

# THE Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

*The late Mr. Das.* WE regret to have to record the death of Mr. C. R. Das. The news that we had been receiving of his condition did not by any means prepare us for the blow. A great figure has disappeared from the field of contemporary affairs. That politics in Bengal will undergo a change is not saying much, but the deceased was also President of the All India Swarajist party and Leader of the political side of Congress activity. The course of Indian politics cannot remain unaffected. His principles and methods evoked strong opposition not only from the political point of view, but from the ethical. In fact few men in recent public life in our country have been the subject of such bitter controversy. An appraisal of his work and character is not possible in this issue, but we cannot forbear to give expression to our sense of the loss that India has sustained.

*Efficiency of Indian Officials.* AT a banquet recently given to him in Mysore Mr. Barton, who has been Resident there for the last five years and is now transferred to Hyderabad, paid the following tribute to the Mysore Civil Service:

I take this opportunity of paying a tribute of esteem to the Mysore Civil Service. It is inspired throughout by His Highness's example and ideals of service. Its esprit de corps and its traditions would do credit to any service in the world. Speaking as an Englishman, I am proud that one of their ideals has been to maintain the standard of the British Commission from which they took over responsibility 44 years ago. They have loyally supported the policy of the Mysore Government in associating the people of the State more closely with the administration. The success of representative institutions depends very lar-

gely on an efficient Civil Service and I think the people of Mysore may safely rely on their Civil Service to help them in the path of progress. My association with the Mysore Civil Service and the friendships that I have formed with many of the members will be one of the happiest memories that I shall take away with me from Mysore.

This tribute from a high representative of the British Government, himself a member of the I. C. S. with more than thirty years' service to his credit in executive, judicial and political capacities, is of special value, as it shows that Indians, if only given opportunities, will conform to the highest British standards, without the so-called supporting steel-frame of the British element in the civil service of British India. Indian public men had never any doubt about this, but Mr. Barton's unequivocal testimony should set at rest the doubts of those honest well-wishers of India who, not having any experience of their own about the capacity of Indians, are easily misled by the distorted accounts of interested Anglo-Indian opponents to self-government for India.

\* \* \*

*Security of Life and—* THE Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar have issued a communique which purports to correct the 'distorted and grossly exaggerated' accounts of the recent occurrence at Nimuohana—which correspondents in some newspapers have not hesitated to characterise as worse than Jallianwala, putting the number of killed at about six hundred and of wounded considerably higher—while according to the communique only two were killed and four wounded of whom one died subsequently. The circumstances that led to the occurrence are set forth in the communique. Briefly, there was resettlement in two talukas, the cultivators of which objected to the new rates. 'Meetings were held contrary to the State regulations' and when a commission was sent to hear complaints, none came forward. Subsequently a meeting was announced to be held near Nimuohana, 'to which cultivators were asked to come with arms.' This was prohibited by the State authorities, but as it was not abandoned, the sessions judge and the inspector-general of police went there with a detachment of troops and tried to disperse the crowd. The latter refused, 'came within dangerous proximity of the troops and some of the mob fired.' Then troops returned fire with the result mentioned above. With every desire to trust the accuracy of this version, one is puzzled at two points. Would anybody be so foolish as to ask people to attend a meeting with arms, and when troops fire on a thick mob would the casualties be so low as two dead and

four wounded? His Highness's Government seems to be very much misinformed on both these points.

THE communique says that 'an enquiry has been instituted into the origin and cause of the agitation.'

This is obviously unsatisfactory, as there is nothing to show that it is an open and not a merely official enquiry, and as it does not extend to the justification or otherwise of the firing at Nimuchana. An enquiry into the latter is immensely more urgent, as it concerns the very right to live of the subjects concerned. The communique, moreover, speaks of this agitation as 'disloyal' and attributes it to the persistent attempts of outside agitators to stir up disaffection among the Rajput cultivators &c.; so that one can easily guess how the enquiry will end. We in British India are only too familiar with these expressions 'disloyal' and 'disaffection' and know only too well what extraordinary meanings are imported into them by the authorities. But in Indian States even more extraordinary meanings are imported: criticism of a ruler's extravagance or administration, agitation for constitutional reforms and even a protest meeting are often considered disloyal actions. Yet it is difficult to imagine what disloyalty there can be in an Indian State, unless there be a movement to dethrone the ruler, which in the nature of things is impossible. Disaffection and disloyalty are therefore meaningless words when applied to movements in Indian States. A very important question arising from this occurrence is: What notice are the Government of India taking of it? It is not a matter to which the overworked theory of non-intervention can apply. It is a matter into which the Government of India are bound to enquire. Will they be satisfied with the hole and corner enquiry of the Durbar or will they insist upon an open and impartial enquiry being made, with one or more of their own nominees taking part in it, and on its findings take suitable steps to safeguard common political rights to the subjects of Indian States?

WE welcome the announcement made by the Raja of Panagal, Chief Minister of Madras, that out of the surplus funds of the Tirupathi temple a University on the lines of the Benares Hindu University will soon be constituted at Tirupathi. The temple has an enormous income of Rs. 17 to Rs. 18 lakhs a year, while the necessary expenditure amounts only to Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 lakhs a year. Part of the surplus is now spent on luxuries and part on the maintenance of two high schools and other educational institutions, but even so there is an accumulated sum of about Rs. 40 lakhs, which, thanks to the provisions of the Religious Endowments Act, can now be utilised for a useful purpose. It is gratifying to learn that the Mahant, who is the sole trustee of the shrine, is not opposed to the project and there will of course be no opposition from any section of the public. The Chief Minister is not allowing the grass to grow under his feet and already one of the Commissioners of the Board created by the Endowments Act is busy with preliminary investigations. A special feature of this proposed University will be the study of Ayurveda and the ancient system of engineering. We wish the scheme every success and hope that, combined with the excellent beginning which the Commissioners of the Board have made in discharging their duties, it will dispel the ill-founded fears

entertained by the opponents of the Act and induce them to co-operate heartily with the Commissioners.

THE Poona Seva Sadan Society is to be congratulated on having brought out an excellent little publication called "Talks on Infant Welfare." The talks are addressed to mothers by an imaginary magic lantern lecturer. He shows 73 slides, which are reproduced in the booklet, and explains them briefly. The slides are specially prepared, so as to illustrate the conditions of life prevailing in this part of the country, and are well conceived and well arranged. They convey a good deal of useful information in a simple and natural manner. For example, we are told that the incidence of septic or child-bed fever is twenty per cent. in cases handled by *dais*, whereas it is only about two per cent. in cases attended by trained midwives. It is a book which every home should possess. It is very neatly got up by the Times Press, Bombay, is dedicated to Lady Reading and contains a foreward by Lady Wilson. It is priced Rs. 1-8-0, no doubt on account of the illustrations. But if it is to attain the popularity it deserves, the price should be considerably reduced—in fact we would suggest that it be made only nominal. We hope the vernacular editions of the book will be soon produced.

THE rise in the price of rubber from less than one to more than three shillings per pound within a few months is having widespread consequences. The U. S. Department of Commerce, *alias* Mr. Hoover, not so long ago declared that, at the ruling prices, the British debt to America would be paid off merely by extra profits on the Malayan rubber exports to the United States; and we have seen it calculated that raw rubber will cost American manufacturers in 1925 \$40 crores, when the same requirements in 1924 were met by an outlay of \$18½ crores. *Reuter* now broadcasts a manifesto from Akron, the American rubber centre, according to which "Anglo-American commercial relations will be strained owing to the British rubber restriction, necessitating international correspondence" and threats are being breathed about "breaking the British monopoly of crude rubber." In fact, the *Rubber Association of America* has lost its temper, as well it may, having seen its raw material rise during the last three years from 11 c. per lb to 78 c., with a prospect of it reaching soon \$1. This moral indignation is distinctly humorous, coming as it does from the great land of Trust philanthropists and Big Business idealists, the large-hearted and justice-loving inventors of "corners"—in wheat, in cotton, in petroleum. On the other hand it is equally humorous to find that firm anti-Socialist champion, Mr. Churchill, introducing this Rubber Restriction scheme and two Governments of Mr. Baldwin's subsequently upholding this gigantic experiment in State Socialism. Where one's humour begins to run short, is when one finds the Malayan governments spending money like water on a special excise service to make the Restriction scheme possible, and the private investors and gamblers in rubber reaping all the profits therefrom. State Socialism is of course quite alright, as long as it means spending public money on "private enterprise"; it is obviously utterly pernicious nonsense, as soon as it means taking the profits out of the watering mouths of "private enterprise." And what about the wages of the producers themselves? Rubber has gone up from 1s. to 3s. per lb.; has the day wage of Indian estate labourers also gone up from 33 cents to \$1? As the elegant phrase has it—we don't think.

### RACE-GAMBLING AND THE TURF CLUB'S LICENSE.

ONE of the outstanding acts of Lord Sydenham as Governor of Bombay was the practical check put by him upon the growing evil of gambling on the race-course, which resulted from bookmakers' practices. His Government had the whole Indian community at their back when they brought in the bill for dealing with the undisguised gambling which went on in the name of sport; and his Lordship is gratefully remembered for his courageous stand in enacting the Bombay Race Course Licensing Act (1912) in the teeth of the opposition of wealthy and influential race-goers and at the risk of losing his popularity with a majority of his own community, who as a rule see no harm in this form of betting.

After his Lordship's departure, however, succeeding Governors and their Governments have not, to say the least, been equally vigilant to maintain, much less to tighten, the restrictions contemplated by the Act of 1912. These Governors have even given indirect encouragement to the objectionable activities of the Turf Club by attending races in State and in other ways which it is unnecessary to detail here. The result is that, what with second and third enclosures, special trains at reduced fares and other devices, gambling by means of the totalizator has increased to enormous proportions, and the Turf Club earns lakhs of rupees which it can afford to spend in giving away magnificent trophies and such like prizes, in laying out fascinating gardens and lawns and erecting a palatial club, and even in doles to public charities as truth compels us to acknowledge. All these are so many more attractions for the rich, but no less unfortunately for the poor, and it is in the interest of the latter class that we are forced to raise our voice.

We make bold to say that as a result of this policy of the Turf Club, the size of the crowds and the aggregate of stakes won and lost every year in Bombay and Poona surpass anything that was experienced before Lord Sydenham thought it necessary to bring in his enactment. But not content with this, an agitation is now on foot to bring in the bookmakers again, although it was mainly to keep them out that the act was passed, and they are expressly disallowed by terms of the license annually granted to the Turf Club. Instead however of summarily rejecting such a scandalous suggestion, Government it is said, have more than toyed with it, and have allowed hopes to be raised that it may be favourably reconsidered. And now there is open talk of a bill being brought in for readmitting bookmakers to the race course. Strange to say, the name of Mr. Baptista is coupled with this proposal, and as he has not instantly contradicted the report, as might have been expected from him, we can but assume that it is a fact.

We would in all earnestness ask Mr. Baptista, who has so far been a noted champion of mill-hands and such other humble classes generally, whether

he is not aware of the ruin and demoralisation race-course betting has brought and is bringing every year upon many a man of the classes he champions. It is impossible that he should deny it if he is really in touch with their lives. We feel sure that Mr. Baptista will think better of his sponsorship of such a pernicious bill, but we are at any rate convinced that a large majority of the Indian members of the Legislative Council will without a moment's hesitation throw out the bill, whatever may be the plausibility of Mr. Baptista or his well-to-do friends.

Even apart from such a bill, however, the Executive may, it seems, omit the restrictive clause about bookmakers from the Turf Club's license. We would earnestly appeal to the Government to refrain from such a retrograde and disastrous step. On the contrary it is highly desirable that the Government should recognise the growth of gambling on the totalizator, and we would point out to them that it is very necessary to impose further restrictions. The time has come to cut down the number of meetings, to disallow the reduction of the price of tota tickets to under Rs. 10 and to disapprove the running of special trains at less than ordinary fares. We further strongly object to the permission given to sell Rs. 100 tickets or an unlimited number of tickets to any one person. Let it rather be laid down in the license that no more than four tickets of Rs. 10 each, one for win and one for each place—can be sold to any individual for any one race. These restrictions would put a wholesome check upon the gambling spirit which is at present encouraged to grow apace, and more especially save those who with little money to lose in their pockets, are tempted to stake all on illusory hopes of gain.

We trust this question will be taken up by public bodies, so that Government may realise the strength of public opinion on this subject. The matter should also be brought up in the Legislative Council before any relaxation is made by Government in the terms of the License. Let it be understood that Indians are wholly averse to the Western vice of gambling on the turf, on the cricket and football field, and all such forms of betting which are wholly foreign to this country. For even without such betting, we can wholeheartedly participate in *genuine* sport and manly games of all kinds.

### NATURE AND MAN.

EVOLUTIONISM therefore fails, and if Evolutionism, Materialism, too, for which it was intended to provide a scientific basis. They fail, because they cannot explain the origin of dissimilarity in a world *ex hypothesi* homogeneous; they fail again, because they cannot explain why existing dissimilarities should persist along lines of rigid regularity, they fail a third time, because they cannot account for the grading of these dissimilarities into a hierarchy of inanimate, living, sentient and rational beings.

The Monism of Materialist Philosophy failed, because it could not account for the facts; the

Monism of Idealist Philosophy had failed, because its disparagement of the facts of an objective world is an outrage of commonsense, which indignantly asks why, if the world of sense is *maya*, this Idealist Monism itself deserves not much more to be called *maya*. What then? Is after all a Hegelian "higher synthesis" the only way out of the *impasse*? I trow not: rather would I ask my reader to retrace his steps and see, how and where exactly the dilemma "Spiritualism or Materialism" has arisen. Descartes, as we saw at the outset, departed from the current Anthropology of his time by laying stress on the soul to the detriment of the body and thereby turned Anthropology into Psychology: with the result that today the term Anthropology has been appropriated for the science of man's body—one claiming that man is his body, another that man is his consciousness. What then is this principle of philosophy which looked upon man as *one*; and why did Descartes depart from it?

The philosophy is old and goes by the name of Aristotle; its principle is that man is not an odd assembly of two "substances", one the conscious soul, the other the three dimensional body, but that he forms one single compound "substance". As Cardinal Mercier so luminously explains it\*: "I am a thinking being, said Descartes. True. But I am more. I have it in me to think: but the whole of my nature is not to think... There is a real difference between the substantial ego and its acts, between the substance and its faculties." No created substance acts *a se*, of its own: it needs powers, faculties, through which it may act. Therefore every substantial being has inherent in it latent capacities and potentialities, which it may or may not turn into actuality. A being, John Smith, is a substantial being with the capacity for rational thought, though, until John Smith is one month old, he is incapable of anything but pure reflex action and automatism: he is and remains John Smith, at one month, one year, one hundred years. His faculty of consciousness may function at one time, and not at another: but, day or night, sober or drunk, John Smith remains John Smith. Rather simple and commonplace, you say? Quite so: but then we Scholastics think that true philosophy should not start by contradicting commonsense, but rather must confirm, explain and eventually amplify it. So we hold, that first of all, whatever exists, is itself: to that "substantial reality" other, "accidental," realities are added. Accidents may change, but each "substance" is fixed and determined in its nature: a substantial being may cease to be; but as long as it is, it cannot cease being itself and change into something else.

That substantial being which we call man is therefore endowed with certain powers—of sentience, locomotion, appetite, volition and intelligence; powers which issue in acts and only become manifest as acts of the body. Man in fact is the body as "informed" by the soul. What does "informed" mean? It means that since man is not merely the sum total of all the molecules that go to make up his body and which constitute, so to speak, the raw material of his body, but rather is that totality of molecules arranged, disposed, organized in a definite, determined manner, so as to make it alive and self-determining: man is 'raw material' (*hyle* in Greek, i. e. *stuff* or *matter*) plus 'form' (*morphe* in Greek, i. e. *determinant*); the 'raw material' being mere potentiality and only receiving existence, when it is 'informed' by a principle (organic, vital and rational in the case of man), which 'determines' it to be what it is. This 'hyle-morphic' explanation of course applies not only to man, but equally to all other corporeal beings—

whether mineral, vegetable or animal. In every case the potentiality of raw material is determined: whether the 'raw material' of indeterminate oxygen and hydrogen molecules by the 'form' of water, or the 'raw material' of albuminoids by the 'form' of protoplasm or the 'raw material' of protoplasm by the 'form' of sparrow. And this Hylemorphism, it will be noted, alone explains all the facts, viz. how with a constitutive duality of quantity and quality, of determinable and determinant, of matter and form, there can go the substantial unity of the concrete individual. Thus also Hylemorphism acknowledges, not 'motion', as Materialism does, but the existence of different kinds of motion. If all is mechanical movement, whence the differences between electricity, heat, pull? If all is homogeneous at the start, how can the heterogeneous arise at all? We are back at the ultimate problem which no Monism can explain: and it cannot explain it, because it formulates it wrongly. What wants explaining, is not the diversity, but the unity of things. Monism posits a first uniformity and naturally fails to deduce therefrom variety. Hylemorphism begins with the diversity of things and then naturally succeeds in abstracting therefrom an underlying unity.

Hylemorphism of course to-day is *a priori* suspect, because to-day we are still under the influence of a Progressivist ideology. For Modernism is but a bye-product of Progressivism: if things get better and better all the while, the subsequent of course must necessarily be superior to the antecedent. Hence Modernism excommunicates Antiquity, not because it is false, but because it belongs to a century not our own. Which fortunately reassures one that—on its own showing—Modernism too must soon be proved false! Hylemorphism, I said, to-day is still being sniffed at, for no better reason than because it was formulated 2500 years ago: but to those who can divest themselves of this curious modernist superstition, the reason seems hardly sufficient. What they, what we all, want to know is—Is it true? Euclid's geometry, one remembers, dates from the same period: has the relationship of the hypotenuse to the other two sides of a rectangular triangle changed, one wonders, during these last 2500 years of 'progress'? To a mentality that "measures the value of man's life on earth in dollars and miles and horse power, ancient Greece must naturally count as a poverty-stricken and a minute territory", as Gilbert Murray says.\* But for those of us, who would fain know what truth is, it is Greece we first of all turn to, not because it is 2500 years old, nor because it is modern, but because "the conception of Truth as an end to pursue for its own sake, a thing to discover and puzzle out by experiment and imagination and especially by reason, a conception essentially allied with that of Freedom and opposed both to anarchy and to blind obedience, has perhaps never in the world been more clearly grasped than by the early Greek writers on science and philosophy."\*\* We turn to Greece, because Greek culture is essentially truthful: hence in art its beauty is one of structure and not of ornament; of rightness, economy and simplicity, and not of sophistication. Hence in literature it shuns superlatives, unless they are meant, and metaphors, unless they are vividly realized. In daily life, it subsisted on a diet of bread, olives and wine, with a frugality and "low standard of life", which makes our age stand aghast. In medicine, it calls its practitioners "naturalists" (the literal meaning of

\* in introducing an altogether delightful *symposium* on "The Legacy of Greece," edited by R. W. Livingstone. (Oxford University Press, 1922. 7½ x 5. pp. xli & 424. 7s. 6d.)

\*\* Ibid. p. 22.

\* l. c. pp. 292 & 297.

physician from *physis*, nature) and insists on their being humble observers of nature if they would be faithful servants of the sick. But the Hippocratic oath—the standard of medical professional ethic of all ages—puts the patient first and makes his physician not an inhuman investigator, but the healer of suffering humanity. The Greek artist is truthful: but not with the truthfulness of photography. "He has not the impersonality of that method or its flat and lifeless effect. A man, and no machine, makes the picture, feeling intensely what he sees, yet able, with a spontaneous, effortless truthfulness, to forget himself in the vision", as R. W. Livingstone† so finely puts it. "The Greek" he continues, "starting with facts, not with sounds or with feelings; about facts, could not easily become the victim of words". On the other hand, he distinguishes between facts and their value. The "good life" does to the Greek not mean the superfluity of things possessed—those "rattling and tinkling paraphernalia of which the nineteenth century so plumed itself as the inventor."††

It is for these reasons that we turn to the Greek—"who with his insatiable love of knowledge, his determination to see things as they are and to see them whole, with his burning desire to be able to give a rational explanation of everything in heaven and earth, was irresistibly driven to natural science, mathematics and exact reasoning in general logic."‡ It is for these reasons that Dean Inge puts before us the choice "between a post-rational traditionalism, fundamentally sceptical, pragmatic and intellectually dishonest, and a (Greek) trust in reason which rests really on faith in the divine Logos."§ Hellenism then is not the mind of a particular ethnic type nor of a particular period, but of a permanent species of human culture—a thing of the spirit and not dependent on the race to which a man belongs or to the place where he was born; but a matter of *anthropotes*, humanity, which looks to the world as "one great city of gods and man."

And the flower of that Greek spirit was Aristotle, whose greatness as a philosopher has far too long made people forget his greatness as a scientist. Before Aristotle there was a wealth of natural history, the love of the craftsman, the fisherman and hunter: it was Aristotle who turned that love into a science and the science into a philosophy. D'A. W. Thompson in the "Legacy of Greece" admires the faithful accuracy with which Aristotle dissected species of cuttlefish, "noting differences, that were not observed again till Cuvier re-dissected them" (l. c. p. 145); or described the minute characteristic of the male lobster's feet—"so small a point that I searched long before at last I found mention of it in a German monograph" (p. 147); or wrote of the viviparous embryo in the womb of the dog-fish—"a phenomenon brought to light anew by Johannes Muller, and which excited him to enthusiastic admiration of Aristotle's minute and faithful anatomy" (p. 150). Yea, did not Darwin himself write (in 1882) to Ogle: "Linne and Cuvier have been my two gods though in very different ways, but they were mere schoolboys to old Aristotle." (l. c. p. 200). Is it a wonder, that Syrian, Jew and Arab treasured the books of the great Stagyrice, that the Western Universities—Bologna, Paris, Oxford—"were based on his teaching, yea, all but established for his study"? For, as that great modern Zoologist (Thompson, l. c.

p. 159) so magnificently puts it: with Aristotle "we begin with trivial anecdote, with the things that fisherman, huntsman, peasant know; the sciences of zoology, anatomy, physiology take shape before our very eyes; and by evening we sit humbly at the feet of the great teacher of Life itself, the historian of the Soul." So grows the great conception of the cosmos; the Cosmology of Hylemorphism, the perennially true Nature Philosophy, which alone can deliver us from the bondage of Materialism, without handing us over to the unrealities of Idealist Metaphysics; the Aristotelian conception which incidentally also will alone be able to deliver us from the utterly false and mischievous pedagogic *impasse* which we have reached, of having to choose between a humanistic education untouched by the spirit of scientific research, and an education in Science, divorced from all human values. But if not Nature or Man, but Nature and Man ought to be the watchword: clearly no philosophy can come to our rescue, but that of the Stagyrice of old.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

### A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, May 28.

#### THE MAHARAJA OF GWALIOR AND ANOTHER MAHARAJA.

THE condition of the Maharaja of Gwalior, who is lying ill in Paris, is very disquieting. He underwent a slight operation on board, on his way to Europe, but on arriving at Marseilles, the doctors considered his condition to be of such a nature as to require his immediate removal to Paris, where he underwent another operation. This, however, does not seem to have removed the trouble, and last week Lord Dawson of Penn, the King's physician, and a surgeon flew over to Paris, where a further operation was performed, the result of which, however, has not been any too satisfactory. I understand that His Highness's condition is causing his entourage much anxiety and the Maharani and the heir apparent are expected to arrive at Marseilles this week. Dr. D. R. Ranjit Singh, who, at the request of His Highness, was in attendance from the early days of the illness, has now arrived in London where he is settling down, with a view to enjoy his hard earned holiday and also to the study of interesting medical and surgical theories and practice.

The Bawla Murder case has occupied a considerable place in the columns of the newspapers, who are always on the lookout for something sensational, and some of them are inclined to draw deductions from the reports that have been cabled here reflecting upon the Maharaja of Indore. The "Daily Herald", which has been prominent in this matter, has now published a note from the State Publicity Department which casts a somewhat different light upon the facts. Whatever these may be, they are not yet known here in their entirety, and it is improper to comment severely in the absence of vital particulars.

LORD BIRKENHEAD.

I am afraid that the Indian public will derive cold comfort from the remarks of the Secretary of

† Ibid. p. 267.

†† *pace* A. E. Zimmerer, *ibid.* p. 329.

‡ T. L. Heath *ibid.* p. 97.

§ *ibid.* p. 86.

State for India at the Assam dinner, on Monday night. They were cautious to a degree, and the Viceroy came in for a great deal of congratulation. It will, of course, not be possible for any official statement to be made by Lord Birkenhead as to the Government's decisions until after the completion of the present conversations with Lord Reading, who is being entertained next month by the British Indian Union and the Northbrook Society, Lady Mond, and Sir Atul and Lady Chatterji. I understand that an early date will, nevertheless, be sought by the Labour party for the discussion of the Indian estimates, when the Government will be pressed for a statement on the present situation, and even to-day, upon the adjournment, Mr. Morgan Jones is trying to get Lord Winterton to say something pleasant and encouraging in response to Mr. Das's gestures. But Lord Birkenhead, if he has little or nothing to say of any value or comfort on the subject of India—and I am told that he finds it difficult to give time to see even high officials and ex-officials, not to speak of humbler folk from the ranks of private life, who nevertheless have something to impart to him, from the point of view of the expert, upon some aspects of Indian life and problem—is most loquacious, upon the platform and in the press on quite a variety of other subjects. Indeed, his well-paid press contributions about all sorts and conditions of things have caused a good deal of perturbation in high quarters. A Labour member has raised the propriety of these contributions by question in the House of Commons, and during the recess the Prime Minister will have time to consider how he will deal with the matter thus raised. That it is of high importance, involving grave principles of a constitutional and administrative character is clear from the following comments in the "Times."

#### MINISTERS AS JOURNALISTS.

The "Times" thinks that "the matter is one which affects all Governments, and there are probably quite as many Conservatives concerned by it as there are members of the Labour Party, who are by no means in a position to throw stones." The question involves the point of the collective responsibility of the Cabinet for the writings of particular Ministers. The general effect of rulings and conventions on the subject has been "that the Cabinet is unquestionably committed by the public pronouncements of its members, whatever form they may take, and that for this reason Ministers are in practice debarred from indiscriminate writing on public affairs." Mr. Johnstone's question raises another matter of the highest importance, namely, whether it is desirable that Ministers should, "in effect, carry on the profession of journalism, and draw from it remuneration which is no doubt enhanced by their position as Cabinet Ministers, while holding high-salaried office under the Crown. . . . There is the objection in particular from which men in opposition are altogether free, that Cabinet Ministers are given a considerable, however inadequate, salary on the assumption that all

their working hours are devoted to the service of the State. It is quite immaterial that their journalistic activities may in some cases absorb but a fraction of their time. A Minister (unlike a Civil Servant, who keeps stipulated hours) is in theory never free from his official duties. Even if the work of his Department is not affected in fact, its reputation suffers from a popular impression that its official chief is distracted by other interests. . . . The material point, therefore, in this particular case is whether the contributions under discussion form a regular subsidiary profession, and whether that profession is carried on for the purpose of augmenting an official whole-time salary. . . ." In the special case of Lord Birkenhead, one is entitled to ask how it comes about that a man of his distinction and ability, who was given the office of Secretary of State for India presumably on account of his eminence as a statesman and the importance and difficulty of the condition of India, finds time for all sorts of other tasks than those attached to his office. He tells fellow-Ministers how they should manage the affairs of their Departments, he is to be found presiding over Cabinet Committees set up for all kinds of extraneous purposes, he speaks here, there and everywhere on subjects completely divorced from the problems whose solutions he is specially remunerated to study, and he writes upon large numbers of questions wholly unconnected with the subjects under his care. It is recorded of a certain Viceroy that he once remarked that the Emperor of China and he ruled over half mankind and yet they had time for breakfast. Lord Birkenhead is responsible to Parliament, under the Government of India Act, for the welfare of 320 millions of people in India, and one would almost have thought that he lacked even time to sleep, so thoroughly should his energies be engaged in the trust committed to him. Apparently the present Secretary of State thinks that Mr. Montagu's example was a dangerous one, and to be avoided. He certainly avoids it, and will not die of worry on account of India.

#### THE NEW GOVERNOR OF KENYA

To-day's papers contain the announcement that Sir Edward M. Grigg, M. P. for Oldham, has been appointed to succeed Sir Robert Coryndon as Governor of Kenya. Mr. Denham, the Acting Governor, has not quite answered expectations since he took up his acting appointment upon the death of the late Governor. It is therefore just as well that Sir Edward Grigg, who is son-in-law of Lord Islington, and a prominent Liberal of the right wing as well as a well-known member of the "Round Table" group, should have received this appointment. He is a man of large intellectual calibre, though not a very progressive person. Nevertheless, he may be able to help to make up the minds of the white settlers towards acceptance of the doctrine of native trusteeship. Sir Edward Grigg's appointment creates a vacancy at Oldham, and a by-election in Lancashire, which will certainly turn on the Government's Budget policy, may provide a strong surprise. It is almost certain that there will be a Conservative, as

well as a Liberal, candidate, and in that event, the Labour candidate will have an excellent chance of capturing the seat.

#### RACE PREJUDICE AT THE UNIVERSITY.

It is unpleasant to have to record racial friction even in the worlds of education and sport. Serious notice was recently taken publicly of an unfortunate incident in which Messrs. S. M. Hadi and Donald Ratnam (Ceylon) of Cambridge University were involved. They have been well known tennis players for some years, and have been prominent in this particular sport at Cambridge. One or other of them should have had the Captaincy of the Cambridge University Tennis Team, but both were overlooked on the ostensible ground that the members would not care to serve under a non-white captain. The result was, of course, that Messrs. Hadi and Ratnam promptly resigned their membership, and have refused to represent the University in future. No one in India or Ceylon will, I am sure, blame them for their action in the matter. If, even in the realm of sport, the spirit of sportsmanship is absent in racial matters, one can hardly expect a better spirit in other domains.

#### TEMPERANCE IN INDIA AND CEYLON.

The annual general meeting of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association was held as usual at Caxton Hall on Monday last, Lord Clwyd presiding. The annual report was of an unusually interesting character and you will doubtless desire to deal with it otherwise than in a brief reference. The speakers included Dr. Mary Scharlieb, Dr. Whitehead, the late Bishop of Madras, Mr. N. M. Samarth, of the Indian Council, and Mr. Wilson, M. P.

### REVIEWS.

#### ASIA AND THE WEST.

**CONFLICT OF POLICIES IN ASIA.** By THOMAS MILLARD. (George Allen and Unwin, London.) 1924. 8¼ × 5½. pp. 507. 15 s.

AMERICA is our "*tertius gaudens*," said the Dean of St. Paul's at the end of his Rede lecture, "where shall we be thirty years hence?" The question represented the prevailing mood of post-war Britain and suspicion as to its answer had something to do with the popular dislike and suspicion of things American. Modern America with its exuberant energy, its self-confidence, its hustle and its belief in money, is in much the same psychological condition as the England of the 19th century, when we thought we were five times as good as our ancestors because we travelled five times as fast, and that progress consisted in increasing trade returns. In consequence England, beginning to think of retention rather than acquisition, looks at America with the sophisticated eye of a disillusioned man watching the uncouth gambollings of a young giant. England is the Byzantium and America the Gothic West of the modern world.

Mr. Millard in this book helps to give an answer to this question, first by illustrating the altered

centre of world political interest and second by analysing with the aid of recent documents and copious memoranda the conflicting policies of the powers in the East. The first fact which emerges is that the European period of world history, begun by the argosies and treasure fleets of Spain, has been closed by the great War. By it the last chance of European unity has disappeared and Europe remains a geographical expression, a continent hopelessly divided against itself. From the world point of view one large unit, Germany, has been defeated by a number of small units, the Allies, who have since fallen out among themselves: Bismarck's Germany has fallen, but no one is strong enough to take its place, either in Europe or the world. To retain the balance of power in Europe the Allies sacrificed the balance of power of the world to America.

Thus the real victors of the War were America and Japan, who reaped its fruits in China and elsewhere without suffering its losses. To-day, says Mr. Millard, there are two world powers—Great Britain and the United States; three local powers—France, Italy and Japan; and three potential powers—Germany, Russia and China (p. 114.) The centre of world politics has therefore shifted to the Far East and the scene of the next struggle for power will be the tranquil Pacific. There are two main lines of division: the quarrel of America and Japan over China, the clash of the Open Door or Hay Policy with the older idea of spheres of influence and opportunist imperialism; and the American and British attitudes to Asia, as illustrated by the Philippines and India. The first resolved itself into a diplomatic struggle between Japan, aided by the war and the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and America, becoming ever stronger as the influence and power of Europe declined. At first Japan was successful with the Twenty-one Demands on China in 1915, the secret agreements with the Allies in 1917, and her confirmation of her possession of Shantung at Paris as the price of support of the League of Nations. The first check came with the failure of the American Senate to ratify the Treaty and the turning point at the Washington Conference in 1921. There as the price of naval disarmament Great Britain was forced to give up the Japanese alliance and with it her covert support of the spheres of influence policy.

The Hay Doctrine of the Open Door triumphed, Japan was forced to promise evacuation of Siberia and Shantung, and was left, perplexed and irritated, isolated in the world. For the present Japan is without allies and China has a golden opportunity to re-organize her government, an opportunity of which she has not yet made much use. But Mr. Millard seems to underestimate the recovery of Russia and the adaptability of Japanese policy on the one hand, and the latent resources of China on the other. The New Economic Policy is rapidly making Russia a power again and the Japanese are already negotiating a trade agreement. In China the civil wars are familiarising the people with modern arms and to some extent with modern

methods, and despite the traditional Chinese method of postponing battles to suit the weather, it only needs a leader to confront the world with a large, fairly equipped and already half-disciplined army. With such conditions Japan, so far from lingering in Shantung, might well show the other face of her Janus-like policy and stand out as the leader of the East against the West. The situation in the Far East is far too fluid to prophesy a fifty years reign of undisputed American influence.

Mr. Millard is on less certain ground when he compares the American policy of "stimulation" as practised in the Philippines with the British policy of "repression" in India. On the adjustment of these policies, he feels, the future of Anglo-American co-operation in Asia depends. His rather naive defence (pp. 14-23) of the American policy in the Philippines—which began by annexing the island against their will, then promised independence, and is now under General Leonard Wood reversing the policy of Governor Harrison—ignores the fact that the Filipinos are hardly less discontented with the government than the Swarajists ever were in India. In 1923 the whole Council of State resigned as a protest against the resumption by the Governor of his full prerogatives on the American model; and it is idle in defence to claim the same democratic right of rule for a governor nominated by the President of the United States as for an ordinary States governor elected by the vote of the people. The Americans are returning to something like Crown Colony government in the Philippines, and the Filipinos know it. In India Mr. Millard cites the views of Civil Servants in reprobation of the early American policy, but this was before the war; no doubt they are well satisfied now. He forgets that Indian policy is dictated by Secretaries of State in Whitehall rather than by District Commissioners, who like the die-hards in England are often unwillingly dragged at the chariot wheels of a policy which they fail to understand sufficiently to oppose actively. The Government has committed itself by the Montford reforms and as he says of China, "to unscramble eggs would be simple compared to the task of withdrawing Western influence" from India.

But Mr. Millard's heart is in China, and to China we must go. In their intercourse with the East, Americans have been distinguished by their policy of peace and equal opportunity and by their enthusiasm for American culture and institutions. The American Government is disinterested enough, but it may be questioned how long American trading corporations, who support the Open Door policy when that is the only way they can penetrate China, will continue to believe in it when new rivals, as for instance Russia, begin to enter by the same door. The moral fervour of Gladstonian England has degenerated into the cynical exploitation of today, a change from the open acquisitive to the exclusive possessive spirit. Americans are the Gladstonians of today, who, as Labouchere said, "like other people always had a card up their sleeves, but unlike others thought the Lord had put it there."

It is faith—faith in herself and her institutions—which gives America her influence today and enables her to move political mountains. Every American he met in China save one, says Bertrand Russell, was a missionary of Americanism—the tireless spirit of science, of energy, of democracy, and of change. This is the most subtle and fundamental conflict now taking place in the Far East—the new spirit of restless change clashing with the Chinese spirit of static repose. The operation of Tao says Lao-Tze, is "production without possession, action without self-assertion, development without domination," a spirit very different from the multimillionaire and the professional exploiter. The spirit of progress is not there, but who would assert Western commercialism to be morally higher?

Business men boast of their skill and cunning,  
But in philosophy they are like little children,  
Bragging to each other of successful depredations.  
They neglect to consider the ultimate fate of the body.  
What should they know of the Master of Dark Truth,  
Who saw the wide world in a jade cup,  
By illumined conception got clear of heaven and earth,  
On the chariot of Mutation entered the Gate of Immutability?"

Mr. Millard has written an excellent book well documented, clearly expressed, and fairly written. He gives many interesting sidelights on world politics as when he shows that President Wilson agreed to the Japanese occupation of Shantung at Paris to obtain her membership of the League of Nations. When a great man has to stoop so low to serve a great purpose, is it not time that Westerners, "the brave, the mighty, and the wise," repaired again to the "Master of Dark Truth," and considered whether anything noble can ever come out of such a welter of greed, of selfishness, of compromise and chicanery?

T. G. P. SPEAR.

### BENGAL VAISHNAVISM.

**SREE KRISHNA.** By Bepin Chandra Pal. (Tagore & Co. Madras.) 1925. Pp. 182. Price Rs. 1-8.

THIS is a series of letters addressed to a Christian lady and forms the sequel to the author's "Soul of India." Sree Krishna is here said to be the Soul of India in the sense that his life and teachings supply the ideal which guides and regulates the evolution of the Indian nation. He is believed by Hindus to be the most perfect incarnation of God. The author rightly points out the difference between the idea of incarnation (taking a body of flesh and blood) and that of Avatar (descent, manifestation). Sree Krishna, being the fullest revelation of the life, light and bliss of the lord (Bhagawan) is the Purnavatar (perfect manifestation). Mr. Pal then explains what he calls the Vaishnavic Trinity—Brahman, Paramatman and Bhagawan. Brahman is the element of prominence in the outer world of experience, Paramatman is the constant witness of our inner experiences and Bhagawan, comprehending

\* Wade, 170 Chinese Poems, p. 59.



both, serves as the principle of relation between them. The Being of Bhagawan is made up of both Purusha and Prakriti, the latter including individual souls as well as the five elements. He has a spiritual body and spiritual sense organs. Indeed, every thing in the universe has, corresponding to it, an ever realised spiritual (ideal) archetype, forming part of the being of Bhagawan, who is endowed with the six Bhagas, the explanation of which occupies the greater portion of this book. So there is a perfect cosmic order, perfect individual souls and a perfect social order—all realised in the Bhagawan. This Triple Order is called Sree Brindaban, the Vaishnavic analogue to the Kingdom of Heaven.

We are obliged to Mr. Pal for this statement of Bengal Vaishnavism, but the reasoning by which he tries to remove its dogmatic character is, in spite of his frequent appeals to "irresistible logic," hardly satisfying. Corresponding to every evolving thing there is an ideal archetype, "an ever realised perfected type" as the author calls it. This can only mean that these ideal types are being realised through the process of evolution. But in that case we may ask, "How can they be ever realised?" These archetypes, it is said, exist in the consciousness of God. But so do the objects which we perceive through the senses. Every object must exist for some consciousness and as the objects of sense do not depend for their existence on any individual consciousness, they must depend on universal or divine consciousness. Again, Bhagawan is said to possess a spiritual body and spiritual sense organs. But Spirit as such is sharply distinguished from body which falls on the side of Prakriti. There is no possibility of a body being spiritual except by a metaphor. But that the author does not mean a metaphor is shown by the fact that in his view there are spiritual bodies and spiritual sense organs corresponding to our bodies and sense organs. These spiritual bodies are the perfected types of our bodies and yet are said to consist of Sat, Chit, and Anand like Bhagawan's own body. The perfected types of our sense organs are said to be the spiritual sense organs of God. But how can God appropriate these while they are required by the perfected individuals particularly as Bhagawan is distinguished from individuals. Again, Prakriti is said to be self-conscious like the Purusha. Now those who use the words Purusha and Prakriti use them to make the distinction between Consciousness and its object which is necessarily unconscious. Thus a self-conscious Prakriti is a contradiction in terms.

The author's references to the Advaita system (Shankara Vedanta as he calls it) show that he has not taken sufficient pains to understand it. Consciousness, he says, must always have some object so that if the former is eternal, the latter also must be eternal. The Advaitin, he thinks, can never escape this conclusion. Now the writers on the Advaita are never tired of pointing out that the word "consciousness" like every other word implies a relation and so cannot directly denote the ultimate reality which is beyond all relation.

But as some word must be used, they use the word "consciousness" which implies the first and the most fundamental relation and asks the reader to divest it of its relational content. Light cannot be "light" except in relation to something illuminated by it. But do we believe that the existence of the luminous thing depends on that of the thing illuminated? The ultimate reality is really beyond all speech and thought. But for our own purposes we have to use some for it, taking care that the name will not mislead us. The Advaitin admits the existence of Name and Form, Divine Personality, Individual Souls, but all on the phenomenal plane.

In spite of these and other confusions, the book may be strongly recommended to those who wish to know about the Bengal School of Vaishnavism. It is written in an attractive style. The publishers deserve thanks from the public for giving them an interesting and thought-provoking book.

V. B. SHRIKHANDE.

### RAILWAYS.

**BRITISH RAILWAYS, 1825-1924: WHY NATIONALISATION IS INEVITABLE.** By A. EMIL DAVIES. (Railway Nationalisation Society, London.) 1924. 8¼ x 5¼. pp. 39. 6d.

FOR close upon a whole century private companies have dominated the field of railway enterprise in England. The power of the purse acquired out of this formidable form of monopoly is with them, the Press is almost at their mercy, while their interest has become strongly entrenched in Parliament; with the natural result that instead of the guiding principle being "What is good for the nation?" it is "How would this affect our dividends now?" The public has during this long period been hypnotised into a belief, amounting almost to a superstition, that ownership and management of railways is far more preferable in the hands of private companies than in those of the State. For this spell to be completely broken must naturally take a long time, and it is evident that the sooner a persistent attempt at enlightening the public is begun, the better. And the Railway Nationalisation Society is from this point of view to be congratulated on the issue of the booklet under notice. This booklet enters a forceful plea in favour of ownership and operation of British railways by the State instead of by private companies. With the help of concrete instances drawn from the history of the railways in that country, it makes a ruthless exposure of some of the glaring disadvantages and vices found in actual experience to be almost inseparably associated with the ownership and working of those railways by private companies. On the whole the conclusion is well-established that nationalisation of the British railways is inevitable. This conclusion is also encouraged by the progress shown to have been made by the different countries of the world in increasing the proportion of State owned and operated railways during the last thirty years. How soon nationalisation will come in the case of British

railways depends on the amount of sustained effort that can be put forth by the advocates of State railways at educating public opinion. The confidence of the author of the booklet in the ultimate success of such efforts is expressed in his cautious but emphatic statement that "there can be no doubt that nationalisation of the British railways is not far distant."

#### ECONOMY.

### ADULT EDUCATION.

**THE ADULT SCHOOL MOVEMENT.** By G. CURRIE MARTIN, M. A., B. D. (National Adult School Union, 30 Bloomsbury Street, London.) 1924. 7 x 5. pp. 435. 3s. 6d.

THE idea of writing an authoritative history of the Adult School Movement was conceived as early as 1912, but its materialisation was delayed owing to the war. In this book the progress of the Movement is traced from the days when in the 18th century a little band of women gathered round the Scriptures in the early hours of a Sunday morning to learn afresh their meaning in order to teach their less fortunate sisters. Then little by little the movement gathered strength; groups of unlettered men and women collected in their houses on Sunday evenings in the city of Bristol early in the 19th century. Ability to read a chapter of the Bible was considered a task ambitious enough at first. Very soon, however, they learnt to apply the principles they acquired from their study to the conduct of everyday affairs and thus the fire kindled by William Smith spread over the whole country in a brief space of time. One remarkable fact, the importance of which can by no means be overestimated, is that this movement was cradled in religion. Perhaps it is this that has given rise to a certain amount of controversy over the supposed difference that exists between the evangelistic and educational activities of the movement. Far from the two being naturally antagonistic, the right view would be to treat education as only one method of evangelism. Another feature in its history is that education desired by such movements could only be attained through a life of fellowship wherein every mind was important and where even the leader himself could accomplish nothing apart from the co-operation of his followers. It is note-worthy that this social side of the work developed with considerable rapidity and harmony throughout the years and the adult schools themselves occupied the fore in such activities as garden cities, guest-houses, summer schools, prison reform settlements and maternity centres. The book also discloses the debt which the adult school movement owes to the quiet perseverance of hundreds of devoted workers and to the outstanding services of a brilliant galaxy of men including Joseph Sturge, William White, George Cadbury, William Charles Braithwaite, Sir George Newman and Arnold S. Rowntree.

A. S. V.

### MISCELLANEA.

#### MR. JOSHI AT GENEVA.

MR. N. M. Joshi, the Labour Delegate for India, delivered the following speech on May 23rd last during the discussion on the report of the Director of the International Labour Office:-

Mr. Chairman and brother delegates, in the few remarks that I propose to address to this Conference this morning, I wish to confine myself to questions concerning the special countries, the colonies, protectorates and the mandated territories. I greatly admire the work done by Interna-

tional Labour Conferences and International Labour Organisation for improving the labour conditions in the world, especially in Europe. I also fully appreciate the difficulties which lie in the path of accomplishing the object with which this Organisation was started. For instance, the enthusiasm which we saw at Washington, for improving the conditions of labour, is decreasing year after year. I also fully appreciate that in spite of the difficulties the workers in India have derived at least some benefit from the action of the International Labour Conference, and of the International Labour Organisation. But as one who has watched the activities of the International Labour Conference and of the International Labour Organisation for the past six years, an impression is being left on my mind that the interests of the special countries, the interests of the colonies, the protectorates, and the mandated territories are not properly looked after by this organisation. I feel that the questions concerning these countries and territories do not receive the same attention in this Conference as the questions which affect the European workers. I do not propose to absolve even the members of the Workers' Group from this charge, if I may call it so. The very fact that in spite of notice the questions relating to the special countries have been relegated practically to the last day of the discussion on the Director's report is a point in support of my statement.

But, Sir, I was very glad to read in the Director's Report at least a few paragraphs regarding these territories. Although I was very glad to read that the Director had given some attention to this question, I was disappointed in reading the contents of these paragraphs. Most of the Governments which are responsible for the government of the colonies, the protectorates, and the mandated territories, state in their report to the Office either that they are enquiring into the problem still, or that the Conventions and Recommendations cannot be applied to these territories. It is now more than six years since the Washington Conference was held, and the important Conventions regarding hours of work and other questions were passed. If these governments could not come to a decision during six years, I do not know how much longer they want to consider these questions.

Where they have considered these questions most of the governments state that the conditions of these colonies, protectorates, and mandated territories are so different from their own that these Conventions and Recommendations cannot be applied to them. I want to know, Sir, how the conditions in these territories are different? Is anyone prepared to say that simply because the climate of these territories is hotter than the climate of Europe, the workers in these territories can work longer hours without any detriment to their health? Is anyone prepared to say here that simply because the climate of a territory is hotter than that of Europe, women do not require to be helped during the time of childbirth?

I do not therefore understand when people say that the conditions in colonies, protectorates, and mandated territories are different and that the Conventions and Recommendations cannot be applied to them. Moreover, I wish particularly to point out that in India one-third of our territory is ruled by Indian Princes. These Indian Princes are represented by members of their own class in the Assembly of the League of Nations. They are not represented in this Conference. Perhaps they do not care to attend this Conference, but I want to know from the Director of the International Labour Office whether he has taken any steps to ask the Government of India for any report concerning the application of the Conventions and Recommendations in these protectorates, namely, the Indian States. It is a matter of great regret that one-third of India should not reap the benefit of Conventions and Recommendations passed in this Conference. Already I find that some of our capitalists are starting factories in Indian States in order that they may be free from any regulations regarding hours of work and other labour questions. This is a very important question from the point of view of Indian workers.

I should also like to know who in this Conference represents the workers of the colonies, protectorates and mandated territories. Does my friend Mr. Poulton represent the workers in Ceylon, Malaya, Strait Settlements, Mauritius and other colonies? Does the Dutch workers' delegate represent the workers in Java? If the workers in colonies are not represented in this Conference how is this Conference likely to know what the conditions of labour are in these colonies? I suggest that the workers' Delegates in those countries who are responsible for the government of these colonies and protectorates should take steps to be in touch with their labour conditions. They should take steps to bring with them at least advisers, if they will not have a delegate, from these colonies; otherwise the workers in the colonies are likely to suffer.

My friend Mr. Suzuki referred to the right of association. Even in our own country there are questions arising out of trade union action which are brought under the law of conspiracy, but I do not wish to speak on that subject to-day. I wish to refer to the personal freedom of the workers which is restricted on account of certain laws in the colonies, protectorates, mandated territories and in some special countries. Sir in some of these colonies and special countries there are laws, according to which a breach of contract of service is punished by criminal law. There are penal sanctions for a breach of contract of service. This law is in the way of the personal freedom of a worker. A worker is not free to dispose of his labour to whomsoever he likes and in any manner he likes. The sooner such legislation is repealed in all these colonies the better.

I wish to ask the International Labour Office whether it proposes to put the question of penal sanctions for criminal breach of contract of service before this Conference. It is not only the penal sanctions for the breach of contract of service from which the workers suffer in these colonies. There are colonies in which workers are forced to work for a certain class of employers. In my own country there is a system of forced labour. Sometimes if a Government Officer is touring and wants some servants, he can ask any worker to serve him, and he may pay him whatever he likes. Not only that, but if an officer has a friend touring in his district, say in the Hills of the United Provinces, that officer can force a labourer to serve that tourist.

In the colonies, that system is found in a much worse form. In Kenya the natives are forced to work for the English planters and landlords by a system of poll-taxes. I should like to know whether the attention of the International Labour Office has been drawn to this system of forced labour. I have seen certain paragraphs in the Director's Report about this but merely mentioning these things in the Report is not sufficient. I should like to know what steps the International Labour Office and the Governing Body have taken to bring these questions before this Conference. I suggest that this Conference should establish a separate committee to investigate questions concerning the colonies, protectorates and mandated territories.

I was shocked to read in some of the Statutes of the mandated territories that these penal sanctions exist in those territories. The League of Nations has been established to secure liberty for the workers of the world; and if these laws, restricting the liberty of the workers, are found in territories governed by the League of Nations, I do not know where we should go to find better conditions for the workers.

I do not wish to take up much more of your time, but I should like to say a word about the position of the special countries. This Conference passed certain Conventions and Recommendations at Washington which were specially applicable to Japan and India. I should like to ask the Director of the International Labour Office, whether he proposes to take any steps to review these Conventions and Recommendations. The Conventions and Recommendations for Japan and India do not go so far as those which apply to the European world. It is now six years since they were passed, and it is time that these Conventions and Recommen-

mendations were revised. I would like the Director of the International Labour Office to tell me whether he proposes to take any steps to review the situation with regard to these Conventions and Recommendations.

When I request the Director of the International Labour Office to review and revise these Conventions and Recommendations, I am not unmindful of the fact that certain Conventions passed at Washington have not yet been ratified by Japan. When I refer to Japan, I assure you, Mr. President, and I should like to assure my colleagues from Japan, that I do not speak in a spirit of fault-finding. I am speaking on this subject because we experience great difficulty in India owing to the non-ratification by Japan of Conventions and Recommendations, especially as regards the Hours of Work Convention and the Convention on the prohibition of Night Work of Women. We look upon Japan—at least in India—as the leader of Asia. We look to Japan to show us the path, to guide us in the way of progress; and therefore, when we find that the Japanese Government does not ratify the Conventions and Recommendations, we in India are greatly disappointed.

We are not only disappointed, but for the last two years we workers in India have felt that if Japan does not ratify the Conventions and Recommendations it will be difficult for the workers of India to secure any progress as regards their own conditions. Not only that, but we fear that it may be difficult for us to maintain even the conditions we enjoy today; we feel that our standards are liable to be lowered. I therefore appeal to my colleagues from Japan—and especially to my colleague of the Workers' Group—to do their best to get these Conventions ratified and to get legislation passed to give effect to these Conventions and Recommendations. If Japan ratifies the Conventions and passes legislation as regards hours of work and the prohibition of night work by women, our path in India will be easier; but if Japan does not ratify, the workers in India may suffer to some extent.

When I say these things about Japan, I do not intend to suggest that labour conditions in Japan are worse than they are in India; on the contrary, I feel that in certain respects labour conditions in Japan are much better than they are in India. The non-ratification by Japan, however, of the Conventions on Hours of Work and the Prohibition of Night Work for Women put a special difficulty in our way, and I therefore appeal to my colleagues from Japan to secure the consent of their Government to the ratification of these Conventions, and thus not only help their own progress—the progress of their own workers—but the progress of the workers of India. (Applause.)

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- ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN INDIA. By P. PADMANABHA PILLAI. (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London.) 1925. 9 x 5½. pp. 330. 12s. 6d.
- HISTORY OF INDIAN TARIFFS. By N. S. SHAH. (Shacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.) 1924. 10 x 6½. pp. 433. Rs. 7-8.
- ASOKA. By D. R. BHANDARKAR. (University of Calcutta.) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 346.
- LA JUSTICE INTERNATIONALE. Par N. POLITIS. (Librairie Hachette, Paris.) 1924. 7½ x 4½. pp. 325. Frs. 12.
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- UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE. (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1925. 9½ x 6. pp. 134. 2s.
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