

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

AS expected, the Select Committee of the Sikh Gurudwara Bill has not gone against any of the principles on which the Bill is framed, though it has made several important alterations. The most notable of them is the removal of the sex disqualification which the original Bill contained in respect of elections to the Board and committees of management. The credit for this amendment belongs mainly to Sikh women who conducted a vigorous campaign for the removal of the disqualification and made suitable representations to the Select Committee. The two Schedules attached to the Bill have necessarily undergone modifications, but one of them has been modified to an extent that was not expected, and Raja Narendranath and Dr. Narang have expressed their disapproval in minutes of dissent. This is in respect of Schedule II which contains the names of Udasi and Nirmala shrines. The original Bill contained 324 names, but the Select Committee have removed as many as 95 out of them and added only three new ones; which fact bears out Raja Narendranath's contention that the entries in the Schedules have been made 'after only a summary enquiry by the executive officers, without a proper opportunity being given to the Mahants to represent their case'. We hope the Council will take a strictly judicial view of these Schedules and not include in them any shrine about which there may be any doubt, as there is going to be a special tribunal for the purpose of

examining such cases. As a counterpoise to the drastic reduction of Schedule II, the Committee have removed the provision that was made in the original Bill for bringing these shrines under the Act, provided a majority of the Udasi and Nirmala worshippers of those shrines desired it. This is a retrograde step which we wish the Committee had not taken. It is no doubt calculated to appease the Mahants, but it goes against the root principle of all this legislation, viz., vesting the ultimate control of all public bodies—religious or secular—in the public. The other changes do not call for any comment.

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WE wish it had been possible for us to congratulate without reservation the Government of Her Highness the Maharani Regent of Travancore in the matter of throwing open the roads around Vaikom temple to the untouchable Hindu castes. By the recent order of the Durbar, while most of the roads are thrown open, the prohibition continues in respect of some, and therefore the Satyagraha movement also continues in respect of them. On what principle the discriminations is made is not clear. If it is made only on the ground of expediency, then nothing can be said in its favour, because while failing to satisfy the Satyagrahis and their sympathisers it is bound to irritate the orthodox. The right course for the Durbar is to take its stand on the principle that all members of the public have the right of entry into all public roads and to throw all of them open to people of all castes. We earnestly hope that Her Highness will not stop here but go the whole length courageously.

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THE Calcutta *Guardian*, of the 18th has a stimulating leader on "Labour in India," concluding with a reference to the recent proposals made by the Trades Union Congress regarding the representation of Labour in the Legislatures. Our contemporary, we regret to find, has "grave doubts" on the subject, because (1) manual labour is still without any leaders drawn from its own ranks; (2) if the vote is given to industrial, it should also be given to agricultural labour; (3) adult franchise is not yet feasible in India on account of the political immaturity of the masses. The better, we are afraid, is only too often the greatest enemy of the good. Of course it would be better if labour could have leaders that had risen from its own ranks: but in their absence,

is it really better for labour to have even numerically inadequate representation? Of course it would be better, not to restrict the franchise to industrial workers: but is that a reason for not making a start, where strategically such a start is most easily made? Of course, it would be splendid if all the 32 crores of our people were politically mature: but since they are not, is there a better method of educating them to political maturity, except by placing on them increasingly important political duties?

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The *Bharat Putra*. Mr. A. W. McMILLAN, who is doing such splendid work amongst our countrymen in Fiji, is now bringing out for their benefit a 'Hindi-English news magazine' called the *Bharat Putra*, to appear monthly. Mr. McMillan writes about it (in the *South Seas Weekly* of the 11th inst.) as follows: "Approximately one half of the dozen or more pages will be in English and the remainder in Devanagari Hindi, including one page in Roman Hindi (which Europeans among others will find useful for linguistic gymnastics!). It is hoped to include pictures in each issue. In English or Hindi the paper will contain general news (especially news from India), agriculture, racial co-operation, and the Boy Scout movement. It is expected that Dr. Datta will arrange for the sending of a monthly 'Letter from India.' The English pages are intended (1) for Indians in Fiji; (2) for Europeans in this Colony, with a view to promoting a friendly understanding of India and her peoples; and (3) for readers in half a dozen outside countries, especially India, that news concerning Fiji may be spread widely." A specimen copy of the little magazine has since reached us and we congratulate both Mr. McMillan and the Fiji Indians on this excellent venture.

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A true racial goal TALKING of journalistic ventures, we take this opportunity of referring to "the Crisis—a record of the darker races," published for the last fifteen years in New York by that great American Negro leader, W. E. Burghardt du Bois. The paper is advancing from strength to strength and with its new volume, begun last month, is striking a deeper and not merely propagandistic note. An article in this month's issue by H. M. Bond on "Temperament" is of special value, analyzing as it does the current conception that temperament is something racial, and analyzing it with the sure touch of one who is master of his subject. The idea is prevalent that the Negro is constitutionally hyper-emotional and submissive: Prof. Bond with unimpassioned logic proves that Negro submissiveness is the necessary accommodation to a master class of transplanted slaves and that emotionalism cannot be an ethnic characteristic, seeing that its prevalence amongst American Negroes varies exactly in accordance with the emotionalism of the sect to which they happen to belong. The writer admits that, as a defence mechanism, the American

Negro is developing a race-consciousness (in this country we call it Nationalism!)—"which is of utility in destroying the submissive and dependent attitude hitherto assumed." But, he continues—and how one wishes his words would find an echo in the hearts of our people!—"too strong a race-consciousness may be as disastrous as none at all. What we should value as more enduring and important than any race-consciousness is a realization of ourselves as simply and wholly human; not separable by any anatomical, or intellectual, or temperamental barriers from our fellows. To realize that we are but human beings; prone to err, subjected to the vices of others, heirs of the virtues of the saints and fellow beneficiaries of the common weal. Than this can there be a diviner racial goal?"

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And the wrong one. BUT great men like Du Bois and H. M. Bond will soon in South Africa be legally stigmatized as unfit for anything but the performance of menial tasks for the benefit of however mean White people. The Colour Bar Bill, we see, has just passed the Committee stage and of course will at an early date find a safe place on the statute-book of the South African Union. The *Contemporary Review* of this month contains a most appropriate article by L. E. Neame on "The failure of the White Race in South Africa." As editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* in Johannesburg, Mr. Neame of course may be trusted to voice accurately the claims and fears of the majority of Whites in that country and it is therefore significant to find this article of his culminating in a threefold demand (1) for State-aided land settlement of Whites "on the best lands of the country"; (2) for maintenance of proportion of White labour in the industries "by special enactments"; and (3) for propaganda to create "a powerful public opinion in favour of using White labour wherever practicable." No. 2 of course is already being accomplished by the Colour Bar Bill; for No. 1 the Kenyan High lands policy probably is the *beau ideal*; No. 3 however . . . . . The fact is, that Mr. Neame himself admits that South African industries cannot stand wages paid in accordance with current White standards of life; and that, as regards agriculture, "it would be unwise to look to present day farming to restore rapidly the waning strength of the White race in South Africa, since the first demand of the White farmer is for an adequate supply of black labour—not White labour." What Mr. Neame and all *Nordic* self-styled "idealists" want, is for the Whites to boss and draw the profits, and for the non-Whites to serve and create the profits. That is a philosophy capable of application, as long as the world is more or less empty and technological skill the jealously guarded monopoly of a caste. But the world is filling up, leaving no room for drones; and technology's close preserve is being invaded on all sides by Yellow, Brown and Black. "The White man has failed" says Mr. Neame: he deserves nothing better, as long as he is not prepared to be—a man amongst men. And not only in South Africa.

It is interesting to compare with **South Africa and the Church.** Mr. Neame's declaration of policy of the White dominions in South Africa the news which the South African correspondent of the London *Church Times* reports to his paper under date April 28. "Politically the outlook for the native people is depressing" says this not merely White but candid and trustworthy correspondent. He refers to the bloodshed in the Bloemfontein location on April 20th, caused, not by the police, but "by the indiscriminate firing by unauthorized Europeans," proving that on these occasions a certain type of low-class European is keen to "have a go at the natives!" But of even more importance is the exposure of the Macchiavellian policy of the Government itself. First of all, this keen observer says,

"The Government has absolutely refused to allow the advantages of the Wages Bill to apply to domestic or farm labour, thereby excluding the natives. Secondly, the Colour-Bar Bill, if passed, will give the Minister concerned the power to forbid natives employment in any skilled industry which he likes to schedule.

On the top of this comes the Budget, with its proposals to increase the duty on imported cotton blankets and secondhand clothing, which are an absolute necessity of life to the native, and which for technical reasons cannot be manufactured in this country, by from sixty-six to three hundred per cent. Thus at one stroke the Government is increasing the native's cost of living and at the same time reducing his power of wage-earning.

A white trader has written to one of our bishops, describing these proposals as 'a direct attack on the native who can't avoid these purchases. It would have been far more manly to have increased his Poll Tax; but that would have been too direct for the Government. This is worse, and not quite so obvious... The sole object of this vicious, cowardly tariff is to force the native to come out and work longer periods for the farmer who is already exploiting him to what is practically a ready semi-slavery'."

Not enough with this, this Nationalist—Labour Party is now definitely pandering to the 'Coloured' people (the Euraficans), trying to make them a catspaw for their own chestnuts in a manner not unknown to us regarding the Indian Government's attitude to our 'Anglo-Indians.' The *Church Times* correspondent reports:

"The Minister of Justice, Mr. Tielman Roos, addressing a gathering of coloured people the other day told them that of course they must be distinguished from the natives because the coloured folk were "not a barbarous people." It seems to be the determination of members of the Cabinet to refuse absolutely to recognize the fact that very large and increasing numbers of natives are now leading civilized lives and are only too anxious to approximate in every way to European standards. Meanwhile the coloured people would be something less than human if they did not respond to this cajolery."

The *Church Times* itself (of May 29th) has a magnificent leader on the subject, in which it says that the whole point at issue is, whether the African is capable of brotherhood. In answering this question unambiguously, unhesitatingly and unequivocally in the affirmative, the *Church Times*, the Church of South Africa and all the Christians they stand for, have provided the one bright spot in a picture which is growing more sombre and sinister almost every day.

## THE LATE MR. C. R. DAS.

BY THE RT. HON'BLE V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

DURING the last week the country has been convulsed with profound sorrow, which has found vent in demonstrations almost unparalleled in extent and intensity. Our European brethren have been affected in an unusual degree. To a condolence meeting in England the Secretary of State and the Viceroy sent messages of sympathy. Considering that Mr. Das had been a determined opponent of the present government, these facts constitute a significant tribute to his personality. Coming rather late into politics, he simply stormed the citadel of leadership. While paying homage to Mr. Gandhi, he acquired in his own sphere authority scarcely inferior. He achieved the distinction, rare among Indian politicians, of accomplishing a set purpose, the end of diarchy in Bengal. His Faridpur speech gave proof of flexibility of mind and resourcefulness, regarded by one section as full of promise and by another as full of portent. Perhaps he will be remembered for a long time as having revealed the possibilities of obstruction, though not in the strict Parnellite sense, within the Indian legislature. A study of his life and character should be of profound interest as well as instruction. Let us hope that some one with the requisite knowledge and understanding will in time present us with a true and faithful picture of the man.

When the shock of grief is over and something like a proper perspective becomes possible, we shall have various and contradictory interpretations of the politician whom we are united in mourning today. It is easy to see that in his case, more than in others of its class, motives and methods will long remain involved in obscurity and dispute. In trying to weigh his character the student, who brings his own political bias, may feel attracted or repelled. But it would be impossible to deny his power or the bigness of his personality. Greatness may be denied him by those who associate with the word a high order of beneficence, originality or splendour. Cast by nature in a large mould, he still lacked the stature of a giant. His political teaching, though occasionally garbed in the robes of rhetoric, was uninformed by reading, and never reached the dignity of an evangel. Cut off by an unkind fate in the nick of time, he could not carry out his half-formed ideas for the welfare of the rural population of Bengal. Gifted with more than ordinary insight into the nature of men, he was nevertheless apt, in dealing with large affairs, to act on a rash impulse. His famous Hindu-Muslim pact, for instance, was a great error of judgment, which was, however, half redeemed in the eyes of his fellow-Bengalees by the amiable appeal to provincial pride which he made in defending himself—that what Bengal did one day, the rest of India would do the next. To the very end he never brought down Swaraj from the cloudland of abstraction into the intelligible parlance of everyday politics. In some ways he appeared to stand midway between his colleagues, Messrs. Gandhi and

Nehru. If he never soared into the serene spiritual height of the one, he always remained above the frank temporality of the other. The idealism of Bengal had a firm hold on him, the charms of her scenery thrilled him, and he often poured out the longings of his soul in moving and eloquent verse. Though skilled in modern law and in all the tricks of its practice, his conceptions of a happy and prosperous India were of the old-world type, exalting simplicity above modern civilisation, and poverty above the refinements of life. The Indian mind is peculiarly susceptible to certain primary loyalties. One of these lies in the region of filial duty. Our paragon of men, Sri Ramachandra, owes his unshakable empire over our hearts to his desire at all costs to maintain the sanctity of his father's word. To the son who pays his father's debts even when the law would permit him to evade them, we yield our inmost homage and respect. To this virtue Mr. Das added renunciation and charity, giving evidence in this way of the complete superiority of his soul to the bondage of mere silver. When he abandoned his magnificent practice at the bar, he put it behind him like a thing of evil and never sighed for it again. In a land where through the ages learning and poverty have dwelt together in honourable and honoured companionship, the needy scholar is the object of ready compassion and the recipient of ungrudging hospitality. Many a student at school and college owed the means of his education to the tender heart of Mr. C. R. Das, from whose house, in the language of the poet, "no hungry man returned without food, no poor man without money and no sick man without medicine." His last act of renunciation, by which he left himself the bare means of subsistence, giving the rest of his acquisitions to purposes of public charity, only falls short of the sternest asceticism. There was not a man in India but heard the news of it with enhanced pride and admiration.

तुनिम्ना शोभन्ते गलितविभवा धार्मिगुह्याः ।

"Kings, that have given away their wealth, to the poor, shine with the greater splendour for their decline."

No character, however, is complete now-a-days if it is made up wholly of private virtues and loyalties, however resplendent. The present day Indian youth looks for the quality of patriotism. Nay, he has recently become more exacting and has no use for a patriot who is not prepared to sacrifice himself; and a rough and ready test, which he invariably applies, is whether a man has gone to jail for his political convictions. The title-deeds of Mr. Das to the worshipful reverence of his countrymen are complete in every particular: when we contemplate these, the defects that we were constrained to mention before fade out of view, and Mr. Das stands before us transfigured into the *beau ideal* of the citizen and the patriot.

## THE POPULATION OF THE WORLD.

PROFESSOR A. PENCK of the University of Berlin has in the May number of our stimulating contemporary *Geopolitik* an article on the overpopulation of the world which deserves the closest study. Dividing the habitable world into areas of nine types of climate, he calculates an ultimate theoretical maximum world population of 1590 crores, but reduces this to a probable actual total of 769 crores. Fireks, starting from different premisses, in 1898 calculated a total of 780 crores, whilst Ballod in 1912 arrived at three different maxima (of 233, 560 and 2240 crores) according to the average standard of life in the U. S. A., Germany and Japan. Penck with his 769 crores therefore seems but to confirm a figure which has already by other geographical experts been generally anticipated; and which, compared with the present total population of the world (180 crores), makes all talk of "overpopulation" of course so much journalistic moonshine.

We in India, alas, are so prone to look at everything through the spectacles of our Anglo-Saxon masters, that public opinion here has not yet awoken to the significance of "man being fruitful and multiplying and replenishing the earth," and instead goes on repeating obediently Malthusian scaremongering *à la* Lothrop Stoddart, without realizing that, if Anglo-Saxons have reason to be scared at the future that is slowly unfolding itself, certainly we Indians and other inhabitants of the Tropics have none whatsoever. For whilst the present 180 crores inhabiting the earth are distributed in the proportion of 72% in the Temperate and 28% in the Torrid Zones, the maximum of 800 crores will live in the proportion of 37% (with a density of 34 per sq. km.) without, and 63% (with a density of 107 per sq. km.) within the Tropics; or as regards continents:

	Actual	Potential
in Europe and Asia	80	26
„ Africa ... ..	7	29
„ Australia ... ..	½	6
„ North America ...	9	14
„ South America	3½	25
Total ... ..	100%	100%

China, Russia and the U. S. A. Prof. Penck puts down potentially at 60 crores each, whilst Brazil easily tops the list of all countries of the world with 120 crores! To Anglo-Saxon spheres of influence, it is true, he also assigns 120 crores, but since 80 crores of Spanish Americans must be added to the 120 crores of Brazilians, it is evident that 200 crores of much despised Latins (who know no colour bar) will eventually confront 120 crores of 'Lily Whites.' And this latter figure, it must be remembered, includes an Australia of 45 crores of Whites. Well, Australia at present boasts of 45 lakhs, not 45 crores of inhabitants. So is it really likely that the difference will be obtained from Anglo-Saxon descendants? Here, where we have to deal with epochal phenomena, Singapore Bases and White Australia must be reduced to their true, ephemeral propor-

tions and the conclusion cannot be shirked that an Australia of 45 crores will not be inhabited by an already dwindling population of 'White Australians,' but of Indians, Japanese and Chinese.

Again, whence will Africa get its potential population of 232 crores? Of course, with increasingly effective death-control the present population of 12½ crores is bound to increase: but we cannot forget that there is already a natural and almost irresistible migration from India, a tendency which can but increase, as the waste lands of the African Continent become more and more accessible. Indeed we believe that ultimately the Indian share in the future of Australia will be infinitesimal—the whole of that Continent being needed by the Japanese—, but that India's great future and fulfilment will lie in Africa, as that of the Anglo-Saxons has lain in America. Not that one hopes for hard and fast racial frontiers: on the contrary, with Indians holding already such a key-position as they do in South America (Guiana), there is every hope that Indians will everywhere in the world make the contribution to which their cultural genius entitles them.

At all events, what have we Indians to fear from a slowly filling earth? Let us realize the potentialities that lie before us and insist on the place in the sun that is—literally—our birthright.

## TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE REPORT.

### I

WE congratulate the Committee on the excellent report submitted by them. It is characterised by thoroughness, impartiality, soundness of judgment in matters relating to educational theory and practice and—as may be expected from this Committee as constituted—by political wisdom. No aspect bearing on the progress of education in the State has been ignored. The diverse views advocated with regard to advances in university education are presented with fair-minded impartiality. In the discussion of the various educational problems as they present themselves, the report shows that it is abreast of the best thought of competent thinkers and administrators.

The report is eminently readable, the arguments for and against particular positions are presented clearly and cogently, and the recommendations are urged home with sweet reasonableness. The Committee's appreciation of the services of the convener seems eminently deserved. They refer to the exceptional ability and zeal that characterised his work. "His unique knowledge of university matters and his unflinching energy have been of the greatest assistance to us at every stage of our deliberations. We acknowledge with deep gratitude his valuable services in preparing the materials required for our work, in providing information on all questions of university organisation and practice and, last but not least, in drafting the report."

It was the boast of an ex-Registrar of the Madras University that his was the biggest univer-

sity, if area under jurisdiction alone counted. This bigness of the Madras University has been its weakness. The colleges at the extremities suffered from languid circulation of attention from the headquarters. The colleges in the university town engrossed such advantages as rose from its men getting university work and enjoying the consequent prestige and emoluments. The men in the outer colleges could not get into the Syndicate, nor were they thought of as examiners unless they were clever log-rollers and known at headquarters. The connection with the university was felt only at the annual examinations, when all the college alumni sat for the degree examinations or for what was preliminary to the attaining of the degrees.

This state of things was improved by the reforming zeal of Lord Curzon. The colleges were made to feel they formed integral parts of the university. There were periodical examinations of colleges which aimed at bringing up all to a high standard in the matter of equipment and staff. There were improvements effected in the closer association of mofussil colleges with the university through their professors sharing university work of examining its alumni and administering its affairs.

One easy reproach constantly levelled at the Madras University and repeated with parrot-like wisdom by its critics was that it was an examining and not a teaching university. The reproach was justified in the early days in so far as the university allowed "private" candidates to sit for its examinations. These formed a very small minority even then. This reproach, if to a very limited extent deserved before, ceased to be true after the reform of 1904. Section 19 of the Universities Act, 1904, insisted that no person should be admitted as a candidate at any university examination unless he produced a certificate from a college affiliated to the university, to the effect that *he had completed the course of instruction prescribed by the regulation*. Earlier, section 3 stated the university should be deemed to have been incorporated for the purpose (among others) of making provision for *the instruction of students*, with power to appoint university professors and lecturers, to hold and manage educational endowments, &c., &c. Those who had not completed the course because of ill health or otherwise and those who had not the benefit of a course at all in a recognised college were admitted to the examinations of the university on the recommendation of the Syndicate by special order of the senate. The Syndicate in making such recommendations satisfied itself that the would-be examinee had gone through a course of instruction or training equivalent to instruction in a recognised college. So every candidate for the university examination brought to the university mint real metal to have its soundness and quality tested by university appraisers.

The truth is that the different colleges did the teaching work of the university. They were all really 'constituent' colleges and for purposes of convenience they had a central office in the Chepauk buildings. The university so called was a specia-

lised organ for standardising progress of the colleges and for the annual festa of the Convocation. The real university was all the colleges and their central office at the university buildings. Rightly understood the Madras University was as much a *teaching* university as any that its addle-headed critics were acquainted with.

A *residential* university it was not. If the preamble to the Madras Act VII of 1923 for the re-organisation of the Madras University had said, "It is expedient to reorganize the University with a view to establishing a residential University at Madras" and omitted all reference to teaching, it would have been more accurate. As it is, people are under the impression that we have altogether a new avatar of teaching university, the like of which had not been vouchsafed to us before.

What the Act of 1923 has done is to emphasise the distinction between Madras and outside colleges, making the colleges within a 10-mile radius of the city 'constituent' colleges and other colleges outside the favoured area "affiliated" colleges. This is the most distinctive feature of the recent university legislation. "Brahmano sya mukham asit." The head of the province forms the-constituent colleges. The limbs make 'affiliated' colleges. It was perhaps quite in the fitness of things that the present ministry should be responsible for introducing the principle of caste distinction in the matter of colleges.

We can understand the unrest and impatience of the outer colleges. If only there should be enough zeal for the development of university education and enough money forthcoming for backing such zeal, each college that feels left in the cold outside the charmed circle of Fort of St. George might straight way work into a unitary residential (blessed word!) university. And the universities will be none too many for the Presidency. Even as things are, what is there against each college creating a high level of efficiency in the character of the teaching imparted and making a distinctive college tradition of enthusiasms for particular lines of development? South Indians, the bulk of them, are too much accustomed to the sweet security of street houses arow, that it is too venturesome for them to live in detached isolation. So when new universities are proposed in areas like Travancore we can understand opposition to such ventures from men who have found the old foundations good enough for them and theirs.

But that Travancore should feel the situation brought about by the new Act somewhat humiliating and that it should seek the natural remedy of setting up an independent university was quite in the nature of things. Its 'Jingoism'—it has got the men, it has got the colleges, and it has got the money too—would be quite justifiable.

When the last University Committee was appointed by the Travancore Government, the most important things to decide were (1) Where to locate the university offices, (2) the territorial jurisdiction of the university and (3) the type of university to be

recommended. On the first point the Government was quite clear as to its wishes. It instructed the Committee not to consider any proposal which would run counter to the idea of locating the headquarters of the university within the State. As regards other points the Government was open minded.

As regards the question of location there were only three alternatives to consider. Was the university to be at Trivendram or at Aruvikkarai or at Alwaye? The predilections of those outside Travancore were in favour of Alwaye. The Aruvikkarai project was a favourite with the earlier committee which recommended a unitary residential university. Trivendram was naturally favoured by those in the State as containing the colleges more important for university education and as being the capital of the State. Grandiose plans of a university with palatial buildings and equipment and with an extensive campus might be and have been suggested and winning dreams evoked of an ideal university life, ministered to by all the civilised up-to-date facilities and yet secluded in the forest-like peace and purity of the Gurukulas of our fancy. This would be a clever way of postponing progress as, in the absence of Aladdin's ring it would cost a mint of money and an indefinite number of years for the university to concretise. Meanwhile we the obstructors are sped and our little checkmating of the clamorous enthusiasts for educational advancement shall have been effectively if insidiously done. In view of the circumstances so fully and fairly detailed in Chapter IX of the Report, the case for Trivandrum is overwhelmingly strong and in the present days of general financial stringency and expanding responsibilities of government, the Committee could not with any face recommend a measure involving "sacrifices of a truly stupendous character" and fix on any place other than Trivandrum. "The existing educational buildings and sites in the town are valued at about Rs. 50 lakhs, and they have taken years to build. As a practical proposition, it is to our mind unthinkable that such a sacrifice should be demanded of Travancore."

As regards the area to be covered by the proposed university, the Committee had three alternatives to consider. The first was for confining its activities to Travancore and having no administrative connection with institutions outside the State. The second was a university started in the first instance at Trivandram but keeping its doors open for the incorporation into it of institutions of a university standard in the neighbouring State of Cochin and the adjacent British districts, when such institutions should spring up and desire incorporation. The third and the last alternative was the creation of a university created from the very beginning by the conjoined efforts of Travancore, Cochin and British Governments whose areas would be comprised in a Pan-Kerala University. The first of the alternatives was ruled out as it was too exclusive and somewhat parochial in character. And the third, advocated by two members of

the Committee, had some specious arguments as that Kerala is a geographic unit as also a linguistic and social unit, that a common culture and common traditions have been built up on the foundation of a common language and perhaps of a common race, that the consciousness of the unity is even more important than the fact of the unity, that in the construction of the new university such a valuable spiritual asset should not be ignored or made light of, since such a body might be one of the best means of cherishing and intensifying the feeling, that is, each alumnus educated in the Kerala University should feel every inch a Keralan or Malayali and that he is something apart from and disparate to the Tamilian or the Andhra outside.

What do these men mean by the linguistic unit, social unit? Is Malayalam to be the only language to be employed? Is it to be the sole medium of instruction? What is this social unit of Kerala—the social unit which is to be an amiable blend of Nair and Cheruma and Pattar and Moplah and Syrian Christian? University education as we understand it is to humanise and liberalise each person coming under its influence, so that he feels he is one with the whole of humanity, and not to make him feel he belongs to this territorial unit, this linguistic unit, this caste unit, this religious unit, this clique unit or that. What do we teach young men in the university? It is either science or the humanities. How does the best culture of science react on the human spirit? The separating walls keeping man from man fall asunder and we are made to feel that the Cheruma and the Nambudri and Pattar and Mopla are alike impotent before nature's laws and that we can make them serviceable to us only when with Baconian wisdom we submit to them. And what do the studies called Humanities teach us? They more than anything else teach us to recognise the one in the many, the man common to Tom, Dick and Harry, the 'humanitas' common to the Diwan and the Thoti, the Regent and the Puliya girl. There is enough in the history of the peoples and in the history of the individuals, in the shaping influence of circumstances to make each of us feel we are individual, with interests diverse from others and we need not add to these the agency of a Kerala University to emphasise differences.

Our quarrel is with the argument advanced for making Kerala a university unit. With the territorial area in itself we have no quarrel. One argument that weighs with us against starting with all Kerala area is the enormous delay that would ensue in making three Governments see eye to eye in starting the new university and settling the details of work. The second alternative recommended by the Committee seems not liable to any objection. The start being made by Travancore does not preclude Cochin and Malabar joining later in due course when they feel prepared. Travancore feels the need more imperatively than its neighbours for a new university. The Government can start work and, if it does so wholeheartedly, justify its venture.

( To be continued )

K. B. RAMANATHAN.

## NATURE AND MAN.

### IV.

IF such is Aristotelianism, what wonder that men made of Aristotle a god, who could make no mistakes? Mental inertia at all times is only too ready to save itself trouble and to accept the words of a master rather than to re-think and re-state them. The Schoolmen of the great Middle Ages who had rediscovered Aristotle, thus re-thought and re-stated this philosophy: their successors soon enough were either unwilling to undergo the necessary mental discipline, when one so sublime, as S. Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274) had seemingly just said the last word possible on the subject; or else were bent on onesidedly developing this philosophy along certain lines, without taking into account the danger of their destroying altogether the equilibrium of the system, by emphasizing one aspect of truth to the detriment of the remaining body of truth. Only a Progressivist need be surprised at finding degeneracy supervening upon the great efflorescence of Scholasticism of the 13th century: a Scholastic certainly sees in that deplorable fact not a proof that Scholasticism was false and is now out-of-date, but rather that Progressivism never is able to account for the facts—whether of nature or of history.

It is to William Ockham above all men that I would ascribe the responsibility for having introduced chaos into the perfectly balanced philosophy of the School. By exaggerating Divine Omnipotence, he really led the way to a contempt of law, natural and eternal; just as Malebranche (1638-1715) and Leibnitz later imagined they were adding to God's majesty by substituting His direct action for all secondary causes, yet thereby really opened the door to Atheism. Of course Descartes is the obvious *terminus a quo* the confusion of Scholasticism has manifestly proceeded: but it was from the xvth century onward already that its sickness began Copernicus, Kepler and Galileo were proving erroneous the science of terrestrial and celestial physics used by Aristotle and S. Thomas: yet "rather than change something in the Aristotelian heavens, these epigones impudently denied the evidence of the natural heavens", as Bishop Monchamp\* mordantly remarks. And so Scholasticism becomes "out of date"; the New Learning smiles at it as at a back number; worst of all, Descartes, wishing to guard Philosophy against the attacks of the "Natural Scientists", throws the physical to the wolves, in the vain hope of being the better able thereafter to keep the metaphysical—with results which I have already sketched out. If by the xviii century Scholasticism is not altogether extinct, it is only because it lingers on "in cloistered refuges".† In the Anglican Church Idealism is supreme, in the Roman Traditionalism and Ontologism; though the Council of Trent had reaffirmed the philosophy of the School and every now and then a Pope had condemned the new metaphysics as irreconcilable with Chris-

\* quoted by Mercier, l. c. p. 425.

† Mercier, p. 426.

tian verities. Generally speaking, Scholasticism was forgotten: so completely, that a library like that of Kant's contained not a single book putting forward the old philosophy and that, up to our own days, generation after generation of philosophers has arisen, who had never as much as heard of it, except as fit matter for a jest.

It was in Italy that a return to the philosophy of Aristotle and of S. Thomas Aquinas began: a return, primarily designed to meet the errors of the metaphysics of the times. Sanseverino in Italy (1811-1865) and Kleutgen in Germany (1811-1883) are outstanding names in this connection; and in 1874 the Accademia di San Tommaso was founded in Rome. But until Pope Leo XIII by his encyclical of 1879 (*Aeterni Patris*) had given this Neo-Thomist movement a new impetus, it remained mainly directed against the spiritualist descendants of Cartesianism, and dealt only obliquely with the Materialism which the technological achievements of the XIXth Century had turned into the paramount philosophy of the age. The new turn given to Scholasticism, to meet the needs and shortcomings of the contemporaries of Spencer, was beyond all others given by Desiré Mercier, since 1906 Archbishop of Malines and since 1907 a Cardinal of the Roman Church. Born in 1851 and Professor of philosophy at the Seminary of Malines in 1877, he from 1882 to 1906 filled the newly founded chair of Thomist Philosophy at the university of Louvain, where in 1890 he founded the *Institut Supérieur de Philosophie*. In 1878 Wundt had opened at Leipzig the first laboratory of 'Experimental Psychology' and he, the founder of the 'Physiological Psychology' of our days, confessed in the end that "the results of my researches square neither with the materialist hypothesis, nor with the Platonic and Cartesian dualism: Aristotle's animism joining up, as it does, psychology and biology, remains as the only plausible metaphysical conclusion consistent with the results of experimental psychology."\* It was the very conclusion which young Mercier, starting from the metaphysical end of psychology, had also reached: he clearly saw, that what was needed, was not a new philosophy, a higher synthesis of Spencer and Kant, but a restatement of what is the *Philosophia Perennis* of Aristotle and of S. Thomas. He faced the facts of 'Science', nay he welcomed them; for if Scholastic philosophy is true, what has it to fear? And not only so: he realized that Scholasticism, and in fact philosophy as a whole, are not matters of academic interest only, fit merely to provide tests for seekers of degrees, but are first and foremost meant to solve the problems besetting the men and women of each age. Boldly he abandoned the Latin garb in which alone hitherto the philosophy of the Schools had been expounded; and by teaching in French and writing in French he, with one stroke of genius, made Neo-Scholasticism for the first time a live issue. The movement then started has called forth wider and ever wider wave circles: not the

least of which I reckon to be the complete translation into English of all the works of S. Thomas Aquinas, begun by the English Dominicans in 1911 and still in progress. Already the results are apparent of making S. Thomas himself once more available to large sections of the English-speaking world, whom the Latin technical language of the original had for so long prevented from knowing at first hand the sublime writings of the 'Angel of the School': and I venture to believe that this rediscovery of the Scholasticism of the great 13th century of the Middle ages in this 20th century of ours, will have an effect little less far-reaching than the rediscovery of the classic Antique at the time of the Renaissance.

Trendelenburg (1802-1872), the great German Aristotelian, had said that "the principle of a true philosophy is no longer to seek—it exists; and all that is needed is to develop it by pondering its general verities in close connection with the experimental sciences";\* and from Trendelenburg one may date perhaps the endeavour, which seems to have come almost to a head to-day in Germany, of reconciling Kant and S. Thomas. In that endeavour Lord Mercier's epistemological works must always take a high rank: for if he could feel with Positivism, he certainly sympathized equally with Kant's critical method. The real obstacle to the speedy acceptance of Neo-Scholasticism has been that this view was and still is so little known. When the veil of ignorance and prejudice once is pierced, the result is often like the proverbial falling of scales from one's eyes: witness the following lines from the greatest jurist of the last century, R. v. Jhering (1818-1892), who in a second edition of his "Purpose in Law" wrote: "I plead guilty to the charge of ignorance regarding S. Thomas Aquinas, when I first wrote this book. Now that I do know this grand thinker, I ask myself with astonishment, how it is possible that truths, like those he professed, could ever have come to be so utterly forgotten by our Protestant learned men. What errors would have been avoided, had one faithfully kept to his teaching! As for myself, had I known it earlier, I believe I would never have written my book at all, since the fundamental ideas which I was so anxious to make known are already to be found in this massive thinker's works, expressed with perfect lucidity and a remarkable fecundity of conception."† Today Catholicism is coming all round into fashion again. Scheler and Heiler are two names typical of the endeavour, paramount in German thought today, of grafting Catholicism into what is left of Protestant growth. The great Anglo-Catholic revival in England is indicative of the same tendency; and so is the triumph on the Continent of Europe of democratic parties, which are at once Socialist and Catholic. The once ridiculed Medieval notions about usury are being reverted to as perhaps the best antidote to Capitalism; the

\* Ibid. p. 447.

\* Quoted by Mercier l. c. p. 462.

† quoted by Mercier, l. c. p. 437.



ethical basis of politics, and subordination of national unity to humanity—Scholastic common places that they have always been—have suddenly become not only the latest theory but even perhaps the only way out of the *impasse* in which all the nations of the world find themselves today. On the side of the Roman Catholic Church again, the increasing number of "clerks in holy orders", such as Schiaparelli and Mendel, not to mention a galaxy of still living men, devoting themselves to, and making illustrious, the Sciences, tells its own tale; and makes one indeed, with Mercier\*\*, "dream of the early emergence of a genius who at this time, when mechanics and mathematics have so much enlarged their domains; when chemistry, biology, embryology and experimental psychology have been created; when so many other, subsidiary, sciences so incessantly make their contribution to thought: who I say will achieve the metaphysical synthesis of all this vast learning."

Spencer indeed has today already faded into oblivion, both as regards professional Scientist and Philosopher. But are they turning Neo-Scholastics? And even if they are, what about the man-in-the-street?

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

## REVIEWS.

### CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE.

INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE. By H. L. CHABLANI, M. A., (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 484. Rs. 4-8-0.

THIS brochure is a poor production. Within the small compass of 180 pages devoted by the author to a hurried treatment of a somewhat complicated subject, there is neither sufficiency of information nor sufficiency of illumination. Methodology is conspicuous by its absence. There are so many contradictions and compromises in his book that it is difficult to know what is the exact position of the author. In one place he says gold *cannot* circulate in India because India is poor. In another place he says gold *does not* circulate in India because there are rupees. After devoting one whole chapter to the discussion of the quantity theory of money—in itself the simplest and the most obvious proposition in Political Economy—he says the rise of the Rupee after 1893 was not altogether due to the limitation of its issue! Similar contradiction appears in his chapter on Foreign Exchanges. There he contrasts the two theories—namely, the Theory of Purchasing Power Parity and the theory of the Balance of Trade—and gives his judgment in favour of the former as being the true theory. Yet throughout the book he argues on the basis of the wrong theory, namely, the Balance of Trade. Again, in his opening chapter he says that one of the virtues which a standard of value should possess is stability for deferred payments. Yet he says that there is nothing absurd in reverting back to the silver standard! Management of currency is, according to the findings of the author, one of the greatest defects in our currency. Yet he recommends a convertible Rupee as the remedy for this evil!

The compromises which the author makes are witnessed by the fact that he agrees with almost

every proposal made for the reconstruction of Indian Currency. He sees good in Dr. Fisher's plan, in reverting back to the silver standard, and also in an universalized Gold Exchange Standard. Nevertheless, the author has his own pet plan and that is to have a 'Convertible Rupee,' convertible not in gold coins, but in gold bullion only. The author does not disclose it, but it is the plan suggested by Ricardo in his "Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency." Fortunately for England it was not adopted. The reasons were simple. To legislate that notes shall be converted into gold bars of certain weight meant that only those who had notes of the value of the gold bars could convert. The rest could not. In other words, it was felt that such a system would considerably weaken the effect of convertibility and would thereby give an opening to inflation. The proposal was not therefore deemed to be secure enough. The point whether the proposal was economical was not debated upon at the time, and may here be conveniently dealt with; since there are so many writers in India—and our author is one of them—who in order to show themselves civilized, indulge in vituperations against what they call the barbarity of using gold as currency. All these civilized writers on currency spend their energy in demonstrating the self-evident proposition which no one disputes that to use paper as a medium of exchange is more economical than to use gold. But these same writers never care to prove that such a plan besides being economical will also be secure in the sense of ensuring stability of prices. A merely economical plan which does not guarantee security is of no use. The plan to be acceptable must be both economical and secure. It will do, if it is not economical; but it will certainly not do, if it is not secure. Now I submit that the proposition that to economize gold as a currency is to impair its utility as a standard of value is as self-evident as the proposition of the civilized writers that to use paper as a medium is more economical than to use gold. For what does this discarding of gold from currency use mean? It simply means this: that by economising the use of gold you thereby increase its supply, and by increasing its supply you lower its value i.e. gold by reason of this economy in its use becomes a depreciating commodity and therefore unfit to that extent to function as a standard of value. It cannot be denied that issues of paper money, or any other substitute for that matter, affect the demand for metallic money. There are no doubt some who make the reservation that the demand for metallic money will or will not be affected by a paper issue according as the paper money is convertible or inconvertible. But this is an error. The test is whether the paper issues are covered or uncovered by a metallic reserve. If they are covered, then they will not affect the demand for metallic money. But if they are uncovered, then they will affect the demand for metallic money whether they are convertible or inconvertible. The reason is: covered notes merely represent metallic money; but uncovered notes add to the stock of money and by increasing its volume lower their value. Therefore you cannot both economise gold and also use it as a standard. If you want to economise gold, you must abandon gold as a standard of value. Besides, in the present day there is no necessity to economise gold, because there is all over the world such a great plethora of money that the less we economise gold the better. From this point of view the Gold Exchange Standard, once a boon, is now a curse. It served a very useful purpose for some time. From 1873 the production of gold had fallen off and the economy effected by the Gold Exchange Standard was indeed very welcome because

\*\* I. a. p. 392.

it helped in a period of contraction to expand the money of the countries of the world and thereby maintain the stability of the international price system by preventing the rapid fall in prices, which would have been inevitable if all the countries which established the gold standard had also adopted gold as currency. But after 1910 conditions changed and the production of gold increased, with the result that the continuance of the Gold Exchange Standard thereafter not only did not help the countries to check the rise of prices but actually helped to raise them by causing as a result of the economy in its use a redundancy of the already over-produced gold. The author approvingly quotes Prof. Fisher and others who blame the Gold Standard for the rise of prices after 1911. But Prof. Fisher forgets to take note of the fact that gold became a bad standard of value because of the continuance elsewhere of the Gold Exchange Standard. For if after 1911 the Gold Exchange Standard has been abandoned and countries had used gold instead of economising it, there would have been no redundancy of gold and the rise of prices consequent on it would have been arrested. The Gold Exchange Standard from this point of view has outlived its purpose and is now doing positive harm. In the light of these considerations it is not possible to have any sympathy with projects that economise the use of gold and yet maintain it as a standard of value.

These points must have entirely escaped the author when he conceived his project of a Rupee convertible into gold bullion. But convertibility into gold bars does not embody the whole plan of the author. Along with convertibility he says a limit must be placed on the issue of rupees and small notes, even when they are legally convertible into gold bullion. The currency in India should be allowed to expand annually by only a certain small percentage representing its normal rate of progress in business. Beyond that percentage Government should have no power to increase the currency... In giving reasons for this fluctuating limit on the issue of rupees and small notes, the author says "A 'convertible rupee,' being small in its denomination, is no adequate safe-guard against inflation; for, as the older economists clearly showed, the *de facto* suspended convertibility of the small note makes it practically inconvertible, and its over-issue is just as likely as that of inconvertible paper." All this is fantastic if not strange. It is strange because the author in one place says "convertibility is the best safety-value for redundancy of currency; it provides the easiest automatic danger signal to Government which is inflating the currency." Now, if this is so, why is a convertible Rupee not sufficient for the purpose the author has in view? The author is quite wrong when he says that the older economists believed that convertibility of small notes was not a sufficient safeguard against over-issue. What the older economists feared was not that convertibility was not a sufficient safeguard against over-issue of notes of small denomination; but that convertibility was not enough to maintain gold in circulation if the Banks were allowed to issue notes of small denomination—a view which is quite different from the one ascribed by the author to the older economists. Again, to realize their aim the older economists did not urge, as our author represents them to have done, the placing of a limit on their issue. What they urged was a total prohibition of the notes of small denomination. That is why we find the Bank of England prevented by the Charter Act from issuing notes of lesser denomination than £5. To be consistent, the author should have recommended that the Government of India should not

issue Rupees or silver notes of lesser denomination than Rs. 5. Instead of this he recommends a haphazard and an unworkable plan. Supposing it were possible to fix this percentage—the author has not told us how to do it—is the percentage to be maintained at all times? Or will it be sufficient if it were found at the end of the financial year that the percentage has not been exceeded? If the latter is all that the plan demands, then there may be no limits to the increase and decrease in the volume of currency that may be issued in the course of the year, provided care is taken that at the end of the year the balance errs on the side of an increase equal to the given percentage over the normal. Again, is the normal to be a figure fixed for ever or is it to be revised? If it is revisable then how is it to be revised and what authority is to revise that normal? These are some of the questions that have to be answered before the plan can be accepted. But one wonders whether instead of indulging in such ingenuities it would not have been better if the author had played the common role and recommended either a convertible Rupee or an inconvertible Rupee with a fixed limit of issue.

The book consists of lectures delivered by the author in his capacity as a Professor to his students at the Elphinstone College, Bombay, and at the Central Hindu College, Benares, and is divided into two parts. Part I which is mostly informative, the author says, is "intended for candidates preparing for the pass degree in economics." Part II "is mainly critical" and "is meant primarily for the candidates for the Hons. degree." As an examiner in Economics I always wondered why the answers of most of the pass students in Political Economy read like children's recitation of nursery tales and those of the Hons. like garbled versions of borrowed comments. It is now evident that this is due, as the author naively suggests, to the fact that the two sets of students are fed on two different kinds of fare—neither of which is supplied to them in plenty or certitude.

B. R. AMBEDKAR.

**ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN INDIA.** By P. P. PILLAI, PH. D., League of Nations, Geneva. (Routledge and Sons, London.) 1925. 9 × 5½. pp. 330. 12s. 6d.

IN recent times we have had a good many books on Indian economic problems, but none, one may venture to say, has approached the perplexing questions concerning India's economic outlook with more meticulous accuracy, comprehensive vision and sanity of judgment as Dr. Pillai's. He divides his subject into three parts. In the first, he studies the economic evolution of India from the days of the Moghul Emperors, and emphasises, in contra-distinction to the views of several well-known economists, among whom must be counted Mr. J. M. Keynes, that industrial development is as necessary to India as to any other country. In combatting the generally accepted notion that India was destined by nature to be a purely agricultural country, he examines the economic position of the Indian masses, and his discussion of this vexed question is one of the most authoritative and arresting portions of his treatise. He is too great a believer in a system of well balanced development, however, to demand an industrial system divorced from all agricultural progress, and the second part of his book is accordingly devoted to matters agricultural. In his fourth chapter he has some very interesting remarks to make about agricultural labour, and the connection, often overlooked, between agrestic

serfdom, agricultural wages and the labour supply. Part III examines the present industrial system objectively; and after two chapters dealing with the cotton industry and the iron and steel industry, the latter of which is now much in the lime light, as a result of the fiscal measures of the Government of India, Dr. Pillai discusses the questions of factory labour, industrial finance and Governmental influences fully and in their proper perspective.

Having thus outlined the contents of the book, we may now proceed to make a few general observations. The book is not likely to please politicians or extremists of any category; for the author has marshalled his facts and his arguments in an atmosphere of perfect freedom from prejudice and partiality, and his scholarship, accuracy and fairmindedness are transparent. And, in spite of the vast range of subjects he has had to traverse, a range which includes in its orbit subjects like the selection of seeds, the human needs of labour, key industries and the higher flights of industrial finance, his study is, all the same, characterised by unity and combination, and a conscientious adhesion to carefully ascertained facts. In short, the book has been happily conceived and brilliantly executed, and Indian Universities, anxious to "broadcast" sound and progressive ideas on Indian economics, may be recommended to prescribe the treatise as a text book in the higher college classes. Dr. Gilbert Slater, who contributes an excellent introductory note, pays a tribute to "the single-mindedness with which Dr. Pillai has pursued his definite aims, the accurate ascertainment of facts, clear thinking with regard to their significance, and lucid presentation." The praise is not too high, and in the words of Bottom, we shall desire his better acquaintance.

The book has been included in the series of studies in economics and political science published by the University of London, and is got up by Messrs. Routledge and Sons who have done their part of the work with their characteristic elegance,—but an index is badly wanted.

N. M. J.

### MISCELLANEA.

#### ALL-INDIA RAILWAYMEN'S UNIONS FEDERATION.

A MEETING of the General Council of the All-India Railwaymen's Unions Federation was held at Nagpur on the 6th and 7th June. On account of the absence due to his ill-health, of the President, Raisahab Chandrika Prasad, Mr. V. V. Giri, Vice-President, presided and almost all the Railwaymen's Unions in India were represented at the meeting. After the General Secretary's report was adopted and the grievances of the subordinate employees of the different railways were discussed at length, the question of the North Western Railway strike engaged the attention and received the serious consideration of the Council. The discussion on this particular subject prolonged till the meeting came to an end on the 7th June and the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

1. That this meeting of the General Council of the All-India Railwaymen's Unions Federation is greatly concerned at the prolonged misery of the families of the employees of the North Western Railway, who have gone on strike, and appeals to the Railway and other unions and the public to contribute their mite for the relief of the sufferers.

2. That this meeting regrets that on account of daucity of reliable information and conflicting reports in the press it is not in a position to form any definite opinion on the causes of the strike and demands of the employees, though it realises the gravity of the situation; and deposes the President, Raisahab Chandrika Prasad, the General Secretary, Mr. Mukunda Lall

Siroar and Mr. Edu Khan to proceed immediately to Lahore and other centres of strike areas, make personal investigation on the spot and take such other steps as they think fit.

3. That this meeting is shocked at the indifference of the Government to the sufferings of such a large number of strikers on a State Railway and presses for the immediate appointment of a Conciliation Board consisting of two officials, two non-official elected members of the Legislative Assembly, President of the Federation and two Representatives of the strikers for an early settlement of the dispute.

4. That this meeting is emphatically of opinion that various grievances of a serious nature exist amongst the employees of all the railways and urges on the Government of India the immediate necessity of appointing a Committee of Enquiry with comprehensive terms of reference to go into details and take evidence and formulate measures for their redress.

5. That whereas in the opinion of this Council public interests require organisation of the employees of all railways in India and Burma on sound and correct lines as already admitted by His Excellency the Viceroy, this Council of the Federation appeals to the Railway Administration to give full facilities to the Executive of this Federation in the shape of complimentary card passes, interviews with responsible Officials and necessary information.

6. That this meeting while thanking the Government of India for giving Railways the importance they deserve, by separating the Railway Budget, urges upon them the immediate recognition of the labour by giving it an adequate representation on the Indian Legislatures and demands that on the basis of the present strength of the legislative bodies at least three elective seats be reserved for Railway labour in the Assembly and at least two seats in each of the Provincial Councils, the elections taking place through special constituencies of Railwaymen's organisations, the All-India Railwaymen's Unions Federation being the returning officer.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA. By SANTOSH KUMAR DAS. Howrah. 1925. 8½ × 5½. pp. 311. Rs. 3.
- SIDELIGHTS ON THE CRISIS IN INDIA. By H. HARCOURT. (Longmans, Green, & Co., London.) 1924. 7½ × 4½. pp. 118. 3s. 6d.
- REFORMATORY REFORM. By ISAAC G. BRIGGS. (Longmans, Green & Co., London.) 1924. 7½ × 5. pp. 227. 7s. 6d.
- THE ETHICS OF BIRTH CONTROL. (Report of the Special Committee appointed by the National Council of Public Morals.) By THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER AND SIR JAMES MARCHANT. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London.) 1925. 7½ × 4½. pp. 179. 2s. 6d.
- LE SAINT-SIEGE, L'EGLISE CATHOLIQUE ET LA POLITIQUE MONDIALE. By MAURICE PERNOT. (Librairie Armand Colin, Paris.) 1924. 7 × 4½. pp. 211. 6Fr.
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- REPORT ON THE IMPROVEMENT AND EXPANSION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR BOYS IN THE UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH. By K. P. KICHLU. 1925. 9½ × 6½. pp. 51 + 22.
- BRITISH GUIANA—REPORTS ON LANDS, AGRICULTURE & EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS FOR 1923-1924. 12 × 8. pp. 17 + xvii, 53 and 15.
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## IMPORTANT BOOKS ON PHILOSOPHY.

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