the author is quite wrong in his facts. As regards masturbation, modern medical science has reduced the exaggerations of its physical harmfulness to a reasonable measure. As regards nocturnal emissions, all pollutions are not pathological. Nor can the will control everything, a fallacy which originates in the idea that the will is independent of the body. Finally, the statement that prostitutes usually die early, four or five years after entering upon their trade, is untrue.

We would conclude by saying that the advice given by Prof. Satyavrata, if taken with a grain of salt, is on the whole good for students under twenty (we would not advise them to avoid the fine arts). After that age, it may be ever harmful.

R. D. KARVE.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**JAPAN ON THE UPWARD TRAIL.** By WILLIAM AXLING. (Missionary Education Movement, New York.) 1923. 7½ x 5. pp. 180. 75 cents.

"THIS volume," as the author himself tells us in his Foreword, "is more of an introduction to, than a study of, present-day Japan." It does not attempt to discuss any problems in detail. It makes the reader "feel the pulse of some of the men who are representative of this new day." It introduces some of the Christian Japanese leaders and makes them "walk and talk with the readers of this book." The style is very simple and is full of vigour and action. The titles of chapters are very striking, such as, "The Trail of the Pioneer," "Following the Gleam," "Sky-piloting among the Masses," "Blazing new Trails," etc. The book is very enjoyable light reading on the whole, in spite of its Americanism.

The author at times wants you to think that Christian missions in Japan have almost always been right in their methods and ways and have only done good to the country. He often pictures things non-Christian as dark as they can be. For instance, he speaks of Buddhism thus in one place: "It is a religion of despair and negation. Its pessi-

mism crushes out of the soul all desire for existence. It looks upon this world as a place of pain and evil and the source of every sort of sorrow. To it life is an empty, unceasing round of birth, old age, disease, and death." Surely, Buddhism with all its faults is not so bad as all that when one studies it sympathetically.

But the book has another good point in its favour. When Protestant writers write about mission work in a country, they nearly always take it for granted that Christian missions mean Protestant missions, as if to say that the Roman Catholics are not really Christians, in spite of the fact that in many of the non-Christian countries half of the number of Christians are Roman Catholics. But our author is not guilty of that, though one wishes that he had given more space to tell us a little more about them in his book.

J. STEPHEN NARAYAN.

**INTRODUCTION TO GALSWORTHY'S PLAYS:** By R. SADASIWA AIYAR. (The Aryabhushian Press, Poona City.) pp. 125.

THE author has evidently made a deep study of his subject and he has a real gift of style and so we get in this book (dedicated to his "revered master and friend", the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry) a fascinating exposition of the matter, manner and main characteristics of the dramas of Galsworthy, one of the outstanding figures in contemporary drama. Despite one or two instances of hasty writing and a few typographical errors which could have been avoided with a little more care, it deserves to be read by all who are following with interest the developments in the world of modern drama, which, as the author observes, "is electric with activity and big with glorious promise" except, one may add, Indian drama which is still engulfed in the mediæval mists. It is to be hoped that the author would give us similar delightful studies of other leading dramatists of the world.

S. M. M.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

#### THE CURRENCY POLICY.

MEMORANDUM OF THE DECCAN SABHA.

(Concluded from our last issue.)

WITH regard to the supply of currency to meet the seasonal demands, we think that the remedy which will go to the root of the matter is the perfection of banking and credit arrangements in the country. The State really ought to have nothing to do with seasonal demands for currency under a perfectly automatic standard like the Gold Standard. But the real key to the automatic creation of seasonal supplies of currency in England is the creation of credits through the use of cheques by operating upon deposits in the Banks. This, however, presupposes two things—development of banking and an automatic standard like the Gold Standard. Under the present system money paid to producers remains



scattered instead of being brought to banks. When in the busy season there is a demand for currency, it cannot be met in the ordinary way. Government have as many as 30 or 40 crores worth of notes but they cannot be released except in exchange for rupees. The only ways of adding to the currency are the presentation of council-drafts and the presentation of sovereigns: but often the demand for councils arises long after the financing of the exporter by bankers.

In this connection a reference to the management of cash balances in India and England cannot be avoided. It might be thought that when money is stringent and there is a high bank rate, part of the cash balances are used to relieve the stringency. But it is not so. As soon as the cash-balance in India reaches a figure beyond the daily needs of the Government of India, it is drafted to England to swell the cash balance in England. In 1910-11, for example, the cash balance in England was 27 crores and 29 crores. In 1917-18 it was nearly 25 crores. Now this is a deplorable state of things. To lock up such large balances in England, when money is required in India at the rate of 7 or 8 p. c., is highly inexpedient. With the whole of the Gold Standard Reserve and a portion of the Currency Reserve at his disposal "in the event of a possible drain," there is no need for such large cash balances in addition. A propos of this question, it will be appropriate to state that it was a great mistake to have allowed part of the Paper Currency Reserve to be taken to England on the ground of its being a 'second line of defence' in the case of a falling exchange. The whole policy recommended by the Chamberlain Commission with regard to the Currency Reserve was reactionary and we take this opportunity to declare our emphatic protest against using this reserve for any purpose except that of maintaining the solvency of the paper currency. The whole question of the elasticity of the note-issue is a question of releasing the notes in the hands of Government, which, according to the present law, cannot be released. We think, therefore, that Government should be empowered to issue notes up to a maximum of 15 crores without a backing of gold or silver coins, against *hundis* of the approved pattern or commercial bills of exchange.

If the circulation of sovereigns is encouraged, then the pressure of the seasonal demand for currency would be much less as sovereigns could be directly used as currency. The method of buying sterling in India and issuing notes against this as reserve was occasionally practised during the last five years. But we think it is no part of the duty of Government to buy sterling and it is inadvisable because it has the appearance of currency manipulation. Moreover it is only a temporary remedy. Our conclusion, therefore, is that seasonal demands for currency cannot be satisfactorily met except by the adoption of the gold standard with an open mint accompanied by an extended use of the cheque system.

With regard to the remittance arrangements of the Government of India, the plan is quite simple if the gold standard is adopted. The branch of the

Imperial Bank in London would pay the amount to the Secretary of State and the Government of India would place a corresponding amount in the Imperial Bank in India. But in case the gold exchange standard is persevered in, the council drafts arrangement may be handed over to the Imperial Bank of India. The total amount sold, however, should not exceed the Home Charges. The duty of financing trade might be safely entrusted to the exchange banks, the Government only intervening in case the exchange strays beyond the gold points. The procedure of buying sterling in India also, if made systematic, is likely to tempt Government into transactions of a commercial nature and lead to the impression that they are interfering with the normal course of exchange. In the Budget statement for 1925-26, the Finance Member referred to the intervention of Government last autumn to make large purchases of sterling in order to check the rise in sterling. This is clear proof that the Government of India has been intervening with a view to correcting exchange according to their own ideas. Now we think this is a most objectionable practice and the Government of India should leave exchange alone.

We must now trace the effects of the various proposals upon the tax-system in India. With a 16d. rupee, prices will remain upon a fairly high level and India will not be a cheap place to sell in. Owing to the low rate of exchange, the value in rupees of imported articles will be higher but imports will suffer in quantity. Hence no great expansion of the revenue from import duties need be expected. The income-tax will continue to yield nearly the same revenue, as industries would not have to suffer from foreign competition; but when wages will rise to adjust themselves to the higher prices and the stores and plant for extension will also rise in price, the profits will fall after some five years and the income-tax will yield a smaller return. Owing to the high price of food-stuffs, the producers will get larger money-incomes; but they would not pay much in taxes except the indirect taxes on nearly  $\frac{1}{5}$  of the imports and the whole of the export duties. This comes to about 10 crores; the rest of the customs, i. e. 38 crores, will be contributed by the rich and the middle classes principally. On the expenditure side, with a high level of prices, wages and salaries will remain at their present level. Any curtailment will be impossible. As a result general administration will continue to be equally expensive. The bloated war budgets might become the normal feature and a 100 crores budget will be a thing of the past. With all this we do not agree with the lurid picture of social and economic discontent drawn by the Government of India in their memorandum quoted in para. 48 of the report of the Babington-Smith Committee. With industrial advance and commercial contact with the world, high prices are an inevitable conclusion. Although all of us would like to see prices reduced, a high level of exchange cannot be regarded as an unmixed good.

With the rupee at 20d. prices will be reduced by some 25 p. c. The effect on the Budget will be a

smaller revenue counted in rupees. Taxes on income and customs will both suffer heavily. But expenditure will be curtailed in the same proportion, as wages, salaries and the prices of stores, &c. will all be reduced in the proportion of 5:4. The producers will get smaller sums in rupees, but will contribute the same towards taxes as the prices of the imports they buy will be reduced in proportion. But in order to pay the land revenue they will have to part with a larger amount of produce and hence the real incidence of this tax will be very heavy. The Excise revenue will be smaller in amount. The Railway revenue need not suffer appreciably, because when the high exchange is stable over long periods, the movement of goods is uniform; on the contrary the working expenses will be reduced on account of smaller wages and the lower cost of stores. Freights and fares, however, will be reduced along with general prices. Putting together the losses on customs at 8 crores, income-tax 3 crores, salt 2 crores, and Railways 2 crores, the total loss to the central revenue will be nearly 15 crores. This will be compensated by a saving in Home Charges to the extent of nearly 10 crores so that the net loss will be only 5 crores. Similarly, the provincial revenue might lose 1 crore in income-tax, 5 crores in excise, 2 crores in stamps, i. e., in all nearly 8 crores. These estimates are illustrative and sufficiently accurate to indicate the different effects of a low and high rupee on the tax-system and on the incidence of taxation. We are not champions of high prices nor do we contemplate with equanimity the inflation of currency which is the logical corollary of a low exchange. At the same time we cannot help remarking that the only classes who are interested in a low level of prices are the persons with fixed incomes. The rest are both producers and consumers and as such have divided interest. As consumers they are interested in low prices; as producers they would regard low prices as an anathema. This conflict of views has presented itself before every Currency Committee and Commission.

If the question is decided by vote, the producers will carry the day, because they constitute some 75 p. c. of the total population. The question, however, remains: what is a high level? After all high and low are relative terms. Prices that were regarded as high in pre-war days are now regarded as moderate, if not low. The index number of prices to-day is 180, regarding the prices in 1914 as the base or 100. What we should aim at, therefore, is to bring prices to the mean point, namely 140. This object would be achieved by fixing the exchange at 20*d*. But apart from the other objections to the ratio, we have to keep in mind the possibility of the gold-prices in Europe and America being reduced by some 10 or 20 p. c. If we fix our exchange so high as 20*d*. in order to secure a low level of prices in India and within a year or so prices in Europe are brought down, the prices in India would be depressed still further. Surveying then the *ensemble* of the consequences of the two alternative ratios, we definitely come to the conclusion that the rupee should be

stabilized at 16*d*.

We may be permitted now to offer a few general observations, which, we believe, would assist the Commission in knowing the trend of Indian public opinion. Indian opinion is solidly in favour of the Gold Standard, and thoroughly impatient with the Gold Exchange Standard. Indian economists regard the latter as a make-shift system which is neither a silver mono-metallism nor a gold mono-metallism. Many of them would prefer to go back to the silver standard before 1893 rather than continue the present standard, the only merit of which, in their opinion, is that it secures stability of exchange. But this advantage is bought too dear, considering that we have no automatic standard after all. That some 80 crores of Indian money should always be available to the London Money Market, when money in India cannot be had at times at 7 or 8 p. c. is regarded as unjust. When every transference of money from India to England is justified on the ground of securing stability of exchange, the question arises whether it may not be sacrificed. After all stability of exchange is a convenience and not a necessity. It is this feeling which has inclined Indian politicians and economists more and more towards the Gold Standard. With the establishment of the Gold Standard and the unification of the Indian and the British currency systems, the problem of exchange vanishes altogether. When this is accomplished, the whole reserve in England can be brought back to India and utilized to strengthen the Indian reserve.

The academic explanations offered on behalf of the Gold Exchange Standard have failed to convince Indian economists. They naturally think that if this standard is such a beautiful mechanism and the *ne plus ultra* of currency wisdom, other countries would have tried to adopt it. But no important country has adopted it. The British Government, after rejecting various schemes, has recently decided on an immediate return to the Gold Standard. Either, therefore, India is not thought to be an important country or it is believed that the adoption of the Gold Standard by India would jeopardize the position of other gold-using countries. The latter explanation appears to be the more probable. India is believed to be the sink of precious metals. Already India is importing 30 to 40 crores worth of gold for non-monetary uses and it is thought that if another 30 to 40 crores worth were to be absorbed yearly for currency purposes, there would be a regular corner in gold. It is quite true that India's absorption of gold is very large. Between 1864 and 1914 India absorbed gold worth 350 crores; between 1914 and 1924 India absorbed 145 crores worth of gold. In 1924-25 gold worth 74 crores was imported; the total absorbed during sixty years thus comes to Rs. 569 crores. - This gives an average of Rs. 9.48 crores per year. But there is nothing surprising or unnatural about it. It means that every person in India absorbs 5 annas worth of gold in a year. We will put it in another way. If a population consisting of  $\frac{1}{10}$ th of humanity absorbs  $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the gold

supply of the world, there ought to be no surprise about it.

Now that during the war people have become accustomed to the use of paper money and banking is advancing slowly but surely, there need be no apprehension about undue absorption for currency purposes. Gold can be economized here when gold-notes are introduced and the use of cheques becomes more and more popular. We think that any further denial of India's right to determine her own monetary standard would be inconsistent with the position she has attained as a unit of the Empire with complete fiscal autonomy. It would be mere pettifoggery to construe the word 'fiscal' in a narrow sense. The estrangement between Indian public opinion and Government on the question of the monetary standard has become so marked during the last five years that the admission of the right to determine the standard seems to us the only statesmanlike policy.

It is a curious commentary on the conservatism of India that during the war India like any other civilized country consented to increase the fiduciary portion of her paper currency up to the limit of 120 crores; willingly submitted to an expansion of the note-issue from 40 crores to the limit of 180 crores; used small notes and gave large credits to England and her Allies. But when the question of the Gold Standard comes, India is declared to be too conservative for the adoption of a standard which can be worked only by advanced countries!

It is high time, therefore, that a question fraught with such important consequences for the well-being of the nation is solved permanently and to the satisfaction of Indians. Any further tinkering with the currency mechanism will be looked upon by Indians with the greatest concern and we strongly urge that a radical remedy should be applied to the ills from which we are suffering.

With regard to Exchange, Indians are very much disappointed with the findings of the Babington-Smith Committee. Under the scare of a high price of silver, they recommended a phenomenally high rate of Exchange. Hardly was the ink of their report dry when silver began to go down and instead of a 24d. exchange, we were confronted with a 21d. exchange. Not minding this the rate £1 = Rs. 10 was put on the statute book with the result that the possibility of exchanging sovereigns for rupees became shut out. In order to reach the fanciful rate of 2s. (gold), Reverse Councils were sold although there was no adverse balance against India and that too at the rate of 2s. 6d. and 2s. 8d. (sterling), involving a loss of nearly Rs. 35 crores. Owing to a still further fall in the price of silver exchange gradually went down till in 1921 it reached the old level of 16d., once going even below 16d. Thus all the recommendations of the Committee became a dead letter within the space of a year.

If in spite of this we do not adopt the Gold Standard, the question of stabilization would crop up every few years and the battle royal between the high and the low rupee would continue. We know

that with the aid of complicated machinery Exchange can be kept at one point, but only at the cost of a tremendous amount of energy. In the case of Exchange also, the adoption of the Gold Standard is the only solution that would go to the root of the matter.

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