

# Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..	97
ARTICLES :—	
The Church of India and <i>Swaraj</i> ... ..	99
The Indian Cotton Industry—III. By "Social Servant" ... ..	100
The Physiology of Inebriation. By H. G. E. Zaebarias, Ph. D. ... ..	102
REVIEWS :—	
Educable Capacity. Prof. Walter O. Fitch, B. A., F. R. A. I. ... ..	104
Rural Economics. M. Mush'iq Ahmed. ... ..	105
Missionary Studies. Rev. J. C. Winslow. ... ..	105
Unionist and Separatist. J. B. Sen. ... ..	107
BOOKS RECEIVED ... ..	107

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

LORD Rawlinson's sudden death on the eve of his retirement will cause widespread regret in India. He was reputed to be a great soldier and from the sympathy which he showed with popular aspirations in the military field in the beginning of his Indian career high expectations were raised as to the admission of Indians to commissioned ranks, etc. These anticipations were not realised, but it is only fair to remember that the opposition that he offered later to these aspirations was due at least partly, to the hostile attitude of the War Office. Lord Rawlinson's spirit was perhaps better reflected in the forward steps which the Government has agreed to take in the development of the territorial force. During his regime some amount of retrenchment took place in military expenditure, in pursuance of the Incheape Committee's recommendations, but against this must be set the declaration of the late Commander in Chief that the expenditure on the army could not be brought down to the lowest level laid down by the Committee. His personal relations with unofficial members of the Indian legislature were friendly, and his courtesy went far to mollify the resentment caused by his declarations of policy.

THE behaviour of the Assembly in rejecting Sir Hari Singh Gour's Age of Consent Bill in the last stage is unintelligible in the absence of a full report of the proceedings. Only the previous day the Assembly had accepted two important amendments in the right direction—one raising the age of consent of

married girls from 12 to 14 years by 45 against 43 votes, and the other raising that of unmarried girls from 12 to 16 by 65 against 22 votes. Still when the amended Bill was put to vote it found only 36 supporters against 54 opponents. The attitude adopted by Government is particularly to be blameworthy. The Home Member said that Government was not opposed to raising the age to 13 and 14 respectively, as recommended by the select committee, but the amendments that had been carried were too drastic for it. Two courses were open to him, he said: to ask for postponement of the further consideration of the Bill till September so as to ascertain public opinion, or to oppose it. Mr. Jinnah pointed out that neither course was necessary, since after the Assembly passed the Bill the Council of State would have to consider it, and it could do so only in the September session. Government's object would thus be achieved without asking for postponement or opposing the Bill. The Home Member thereupon withdrew the motion he had made for postponement. What need there was after that for Government to oppose the Bill, we cannot understand. This obstruction to social legislation is far from being creditable to a Government which calls itself enlightened. Being a foreign Government, we could understand its being neutral, but what it is doing is to thwart the efforts of social reformers. The Home Member spoke of introducing a Government Bill in accordance with ascertained public opinion. We shall wait and see whether he will do so. Meanwhile it is no consolation to us to read in a contemporary that a child wife of thirteen was admitted into the Lady Hardinge Hospital in Delhi for her third confinement! Let the Government and others who killed the Gour Bill ponder over their crime.

THE illiteracy, and credulity and lack of training of the Indian electorates are often urged by the opponents of India's advance to full responsible government as an insuperable obstacle in the way. Some local Governments and the majority report of the Muddiman Committee have laid great stress upon it. Every now and then we are reminded that England has taken centuries to evolve and perfect her system of responsible government. The minority of the Muddiman Committee have therefore very rightly pointed out the extremely unsatisfactory condition of the British electorates so late as 1816, when out of 658 members of the House of Commons, 487 were returned by the nomination of the Government and

267 by private patrons, of whom 144 were peers, and when these seats were openly sold and purchased. But it is not sufficiently realised to what extent corruption prevailed long after the Reform Act of 1832. In the course of an appreciative article on Joseph Rowntree, a renowned Quaker who was born in 1836 and died on the 24th Feb. last., *The Friend* quotes a passage from a speech made by him in 1911 when the Freedom of the City (of York) was conferred on him:

"As a young man I saw, shortly after a municipal election, a tradesman sitting at his shop with a bowl of half-crowns at his side, with no sense of shame, paying out the coins to those who had voted for him. This of course was before 1872, the date of the Ballot Act. Another incident I recall is that of a man who, in the Exhibition Square, asked me for £1ms, urging as his principal plea that the three pounds which he had received for his Parliamentary vote had been stolen from him.

"I am tempted to add one other. One evening a working man called to see me. I knew his character well, and that I could safely have trusted large sums of money in his hands. He wanted to consult me upon a question of conscience about which he felt a difficulty. He had been visited by the agents of one of the Parliamentary candidates to whom he had promised his vote, having either received or been promised a certain sum for it. Afterwards the agents of the other candidate visited him and offered him so much for his vote. The question on which he wanted my opinion was whether I thought it would be right to take money from both. The thought that he ought not to take money from either had apparently never entered his mind."

No apology is needed for the length of the quotation. Its moral is not the difficulty of improving the electorate but the ease. In a few years electoral purity was established. But what is perfectly clear is that British analogy cannot be quoted to India's detriment.

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Mr. Huq explains. MR. FAZLUL HUQ and his seven friends have thought it necessary to explain to the public why they made that somersault of theirs. They mention among the reasons the supersession of Sir Abdur Rahim and their dissatisfaction with the choice of the Ministry. We are unable to see any relevancy between the first reason and their action. As to the second—there were legitimate ways open to them of expressing their want of confidence in the Ministry, unless they were piqued at Mr. Huq not being selected. The most interesting part of their statement, however, is that which shows them in the light of spokesmen of the Swarajist party. Mr. C. R. Das, according to them, is willing to help in the stabilization of the Ministry if some 'not very exorbitant' conditions are accepted. One of them relates, we are told, to the way in which the Ordinance Act is to be worked, and another to the release of some of the political prisoners; but they could all be thoroughly discussed at a Round Table Conference of all parties. Now that Lord Lytton's Government have learnt to appreciate Mr. Huq's extreme reliability, we dare say his valuable suggestion will be received with due weight. But we admire his assurance in promising Mr. C. R. Das's

support—conditional albeit—for dyarchy in complete defiance of the latter's speeches and actions. After this statement another has naturally come from Mr. Das denying the accuracy of Mr. Huq's statement.

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A Deserving Institution. THE report for 1924 of the Indian Students' Union and Hostel, London, the creation of the Indian National Council of the Y. M. C. A., bears testimony to its increasing popularity and usefulness. Its membership has now increased to 564, representing all provinces and faculties. All the rooms available for residential purposes were in continuous occupation and the demand was much heavier than could be met. Outside the Hostel the institution arranged lodgings for 565 students. Its restaurant was exceedingly popular. It arranged a large number of lectures by quite distinguished persons, debates, visits to workshops, &c., and on the social side a large number of concerts and "At-Homes," besides staging five plays. The physical or sports section was particularly successful. In table tennis a member of the Union won for the second time the All-England Championship. Some of the best tennis players in England are members of the Union. So also were most of the members of the Indian Hockey team which made such a successful tour in Belgium and France, though the tour itself was not officially organised by the Union. The report rightly observes, "It would be no exaggeration to add that our sportsmen often prove far more effective ambassadors of India than many political deputations." There was considerable improvement in its finances, but it has still a large debt to pay off on account of the building. No institution in England is so helpful to the Indian student as the Union, and it deserves every assistance from the public.

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Who Sold Kultur? IN our issue of May 11th 1922 we gave some interesting figures regarding the number of new publications (including new issues) in seven of the leading Western countries during 1919 and 1920. *Le Droit de l'auteur* of Berne has recently published the figures for 1922 and 1923, as follows:

	1922	1923
Germany ...	35859	30734
Great Britain ...	10842	12247
U. S. A. ...	8638	8873
France ...	9432	9159
Italy ...	6336	6077
Holland ...	4237	5442
Denmark ...	3149	4218
Total ...	78493	76950

There are some interesting points about this table. Germany, of course, is leading as usual and still publishes as much as Great Britain, the United States and France put together. French, posing as the international language, is used in less than half the books published in English and much less than a third of the works published in German. Great Britain before the war was slightly inferior to the U. S. A. in the number of new publications, but since 1920 has maintained its lead. Again, the relative literary output per head of population in a young and defenceless country like Denmark is one new publication per 720 inhabitants, whilst in Italy, one of the Great Powers and the land of ancient culture, one new publication averages out per 6080 inhabitants. But then of course literature is no criterion of civilization: only the army and navy and air force are really reliable indicators of *Kultur*, are they not?

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## THE CHURCH OF INDIA AND WARAJ.

THE Bishop of Bombay has recently published, mainly for English consumption, a little pamphlet\* which succinctly describes the movement for self-government of the Church of India, its historical background and proposed constitution. Anything from the pen of Dr. E. J. Palmer is bound to be interesting; and this pamphlet is deserving of general attention in this country, if only for setting forth—quite unconsciously of course—the English idea of how to obtain *Swaraj*; for which reason it may be useful to refer at somewhat greater length to a subject, which the meetings of the Bombay Diocesan Council last week have anyhow made topical. †

The Indian Church, i. e. the Anglican Communion in India (technically still known as "The Church of England in India") has all along been as autocratically governed as the Indian Empire: with that difference, however, that centralization was never rigid. The Metropolitan Bishop of Calcutta could never be said to correspond to the Governor General at Calcutta, being merely first amongst his peers, the other diocesan bishops of India. But certainly the latter were, each in his diocese, theoretically at least, autocrats; and that these ecclesiastical autocrats were appointed and paid (on a liberal scale) by the State certainly did not tend to make them less prone to autocracy. Yet the incongruity of autocracy in a Church, the sole *raison d'être* of which lay in its protest against the autocracy of the Pope, was so obvious, that as long ago as 1883 the Bishops, assembled in their episcopal synod, resolved that it was essential that full synodical government should be secured to the Indian Church. As a consequence, consultative assemblies under various titles were formed in most of the dioceses, but no very serious progress was made until (in 1902) the Rt. Rev. R. S. Copleston became Metropolitan. The importance of self-government for the Church, and not only the advantage of taking counsel together, seemed paramount to him and it is not too much to say that it is mainly due to his perseverance and enthusiasm that the question (in 1912) became a "live issue" in Indian Church politics. It was in this latter year that a meeting of clerical and lay representatives with the bishops took place and resolved that full synodical government should be established, both in each diocese and in the Province (i. e. India, Ceylon and Burma; as in Church parlance each country is but a "province" of the inhabited world, *oikumene*).

But as soon as this resolution was to be put into effect, in stepped the lawyers and declared that in the existing legal position of the Church such pro-

\* "The Movement for the Freedom of the Church in India." (S. P. C. K., London.) 1924. 7 x 4 1/4. pp. 48. 1s.

† For the question of "Disestablishment" itself we would refer our readers to two articles published by us on that subject ("The Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment") in our issues of April 19th and 26th 1923. See also "A Bishop's Life: A charge delivered by Edwin James Palmer, 7th Bishop of Bombay, at his 5th Visitation on March 23rd 1925." (S. P. C. K., Bombay.) 1s. 6d.

posed synods were illegal and that their decisions would be invalid in law. It is typical of English commonsense and regard for law, that as a consequence of this verdict the Church decided (a) to get the present legal position radically changed and (b) in the meanwhile to get up, if not constitutional Provincial and Diocesan Synods, at least consultative Provincial and Diocesan Councils. Thus e. g. on March 4th, 1915, was formed "the Council of the Church of England in the Diocese of Bombay," which consists of one priest and 1 to 3 laymen (according to size of parish) from every congregation in the Diocese; and representatives from this and all other Diocesan Councils in India again constitute the All-India "Provincial Council." This latter met in 1922 and considered a draft "Indian Church Measure," which was to secure for the Church of India the status of an *autocephalous* Church (i. e. legal independence from the Church of England) and to the clergy and laity a voice in the self-government of their Church. This draft Constitution, which owes most to the devotion and acumen of the Bishop of Bombay, was however not passed "in indecent haste." Observations were made on it and the draft sent to the Diocesan Councils for their observations. As a result the Draft of 1922 was revised and in February 1924 the Episcopal Synod appointed the Bishops of Bombay and Madras and Canon F. J. Western to redraft in detail the whole constitution accordingly. In November 1924 the Episcopal Synod approved of this new draft, which accordingly has now come before all the respective Diocesan Councils for their opinion. The Bombay Diocesan Council last week, for instance, considered this "Second Revised Draft" and *inter alia*—agreed upon certain amendments to be moved by their representatives (4 clerical and 4 lay) at the next Provincial Council Meeting (end of 1925).

In the meantime negotiations have been steadily going on between the Church as a whole on the one hand and the Government of India. That these negotiations have been rather protracted and neither simple nor easy needs perhaps no emphasis, since we all know the leisurliness of the grinding process of the Governmental machine only too well. What perhaps is more surprising is the news that apparently these negotiations have now come to a successful end. But of course they have only thus terminated, in order that a fresh set of negotiations may be begun, this time with the Secretary of State for India, and we understand that the Metropolitan and the Bishop of Bombay are shortly proceeding to England for this purpose, the simultaneous presence there of the Viceroy being very *à propos*. All going well, the new Constitution of the Church of India might therefore possibly by the consent of all parties be finally agreed to before the year 1925 is out.

"Finally"? Well, yes, as far as India is concerned. But the legal severance of the Church of India from the Church of England is not only the affair of India, but of England also. Therefore, when and if the Indian Church Measure emerges here, as embodying what India requires, it will have to go be-

fore the Assembly of the Church of England to win endorsement there, and eventually before the British Parliament which alone can undo what it once enacted. And ultimately, in the dim distant future, when all these things may have taken place, when the "Constitution of the Church of the Province of India, Burma and Ceylon" shall have been enacted by all authorities concerned, both secular and ecclesiastical: then, forsooth, in order that there may be no charge of rash impulsiveness or of love for sudden changes, the constitution shall not come into operation until *five years* after such date!

The thing is almost incredible, but how English, quite English, it all is! Twenty years to get familiar with the mere idea of *Swaraj* for the Church; twenty more years, to settle the preliminaries: is it not almost oversanguine to expect that in not more than ten years more *Swaraj* will be an accomplished fact in the Church? Yet fifty years over a matter, almost uncontroversial when compared with the fierce passions engendered by the proposal of *Swaraj* for India itself, and if rather intricate, certainly not more so than that of the political connection between England and India! Fifty years. Truly there are no such born and bred Conservatives in the world, as the English. And to think that they consider "the East" Conservative!

### THE INDIAN COTTON INDUSTRY—III.

COMPETITION OF LANCASHIRE AND JAPAN. WHILE asking for the abolition of the Excise Duty the deputation of the Indian millowners have admitted that practically there is no competition between Lancashire and India. The former specialises in spinning finer yarns. In 1910-21 India could spin finer yarns because she could import large quantities of Uganda cotton at reasonable rates. With better facilities, as remarked by the *Labour Gazette*, for carrying cotton from Uganda to England, it is hardly likely that India will get much of the Uganda cotton. Though Lancashire has to depend upon other countries for the supply of raw cotton, her position is unassailable in other respects. Sir Charles W. Macara says, in the course of one of his recent articles on the United Kingdom's cotton trade: "I have shown again and again that Lancashire has nothing to fear in the matter of foreign competition, given an ample supply of the raw material and control of the output of yarn and cloth scientifically to meet the vicissitudes inseparable from a great international trade. It is all a question of proper organisation." Lancashire is not afraid of even American competition. Again Sir Charles W. Macara: "At the time of writing, a telling object lesson comes to my notice. Two important American spinners and manufacturers, with whom I have been discussing cotton trade matters, inform me that it is still impossible to put down mills in America, even with the considerable reduction in the price of machinery and building, at less than double the cost of building and equipping mills in Lancashire, and Lancashire mills still cost fully double the pre-war rate. To this

has to be added the further handicap that Lancashire operatives can spin finer and better yarn than is produced in America from cotton of somewhat cheaper and lower grade than is used in the United States. These two circumstances combined must give Lancashire an enormous advantage in the markets of the world especially when it is taken into consideration that America is, perhaps, further advanced in the art of cotton manufacture than any other foreign country." All is not, however, well with Lancashire though its specialisation is unrivalled. India cannot even think of spinning finer yarns unless she grows her own long staple cotton.

Before attributing the loss of the Indian cotton mill industry to Japanese competition, we should bear in mind the fact that while in 1913-14 the consumption of cloth, per head of the population per annum was 13.6 yards it fell to 9.28 during 1914-19 and it fell further to 8.5 yards during 1919-22. This fall may be due partly to the Khadder-charka movement, but it was also due to the diminution of the purchasing power of the people.

Up to 1924 nearly 97 per cent. of the imports of piece-goods came from the United Kingdom alone. Latterly about 10 per cent. comes from Japan. In 1921-22 the home production was 11 times as much as imports from Japan, which may have increased or decreased a little in the years following. India has nearly lost the market in China for her yarns. The following remarks of the *Labour Gazette* are worth noting on this subject:—"It is commonly assumed that the exports of Indian yarns to China have fallen off owing to the competition of Japan in the Chinese market. But such a view is erroneous. Japan does not send to China any yarn below 16's, while India specialises in counts 14 and lower in her exports to China. The principal cause of the decline in the Indian exports is that with the growth of the mill industry in China, the production of yarn in that country is increasing. The Chinese have begun to grow cotton of the quality required for their needs, and with the help of cheap labour available in the country are able to produce at almost the same cost as the Indian spinners."

From the official figures it appears that in 1922-23 the percentage of the imports to the total production of yarns was 2.1 in counts 1 to 25 and 40 in counts 26 to 40, while in counts above 40 the imports were nearly three times the production. These imports are mostly shared between Lancashire and Japan. We know what advantages Lancashire possesses over India. It could also be shown that Japanese competition is not so dreadful as it is represented to be. All the same it is a fact that Japan can compete with India in this trade and imports of yarns and cloth from that country are likely to increase. Mr. N. N. Wadia said in his speech at the Jubilee celebration of the Millowners' Association, that it was a wonder and surprise to him how a country importing its raw cotton from India, shipping it to Japan, and paying freight thereon, manufactured it into yarn and cloth, and shipping it back to Bombay and paying a duty of five per cent. on yarn or

eleven per cent. on cloth, could undersell us at our very doors in Bombay to the such an extent that at the price at which they were competing with us in Bombay we could not manufacture yarn or cloth at a profit; and if that was the position in the Bombay market, one could imagine how much more severe the competition was in markets like Calcutta, Madras and other ports where the Japanese could import direct at the same rate of freight from Japan as they did to Bombay, while we have to add to our Bombay prices the heavy rail freight from Bombay to those markets. According to our millowners the key to unravel the mystery can be found in the shipping subsidies and the long hours of work permitted in Japan. The shipping subsidies appear to be a myth. From the explanation offered by the Japanese themselves there seems to be no ground for supposing the existence of such subsidies. As regards hours of work, it is true that the Japanese mills employ two shifts and work for 9½ or 10 hours at each time. Even supposing that they work for 22 hours in a day by two shifts, can it be called a distinct advantage that enables the Japanese to beat the Indians in their own markets? There has been no appreciable fall in production in the Indian mills since the 10-hours day was introduced. The very fact that the Japanese mills have to employ two shifts proves that they have demand for their goods, that is, they can turn out goods less expensively. Two-shifts is *not the cause but the effect* of cheap production.

Mr. E. Bingham, who last year toured India and the Far East as representative of the makers of textile machinery, expressed his opinion about the mills in Japan that they were arranged in an excellent manner and he believed that Japan was the only nation that was to be seriously reckoned with in cotton trade. His opinion about the Indian mills was not so complimentary. He said that the working conditions could be improved in many cases and that the majority of the mills would be condemned by the factory inspectors if only owing to temperature and humidity. The best cotton that India produces goes to Japan. We know as a matter of fact that Japanese agents visit villages in cotton districts in this country and are very careful in making profitable bargains. The Japanese workmen are literate, while literacy is rare among the Indian workmen. The Japanese workmen are superior in physique. Also their standard of living is higher than that of Indian workmen. I think the secret of Japan's success in the cotton industry lies in such things as these rather than in subsidies or long hours. The Indian millowners say that they have to pay now double the wages of the pre-war days and that it is one reason why they are unable successfully to compete with Japanese manufactures. But the fact is that the rise in wages in Japan has been more than 300% during that last ten years.

#### CONCLUSION.

The millowners' have adopted wrong tactics in holding out a threat to reduce wages and in using labour as a pawn in the game of securing the abolition

of the excise duty, which could easily be demanded on grounds of justice. By resorting to this device the millowners have alienated the sympathy of their operatives. Otherwise, I am sure, their support would have been forthcoming for the agitation against the continuance of the excise duty. The belief that the industry can be saved by reducing wages or working short time may prove suicidal, if the disease is not probed to its very roots. Even now some of the mills are working profitably, as proved by the fact that only the other day two companies declared a decent dividend, viz. 8 per cent. to their shareholders. The profits of each mill during the year ending 31st December 1924 amounted to over nine lakhs of rupees. This shows that the millowners have become unnecessarily panicky. There are some mills which are so inefficiently managed that they cannot be profitably worked except in boom periods. There are others which were formerly privately owned and when transformed into joint stock companies were sold at heavy prices, so heavy that though the management be not particularly bad, the interest on the bloated capital is too high to be fully realised through profits in normal times. Moreover, the millowners, having been used to high profits for some five years, naturally think that the present times are exceptionally bad. They are also judging by the standard of the worst mills. Had they done so for the purpose of turning the searchlight inwards and setting their house in order, no body would have taken objection to it. The millowners can examine the various factors that at present go against them and formulate measures to place the industry on a sound footing. There may be some difficulties like unfavourable exchange which are beyond the powers of the millowners to overcome and for which agitation may be necessary. Still a good deal lies in their own hands. One thing, however, is clear. It is not by threatening labour with reduction in wages as the first remedy, but by showing by their acts that they have a real concern for the well being of labour and that they are resorting to reduction of wages in the last instance, that they will enlist the sympathy of the public and of their workmen. If they believe that their salvation lies in the exhibition of the bugbear of the Japanese competition, they deceive themselves. The fact that Japan is pushing her trade vigorously in this country cannot be denied. The competition may grow, and countries like the United States of America may also at a future date take a hand in this competition. As Lancashire has to curtail production on account of want of demand it is attempting to compete with Japan and has already begun experimenting with low grade Indian cotton. If this experiment is successful the Indian mill-industry will have to face a very serious competition and its condition will be still more parlous. The Japanese mills may or may not suffer, but Indian mills are sure to suffer. Protection will never prove blessing if efficiency and economy are neglected. The Millowners' Association, if it has a mind, can do much to reorganise the industry and thus save it

from its present position. But this Association tries more to level the mills down than to level them up, with the result that there is little progress. Men of wide vision and independent judgment, bold enough to look facts in the face are required to save the situation. We have yet to produce Rowntrees, Cadburys, Leverhulmes and Fords; but we have our Wadias, Saklatvalas and Fazulbhoys, who surely can do much to retrieve the situation by refusing to be dragged down by the diehards. Efficiency and economy may not be attained to the fullest extent at once, but once their importance is realised, the achievement of progress is only a question of time.

SOCIAL SERVANT.

### THE PHYSIOLOGY OF INEBRIATION.

THOUGH the general physiological knowledge of the human body has been greatly added to in recent years, it is unfortunately also true, that our ignorance regarding the rationale of neuro-physiological processes in particular is almost as profound as ever. Prof. L. Lewin\* probably has done as much as any living authority to penetrate into these innermost recesses of our being and he has always emphasized the importance of chemical reactions in connection with all psychological changes. Of course others have made the same surmise: but in their case the hypothesis hitherto has been restricted to that of the relative action of different toxins; the idea being that each toxin enters into direct chemical combination with some constituent matter or other of the nerve tissue. Without ruling out the possibility of such action altogether, Dr. Lewin has always stressed the surprising fact that the human body does not react uniformly on toxic stimulation, the effects differing widely from individual to individual. But if the "toxic personal equation" (l. c., p. 15) is of such importance, it can obviously not be a mere matter of the toxin going into chemical combination with neural matter. If we immerse copper coins in vitriol, all coins, in strict proportion to their contact with the vitriol, will form copper sulphate. Now if, say, quinine acts simply by going into a chemical combination with some identically present X in A and B, why are the effects of quinine on A normal, whilst B is thrown into a perfect paroxysm of intoxication? Dr. Lewin is too wise to pretend that he can explain this baffling phenomenon: but he is insistent that, to give it its due evidential weight, each individual must always be considered as a vital whole; not merely as the sum total, but as a system (and a self-balancing system at that!) of physical and chemical energy and of a mechanical capacity controllable by the will: all of which constituent powers quite evidently do not come identically into play in any two individuals. (l. c., p. 13). The subject has never been worked out yet, but it is obvious already, that that curious incorporeal something, the will, is anything but a negligible quantity even in apparently so "materialistic" a discipline as biochemistry.

The matter is of special importance to the problem of inebriation, if only because nowhere else perhaps does the personal toxic equation differ so much from individual to individual. The theory, that the body forms anti-toxins against such toxins as alkaloid, aromatic or inorganic substances, Dr. Lewin claims to have disproved (l. c. p. 22): his explanation of the manner in which cell-complexes get accustomed to the stimulus of any such poison is, that they do not get accustomed at all, but are disabled, i. e. become incapable of reacting normally against the stimulant. The habitual taking of inebriants has a cumulative effect, because the cell-complex in question is never free from the stimulant: it and the whole body thereupon endeavour to achieve a new vital equilibrium which is to include the presence of definite quantities of the toxin in question, so that sudden withdrawal of the toxin or suddenly increased dosage equally result in completely upsetting again the artificial equilibrium previously achieved. (l. c. p. 25.) Now since the will is capable of affecting this equilibrium, it is also clear why alcoholic poison, for instance, should affect what neurologists call "unstable nervous systems" so much more powerfully than persons possessing a constitutionally well balanced mental organization to start with. A naturally defective neural basis no doubt must affect the will and be apt to make it defective; inversely, a defective will must have a tendency to make its neural basis defective too: but it seems rather overshooting the mark to say—as not a few of our leading alienists do—that all drug addicts are psychopaths, i. e. that it is not the drug taking that makes the will defective, but that it is a defective will that prompts to drug taking.

Anyhow, if there is chemical action and if yet that action is not to mean primarily the "whole-hog" combination of the affected substances, the only possibility remaining is, that the chemical action of toxins must be in the nature of substances called "catalysts," the property of which consists in making possible or in at least greatly facilitating the entering of other substances into chemical combinations. The catalyst itself need only be present in quite small quantities and usually does not enter at any time into the combinations it promotes. From the shortening of chemical processes in the presence of catalysts, they have in technology often been called "accelerators" and while the exact mode of their chemical action is still quite obscure, it occurs to one that their action seems curiously similar to the "seasoning" of human food and to the "hormones" of the ductless glands with which recent researches have somewhat familiarized us. The quantities of iodine, for instance, which we now know to be necessary for the thyroid gland, if goitre and cretinism are not to result, are so minute that their action can only be catalytic. Similarly the "hormones" of the adrenal, pituitary &c., glands, which regulate the growth of a person, the pigmentation of his skin or what not, are mere "messengers" telling the tissues concerned what to do or when to stop doing it, but in themselves quite insufficient, by actual chemical

\* Whose book *Phantastica* I reviewed in the issue of Feb. 26th.

combination, to achieve the big results which their presence alone seems to make possible. Similarly, as already described in a previous study, the toxin of the toadstool, for instance, potent inebriant that it is, passes out entire into the urine, without having suffered any chemical disintegration: as is proved by the loathsome thrift with which its devotees drink the latter instead of eating fresh quantities of toadstool, without any apparent difference in the inebriatory power of the two methods. Again, it is surely startling to find that at least one of the "hormones," the pancreatic *insulin* which regulates the manufacture of sugar in the body, is chemically expressed a Purin body, i. e. one of those substances to which the obromine and caffeine also belong! Here surely we have a clear bridge between extraneous inebriants and internal hormones: and the inference is legitimate that the action of both is that of catalysts. (cf. Lewin, l. c., p. 304).

Dr. Lewin (l. c., p. 82) indeed defines *all* disease as the result of the *biochemical* activity of foreign substances; but though one agrees with him there, one should be clear that "foreign" does not refer only to substances introduced into the human system from outside, but includes those manufactured by the system itself and therefore not foreign to the whole body, but only foreign to specific parts of the body, where normally they do not occur: as e. g. sugar and uric acid in the blood. And even the word "normally" must be used with discretion: for certain forms of auto-intoxication are indeed "normal," as e. g. the production of sarcolactic acid in the muscle through fatigue. Indeed it is the toxic effect of such poisons which normally sets in motion the vital mechanism designed to eject them: witness the stimulation of the respiratory centres in the brain by the carbonic acid in the blood, leading directly to increased respiratory activity and thereby increased oxygenization of the blood and elimination of the carbonic acid. Indeed it is the general toxic effects of this carbonic acid gas and its manufacture in the body through a defect in the biochemistry of the brain, which have been specially investigated by our author, who has been able to attribute not a few forms of insanity to this special form of carbonic acid intoxication.\* Nay more, Prof. Lewin has quite generally (l. c., p. 84) come to the conclusion that the typical effects of inebriation, such as sensory illusions, hallucinations, &c., are likewise caused by chemical substances of the catalyst type, formed during disease within the body. The delirium accompanying rises in temperature is the best known case in point, of course: and one which surprisingly justifies the Latin derivation of the words for fever (*febris*) and inebrious (*ebrius*) from the same root.

But the least expected correlation perhaps is

\* Indeed mere insufficiency of oxygen supply to the tissues (called *anoxaemia*), where not fatal, produces all the effects of inebriation, the brain becoming poisoned by insufficiently burnt up waste products. Oxygen being very scarce in high altitudes, does not *anoxaemia* perhaps account for all the strange tales of *malaria* metaphysical illumination to be met with on the upper regions of our Himalayas?

is that between such chemical substances and the ecstatic exaltations of religious enthusiasm. Yet the close, if hitherto obscure, connection existing between the sexual and the religious life has been an admitted fact of observation from time immemorial: and to-day we know that human erotic (and a good deal besides) is bound up with certain hormones of the sexual glands, which, as we have now learnt, are capable of a double function, viz. of either outer or inner secretion. In my article of last week I gave ample illustrations of the effect of inebriants on the religious experience of the inebriate: I must now add that Dr. Lewin has no hesitation to ascribe (p. 81) the visions &c., of such mystics as Christina Ebner to catalysts, produced in the gonads, secreted into and carried by the blood to the brain. And this conclusion must indeed seem irresistible to anyone closely studying the subject. Lest I be misunderstood, let me hasten to add, that there is nothing whatever "blasphemous" about such a conclusion: to a philosophical Realist, for instance, such as I count myself, i. e. to one who acknowledges both body and soul as equally real, it is indeed only in the fitness of things that there should be a physical substratum for every psychical activity. If we have to use our feet for locomotion and our sympathetic nerves for our emotions and our brain for thinking, it seems to me only natural that the different processes of thought also require certain material bases, without which a corporeo-spiritual creature like man cannot carry them on. Obviously a chemical substance differs absolutely from an abstract idea and therefore it is sheer absurdity to equate them, as a materialist is compelled to do: but to say that in the absence of, say, C, H, N, the mind is prevented from using its brain for such and such a purpose is no more "blasphemous" or absurd, than to admit that, by cutting off iodine, a clever child can be turned into a moron.

Indeed the universal belief, that virginity enables man to reach a higher spiritual stage, finds in modern Endocrinology a scientific explanation: and if religious ecstasies are chemically bound up with sex, the ever recurring religious practice of orgiastic dancing, sadistic flagellation &c. becomes, on this theory, for the first time understandable. Might one go further and suggest also that every aesthetic intoxication, of poetry, of music, &c., is dependent on the intra-corporeal production of a chemical substance under the stimulus of aesthetic "pleasure" factors? Do we, when we intoxicate ourselves with words, distil our own alcohol in our brain? The jest may be very near the truth for all we know.

But let me repeat once more, in sober earnest, that the importance of the chemical substance, whichever it be, can only be negative: its presence may make a psychical experience possible, its absence impossible. But the *value* of the experience itself has nothing whatsoever to do with the catalyst. Moral values are a question of spirit, not of matter. Hence to value e. g. religious experience resulting from hashish smoking and from contemplation respectively, it is not enough to analyze chemically the

catalyst of inebriation found *ex-hypothesi* in the brain of the addict and of the mystic, and to demonstrate that both are identical or different. Spiritual value is derived from the respective exercise of a spiritual power, the human will: and whilst in the case of the contemplative we find the will compelling matter to serve a spiritual end, in that of the addict we find matter compelling the will to serve a material end. This inversion of the natural order of things in itself is sufficient for us rightly to appreciate the relative value of the two experiences. As in all matters spiritual, it is not the act that matters but the motive behind the act. And let none say that the motive of both addict and mystic is the same, to wit, deeper religious knowledge; the motive of the one is at the very best to save himself trouble and effort and discipline; that of the other, at the very least, is sacrifice and some denying of the self. Whence deep wisdom seems to underly the common notion of Hinduism, that inebriants are not becoming brahmacharis and sanyasis.

It all then seems to come to this that the essentially human factor of man's life consists in his faculty, not to say privilege, of bringing all the physico-chemical processes, all the bodily automatisms and reflexes, all the unconscious instincts and impulses, of his animal body under the sovereign rule of his reason; a goal possible only, if man's individual reason is itself conformed to the divine Reason, the grand design manifesting itself in and through the world order, of which he forms part. So far man has not gone far on the road to that mastery but it is comforting to find so modern and so incorruptible a witness as Biochemistry giving testimony that such mastery not only is possible in ways little realized as yet, but quite evidently is the ultimate goal towards which humanity is led by, what some like to call the *elan vital*, and what the old-fashioned like myself prefer to call God. In any case, if it is this sovereignty of reason that must be the criterion of all human effort, it is this criterion too which alone will enable us to judge truly the attitude human society ought to adopt towards the inebriation of the individual. Of which more next week.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

## REVIEWS.

### EDUCABLE CAPACITY.

**PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS OF EDUCABLE CAPACITY.** Report of the consultative committee, BOARD OF EDUCATION. (H. M. Stationery Office, London.) 1924. 2½ x 6. pp. 248. 2s.

EXAMINATIONS form a test of knowledge acquired, and, if well conducted, of ability to use such knowledge. The task undertaken by the Psychologist is to show beforehand what likelihood there is of a child being able to take advantage of Education, whether in general or of a particular type. Attempts to do this have met with considerable opposition and even ridicule; and yet the tests employed in the British Civil Service Examination, which were the particular butt of the English papers, reproduced the

final results of the papers set far more accurately than any one paper.

Historically, these tests started in the Psychologist's laboratory, and in connection with mentally defective children. In dealing with these, there can be no doubt whatever of their extreme utility. As time went on, they approximated more and more to the ordinary type of examination, and became wider in their scope; they were extensively used by the American Army during the War, to decide who would never learn to fire a rifle on the one hand, and who would be likely to do well as Officers and N. C. O.'s on the other. A few instances of different types will make the subject clearer. They are divided into six types.

(1) Tests of "intelligence" designed to estimate that general ability which, in the opinion of most psychologists, lies behind all specialized mental functions. These take the form of observation of familiar things and simple logic. For instance, a child may be asked to say what is omitted in the picture of a horse. Analogies are very much used, alternative answers being given, the correct one to be underlined. At the age of 3 (the age being the "mental-age" which should correspond with the physical age), a child may be asked whether it is a boy or a girl: or made to point to its nose, mouth, etc. Such tests are taken individually. Of group-tests the Analogy is a favourite form. The age of these is not stated. E. g.,

Sky is to ground as ceiling is to—?

Gas? Wall? Floor? Chandelier?

(2) Standardised scholastic tests, based on average performance. This is simply the application of the mental age method to ordinary school examinations. Dr. Adami quite rightly refused to sign at this place, as these are not truly psychological.

(3) Vocational Tests. The advantage of these is obvious. No one would like to travel behind an engine-driver who had not been tested to see whether he could distinguish red from green.

(4) Test of mental activities of a specialised kind, as memory, attention, etc. This is Laboratory work, and we may expect it to be developed for selectional purposes by our industrialists.

(5) Certain purely physical tests, which are now largely discredited by scientists.

(6) Tests of temperament and character, not yet sufficiently developed to give any clear results.

Of these six types, by far the most important is the first. These have been in existence long enough now to enable their value to be estimated. Their chief use is at the two extremes, with defective or precocious children. They are also found very reliable in sparsely populated countries like Northumberland, in allotting the free entries to the Secondary Schools. The difference of opportunity and background is often so great that the ordinary examination proves most unfair. All the dangers and objections are carefully considered, in fact modesty is a striking feature of this book.

These conditions apply even more forcibly in India and it would be an excellent thing if all educationalists would buy this very cheap book and start investigating without waiting for the authorities. It is impossible to realise the recommendation of the Committee that the work should be under the care of trained psychologists. We have always to be content with the second best in India. The tests will want a great deal of adaptation to make them correspond to the background of the Indian. In the English classes there must be two mental ages, English student and Vernacular; and if the tests are carried on through the colleges, much light may be thrown on the psychology of bilingualism.

WALTER O. FITCH.



## RURAL ECONOMICS.

**THE PUNJAB PEASANT.** By MALCOLM L. B. DARLING. (Oxford University Press) 19.5. 9 x 6. pp. 298. Rs. 9

ONE of the main results of militant Indian nationalism has been the relegation of the agriculture problem, to the background so much so that its solution is left entirely in official hands. The indebtedness of the Indian peasant is almost a by-word and various attempts have been made to suggest remedies for it. Mr. Darling's is the latest. He has attempted to survey the position of agricultural debt in the Punjab and its causes and has suggested some remedies.

Mr. Darling starts with certain assumptions. The first is his undisguised admiration of the western civilization and his belief in the benefits of the British *Raj*. The second is his equally undisguised contempt of things native. These lead him to assume a high, and at times a very unsympathetic, tone. He fails to appreciate the work of the predecessors of the British Government as a link in the chain of Indian social development, and his left-handed compliments to the Sikh and Muhammadan governments detract from rather than add to the value of the book.

The first seven chapters are an excellent survey of the existing conditions. The province is divided into six portions. The extent and intensity of debt is ably surveyed. The racial characteristics of the different people are clearly brought out. The causes of debt are cleverly analysed. Perhaps the best chapter in the whole book is the one on Canal Colonies. There the theme is made for the author's hand. There is no achievement in India of which the British Government might be more proud than the creation of Canal Colonies. Perhaps they are the most prosperous, happy and contented piece of land in the whole of India. Mr. Darling himself was one of the men who helped to create them and is therefore in a position to speak authoritatively.

The last six chapters are a survey of causes and remedies. The most picturesque of them is the one dealing with the money-lender. Mr. Darling has done well to assign sixty pages to the subject. The money-lender has more often than not been the ruin of the agriculturist. His greed and his slovenly methods repel one. Yet Mr. Darling's contention is that the money-lender to a great extent is a necessity, and unless replaced by better institutions, he must continue to exist—a contention which he advances, with much force, in favour of the extension of co-operation in the province.

The British Government has for a long time adopted the policy of protecting the peasant from the money-lender and as a result have passed a number of Tenancy and Land Alienation Acts. Mr. Darling shows a total lack of sympathy with these. He believes that the town land-owner is a better agriculturist than the rural one. No one, we believe, will agree with Mr. Darling, when he sympathises with the replacement of the latter by the former, if only through a realisation of the immense problems which will arise as a consequence of such a change. But another of Mr. Darling's contentions is more useful. The framers and promoters of the Land Alienation legislation fail to appreciate the dangers of the rise of an agricultural money-lender class. Unless care is taken, the latter might be even more dangerous, for he will be protected from law.

It will be useful to give Mr. Darling's summary of the causes of indebtedness as their application is universal rather than being restricted to the Punjab. The fragmentation of land, huge expenditure on marriages, funerals and litigation, and cattle mortality are well-known causes. To them Mr. Darling

adds another, the ease with which one can borrow from the money-lender because of the expansion of credit. For all these causes Mr. Darling suggests one remedy, viz. the extension of co-operation in its various forms. But his final note is one of warning against a spread of prosperity without the training to use it in the right way.

There is another side of the book which is instructive. Nobody can detract from the great praise justly won by the co-operative societies in the Punjab, specially under the able guidance of Mr. Calvert. But after a study of the present book one cannot help feeling that there is room for improvement. If the aim of the British Government in India is to give autonomy to India, there is no movement more ripe than the present one, no department more fruitful than the Co-operative Department, in which to fuse the spirit of Indianisation. Mr. Darling's above-quoted assumptions, however, preclude him from taking an unbiased view of the situation. In fact, the official view, so long as it is not Indian, is bound to be narrow. Mr. Darling, for instance, believes that demobilised soldiers are better off than the rest of the peasants. But an analytic survey of the situation will convince one that the view is a dangerous fallacy. The war has struck a fatal blow at Punjab agriculture. Its effects will be clear only in the future, but one can always find the war-demobilised seeking for a paltry employment or drinking himself to premature death. It has for the first time created a serious unemployment problem in the Punjab—and all the dissensions in and sufferings of the province could be traced to this root. In fact, the agricultural problem is becoming more and more intricate, and one of the most fatal failings of Indian nationalism is its apathy to the agricultural question. The book, if any thing, is a powerful appeal to the public to attend to the village. Will this also go unheeded?

M. MUSHTAQ AHMED,

## MISSIONARY STUDIES.

**THE HIGHWAY OF GOD:** a Study of some Contemporary Movements in Africa and the East. By KATHLEEN HARNETT and WILLIAM PATON. 2s. 6d.

**THE RIDDLE OF NEARER ASIA.** By BASIL MATHEWS.

**CREATIVE FORCES IN JAPAN.** By GALEN M. FISHER. 3s. 6d. (All published by the United Council for Missionary Education, Edinburgh House, Sloane Square, London.)

THESE three books, all issuing from the United Council for Missionary Education, are indicative of the change which has come over missionary publications during the last twenty or thirty years. Missionary literature at the end of last century was mainly of a kind which appealed to those little groups of devout Christian enthusiasts who formed the mainstay of the missionary propaganda. Its outlook was limited. It dealt with little beyond the stories, often graphically told, of the lives of missionaries heroes, with some account of the bizarre manners and inhuman customs of the races to whom they went. In such lives there was romance and adventure in abundance, but so there is in most story-books. Such tales often made excellent novels, but there was little or no appreciation of the place which the whole missionary campaign was to take in the shaping of modern history; and it would be difficult to imagine the statesman, or even the College student, of those days sitting down to a serious study of such books.

Now all this is changed. Books like those which we have before us are statesmanlike studies of con-

temporary world-movements. They are written for students and thinkers, and aim at showing the relation of the missionary enterprise to the other forces which are shaping the destinies of the nations, and the attitude which the Christian should adopt to the political, social and moral questions of the day. Edinburgh House, London, from which these publications issue, (the name recalls the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, which inaugurated a new era of co-operation in missionary work among the various Protestant Christian denominations) is the Geneva of the Missionary Societies. Its opinion is consulted by the British and other Governments, and sometimes carries decisive weight, in large questions of foreign policy; and such books as these are real contributions to the understanding of present-day problems.

Miss Harnett's and Mr. Paton's book was written in preparation for the Glasgow Conference of the Student Christian Movement in 1921. Even four years in these times is enough to make any 'study of contemporary movements' out of date; and it says not a little for the insight and foresight of the two authors that their work is well worth studying even now for fresh light upon the situation in 'Africa and the East.' The following description of the Non-Co-operation Movement, written when that movement was still young, by writers neither of whom had visited India, shows surely much of clear-sighted understanding:

'The actual scheme of non-co-operation, though opposed, at least in part, by much of the most weighty Indian political opinion, is not to be lightly dismissed as mere froth. Behind it there is Mr. M. K. Gandhi, perhaps the most remarkable figure in India to-day, and one of the most remarkable figures in the world. He is an ascetic, deeply imbued with the ancient Indian ideals of life, utterly unselfish and unworldly, utterly courageous, and with a long record of service behind him. It is not too much to say that he is deeply revered by millions. The movement he has initiated may, as a concrete scheme, entirely break down, but it is none the less deeply significant that such a movement could develop on the very eve of the inauguration of the Government of India Reforms scheme. It indicates a very wide-spread and deep-rooted resentment against British rule and distrust of the honesty and goodwill of the Government.'

Mr. Basil Mathews' book on 'Nearer Asia' appeared in 1918, and since then the whole situation in the Moslem world has been so profoundly modified that the book is of little value to-day as a study of modern movements; but since the bulk of the book is taken up with an outline of the earlier history of the lands from the Nile to the Euphrates, it still has value as an historical introduction. Certainly no one could find Mr. Mathews' book dull. Indeed the painting is at times a trifle too vivid for true art, and recalls rather forcibly the title of the same author's more recent book 'The clash of colour.' But we prefer this to grey monotony.

Certainly the most important of the books before us, not only because of its more recent date (1923.) but also because of its fuller treatment of the conditions in a single country, is Mr. Galen Fisher's 'Creative Forces in Japan.' It is characteristic of the new missionary outlook to which we referred above that, of its six chapters, only two are directly concerned with the missionary enterprise. The earlier chapters deal with political, industrial, and social conditions, and show a masterly handling of the facts. A few extracts will indicate something of the author's manner, and the importance of the facts he

has marshalled. Take the following, for example, in illustration of the recent decline of militarism:

'The Imperial Military Academy, which before the War had picked its students from among thousands of applicants, in 1919 could muster only one hundred and ten for the entering class, though the number sought was two hundred. For a generation, the army had been able to attract the cleverest youths, but to-day they pass it by and turn to business and the professions. The quick response of the Japanese militaristic barometer to foreign example and pressure was once more clearly shown in 1920, after the European powers had themselves betrayed liberalism at Versailles and America had belied her traditions and imposed an inquisition on freedom of speech and assemblage. The reactionaries in Japan taunted the liberals with pinning their faith to painted gods, the screws of repression were again tightened, and the militarists were given a new lease of life.'

The following quotation about the conditions of labour in the mills is illuminating:

'The condition of young women employed in the spinning mills is particularly shocking. Of some 700,000 women employed in them to-day, over 75 per cent. must live in dormitories furnished by the mill-owners, in dark and dismal common-rooms without any ventilation. Bathing and toilet facilities are better imagined than described. They all sleep together in these huge, prison-like places. Two or three girls sleep together on one large mattress supplied by the factory, and in summer or winter only one thin inadequate covering is given them. The girls go to bed with their clothes on in winter in order to keep warm. As they work in day and night shifts, the mattresses are in use without rest, day and night.'

So also with conditions in the mines:—

'In 1917 the number of women employed in the mines of Japan was 70,000. To-day that number is greater by over 60,000. Most of them are between sixteen and twenty years of age, and they work in the pits along with the men. Very few women are employed in gold, silver, and copper mines, but most of them in the coalmines. Twenty per cent. of all the labourers in the coal mines to-day are women. They are usually employed to carry baskets filled in the pits. They work in the bowels of the earth, naked like the man, wearing only a little breach clout. There is no ventilation and no discipline in their surroundings. They are so like animals that they can hardly be called human.'

We have only room for one more quotation, and that is to indicate the sympathetic attitude which Mr. Galen takes up towards other faiths, whilst not doubting that Japan needs the help which Christ can bring:

'The true missionary, takes as his mottoes, "I came not to destroy but to fulfil" and "I am come that they might have life and have it abundantly." He will therefore judge other faiths by their best rather than by their worst. He will unfeignedly rejoice over every evidence of their power to bless human life and bring forth the unmistakable fruits of the Spirit. Then having discovered where the older faiths leave the Japanese seeker groping or impotent, the Christian will leap to share with him the secret which he has himself tasted, of Christ the Open Door, the perennial Fountain.'

It seems to us that our author, whilst being true to these principles in his treatment of Shinto, has failed to appreciate the true beauty of Buddhism and the contribution which it may make to the

Christian Church. Perhaps it is easier for us in the homeland of the Buddha to understand his greatness than it is for those who live in lands where his faith has spread only at the cost of many perversions.

J. C. WINSLOW.

### UNIONIST AND SEPARATIST.

**ANNALS OF AN ACTIVE LIFE.** By General SIR NEVIL MACREADY. Vols 2. (Hutchinson, London.) 1924. 9½ x 6. pp. 694; 425.

**THE VICTORY OF SINN FEIN.** By P. S. O'HEGARTY. (Talbot Press, Dublin.) 1924. 7½ x 6. pp. 219. 5s.

GENERAL MACREADY'S life from early youth onward has been active in a very real sense. He has seen the Egyptian war, the Boer war, and the great European War; he has held important positions in the War Office; he was the Commander-in-Chief of Ireland during the stormiest period of her political history. He was specially deputed to deal with the great coal strike in South Wales, and was appointed Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police during the police strike of 1918. In connection with the Boer war he relates an anecdote illustrative of the soreness felt by the British soldier at the high rates of pay given to the Colonials, alongside of whom he was serving. Some British soldiers were working their way along the path and presently came some Natal Volunteers retiring towards them. One of the Colonials called out 'Go on Jock; we'll support you.' The wag of the company without hesitation flung back, 'You hairy—, you get seven bobs a day, and do as you—well, please; we get a shilling and do as we are told.' One wonders if similar unholy sentiments do not occur to the minds of Indian soldiers. In 1913 General Macready was sent to Ulster to report in regard to the failure of the police during the late disturbances and on matters connected with military administration. From the time that Home Rule for Ireland became a political issue in England, agitation at first on purely constitutional lines, manifested itself in Ulster, among the descendants of the borders planted in the North by the Stuart kings. Ulster unionism gradually became more violent. England, while simulating discomfort, never made any serious effort to tame the Ulster shrew. The military activities of the Ulster Volunteer Force, the gun-running in Ulster within official knowledge, the active sympathy with Ulster of the Conservative party and of many high placed responsible officers in the British government, the refusal of army officers to serve when ordered against Ulstermen, are parts of the sordid tale of England's latter day Irish administration. It must be said in fairness that General Macready was against the Ulster policy of the government. But the intensity and the nature of disapproval will be apparent from the following anecdote which he relates. 'Knowing that our chauffeur took part now and again in gun-running expeditions, we used, before getting into the car, to appear surprised at the mud on the wheels and with mook solemnity examine it and then agree that we recognised as the same soil we had noticed at such and such a place naming a place where we knew the gun-runners had been active during the night. Several times we hit the right nail on the head and our chauffeur was not quite comfortable.' The Ulster Volunteer Force in the North helped into existence the Irish Volunteers in the South and the object lessons in gun-running were quickly learnt by their Southern neighbours. General Macready was appointed C-in-C of Ireland in March 1920. The

situation in Ireland was almost as bad as could be imagined. On hearing of the appointment, one of his friends wrote to him 'Going to Ireland? Now do take care. The devils don't play cricket just now' and on his periodical appearance among his friends in a London Club, he was uniformly greeted every time with 'Hullo, so glad to see you alive!' General Macready went to Ireland 'to keep the flag flying and to reconquer her if necessary.' The whole period of his stay in Ireland was marked by the most intensive campaign of murder and repression. The 'Black and Tans' who were sent to establish law and order in Ireland derived their name from their uniform. Owing to the difficulty of clothing these recruits in the dark green uniform of the Royal Irish Constabulary they were fitted out in khaki service dress with dark green caps and black leather belts of the R. I. C. From the accounts which the General gives one gets the impression that they were lilies cast among Irish briars. Putting reprisals within inverted commas does not and cannot explain them away, and one has only to read the proceedings of the House of Commons of the years 1920-21 to get an idea of what these official reprisals were like. For months together a thick mist of murder and repression enveloped the land. Towards the close of the year 1921 the mist appeared to clear a little. A truce was declared and an agreement was reached between the British Government and these Sinn Fein leaders on December 6, 1921. On December 17, the Union Jack was hauled down from the flagstaff in Dublin Castle. 'The curtain fell on the Irish drama in which the British troops had played their parts for 250 years.' The same day General Mulcahy after hoisting the Free State flag told his Sinn Fein compatriots that 'the incubus of occupation that had lain as a heavy load on their country had been removed that morning.'

The "Victory of Sinn Fein" is a confession—a confession of the failure and the penalties of treating freedom as merely external and soulless. In writing this book Mr O'Hegarty has shown remarkable courage. He firmly believes that "No 'Settlement' is or can be final except separation from England." But he does not believe that the policy of Mr. De Valera will ever lead to it. In passionate and indignant words he accuses De Valera of moral cowardice, lying and treachery. The Irish Republican Party of to-day, he says, "was founded on a lie upon which it still stands, the lie that the fifty-seven Deputies who voted against the Treaty were noble heroes who never agreed to any modification of the demand for independence, who never knew in the period between the Truce and the Treaty that there was any question of such a modification." Mr. O'Hegarty exposes this lie and shatters it to pieces. "He (De Valera) knew when he went over to see Mr. Lloyd George that he would not be discussing independence with him, and he knew when he came back just how far Mr. Lloyd George was likely to go. He knew when the plenipotentiaries went over, that they could not bring back independence and he opposed every attempt in the Dail to bind them to independence or to limit their powers. But in the final hour he changed. He stabbed in the back the men he had sent over to do what they had done, knowing well what was the most they could accomplish, knowing well that they had accomplished more than he or anybody else had deemed possible when he sent them over, knowing well that although the actual signature was of Griffith the real signature was that of De Valera, that the Treaty was in reality his creation more than that of any other Irishman. In the annals of political treachery there is no parallel to that." For the civil war Mr O'Hegarty lays the whole blame on Mr. De Valera.

Whatever may have been its proximate cause "the real cause was Mr. De Velera's refusal to accept majority decision, his appeal to violence, his rejection of democratic procedure, his formation of a terrorist army and his failure to control that army." "Sinn Fein in its pre-1916 days" says Mr. O'Hegarty "was a simple straightforward moral movement. It was ascetic and clean. Its material was good and its influence was all good." Later all this changed. A complete moral collapse followed "When it was open to any volunteer commandant to order the shooting of any civilian and to cover himself with the laconic legend 'spy' on the dead man's breast, personal security vanished and no man's life was safe. And when it was possible for the same commandant to steal goods and legalise the act by calling it 'commandeering' and to burn and destroy goods and legalise that by saying they were Belfast or English goods, social security vanished. With the vanishing of reason and principle and morality we became a mob and a mob we remained. And for mob there was only one law—gun law. So the gunman became supreme, and the only thing that counted in Ireland was force. Thence forward there was no consideration, no reason and no argument, nothing but blind obedience to somebody above." Mr. O'Hegarty is very bitter with the part that women played in the civil war. "They became practically unsexed. Their mother's milk blackened to make gun powder. It was a woman who said even before the treaty vote was taken, "If no man be found to shoot Mick Collins, I'll shoot him myself" The following passages deserve to be widely read in this country: "There are certain things which should not be done even to obtain freedom. We did them and seemed to succeed, and we went on doing them. *We have paid.* And we must get away—we are getting away—from all that worship of physical force, contempt for life, for decency, for charity, and tolerance, which have made our country a moral and physical slaughter-house." "We must discover work and rediscover honesty. We must rediscover the Duties of Man and bury the illusory Rights of Man deep down with the conception of force as arbiter of political quarrels. We must above all rediscover the Soul of Man which we have fouled and bloodied, and bruised." Mr. O'Hegarty's book is not a bewailment—it is an indictment.

J. B. SEN.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

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