

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE selection of the Rt. Hon. E. F. L. Wood as Viceroy-designate must on the whole give satisfaction. We are not of those who indulge in wish-fancies, nor are we simple enough to imagine every time that a change in personalities is made that after all it might betoken a magical change in our political destiny. A Tory Government in England is least of all to be expected to contemplate any such change, but as a matter of fact one would have thought that by this time all politicians in this country had come to realize that no English Government is likely to yield to the power of charms—be they the turning of a charkha or the self-denial of office or even a ludicrous display of mutism. If we want parliamentary self-government, we have to work for it by taking every parliamentary opportunity that offers itself, whether at Delhi or in the Provinces. The succession of Mr. Wood to Lord Reading is not going to alter that fact: nor would even the succession of, say, Col. Wedgwood alter it. No doubt we would prefer Col. Wedgwood to Mr. Wood: but as matters stand, Mr. Wood is as sympathetic a representative of Mr. Baldwin's government as India could get. He belongs to the left wing of the Tories, the Tory Democrats, who have learnt that a new age demands new methods and who are not opposed to change *qua* change. Best of all, both during his tenure of the Parliamentary Under-Secretariship for the Colonies (1921-1922) and especially by his well-remembered Wood-Winterton "Pact" re Kenya, he has proved that he is free from the taint of racialism. In this connection as in all public affairs his con-

scious endeavour to live up to his genuine Christian idealism is well-known. For he is primarily the only son of Lord Halifax, the Grand Old Man of Anglo-Catholicism, and his worst enemy, if he has any, would have to admit that he is a worthy son. In fact we venture to believe that it is to this fact that, in directly, the selection of Mr. Wood is due. For the great antagonist in religious matters of Mr. Wood in the Baldwin Cabinet is Sir William Joynson-Hicks, who, as is well-known, suffers from two *idées fixes*: the danger of Moscow in English Labour and the danger of Rome in the English Church. The recent appointment of English bishops has shown that the Home Secretary's influence in an ultra-Protestant direction is triumphant: and the getting of Mr. Wood's influence in an Anglo-Catholic direction out of the way and out of the Cabinet, by sending him abroad, is another indication of the same thing. Fortunately for us in India, England's loss can we believe on this occasion be truly called India's gain.

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Damascus. THE news from Syria this week is of exceptional importance and gravity. For one thing it brings into the fiercest of all lights the fact that the French occupation of Syria has never been acquiesced in by the Syrians. To raise during the war Pan-Arabist hopes, in order to promote a revolt against Turkey in all Arabia, has certainly not proved the best preparation of the people of Syria, Palestine and Iraq for the acceptance of French or British "mandatories" and of the rest of the Arabian Peninsula for welcoming foreign-supported dynasties. Popular as the French used to be throughout the Levant, the false position they have found themselves in during the last six years in Syria, has certainly proved too much for them. General Sarrail seems to have been exceptionally incompetent and objectionable, but this fact must not blind one to the other fact, that resistance to the French régime has been endemic throughout Syria from the moment the French began to administer the country. The extraordinarily savage massacre at Damascus has made manifest to the whole world what hitherto has apparently only been known by people who take an interest in foreign affairs. Anyhow this time America has moved, stirred by what in English parlance would be called her "Nonconformist Conscience", and America and France, since the recent debt settlement failure are not on too good terms. Besides the League really cannot leave so blatant a case uninvestigated and the Permanent

Mandates Committee is already moving in the matter.

All this would be awkward enough for a France, which had the Syrian revolt militarily well in hand: but that the very opposite is the case, is only too apparent. Troops are being moved from Morocco to Syria—and we immediately hear that in Morocco the French have retired to the plains again—temporarily of course!—which in plain language seems to mean that all the costly "victories" in the Riff have been for nothing and that things in Morocco are pretty much what they were before the great and costly offensive of a few months ago. These Colonial wars of course are detested by the common people of France and no Government therefore can risk sending the large drafts of French troops out of France, which the military situation demands. As a result of neither clearing out altogether, as the Communists demand, nor waging the war *à outrance*, as the Nationalists demand, France is wasting to no purpose whatever sums of money which already must be within the 2000 million franc mark. As a consequence the franc is down to 115 to the £. In fact France is heading for an extremely ugly future and it looks as if her six years' infatuation of bestriding Europe as the world's military colossus was rapidly drawing to a close. Perhaps nobody need regret that: but if room for regret there is, it must be that it is upon the Caillaux-Painlevés who are trying their best in the right direction, that there should be visited the sins of the Poincaré-Millerands, who really are guilty of having brought France to the disastrous *impasse* of to-day.

The League Idea at work.

THE whole sorry business is a striking illustration of the incapacity of force to settle anything. A recent French cartoon *à propos* of the American demands in connection with the debt funding showed a Frenchman saying: "I would declare war on America and let them win it—that would larn them!" It is really almost incredible that it is the one power which won such a smashing victory that at Versailles she could ask for anything within reason or unreason (and get it promised at least), which is today down in the mud. To-day France has learnt that even Germans are fellow-humans and that one does not prosper by maltreating them for ever as *boches*. She will soon learn that frightfulness is not a paying policy even in the case of "Orientals" and that, if Syrians and Riffs definitely make up their minds that they will not have French rule, even a succession of Jallianwalla Baghs will not change those minds. The League of Nations' method on the other hand is that of reasoning out matters in dispute—and more and more people fall back on it, not because they are by nature attracted to it, but simply because there really does not seem to be any alternative worth trying. And the principal point about the League is that it is not merely a clever notion, but that it actually exists. When things happen, as recently between Greece and Bulgaria,

the League is ready at hand as a means of dealing with them. No doubt France and England and a few other "Great Powers" might have told the Greeks, what the League Council actually told them. The difference between the two methods is not a difference in the military pressure that could be brought to bear on the belligerents, but that the Council speaks with a moral authority which the same gentlemen—Chamberlain, Briand, etc.—speaking each for his own country instead of as the Executive of a League of Nations would lack. Again it is not material force which tells. Even truculent Greece and Bulgaria have had to bow before Geneva: not because they are small fry, but because a League of Nations does not give them the chance of playing off one of the intervening powers against the other. That really is the point and not that the League Council spoke in different accents to Greece over Petric than it did to Italy over Corfu. Nobody but a fool pretends that the League already functions perfectly: the point is that it does function.

Robust Faith Needed.

WE deeply regret if by our topics in the issue of the 22nd ulto. we have unwittingly given offence to Lala Lajpat Rai, whose name came first to our mind when thinking of persons whose patriotism would remain incorruptible even when they are pitted against the wiliest of Englishmen. But we remain yet unconvinced that Lalaji is not unduly depreciating our countrymen when he says that the best of Indians cannot but fall a prey to the temptations which it is in the power of European authorities to hold out. The Liberals, of course, one can well understand, are much too weak-kneed to resist such temptations, but the Swarajists? And the question Lalaji was discussing at the time was merely one of Swarajists' acceptance of office. Suppose the orthodox non-co-operators, who gave up lucrative posts in obedience to the call for national service in accordance with the N.-C.-O. creed, and suffered much persecution at the hands of Government, changed their faith and accepted Ministers' offices, again to render public service according to their changed belief. Would they too sell their country just because they happened to be clothed in brief authority? We refuse to believe that human nature, even Indian nature, is so depraved as all that. But, Lalaji now shifts his ground somewhat. "The Englishman is too shrewd to give responsible offices to the best of Indians." We are quite willing to believe that that is Lalaji's estimate of British character, but under responsible government it so happens that even the shrewd Englishman has to offer office—not necessarily to the best of Indians but—to one who has the largest support in the Legislature. In Bengal it was Mr. C. R. Das who was sent for by the Governor, and in the Central Provinces Dr. Moonje.

Lalaji's argument, however, does not stop here. If the Englishman ever offers office to the best of Indians, he adds, "he soon finds out his mis-

take and by hook or crook he makes the position of the Indian so intolerable and unbearable as to force him to resign." In proof of this statement Lalaji goes on to say: "That is practically the burden of the best of Liberals who accepted offices under the dyarchical system." The fact that some Liberal Ministers had to resign no doubt shows that Ministers have to struggle against difficulties, but it also shows that Liberals rose superior to the temptations which, Lalaji alleges, must prove too great even for the best of Indians. Surely there would be no need for Liberal Ministers to resign if the only thing for them was to yield to the pressure of Englishmen, and what they did prior to their resignation must be counted unto them as a public service. Let us, *en passant*, assure Lalaji that it is not the view of the Liberals that the Britisher "is an angel or so altruistic" that Indian freedom can be won without a struggle. On the contrary they believe that an intense struggle is constantly necessary, so intense that every opportunity should be embraced of wresting some power from the Britisher's hand, and that is precisely why they advocate the acceptance of Ministers' offices. Lala Lajpat Rai, on the other hand, counsels Indians practically to withdraw from the struggle by advocating non-acceptance of office. Anyway, if no Indian, not even the best of them, could be trusted to use office to the advantage of the country, how does he expect the self-same Indians to win self-government at any time? And if both acceptance of office, which really means assumption of responsibility, and wholesale obstruction are, in Lalaji's judgment, equally undesirable, if Councils are to be used neither to assist nor to hamper the administration, why does he favour Council entry at all? He will do well to expound his views at greater length.

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**Opium in Assam.** THE official report of the debate on an opium motion in the last session of the Assam Legislative Council is just to hand, and supplies valuable information on the opium policy of the Assam Government. In 1920 the Government began gradually to carry out a policy of rationing, that is to say, a monthly figure was fixed as a maximum amount of opium to be supplied to vendors which was not to be exceeded. In the first year two-thirds of the shops then existing were rationed and in the following year the system was extended to all the shops. The ration sanctioned that year was 1,402 maunds as against the actual issue of 1,614 for last year. The ration was reduced in subsequent years to 1,181, 1,087, 1,027 and 936 maunds. But since 1924 the policy of registering opium consumers and issuing no opium except to such registered consumers is being followed. The policy was first introduced in Goalpara district as an experimental measure; now it is being carried out in the Kamrup district also; and since April next it will be put in force in the other four districts of the Assam Valley and of the Surma Valley. While no persons who are now non-consumers will be able to obtain opium at all, those who now consume opium will, to start with, be given generally the quantity to which they are accustomed, thus removing from them the temptation to smuggle, but it is hoped that, by the use of moral suasion, it will be possible to reduce their supplies continually. It is found by experience that if the supply of opium is suddenly shut off from habitual opium eaters they very soon get seriously ill. Though therefore the reduction of individual rations must be effected, in the view of Government, with caution, they promise that the case of every single consumer will be separately considered and, wherever possible, the

supply of opium which will be obtainable by those who are now in the grip of the opium habit will be reduced. But the great advantage of this plan is that, whatever may happen to the present generation of opium consumers, the next generation will be saved from this curse.

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**Famine conditions in Coimbatore.** ON the motion of Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Aiyangar the Madras Legislative Council adjourned on the 28th ult. to discuss the famine condition in the Coimbatore District. The rains having failed for two successive years, there is great scarcity of food, grains, fodder and drinking water. The wells have dried up and require deepening. The district depends to a large extent on cattle-breeding which has been acutely affected by fodder scarcity. The Servants of India Society sent one of its senior members, Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiya, to inspect the district and the report submitted by him amply furnished material to Mr. Aiyangar to raise this question in the Council. The Society has deputed two members to carry on relief work, but their work is seriously hampered for lack of funds. Speaking on Mr. Aiyangar's motion the Hon'ble the Revenue Member found it difficult to "avoid some words of sympathy" and assured the Council that the Government would gladly support whatever action the local officer took in the matter. Mr. Aiyangar thinks that ten to twenty thousand rupees spent in relief operations would suffice for the present. This surely is not an excessively large sum and no one is likely to accuse the Government of being extravagant in granting it. Administrative or technical sensitiveness of the Government is entirely out of place in a case like this.

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**Corrupt Practices Bill.** ACCORDING to the undertaking given by the Home Member in the Legislative Assembly, the Legislative Bodies Corrupt Practices Bill has been circulated to provincial Governments and provincial Legislatures for opinion, and the Bombay Government took occasion of a session of the Legislature to ascertain its sense on the measure. Surprisingly enough Mr. Joseph Baptista opposed not merely the particular procedure adopted in the Bill, but the very principle underlying it, viz. that bribery of members of legislative bodies should be made punishable. In the Legislative Assembly the principle was accepted in all parts of the House and Pandit Motilal Nehru, not content to give a silent vote on the measure, spoke in favour of it. He agreed that it was necessary to take measures to prevent bribes being offered to or accepted by legislative councillors, and the only question with him was whether this should be effected by an addition to the Indian Penal Code or by other means. To consider this and other points of detail he has agreed to work on the Select Committee, but he would offer no opposition to the principle of the Bill itself. But what was inconceivable to the Pandit has come true, and Mr. Baptista offered opposition to the whole Bill. It is a pity that the Swarjists felt themselves to be under a vow of silence and could not therefore justify their leader's position by arguing in favour of the Bill in open Council. But what they failed to do merely by reason of their self-denying ordinance the leaders of the Non-Brahman and Liberal parties, namely, Messrs Surve and Pradhan, did. Mr. Baptista really represents no appreciable section in the Council on this subject and consequently it was well that he was defeated, though the Swarjists refrained from voting.

### A PYRRHIC VICTORY.

THE Swarajist party will find that they have lost as much as they have gained by their proceedings at Nagpur. Their *morale* is gone, their prestige remains. Caste panchayats whose conventions are behind the spirit of the times often find themselves in such predicament. It was the Berar Swaraj party which hit the situation exactly. They disapproved of Mr. Tambe's action as against discipline, but recognised that it was in their line of progress. That is substantial as well as technical justice. We trust the All-India Swarajist Executive will not countenance the foolish campaign of persecution which rumour stated a few days ago as under contemplation by the Central Provinces branch. It is a punishment which would recoil on its authors in the end. Of course it would be of a piece with the mentality of the original non-co-operation movement which strengthened the bureaucracy whom it wished to weaken and weakened the people whom it wished to strengthen. That is the way of all anger which is not regulated and harnessed properly.

To Messrs. Aney and Rao and Dr. Moonje we would make an appeal. Now that discipline has been vindicated, let them look at matters from a large commonsense point of view. The needs of their province are immeasurably greater than the requirements of their party. Twice or thrice within the last two years they have missed opportunities of serving the former in preference to the latter. It is time they left the Mahatma—and also the Pandit—and returned to the Lokamanya. Poona and Bombay are the fountains of their traditional inspiration. It was a malign spirit which tempted them eastward.

The position of Messrs. Kelkar and Jayakar is extraordinarily difficult. They have not only our sympathy but our prayers for courageous and wise counsel. The private soldier who cannot question why is fortunate, not so the commanding officer on a widely extended front who is often called upon to take fateful decisions. In certain conjunctures duty is divided between success and safety. One avoids blame by pursuing the latter, while glory awaits him who elects the former course. The good-will of immediate colleagues and co-workers, however valuable in itself, is nothing to the applause of those who survey the field from a more distant and wider angle. Both these gentlemen have read widely and pondered much. They know how a narrow and unchanging policy can ruin great causes. They certainly need no instruction from outside, but in moments of acute mental conflict well-meant caution may prove helpful.

V. S. SRINIVASAN.

### "LABOUR AND HOUSING IN BOMBAY."

WHEN Professor A. R. Burnett-Hurst was teaching in the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics he tried to make an investigation into some aspects of the social conditions of the working classes living in the Parel locality of the City of Bombay. The method of investigation adopted by him was to

select one house out of twenty at random and secure information regarding the residents through volunteers who were asked to fill in printed cards containing certain heads of information. The investigation was interrupted on account of a vigorous campaign for recruiting for the war. But though this work was not allowed to be completed, Professor Burnett-Hurst continued his study of the conditions of the working classes in the City and his "Labour and Housing in Bombay" \* is the result of that study.

I welcome the book by Professor Burnett-Hurst as a desirable addition to the all too scanty literature on the subject of Indian labour conditions. This book has one advantage over the books written by Miss Kelman and Miss Broughton (Lady Chatterjee), viz. that it deals with a much smaller subject and, therefore, gives much fuller information. Sir Stanley Reed, who has written a foreward, has fallen into the common error of believing that the immediate problem is not so much the raising of wages as the extraction of higher service for the wages paid. It is not proved that "higher wages are not generally reflected in the betterment of the recipient." As a matter of fact although the real wages are not increased the workers already show an appreciation for a rise in the standard of being. It is commonly asserted that the Bombay textile worker is not now satisfied with having more mutton for his Sunday 'feast' but wants even a fowl. Sir Stanley Reed's statement that higher wages lead to increased absenteeism as a permanent effect is also not proved. The increased absenteeism, if at all it is the effect, is temporary. I do not contend that efforts in other directions are not necessary. The author gives in his first chapter some information regarding the City, especially about the extent of its industrial growth. The second chapter deals with the supply of labour. The author repeats here a statement frequently made that the working class population of Bombay is generally migratory and consists largely of semi-agriculturists. There is no doubt that a certain proportion of the textile workers in Bombay go back to their villages once in two or three years for a period varying between one month and two months generally and in a very small number of cases up to four months. But to say that the textile workers generally migrate every year to their villages is utterly without foundation. It is true that the workers sometimes go to their villages for agricultural work. But these who know conditions in the Ratnagiri district are aware that very few of those who live in Bombay for some years retain possession of their lands. Nor is there sufficient cultivable land in the district to provide work both for those who do not leave the district and those who periodically migrate. Very often they go to their villages for marriage ceremonies and women for confinement.

The chapters on Housing and Sanitation and on Infant Mortality do not call for much comment. They give a very cautiously drawn picture of the

\* Published by P. S. King & Son, pp. 152, 10s. 6d. net.

social conditions in Bombay. I am very glad to find that Professor Burnett-Hurst could not help connecting the excessive mortality prevalent among the labouring population with the one-room tenements and he does not believe in the myth of the death-rate being the result of the ignorance and insanitary habits of the workers. I quote below his own words:

It will be seen that the proportion of deaths to births varies inversely as the number of rooms occupied by the parents. One would be inclined to infer that overcrowding in one-room tenements is one of the chief causes of excessive mortality. It is sometimes stated, however, that the high death-rate results from the ignorance and insanitary habits of the occupants of one-roomed tenements. It is improbable that there is any foundation for this statement, as the habits of the Bombay working classes do not differ from those of their fellow-workers in the other industrial centres of the Presidency."

His suggestion for the enactment of a bye-law that the occupation of each room should be limited to four adults (two children under twelve counting as one adult), the landlord through his representative the 'Bhaya' (caretaker) being responsible for the enforcement of the bye-law, and both the landlord and the tenant being liable to fines in cases of breach, is worth considering.

I am glad that in his chapter on the Millhand, the author has drawn attention to the evil of fines and unclaimed wages. The attention of the Government of India and of the Bombay Government must be specially drawn to the paragraphs dealing with these subjects. These two Governments have so far considered that these evils are not worth taking notice of. On account of the importance of the subject and the urgency of taking action thereon I quote below all the three proposals:—

Much is heard from millhands and social workers regarding the fines that are levied by the mill for the enforcement of discipline and for maintaining a standard of work. Mill-owners urge that fines are introduced merely as a check to reduce the loss of material and depreciation. In the Bombay mills there is greater depreciation and damage of machinery and tools and a large amount of bad workmanship and waste than is found in Lancashire. This is attributed partly to irregular attendance, lack of interest on the part of the worker, the long hours of labour, the employment of inferior workmen (especially substitutes), the rough and careless handling. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the truth about fines. A factory inspector stated that it was exceptional for fines to be levied, and on the average they formed only 8 to 10 per cent of the earnings—a very high figure!

It may be interesting to cite as an example rules and regulations actually in force in a Bombay mill: "When any worker has given due notice and he is found to be irregular or

absent during the currency of that notice, his notice will be null and void, and he will have to give a fresh notice. A day's notice without leave means forfeiture of double wages. Overtime work is compulsory, and a workman who fails to comply through unwillingness or unfitness for extra exertion is liable to punishment. A mill-hand about to leave service without notice or absent from work for five days consecutively renders himself liable to wholesale forfeiture of wages. Jobbers and mukadams must supply hands to mills, whenever required to do so, or face peremptory dismissal or a fine. Unclaimed wages will not be paid six months after the date on which the payment falls due." Many of these rules act harshly and are one-sided. A man has to give a month's notice if he intends to leave work, but his employer can dismiss him instantly. We are informed that the rules are seldom enforced, but if that is so, is it necessary to have them at all?

It is stated that the amount of unclaimed and forfeited wages in the Bombay textile mills reach a high figure annually. In their petition to the Right Hon. E. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, in November, 1917, the Honorary Secretaries of the Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha ("an association for watching the interest of Indian working-men") estimated that assuming the amount of unclaimed and forfeited wages to be Rs. 2,000 per mill per year, no less than Rs. 1,74,000 would annually accrue from this source. It is urged that the sums which accumulate should be devoted to the welfare of the workers. On the other hand, mill-owners state that some of the unclaimed wages arise through workers not waiting for their wages when they damage or break a machine, and that the money should be placed against depreciation of machinery.

Professor Burnett-Hurst ought to have dealt with the subject of Efficiency of the millhand more fully. Comparing the wages and other conditions of work and life and the productivity in India and in Lancashire, the textile worker in India will not be found to be as inefficient as some people suppose. Dr. T. M. Nair has conclusively proved this in his masterly minute appended to the report of the Committee appointed in 1909 to investigate the conditions of labour in Indian factories. It must be admitted that Professor Burnett-Hurst is not so sure about the inefficiency of Indian workers in textile industry as some other interested parties are.

The chapters on the Day Labourer in the Building Trade and the Labour in Dockyards and Railway Workshops give a good deal of new information and deserve to be read.

The book is copiously illustrated with photographs. I congratulate Professor Burnett-Hurst upon his successful effort in giving an ably drawn and on the whole an accurate picture of the labour conditions in the City of Bombay.

N. M. JOSHI

## LIBERALISM, SOCIALISM, AND CATHOLICISM.

### IV. DEMOCRACY IN INDUSTRY.

LAST week, in considering the problem of Labour, we found that Catholic Economics see in the worker, first and last, a man.

"Man fashions himself by his work; in it he finds satisfaction and a noble unfolding of his personality" (I, 291): the question therefore seems legitimate, whether a worker selling himself under the authority, direction and surveillance of another, i. e. renouncing his own initiative in all matters pertaining to his work, can really be said thereby to "unfold his personality"—and if not, whether the system of doing work for a mere wage is really permissible at all in Christian ethics. Now the answer to this would be difficult indeed, had we not already seen that drudgery is not only a legitimate, but a necessary ingredient of human life: and the solution of the problem is readily found in the Catholic principle of accepting a thing as good (in this case, drudgery work), without denying that another (in this case, creative work) is even better. That is the great error into which Socialism has fallen—and it is obvious that it has fallen into it because of its Protestant mentality—that, because self-determinatory work is best, therefore working for wages must be an evil in itself.

The fallacy ought to be patent; for not only is it not evil for man to dispose of his labour under a wage-contract, but as a matter of hard fact the average man does not know even how to work otherwise at all. Even Socialists who like Mr. Penty (III, 185) rage against any "violation of the sanctity of personality", in another connection are ready to admit that "the majority, the vast majority, I believe, would, other things being equal, prefer to work as assistants because they don't like responsibility" (III, 137). To work in an equalitarian association, in a cooperative collaboration, "democratic from top to bottom" (III, 140), as was the experiment made by the English Building Guilds, in the years immediately following the War, is quite possibly a far superior way of working than that of the wage system: the fact remains that the history of the complete failure and ultimate collapse of these Guilds has proved that the average man is not capable of filling simultaneously the double role of commanding and of obeying. "The extraordinary multiplicity of committees" and cognate "internal problems of organisation" made—*taste* Mr. Penty—"the organisation of the whole of industry upon such a basis a proposition entirely unthinkable" (III, 139-140). A Council cannot navigate a ship nor lead troops; it cannot manage industry either, as the gigantic attempt of the Soviet to run a whole big country like Russia by the method of Workers' and Peasants' (and Soldiers'!) Councils has shown. The fact must be faced that leadership is a real quality and that it is one possessed by the few and not by the many; that the real prerogative of the many is only to veto, just as that of the few is to initiate. To unfold one's personality in creative

work of one's own choosing and ordering is a most alluring vocation: admire it as we should, we must not let its allurements blind us to the fact that it is not a vocation to which all men are called.

All rule must be that of an oligarchy: it is only people who are carried away by a mania for oversimplification who refuse to face this fact. But though rule be of the few, it needs the consent of the ruled, if it is not to degenerate into tyranny—democracy, therefore is as much of the essence of rule as monarchy. This is a general principle and it applies therefore as much to industrial as to political organizations.

Rule, as in politics, so in industry, was at first of the patriarchal type. The type still prevails, and legitimately so, especially on the land, where small farms are worked by one family each, son succeeding to father in due course. But it also applies to cottage industries, of which no doubt we could have far more, if human welfare and not dividends were the first consideration. The Catholic Middle Ages indeed exhibited an industrial system, not based on the modern idea that workers ever remain workers and masters masters, but on that of apprenticeship—men as apprentices and later on as journeymen working under others until they themselves were sufficiently proficient to start workshops of their own. But against mere Medievalists to whom all machinery is anathema, it is necessary to emphasize that the cottage system does not lend itself to the production of, say, an ocean liner and that, as a matter of fact, civilization has gained vastly by the production of ocean liners. Mr. Penty, who is too sensible to want the division of labour to be thrown overboard, shelters his Nihilistic propensities behind the phrase "sub-division of labour," which he defines as "the splitting up of a craft into a number of detailed processes" (III, 177): but on close inspections it is really obvious that *sub-division* of labour is merely a synonym for *division* of labour. The fact is that a factory is an embodiment of human reason and therefore that to be a part of it, to share in the working out of ends, to have before one's eyes the logical interrelation of highly complex processes and divisions of labour, to take one's part in a great enterprise of collaboration—is or can be and should be a great civilizatory opportunity. It is agreed on all sides that factory work makes for mental alertness and that the dullness of the proverbial country yokel gets transformed in one generation of city life. Complexity indeed is of the essence of human life, of "the good life:" hence to decry the factory for "mutilating the labourer into a fragment of a man and degrading him to the level of an appendage of a machine" (III, 137), is only to decry the abuse of a development which in itself is full of promise.

And when we consider the aetiology of that development, we find it to spring in the last instance from the massing together of human beings. Just as civilization itself was born when the invention of agriculture made the living of multitudes in close proximity a possibility, and turned tribes of food-gathering savages into citizens of food-producing

communities: so also does the advent of the machine age enable ever larger multitudes of workers to labour together in an ever new and ever growing interdependence of co-operation. Human cupidity no doubt has vitiated much of the good that is inherent in the system of large-scale machine production: but *abusus non tollit usum*. The Church certainly has not fallen into the Medievalist error of wanting to anathematize machinery: though it has very properly refused to idolize it either, as if mechanical inventiveness in itself were a sufficient substitute for spiritual values. The factory is a civilizational school of no mean order and the keynote of the new civilization which emerges is a willing working together, not of a few in a patriarchal, but of the many in a democratic order.

At first employers knew only the patriarchal method of the pre-machine age; but in applying it to the multitudes of their "hands", who no longer formed a family even of sorts, the system suffered a sea-change and patriarchy soon became mere autocracy and tyranny—the good of the ruler becoming its sole consideration, the good of the ruled a negligible quantity. True enough some employers tried their best to act really as *ma-bap* to their employees—witness the Rowntrees, Wedgwoods and Levers of England—but the callousness with which the vast majority of employers abandoned the private life of their employees to take care of itself in appalling slums, proves that paternalism is not enough. Especially during and since the War it has come to be increasingly recognized that, after all, to get the best out of workers, one must get their willing co-operation in the work. Leaving aside altogether such strike methods as sabotage, ca-canny and working to rule, most employers nowadays have come to see that not only resentful but even apathetic workmen are not cheap producers, whatever their wage, and that even from a mere financial point of view it is becoming not only an advantage but a necessity to have some permanent machinery for ensuring the ventilation of workers' grievances, whether about their conditions of work or their foremen's immediate rule in the workshop. This new development has taken many forms—e.g. that of the shop stewards of Britain or of the advisory councils (*Betriebsräte*) of Germany: but what is common to them all is the democratic principle that the consent of the ruled must be obtained, if any rule, whether industrial or political, is to be beneficial.

This of course does not mean that the workers themselves run the factory or have its management in their hands—any more than the voters in the State run its government themselves direct. No doubt this latter system has also been tried and although its achievements so far are rather discouraging (*vide* the big strikes in the Wholesale Co-Operative Society of England, the failure of the Building Guilds there, the non-remunerativeness of industries in Russia as long as run on the pure *Soviet* system), one can not altogether rule it out. Co-operative Societies for production

have proved feasible and may have a great future: they certainly would seem to admit of the greatest amount of self-determination of workers in industry and therefore, because they elicit so much new responsibility, to be the most desirable form of industrial organization. In the meantime attention, I think, must be concentrated on the demand which would assure to all workers at least the right of consultation concerning the actual labour they are called upon to contribute to the whole enterprise. As the parliamentary system and the political consultation of the people is meant to obviate civil war and revolutions, so also should the system of shop stewards and advisory councils in factories make in future unnecessary the crude method of strikes and lockouts which are still such a feature of industrial life to-day. Liberalism may abhor this curtailment of the rights of Capital; Socialism may deprecate it as a treasonable watering down of the Class War; Catholicism certainly can but bless it as in entire consonance with all its economic principles.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

## LAND REFORM IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE.\*

### § 1. THE MEANING OF LAND REFORM.

THE agrarian legislation in Central and Eastern Europe after the war was of far-reaching effect and has affected profoundly the social conditions of these countries. The movement for land reform dates back many years before the war. In October 1917 the Russian Soviet government proclaimed the nationalization of land. This Soviet measure stimulated the desire for land reform in neighbouring countries. At the conclusion of War the volume and strength of the popular demand for land reform increased to such an extent that it was no longer safe to delay it.

Land reform may be described as "the application of new principles and new ideas in the handling of that particular set of problems which concerns the ownership of the surface of the soil. The principle that one man cannot hold more than a maximum area of cultivable land is land reform in the modern sense; so is the converse principle that all qualified persons should be entitled to claim for cultivation a minimum area; and so on... The ideal incorporated in the land reform laws was the setting up of holdings just large enough to be cultivated by family labour and not large enough to re-

\*1 LAND REFORM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. By LUJY E. TEXTOR. (George Allen, 1923).

2 THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION IN RUMANIA. By L. L. EVANS (Cam. Uni. Press, 1924).

3 NEW AGRARIAN LEGISLATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY. INT. LAB. REVIEW (Sept. 1922).

4 RESULTS OF LAND REFORM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. INDUSTRIAL & LABOUR INFORMATION, Vol. XI, pp. 26-29.

5 SOCIAL ASPECTS OF LAND REFORM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. INT. LAB. REVIEW (July and August 1925).

6 MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, RECONSTRUCTION NUMBER, Aug. 17, 1922.

quire outside help." Thus the creation of a strong peasant class was the aim of agrarian legislation in Central and Eastern Europe.

Towards the achieving of this aim a twofold policy must be pursued :

(a) To increase the area of the existing small farms to permit standard production by absorbing the whole labour power of the owner and the family, and (b) the creation of new peasants' holdings.

But how could land for pursuing this twofold policy be acquired? Legislators in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe had all abandoned the pre-war principle of purchasing land from voluntary sellers as the only principle of acquiring land. Although agreeing on this point these States differed in their positive method of acquiring land. The States can be divided into three groups according to the policy followed by them in the acquisition of land.

(1) Germany, Austria and Hungary fall into the first group. The policy adopted by these States does not attack land ownership as such. It only acknowledges that for social reasons peasant proprietorship should be specially encouraged. Land belonging to the State is to be used in creating peasants' holdings and the breaking up of large estates bought from voluntary sellers is to be facilitated by the State. The right of expropriation is strictly circumscribed.

(2) Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Rumania and Lithuania form the second group. The policy adopted by these countries reject large-scale ownership as such and the new agrarian legislation is based on the principle that this class of ownership should be suppressed. A maximum area, differing in each country, is fixed which an individual proprietor can possess and beyond which all land is to be expropriated. Further in the first group "expropriation is only a means of acquiring necessary land: legislation, therefore, does not as a rule restrict the rights of the landowner, except in so far as expropriation takes place on individual estates. In the second group large-scale property is condemned on principle and may be considered as sequestered from the moment of the coming of the respective Acts."

(3) Esthonia and Latvia come in the third group. In these two countries it is not estates exceeding a specified area which are expropriated but those belonging to certain classes.

## § 2. EXPROPRIATION AND COMPENSATION.

*Rumania.*—The governing classes in Rumania had the sense to realize the fact that an attempt to retain all would result in losing all. While the Germans were in occupation of Bucarest Parliament convoked a constituent assembly at Jassy. This body amended (June 1917) Article 19 of the Constitution regulating private property. The State already had the right to expropriate for reasons of public utility. The constitutional amendment of Jassy extended this principle to expropriations for reasons of national utility. The principle was embodied in the royal decree of

Dec. 15, 1918 and the work of expropriation was taken up immediately. The Parliament of 1920-21 consolidated and developed the various orders and transformed them, for each province, into definite laws forming part of the Constitution. The area which might be kept by the proprietors varied according as the land was in the hills or on the plains, the demand for land and the type of owner. The following table gives the area which might be kept by proprietors under these different circumstances.

	HECTARES.*			
	Hill	Plain		
		Demand Great	Demand less	Demand satisfied
Owner Cultivators.	100	150	200	250
Owners with improvements, buildings, etc.	100	200	300	500
Owners with more than one estate.	200	250	400	500

The Act for agrarian reform provides adequate compensation for the dispossessed proprietors. The compensation was fixed on the basis of an evaluation made of the land, with a maximum of forty times the annual regional rentals established for the period 1917-22. The payment of compensation was to be made in special 5 per cent. Land Bonds which were redeemable within fifty years. The State agreed to share the burden with the new proprietors whose quota was fixed at twenty times the regional rentals for the period 1917-22, the State undertaking to pay the difference. Though the compensation was provided on a very liberal scale, the rapid depreciation of the national currency rendered expropriation with compensation almost equivalent to confiscation.

*Czecho-Slovakia.*—The Czecho-Slovak Declaration of Independence of Oct. 10, 1918 had declared "The Czecho-Slovak nation will carry out far-reaching social and economic reforms. The largest estates will be redeemed for home colonization." The Republic came into existence on October 20, 1918. One of the first Acts of the Committee of Five, constituting the provisional government, was to issue a law prohibiting all properties listed in the Land Register to be alienated or mortgaged. The Land Register contained full data of large estates since the 13th century and served to designate them for the purpose of the new law. The law providing for expropriation was passed on April 16, 1919 after a great deal of discussion between the parties. Among other things the law provided that the owner of estates may not alienate or lease or mortgage or divide his land without the consent of the proper authorities. He must surrender it to the government when called upon to

\* 5 hectares = 12 acres.



do so. Estates were defined as units comprising more than 150 hectares of arable land or 250 hectares of various kinds of land. These figures represent the area which the owner of an expropriated estate may retain. The Act further provided for the proper management by the proprietors of the estates up to the moment of eventual transfer. This clause safeguarded against neglect as also undue and improper exploitation with a view to recoup the loss resulting from dispossession.

The law concerning the taking over and the compensation of expropriated estates was passed on April 8, 1920. Compensation was based upon the average price in the open market during the years 1913-15 for all expropriated areas exceeding 100 hectares and up to 1000 hectares. The price was to be lowered one tenth per cent. for every 100 hectares over 1000 hectares, but not more than 30 per cent. however large the estate may be. To equalise the advantages of those who have to resign their estates at once and those who are left in possession for a time, further reduction of one-twentieth per cent was arranged on the latter class of proprietors, from the year 1923 onwards. The payment of compensation could not all be in cash as it would have led to serious inflation of the currency. Cash payment however was very heavy, being 53 per cent. of the whole. A register of remaining amounts was kept; they were treated as public debts bearing 4 per cent. interest, the rate being estimated as the annual average profit on capital invested in large-scale agricultural undertakings. In fixing the price account was taken of the production zones—beet, cereals, etc.—in which the land was situated as also the kind of land.

(To be concluded.)

J. B. SEN.

## REVIEWS.

### ENZYMES AND THEIR ACTION.

**THE NATURE OF ENZYME ACTION.** By SIR W. M. BAYLISS. (Longmans, Green & Co., London.) 1925. 9½ x 6. pp. 197. 9s.

In the region which is common both to Physiology and to Chemistry, especially organic, and which has now acquired the importance of an independent science under the name of Bio-chemistry, processes known as fermentation play indeed a most important part. Although it is not generally difficult to say whether a particular process is or is not a fermentation, it is not possible to give a comprehensive definition. A well-known example of a fermentation process is the transformation of ordinary cane sugar into alcohol, a reaction which has been known from very ancient times, and which even today plays such an important part in social and economic questions.

In this process of alcoholic fermentation, sugar is transformed into alcohol and carbonic acid gas, in addition to other by-products like glycerin, etc. The change is brought about by the action of "yeast" a low-form organism, which consists of very small cells, which multiply by the process known as "budding." One cell divides itself into two, they in turn give rise to four, and so on.

The classical work of Pasteur, the eminent French scientist, proved that these yeast cells were responsible for this process, he also found out that the process can be stopped by means of heat, or of poisons and antiseptics. The opponents of this so-called vitalistic theory advocated the hypothesis of a purely mechanical action—a sort of sympathetic action—of the cells. Their ideas also received partial support by later researches, which proved that the action of the cells was only indirect in that they produced certain substances, which then were the actual reagents which acted on the molecules of sugar. Büchner actually succeeded in separating this substance from the cells by crushing them and extracting them by means of a suitable solvent. This was the first representative of the large class of substances similarly obtained and later on called "enzymes." They are highly complicated compounds, generally very sensitive to heat and also to the action of strong antiseptics. They belong to a large class of substances known as catalysts, and which may be defined as substances which bring about a chemical change, without themselves taking any active part in it.

A very crude mechanical comparison will perhaps make the matter clearer. If a ball is placed at the top of an inclined surface, its speed of rolling down the slope will depend upon the roughness of the surface. Now this speed can very easily be increased by applying a little lubricating oil to the surface, and the oil may here be said to be a catalyst, in that it brings about an event, without itself undergoing any change. These catalysts play an exceedingly important part in increasing the rate at which a chemical change takes place, and many industrial processes like the manufacture of sulphuric acid, of indigo, of various drugs, depend upon the action of such catalysts. We are now in a position to give a working definition of enzymes. They are catalysts produced by living organisms. This does not of course exclude their eventual synthesis in the laboratory.

The exact way in which these enzymes act as catalytic agents is still a matter of investigation and speculation. But it has already been established that the enzymes belong to that class of substances which are known as colloids. A "solution" of glue or that of starch or milk are examples of colloids. In all these cases the size of the particles dispersed in the liquid medium is much larger than in the case of real solutions like those of common salt or of sugar in water, but much smaller than in the case of ordinary suspensions like a stirred up mixture of clay and water. With an ordinary microscope, a real solution and a colloidal solution both appear to be homogeneous, but a suspension appears to be heterogeneous. With the instrument known as "ultra-microscope" however, a colloidal solution appears heterogeneous, while a solution still retains its homogeneity. Now all the known enzymes have been shown to be colloids, and their action on the different substances in bringing about a chemical change is largely an action of surface absorption. Thus if two substances are both absorbed by a particular enzyme, their concentration on the surface of the colloid particles increases considerably, and the velocity of the reaction between them (i. e., the number of the molecules which act upon one another in unit time) naturally increases. It is also quite clear, that the smaller the size of the colloid particles, the greater will be the surface, and the higher the activity of the enzyme. This hypothesis also explains the selective action of the enzymes, for the action will naturally depend on the absorbing power of the colloidal particles, which will vary with the nature of the reacting substances.

Enzymes themselves are very complicated organic substances which cannot stand very high temperatures. Most of them are completely destroyed about 60°-70° and so it is easy to understand that all fermentations can be stopped by heating above this temperature, and on this depends the process of sterilization. They can generally be active only in neutral solutions, and an excess of acid or alkali generally inhibits their action. The process of digestion, which consists of the action of the food on enzymes like pepsin, trypsin, etc. present in the gastric juices, are also typical enzyme actions.

The present new edition of the book under review gives a fairly exhaustive account of the work done on this very important subject, and the author, who only recently died, was acknowledged as the great authority on this subject in England. His book is deservedly popular, as the publication of this fifth edition proves. It will be very useful to students of chemistry and physiology, and especially to those who cannot make use of the more ambitious works of Oppenheimer (*Die Fermente und ihre Wirkungen*) or of Emmerling (*Die Enzyme*). The whole subject must however be said to be in its infancy, but when the attempts, which are being carried out by Willstater and his pupils, to prepare the enzymes in a pure condition and to determine their chemical constitution are a little more successful, we may get some further insight into the mechanism of the chemical processes induced by them, which are so vital to the proper functioning of apparently most organisms.

D. D. KARVE.

#### AFTER-CARE OF THE YOUNG.

**THE EMPLOYMENT AND WELFARE OF JUVENILES.** By O. BOLTON KING. (John Murray, London.) 1925. 7½ × 5. pp. 244. 6s.

A RECENT Minister of Labour in the British Government said that the half million boys and girls who left school every year were the "undeveloped or only partly developed estate of the nation. Their true development is not fundamentally an employment question nor fundamentally an educational question. It is really fundamentally a question of character..." It is from this standpoint that this book is written, dealing with the choice of employment and after care work for adolescents. 'After care' takes the whole of the youth's life within its province, looks after his education, his amusements, his moral health, continues, in fact, as far as it can, his school training, and aims at making the man and the citizen. 'Choice of Employment' takes the special province of his economic life, finds him work for which he is best fitted, warns him off the blind alleys, fosters his industrial training, and tries to protect him from being exploited until he is able to fend for himself. The former began as a voluntary agency, but is increasingly taken over by the State; the latter is almost entirely worked by public agencies. Both tend more and more to be forced into one organisation.

The development of these two activities in England has been traced, with casual references to the experience of other countries. The paragraph on the growth of play centres, organised games, summer camps and clubs is of special interest to workers in the industrial areas of India. "Modern industrial conditions have more and more robbed the mother of her prerogative of initiating children into the joys of make-believe, and have left to the father little opportunity to teach competitive games." The work undertaken by local authorities is divided into the following groups:—

1. *Social after-care.* General advice to parent and child, and help in social problems. Home visiting, and introduction to clubs and other organisation. After-care of juvenile delinquents.

2. *Medical after-care.* Following up treatment begun or recommended at school-clinic. Supplementing the work of the certifying Factory Surgeons. Advice on medical effects of various occupations. Treatment of mental defectives.

3. *Educational after-care.* Advising further education and securing attendance at evening and works continuation schools. Advice on vocational training and apprenticeship.

4. *Vocational guidance:* Advising on and helping in entry into industry and commerce. Collection and distribution of information about trades. (There is a very useful appendix giving various particulars about the common trades in Britain.) Improving the conditions of work and methods of selection of work and workers by competent investigators.

5. *Social organisations.* The opening, maintenance, and encouragement of clubs, play-centres, etc. In this the voluntary social worker plays an important part. The official may be necessary, but there are parts of employment and field work which are better done by men and women who bring a different experience to bear upon it. For the training of such workers, and also of paid workers in social fields, mention is made of the University of London's Ratan Tata Department of Social Service and Administration, where courses extend over one or two years, and secure a constant mixture of practical and theoretical work. Social Diploma Courses are also given at some of the other universities. Why should not this example be copied in India? It is not a heavy demand for the importance of the work. Five years' training is required for a doctor or an engineer; surely two years is not too much for a social worker. The Servants of India Society alone have seen the supreme value of intensive training for social service. A scientific course should be included in the curriculum of all the universities in India.

In addition to these activities, there is also statistical and research work, both of which are extraordinarily important. In these realms, America and Germany have made great strides. The Organismus of Berlin, for example, has embarked on four types of research:—

- (a) Vocational guidance and selection.
- (b) The better adoption of factory machinery and office appliances to human needs.
- (c) Time, motion, and fatigue study.
- (d) Advertisement study.

Somewhat similar are the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in England, the Psychological Corporation of America, and the Kyoch-o-kai (Japanese Association for the Promotion of Industrial Harmony), all of which aim at the advancement and useful application of psychology. Among the objects of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology are:—

(2) The investigation of the best methods for applying human energy in different factories, offices, especially in regard to (a) the elimination of unnecessary movements, (b) the most advantageous distribution of rest periods, (c) the reduction of monotony and the increase of interest.

(3) The determination and realisation of the conditions which tend (a) to the maximal health, comfort, and well-being of the worker and (b) to the best relations between management and labour, e.g., in regard to lighting, ventilation, methods of payment, labour representation, etc., etc."

Employers in the West have realised at last the value of the application of psychology to industry, and tremendous advances are being made in the study of the human element in business. In India, this study is still in its infancy, and few employers are as yet awake to the importance of a scientific study of the human side in industry.

We have touched on only a few of the subjects dealt with in this useful and interesting book. There is a chapter on the law relating to the juvenile and the adolescent, which suggest the lack in India of any sort of compendium of laws dealing with both children and adolescents. There are interesting accounts of evening schools, and works' continuation schools run by various large firms, which point to a development of adolescent and adult education that India has yet to see. Although dealing entirely with conditions in Britain, every social welfare worker in India would greatly benefit by reading this book, for it is full of information and suggestions. The problem in India is similar in few respects, but the care and employment of adolescents and the humanising of industry are subjects which need the study of the best brains in the country, and the experience of social workers in other lands. For the question is the same—Can the age of adolescence be brought out of the purview of economic exploitation into that of social conscience? Can the conception of the juvenile as primarily the potential wage-earner be replaced by the conception of the juvenile as primarily the workman and the citizen in training?

F. E. JAMES.

#### MODERN INDIAN HISTORY.

A SKETCH BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA, 1858-1918. By HENRY DODWELL. (Longmans Green & Co., London.) 1925. 7½ × 5. pp. viii + 326. Rs. 4.

THERE are many sketch books on the history of India up to the year 1858, but few that deal with Indian affairs subsequent to that year; and what books exist pretend to be little more than summaries of the principal political incidents chronologically arranged. Mr. Dodwell, however, Professor of the History and Culture of the British Dominions in Asia in the University of London, has written his book on new lines altogether, and his treatment is well adapted to bring out the inner significance of scattered incidents and to emphasize their correlation.

The volume is divided into three Books, the first dealing with the executive government and administrative policy, the second with foreign policy, and the last with political development. In the introduction the author points out three outstanding errors in the British policy as followed in India in the past: (1) detailed interference with the Indian Government on the part of the Secretary of State; (2) over-emphasis on efficiency, and the consequent exclusion of Indians from administration; (3) want of continuity in the policy of the Indian Government to allay agitation.

As a result of these errors and as a result of the spread of Western education and ideals in India, a conflict between the bureaucracy and the educated Indians became inevitable. It is true that the bureaucracy has to its credit many achievements, e. g. railways, posts and telegraphs, irrigation-canals, famine-relief, sanitary measures, &c., &c. But the bureaucracy cared only for efficiency and consisted mostly of foreigners; the educated Indians, on the other hand, finding themselves excluded from that bureaucracy, agitated for self-government, carried on by themselves. Prof. Dodwell carefully analyses

these inherent defects of bureaucracy—its tendency towards centralization, &c.

The second Book deals with the result of the operations of the bureaucracy—viz. the extension of foreign relations in which India found herself involved after 1858. Prof. Dodwell is an advocate of the Forward School and has a good word to say about the aggressive policy of Lord Lytton.

The author's analysis of the political development in India will be found interesting. He finds fault with the educational policy of the Government of India which he holds liable for much of the present unrest. The people were not satisfied with such palliative measures as the bureaucracy adopted—e. g. the introduction of local self government or of the Legislative Councils, for in neither was any real power made over to them. The dissatisfaction became more vocal and persistent. Political agitation was reinforced by economic distress. "All these causes concurred to render classes, till then reasonably contented with their lot in life and mode of government, peculiarly susceptible to the influence of that irreconcilable hostility, which from being endemic was fast becoming epidemic." (p. 226.)

It was under these circumstances that the Morley-Minto Reforms were introduced. Their limitations became obvious before long. There was a recrudescence of agitation, and of sedition even in Bengal. The great war for a time diverted the attention of the Government and the people from the main political issue that was coming to a head in India, but the announcement of August 1917 came none too soon. Prof. Dodwell says that this announcement marks the end of the three principal errors which he set out in the introduction.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were followed by a great political reaction in India. A similar reaction took place in the form of the Mutiny when the foundations were being laid of western education by Lord Canning. The Indian Universities were being established when India was in the throes of the Mutiny. They led "directly to the point from which the progressive realisation of responsible government was clearly viewed as the ultimate purpose of British rule in India. This recognition has been swiftly followed by another crisis of reaction; and here too the remedy lies, not in retracing our steps but in strengthening the bonds, physical, moral and political, which bind India and the Empire together, and in steadily cutting away that race discrimination which forms the worst inheritance of the period that has closed." (p. 316.)

Professor Dodwell has made a distinct addition to the political literature of our country and even if one cannot agree with all his conclusions, one can at least congratulate him on the spirit of fairness which he has brought to bear on his task.

B. G. SAPRE.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

NOW IS THE TIME: AN APPEAL FOR PEACE. By ARTHUR PONSONBY. (Leonard Parsons, London.) 1925. 7½ × 5. pp. 1925. 5s.

THE POLITICAL AWAKENING OF THE EAST. By GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER. (The Abingdon Press, New York.) 1925. 8½ × 5½. pp. 372. \$5.

THE ISLES OF FEAR: THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PHILIPPINES. By KATHERINE MAYO. (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York.) 1925. 9 × 6. pp. 372. \$3.50.

UN NOUVEL APERCU DU PROBLEME COLONIAL: Les Grands Problemes De La France. By AUG. VALLET. (Berger-Levrault, Paris.) 1925. 9 × 5½. pp. 213. 8frs.

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