

# THE Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE. — Office : Servants of India Society's Home, Poona ( D. G. ).

VOL. IX, No. 25. }

POONA—THURSDAY, AUGUST 5, 1926.

{ INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.  
FOREIGN 10s. 6d.

## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

HIS EXCELLENCY the Viceroy with Lady Irwin paid on Tuesday a visit to the Servants of India Society and contributed Rs. 500 to its Fire Relief Fund. His letter accompanying the donation is reproduced in facsimile on the last page. The Society is deeply grateful to H. E., not only for the generous donation, but for the gracious manner in which it was made and for the kind words of encouragement and appreciation which accompanied it.

\* \* \*

THE transparent sincerity of Lord Irwin and his manifest desire to understand have won him the regard and goodwill of all with whom he came in contact during his visit to Poona.

One of the to our mind perhaps most pleasing incidents was when, in his reply to the Suburban Municipality's address, which had enlarged on "the improvement of our area which already possesses innumerable palatial residences and many magnificent buildings," he "recognized the legitimacy of their pride," but asked them "not to forget that it is only the few who can afford to live in palaces and that they represented the many as well as the few;" and that the goal of their efforts ought to be "to provide every inhabitant, however humble, with a house that may be in a real sense a home." A similar note, revealing the man behind the viceregal office, he struck when in a homely few words at the Hadapsar village meeting he contrasted the principle of co-operation, which lay behind the efforts of the Hadapsar Co-operative Credit Society, with the principle of competition in industry earnestly asking his hearers ever to pin their faith to co-operation rather than to competition. As regards communalism, His Excellency in his reply to the Moslems' address laid it down that "the only justification of communal representation is that it should be the means through which every community should feel free to give what it can to the common cause in the service of India," and that otherwise it has but "the effect of narrowing the horizon of our loyalty and what was designed to promote the cause of unity may quickly become the seed-bed of division." He also admitted that "it is to the advantage that Government service should draw recruits from all sections of the people," but added—we say it with a sigh of relief—that there could be "no question of apportioning a share of posts to the various communities." Unfortunately, from his subsequent remarks, one almost gained the impression that this, the only sound principle, was only going to be safeguarded for the Government of India services, whilst apparently in the Provinces communalist

demands are to be given *carte blanche*. Is perhaps this latter policy intended as the only way of teaching Ministers and their supporters the ultimate futility of communalism *a outrance* by freely letting them have as much rope as they desire?

WE are extremely glad to find that the Bengal Muslim League has declared the question of music before mosques to be of recent growth and therefore not to be made a religious issue. Mr. S. R. Das at Madras on the 30th July has also contributed materially by wise advice given to the Non-Brahmans there to the efforts that are increasingly being made in the direction of inter-communal amity. "The question of raising the backward communities," said the Hon'ble Law Member, "should not be looked upon as a communal one—one of getting a few loaves and fishes of office for one community to the exclusion of the rest—but to view it as a national question." Sir Provash C. Mitter on the same day at Calcutta urged the national, as against the communal, view and rightly believed that the former could easily be made to prevail, if only "the different schools of political nationalists could agree upon a concerted action to fight the anti-national communalism." That is the particularly aggravating point about the position in Bengal that the Nationalists proper are mainly represented there by the people who still profess to believe in non-co-operation with the Government, whilst the bulk of those who are Responsivists are Communalists as well. There is a fringe of course, on the one side of sections like the *Karmis* who are both rabidly Communalist and anti-Government, and on the other of men like Sir Provash, just quoted—but the latter unfortunately are in a distressingly small minority, and their cool commonsense is not appreciated just now. Still, apparently there is a small beginning being made and it is to men on either side who are coming to see that the prevalent mob-rule and violence at any rate cannot continue that Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra could appeal during his visit to Calcutta. The despatch, however "unofficial", of two members of the Central Government as communal peace-makers—one to Calcutta and one to Madras—is an earnest of the sincerity with which Lord Irwin's government is endeavouring to co-operate with the best minds in either community to re-establish communal peace. Will the party men respond and put India first and themselves and their shibboleths second?

\* \* \*

WE therefore doubly welcome the formation, for the express purpose of combating communalism, of this body composed of persons who will not allow themselves to be identified with any sectarian

movement. It is necessarily a non-political organization in the sense that those who belong to it hold widely different views on political questions, and it therefore naturally suffers from all the disadvantages inherent in such a group. But whatever actual work the new party is able to achieve, the very fact that such a party is in being whose avowed object as to discourage the communal spirit now rampant everywhere is a source of great comfort. That this national movement could find so few sponsors amongst our politicians is a painful thought, so widespread are sectional movements, and we are not sure that even among those who have joined the Union there are not men who have given to communities what belongs by rights to the nation, men who have put themselves forward as champions of particular sections. If, however, men of a truly catholic spirit join it, we are sure it will be able to do much good. Even if the Union does nothing but pronounce its opinion on such questions as the Punjab Moneylenders Bill and Constitutional Reforms for the North-West Frontier Province, which are approached by most publicists from a communalistic point of view, the Union will supply a very grave deficiency in the public life of the country to-day. If it gets prominent Hindus openly to speak on the Mahomedan side of a question, which is slurred over by large numbers of Hindus and if similarly it gets prominent Mahomedans to speak on the Hindu side of a question, which is generally ignored by Mahomedans, it will tend to assuage communal bitterness in a marked degree. At present the need of such an impartial body is very sorely felt: may the I. N. U. fill it!

\* \* \*

WE very much regret to have to record the sudden death of Professor V. G. Bijapurkar on Sunday last at the Samarth Vidyalaya at Talegaon, of which he

was the founder and director. The late Professor began his career as lecturer in the Rajaram College at Kolhapur, where along with his official duties he carried on a large number of activities in his non-official capacity, not the least important among which being the conduct of a Marathi quarterly entitled the *Granthamala*, which maintained a high standard of scholarship and literary skill. In fact he was the heart and soul of all public movements in Kolhapur State at the time, and these activities, absolutely innocent and entirely beneficent as they were, afforded a pretext to the late Maharaja Shahu Chhatrapati, who had started on his policy of paying the most flattering compliment of imitation to the British Government by striking down tall poppies in his State under cover of sedition. Professor Bijapurkar then founded in 1906 his National School which is known by the name of the Samarth Vidyalaya. This was later suppressed under the notorious Samiti Act, again owing to unjust suspicion, but was eventually revived mainly owing to the influence and effort of Sir M. Chaubal. In the Nationalist movement which swept over the country in 1907-8, this institution was regarded as the principal institution of Maharashtra for National Education. Professor Bijapurkar was highly respected in the Deccan as a man of the utmost self-sacrifice, austerity and humility. He was a close friend of Gokhale and a sincere well-wisher of the Servants of India Society, of which they had striking proof as late as last May, when fire had gutted the Arya Bhushan Press of the Society.

\* \* \*

### LORD BIRKENHEAD'S SPEECH.

LORD BIRKENHEAD'S speech in the House of Lords on the 28th of July received a special direction by a letter written to the *Times* by Lord Olivier earlier in the month. In a passage of this letter Lord Olivier had said that "no one with any close acquaintance of Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predominant bias in British officialism in India in favour of the Moslem community." Lord Birkenhead in his reply fastened on the present tense used by his predecessor in office—"there is a bias"—and without much difficulty could assert that neither Lord Olivier himself surely, nor the speaker (Lord Birkenhead), neither Lord Reading nor Lord Irwin, could be accused of such partiality. But to go on from this to the affirmation "that the Government of India had *always* held the scales equally," is clearly a conclusion quite unwarranted by the facts of Indian history stretching from Queen Victoria's 1857 Proclamation to Lord Reading's viceroyalty. To jump from the one to the other is indeed "a hurried historical sketch" with a vengeance. To leave out in such a connection for instance Lord Curzon's viceroyalty and his partition of Bengal makes one doubt whether it was really only 'hurry' which caused Lord Birkenhead to leave out the policies of the pre-Reform period. That "partly on the ground of closer sympathy", as Lord Olivier puts it, British officials in the past, when caste rules shut them rigidly out of social intimacy with Hindu Society, naturally found more readily companionship amongst Moslems, who moreover still had the "master race" traditions which the British took over, is surely as little open to serious doubt, as that later on the British in India naturally turned to the "loyal," because eminently conservative, not to say stagnant, Moslem community for "a make-weight against Hindu nationalism" (Lord Olivier's words again), when the Indian Nationalist movement first arose and troubled the hitherto placid waters. The thing is beyond controversy and that the present generation of Secretaries of State and Viceroys is no longer Philo-Moslem is not a fact which proves it false.

The history of the pre-Reform period is relevant, all the same, because, if the Government of India had always stood out for the test of merit, quite irrespective of communal considerations, it would have hammered it into the heads of all concerned that the old "master tradition" of paternal favouritism and appointment by nomination was out and done with, and that therefore those, who wanted loaves and fishes, would have to be alert about it and rely on their own wits and not on pedigree or wealth. It is absurd to expect that a British Government in India could have acted like this in Victorian days: but it is equally absurd now to deny that British policy, such as it naturally was, is quite innocent of the present communal tension, however genuinely men like Lords Olivier and Irwin to-day may deplore it and work as sincere

peace-makers. Lord Birkenhead admits that "the system of communal representation tends to stereotype the cleavage" and it is unnecessary surely to repeat again that this fixation of the cleavage was due to Lord Minto and not to any Indian demand. That the 1919 Reforms without communal electorates would have rendered "Hindu-Moslem relations almost certainly much more violent and embittered" is another rash assertion of Lord Birkenhead's which is incapable of proof. The crisis brought about by a Reform Act which would have left out all communal electorates might have been acute (even that is not a foregone conclusion), but anyhow it would not have lasted and by this time India would have got over the "growing pains" and the crisis and settled down to a political life in which "communal representation would" not have "been stereotyped." No Englishman has ever said that he personally liked or approved of the system of communal electorates: yet up to and including Lord Birkenhead all British rulers of India have hitherto at least tolerated what they personally know to be a vicious system: just to save themselves trouble, not because the thing was inevitable. It is this sort of thing which makes Indians sceptic about the genuineness of the British "trusteeship" in India and makes them so often poignantly realize the great gulf which divides British professions and British traditions from the policies and performances of British rule in India.

And one can help such musings all the less surely, when one sees the almost avid, not to say indecent, eagerness with which Anglo-Indians, from Lord Birkenhead downwards, seize upon the present communal disturbances, to decry all further progress towards Dominion status on the part of India. Lord Birkenhead, it is true, now only speaks of the "acceleration of the statutory date for the revision of the Constitution"—as if anybody today, when 1926 is more than half gone already, expects that the Royal Commission would be set to work before 1929 by a Conservative Government in England. To-day Lord Birkenhead and friends talk of the Royal Commission's date; in two years time one can already hear them expatiating on the impossibility of constitutional progress itself, either because there are such communal animosities in India still, or because only two years ago there have been. It would appear to us that such suspicions in the Indian mind must be pronounced legitimate, as long as the Secretary of State and his subordinate government do not nail the flag of their policy to the mast of anti-communalism. If they agreed to a revision of our Constitution in the way of responsible government, they might well make it conditional upon such broadly democratic Constitution being accepted and agreed to, not only by a majority of the Indian Nation, but by an at least equally large majority of our minority communities. If the Government of India did this and in the meantime did its best to quench the heat of communalism throughout the country, its *bona fides* would be manifest. The conditions

for self-government would be there, for us to take them or to leave them. We might choose the one or the other, but in any case we would no longer be in the humiliating position of being promised sweets, if we are a good little boy. Fine words butter no parsnips, as Lord Birkenhead knows only too well. If he really longs for Indians to "compose their bitter differences" and thus to qualify for responsible government, he really ought to do more than make mere speeches, which, unaccompanied by such concrete proposals, as we have suggested, are and can only be sheer platitudes.

#### THE BRITISH MONEYLENDERS BILL.

THE furore of Hindu and Sikh opposition to a Moneylenders Bill moved by a Mahomedan member in the Punjab Legislative Council presents a sad contrast to the cordiality of welcome which all parties vied with one another in according to a similar Bill in the British Parliament. The former Bill (now an Act) is mildness itself in comparison to the latter; for it merely enforces the keeping of regular accounts and the furnishing of them to the borrowers, whereas the British Bill, in addition to very stringent provisions in this behalf, makes it incumbent on the moneylenders to take out licenses, restricts the rate of interest charged and imposes several other onerous conditions on moneylenders. Even so, not only did all the political parties in England warmly support the measure, but the moneylenders themselves accepted the general principles underlying it and certainly had no objection to urge against the provision which casts on the moneylender the obligation to supply information as to the state of the loan. Against this, a much simpler Bill embodying the most elementary regulations proved by the universal experience of all countries to be necessary to prevent the many abuses to which the profession of money-lending is inherently liable finds in the Punjab no prominent supporter outside the community to which the mover of the Bill belongs. This fact is the measure of the havoc Communalism makes of the Nationalism of the best amongst us, and the effects of communalism are no less ruinous because it is in some cases subconscious and works insidiously. No public question has now a chance of being considered impartially and in its bearing on the common weal in provinces where sectarian differences have become acute.

The British Bill first of all requires that the agreement between lender and borrower shall be reduced to writing, that the amount actually advanced shall be entered as loan, that the rate of interest shall be precisely laid down, that in repayments principal and interest shall be separately stated; thus every precaution is taken to see that there should be no vagueness about the conditions of contract entered into by the debtor with the creditor. Further, the Bill gives power to the borrower to get from the lender on demand on any

subsequent date a statement of the true position of the transaction. The actual provisions in this respect are given below for ready reference, and the reader will do well to compare them with those in the Punjab Act :—

8.—(1) Every bill of exchange, promissory note, bill of sale or other document given by a borrower to a moneylender after the commencement of this Act shall state the amount actually lent to the borrower and the rate of interest to be charged thereon, and where any instalment is to be paid to the moneylender in respect of the loan shall state the amount of every such instalment and the date on which it is payable, showing what part thereof is to be appropriated to principal and what part is to be appropriated to interest in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

(2) No such bill of exchange, promissory note, bill of sale or other document shall be enforceable for any higher sum than the amount actually lent with interest at the rate required by this Act to be stated therein.

9.—(1) In respect of contracts of money-lending entered into with a moneylender before or after the commencement of this Act the moneylender shall, on any reasonable demand being made by the borrower and on payment by the borrower of the sum of one shilling, supply to the borrower or, if the borrower so requires, to any person specified in that behalf in the demand at any time during the continuance of the contract of money-lending a statement signed by the moneylender or his agent showing—

- (a) the amount actually lent to the borrower and the rate of interest charged thereon ; and
- (b) the amount of principal outstanding and the amount of interest accrued, due and unpaid, or, where the loan is repayable by instalments, the amount of every instalment paid and the date on which it was paid, and the amount of every instalment outstanding and the date on which it will become payable, the amount of every such instalment being apportioned between principal and interest in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

(2) If a moneylender to whom a demand has been made under this section fails without reasonable excuse to comply therewith within one month after the demand has been made, he shall not, so long as the default continues, be entitled to sue for or recover any sum due under the contract on account either of principal or interest, and interest shall not be chargeable in respect of the period of the default.

These provisions as stated above met with no opposition at the hands of the moneylenders who all agreed that it is, on a long view of the matter, to their own interest that these conditions should be rigorously enforced. As an instance we may quote a passage from the very first witness (a professional moneylender) who gave evidence before the Joint Select Committee which sat on the Bill. "There is no advantage to be got," he said, "by any respectable moneylender doing anything which is not fair and above board to his client. He must show the man exactly what he is doing, and it is to the moneylender's own interest, if he can only see it, that he should send away his customer knowing what he has done, understanding the bargain that

he has made, and the interest that he is going to pay. I suggest moneylenders should be compelled to use a form like this", and the witness handed in a form used by himself. Others made several other suggestions to improve the Bill. One such suggestion was that the complete register of moneylenders should be available for inspection on payment of a reasonable fee (at present one can check only a single name for a fee of 1.). Another was, that all conditions directly or indirectly attached to the contract should be stated in the written document at the start, including any conditions about purchasing goods from the shop belonging to the moneylender and so on, and that when any securities are disposed of in the course of a transaction, the amount realised by their disposal should also be stated in the particulars which are to be furnished to the borrower.

Another moneylender, Arthur Smith by name, made practically the same suggestions in regard to the supply of information as are contained in the provisions of the Bill and further added the following :—

"In the event of any moneylenders failing, without reasonable excuse, to comply with sections 4 and 5 of this Act within one month of a demand made by a registered letter, the contract, the particulars of which have been demanded, shall be null and void."

Opponents of the Punjab Moneylenders Bill would do well to note that while the Bill introduced in Parliament proposes to penalise the defaulting moneylender with loss of interest, the moneylender quoted above make the contract itself voidable. Verily, if the Punjab Act scourges the moneylenders with whips, this Bill outlined by a moneylender himself would scourge them with scorpions.

As to the requirement that all moneylenders shall be licensed, we do not propose to say anything; but the provision limiting the rate of interest is worthy of remark. The Bill does not lay down a maximum rate of interest; it only seeks to help the Court in interpreting a "harsh and unconscionable transaction" within the meaning of subsection (1) of Section I of the Moneylenders Act, 1900. This Act gives power to the Courts to reopen a transaction if they consider it harsh and unconscionable, but what would make the transaction so was left solely to the discretion of the Judges to determine. The present Bill purports only to lay down a standard with reference to which the Judges could determine this important point. Lord Carson's Bill put it at 15 per cent. If the rate of interest was lower, the transaction would ordinarily be regarded as permissible, though of course in exceptional cases the Courts would still retain the power to decide that even a lower rate than 15% was exorbitant interest; but if it was higher, the presumption would be against the transaction and it would be the duty of the moneylender to prove that in the peculiar circumstances attending the loan a higher rate of interest would

be reasonable. This particular provision therefore cast the onus of proving that a transaction in question is not harsh and unconscionable on the moneylender, and this reversal of the ordinary rules of evidence was thought to derive its justification from the fact that, as Lord Darling, Chairman of the Joint Select Committee put it, "a very high percentage of interest is in itself a suspicious circumstance, and that it should be for the man who is to receive the very high interest to explain away the position rather than for the man who borrowed at the high rate." This percentage has now been raised from Lord Carson's Bill to 48 per cent. but the principle underlying the provision which indeed is the keystone of the Bill, remains unaltered. In this connexion the Uniform Small Loans law of America may be mentioned. "The lender under this law takes out an annual license which costs between £20 and £21 and has to find a bond for something over £200 before he can start business. A loan is limited to £60 and the interest is limited to 3½ per cent. per month, all other charges being prohibited, while misleading advertisements are also forbidden. This law has been taken up in 19 States, representing more than half the population of the United States and in none of the States in which the law has been adopted has it been repealed or materially changed."

At this point a suggestion made by Sir Mackenzie Chalmers, K.C.B., C.I.E., at one time Permanent Secretary at the Home Office and member of the Viceroy's Council in India, may be mentioned. He was sceptical of the utility of the proposed restriction of interest, which he thought moneylenders would circumvent somehow or other as they did the usury laws before, and suggested instead, in his evidence, a short term statutory limitation, preferably of six months from the accrual of the cause of action, which, according to him, would be more effective. After six months the debt would be a debt of honour. In that case the creditors would try to recover the debt before the six months were out, and that would, as Sir Mackenzie said, "pull the debtor up short before he had got hopelessly into the spider's web." He further observed: "So-called renewals would require very careful attention; you would have to draft the clause very carefully to catch the case of so-called renewals and to prevent them evading the statute (of limitation)."

### DEMOCRACY.

THE idea of the solidarity between Rulers and Ruled of which I wrote last week is then, as I tried to show, necessary to the healthy life of the State. This organic solidarity moreover is expressed in the consent of the ruled to their rulers, which consent, at one time merely implicit and traditional, has everywhere shown the tendency of becoming instead formal and deliberate. In other words, the responsibilities of the ruled are tending to increase steadily; for having in the past been mere-

ly called upon to exercise their power of veto as a sort of last resource, they are today expected to express their consent or dissent normally and with great frequency. The whole of this development is therefore but a phase of that modern tendency which claims that good government is not enough, unless it also be self-government. This is the claim of Democracy; and it will now be necessary to consider, on what principle this claim bases itself and whether it is justified in practice.

Now the basic principle of Democracy is nothing else than the principle of self-determination. An act is human in as far as it is controlled by will and intellect; when, as St. Thomas defines it, it proceeds from will on account of knowledge of the end. And will is self-determined: it moves itself, the principle of its exercise is intrinsic—not mechanical, moved from the outside. Man is a rational being, but he is not all rational; he is subject to the laws of vegetative and sensory life as well. Yet reason is intended as the master of the whole of human life, and the more perfectly that mastery of mind over the lower instincts and functions is achieved, the more perfectly human is the result. To do a thing mechanically, automatically, traditionally, because one has "never given a thought to it", is therefore in that respect to fall short of human perfection: to do it with full deliberation, consciously, conscientiously, is therefore to assert and practise that mastery of the higher over the lower powers, for the attainment of which man finds himself upon this terrestrial testing ground. But the State, as we have already seen, exists for that very purpose too—to enable man, not only to live, but to live well; or, as Leo XIII\* puts it, "man by active participation in the Commonwealth is intended to grow better." The State therefore must likewise, if it is to be true to its nature and divine design, serve that end of offering an opportunity for man's perfecting, i. e. for man making himself ever more self-determinedly what he wills to be.

Decision therefore as to which form of government is best—whether monarchical or republican, oligarchical or democratic—must not only be made to depend on which form ensures the greatest amount of technical "efficiency," but the greatest amount of moral growth. Democracy therefore is from that point of view a higher form of government, not, primarily, because it is technically more efficient or because it confers upon the individual more "liberties," but on the contrary because it places on him more duties, because it widens his responsibility and thereby enables him to determine himself more, i. e. to be ever more fully and truly human. But of course, the democratic form of government, if found to be intrinsically incapable of good government, would have to be condemned, even if theoretically it was in other respects a promising avenue to the better and higher life of the citizens. And to-day the voices

\* quoted by Tischler, Staatslehre, p. 157.

of those are not lacking who consider that democracy is bankrupt and who have turned their backs upon it and have acclaimed dictatorships as the only satisfactory form of government. Cavaliere B. Mussolini no doubt is making an interesting and most valuable experiment; but it is noteworthy that even he claims merely to be the *Duce*, i. e. the leader, of his people, not their lord and master. The root trouble it seems to me with democratic "leaders" has so often been that they do not lead, but merely have their ear to the ground all the time, trying to ascertain what their followers wish them to say. Such attitude is the natural outcome of the Liberal conception that sovereignty is vested in the ruled, which conception in fact obliterates the distinction between rulers and ruled—with what disastrous results, contemporary history is eloquent in its testimony. And this irresoluteness and pusillanimity of modern popular leaders surely is also but the outcome of the same abandonment of the old Scholastic conception of the State in this respect, viz. that, once the State appears no longer as based on the Eternal Law, popular leaders too can no longer base themselves on eternal principles, to which they adhere through good report and bad, not because the principles are pleasing to the multitude, but because they are true. The principal reason for the admittedly often indifferent results of modern democratic methods is not, I venture to think, a defect inherent in democracy, but due to the divorce of democracy and morality.

Even so, is Democracy really bankrupt? To all those who are inclined to pessimism on this score, I would strongly suggest the study of a brilliant pamphlet, originally a series of lectures delivered at Williamstown (Mass.) in the summer of 1924 under the title of "The Crisis of European Democracy," which M. J. Bonn has recently published.\* For one thing Mr. Bonn shows that, certainly in the War, it was Democracy which threw up great popular leaders who could brace their peoples to almost superhuman effort, whilst the passive obedience to traditional authority of the Central Powers was unequal to the test. Likewise as regards propaganda (at home, amongst neutrals, and elsewhere), democracy with its basis in persuading, naturally and easily beat autocracy with its basis in commanding: and after all it was propaganda which won the war. As this author so finely puts it: "These bureaucrats of the old order failed, because they confounded government with administration; because they underrated the human and overrated the technical element in politics" (p. 33). The fundamental grievance of all bureaucrats is that the time, which had better be spent in the task of administration, is but wasted in arguing with non-professionals about their task. When the old Autocracies had been overturned in Europe, that

\* Also in an English edition (Yale Press); but the book quoted by me is the German edition ('Die Krisis der Europäischen Demokratie') of Meyer and Jessen, Munchen, 1925. Mk. 3.

idea came back under the guise of a desire to return to the ancient system of "States-General;" of getting things done by "professional parliaments," by National Councils of Producers; as advocated particularly by the Gild Socialists. The idea has been incorporated into the new German Constitution and great things, practical things, a whole new mentality of real efficiency, were expected from these "Economic Councils." As a matter of fact, they have just in practice utterly broken down, however enticing the theory from which they flow: "neither creating new methods for the treatment of social and economic problems, nor substituting any new form for the parliamentary system of negotiation."\*

Democracy may be imperfect; it may be particularly liable to abuse: but what is its alternative? It is based on two principles—one, the consent of the governed; two, the superiority of reason and persuasion over force and coercion. As regards the first, we have already seen that this consent is of the *esse* of all government; but merely as practical experience it has become notorious that nothing is so liable to run to "wild" schemes, as the unlimited power of experts. Criticism by the non-expert of experts' plans is of course much resented, especially as it is often foolish. The remarkable thing however is, that such parliamentary criticism has been found to be the only safeguard against the even greater folly of the expert, against wastefulness and corruption, against the subordination of the public weal to sectional interests. If a striking example were needed I could think of none more glaring than the utter breakdown of the military and medical departments of the Government of India in the Mesopotamia campaign: departments the technical superexcellence of which was supposed to be beyond cavil, departments where the expert ruled supreme without the breath of criticism or interference on the part of the "outsider". Again just now here in this Presidency we have a similar example in the Bombay Reclamation Scheme, put through by a super-energetic and super-efficient Governor on the unfettered advice of the experts.

But this first point indeed hardly needs further labouring: what, however, of the second, that negotiation is better than coercion? The "talking shop" of parliament has been held up to ridicule: but the real *gravamen* is not against the talking itself, but against the fact that talking is no longer meant to persuade. Deputies speak, to put forward their party view, to confirm their followers outside Parliament in their convictions, but no longer to persuade their opponents in the house; they vote, not according to the strength of the arguments heard, but according to their own party's instructions. The problem has come strikingly to a head in Dublin, where city government by rival factions in the City Council has been superseded by government by

\* Bonn, l.c., p. 122.

expert "city managers", appointed by the Saorstát Government direct and administering the city without the possibility of interference in the details of administration on the part of the elected municipal councillors. On a far larger scale, the problem has of course come to a head in Italy. But the complete suspension of democratic control cannot continue, for even Italy realizes that already and the realization will become acute when the question of a successor to Cavaliere Mussolini arises—for, as Mr. Bonn wittily says, "mediocrities can carry on the democratic system, but a mediocrity as dictator is an impossibility" (p. 189). The reason why Italy is today ruled dictatorially is that her dictator is accepted as ruling with a view to the common interests of the whole, whilst the former party government was obviously ruling with a view to sectional interests only. The State is however only intended, as we have seen already, to promote the interests common to all citizens: hence when a government governs contrary to that basic principle, it no longer deserves to be obeyed at all. Hence Cavaliere Mussolini, hence the Dublin City Manager.

To sum up, I would say that Fascism is not an alternative to Democracy, but a natural reaction against Sectionalism. Democracy is going through a process of development: its modern form is of recent date, it is trying to find its feet, it is naturally assailed by a number of infantile diseases. The first defect it is suffering from today, is the absence of strong leadership and the idea that the functions of rulers and ruled are interchangeable; the second, that politics are based on opportunism and the balancing of rival interests, instead of on principle and the solidarity of all organic parts of the Commonwealth; the third, that parliamentarianism has largely ceased to be a taking counsel together and has become merely a new form of exercising coercion.

Democracy (as Mr. Chesterton has said about Christianity) has not failed, but has been found difficult. But the difficulties are the very *raison d'être* for Democracy, as they are for human life in general: they are opportunities for self-determination and they could not be opportunities for the better, if they were not also opportunities for the worse. Democracy is dangerous: granted. But so is all life.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

## REVIEWS.

### IRELAND.

**IRELAND.** By STEPHEN GWYNN. (The Modern World Series.) (Ernest Benn, Ltd., London.) 1925. 8½ × 5½. pp. 252. 12s. 6d.

**STUDENT'S HISTORY OF IRELAND.** By STEPHEN GWYNN. (Longmans, Green & Co., London.) 1925. 7½ × 4½. pp. 322. 5s.

THE first of these books well maintains the standard of the series of which it forms a part, and the second equals in ability the first. The writer, a

Protestant who joined the Home Rule movement, and is thus specially fitted to be an impartial and sympathetic guide, unites a grace of style to a catholicity of spirit which make his books a pleasure to read. In "Ireland" Mr. Gwynn follows the usual custom of the series of a brief summary of the past, and a fuller exposition of the present under the heads of Celtic Ireland, the English Rule and the Irish Revolution completed in 1922. The first book is more of a psychological study than a detailed account which is supplied by the second; it aims at enabling the reader to understand the situation rather than to drown him beneath cataraacts of details, and it admirably succeeds in its purpose. The author is to be congratulated on his blend of impartiality and sympathy. Impartiality without sympathy is repellent in its coldness and air of superiority; sympathy without knowledge is like smoke without a fire, but the two together form the real essence of the historical spirit which seeks to know before it judges, to understand rather than to condemn.

The proverbial Irishman, it is said, "doesn't know what he wants and won't be happy until he gets it." At first sight this sounds as true as it is witty, for has not the Irishman been always 'agen the Government, did he not start a civil war as soon as he had made peace with Great Britain, and start a boundary dispute as soon as he had finished the civil war? The typical Irishman of tradition is a witty, good-natured, happy-go-lucky fellow always ready for a fight but never able to help himself and always incapable of constructive effort. To say of a man 'He's so Irish,' is a polite way of saying he is eccentric.

Mr. Gwynn dispels most of these illusions or shows them to be the result of temporary historical conditions which may be changed by circumstances and which imply no inherent oddity in the race. Thus it is true that the Irishman usually is 'agen the Government," that he often prefers brickbats and stout sticks and that he would not consider an election complete in which the customary halo of rotten eggs, old cabbages and stones failed to encircle the candidates' heads. But this is not because he is incapable of governing himself, but because for 200 years the government has been taken out of his hands, and he has therefore grown to consider it as something outside and above his ordinary life altogether.

The difficulty of understanding Ireland is not due to the Irish character, but to the fact that there is not one Ireland to understand but three, of differing race, religion, cultural background, economic interest, political sympathy, and to some extent of language also. There are the Celtic Irish who form the bulk of the populations, are Roman Catholic, and look back to the Ireland of late Roman times when after its conversion by St. Patrick it became the most learned country in Europe and sent its missionaries to England and half the Continent. There are the Irish of Ulster, Protestant in religion, English in outlook, the descendants of Scotch settlers "planted" by James I in the place of exterminated or subjugated Celts. Finally there is the "Middle Nation", the Protestant Irish of the South, a land-holding aristocracy who are the descendants of English nobles and settlers to whom Irish lands have been alienated from the Middle Ages downwards, or of the native Irish Protestant. Yet all Irishmen have an underlying pride of race, however bitterly they contend at home. As in India every man is a Hindu or Mohammedan at home but an Indian proud of his country abroad, so in Ireland every

man is a Protestant or Catholic at home, but a very militant Irishman abroad. Again as in India, each Irish party has centuries of injustice and wrong to inflame its passions, and there was a temperamental friction with the ruling class. But here the resemblance ceases, for in Ireland the wealthier was also the numerically weaker faction, and the different parties never united against the foreign ruling power.

The Irish revolution can be considered from two points of view, the first as the throwing off of the foreign rule, the second as the renaissance of a nation. From the coming of St. Patrick in the fourth century to the coming of the Danes in the ninth, Ireland was one of the most advanced countries of Europe. The stream of Christianity fertilised the indigeneous Druidic soil to produce a rich harvest in a passion for learning, preaching and travel. Irish eloquence made fine preachers and their zest for travel, which still carries them to New Zealand and America, soon led them all over Europe from the western isles of Scotland to the frontier of Poland. At home they were great scholars and John Scotus Erigena the solitary Platonist of the Dark Ages shone out like a beacon on a barren shore.

But the ancient Irish had one defect; like Rajputs they could not form a national kingdom or a stable government. They retained their loose tribal system with its family feuds and endless wars and in consequence fell a prey successively to Danish pirates, to the Norman barons, and to the Elizabethan and Cromwellian armies. So in spite of Irish bravery the English conquest, from Henry II's invasion to the wars of Elizabeth, James, and William III, ended in confiscation of nine-tenths of the Irish estates, the plantation of Ulster with Scotch settlers, the proscription of Irish religion, and the suppression of Irish culture by the closing of the Irish schools. So in the 18th century the Irish peasant established his tradition of being 'agen the government and Ireland became a grave of political hopes and economic possibilities.

Curiously enough, the Irish revival was begun by the Protestant landlords, who seized the opportunity of the American war of independence to extort semi-independence for themselves. Pitt by his Act of Union abolished the Irish Parliament and so drew the landlords to Westminster, but failed to emancipate the Catholics and so left the peasant with a grievance. From that time on the independence movement through Repeal, Fenian, and Home Rule days remained purely political until the rise of Sinn Fein. Sinn Fein stands for a return to the culture of ancient Ireland as well as for political freedom and it did valuable literary work long before it conducted a rebellion. It is this tide of the movement which is most interesting, for it represents the conscious attempt of a people to evolve their own culture in continuity with their own past. Hitherto Irish writers like Swift and Shaw have been great as individuals but not as part of a movement, but now there is a strong Irish literary movement with a marked individuality of its own. But the Irishmen cannot be forced even to adopt his own culture; he has so resolutely refused to learn the archaic Gaelic, even when prescribed by the State as a compulsory language, that it has now had to be made optional.

The future of Ireland depends on the common allegiance of the communities to the ideals of a united Ireland and an Irish culture. It is perhaps well for Ireland that she is not looking to the centuries upon which the shadows of Elizabeth

and Cromwell and Dutch William still lie heavy, but to the remoter past of Celtic Ireland, and to ideals to which all can subscribe. If Protestants will adopt the national culture, as some like Mr. Gwynn have already done, and if the Catholics will welcome the Protestants as fellow citizens, the future of Ireland should be prosperous in body and brilliant in intellect.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

### FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

#### THE LIFE OF FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

By SIR EDWARD COOK. Abridged and Revised by ROSALIND NASH. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 403. 15s.

THE name of Florence Nightingale stands out pre-eminently in the domain of modern medicine just as well as or even better than that of any of its well-known savants. Even among such eminent men of modern times as Pasteur, Jenner, Lister and others who may be styled as fathers of modern medicine, that of Florence Nightingale will take a high rank. For what these medical worthies have done for the healing art, as we see it practised today, Florence Nightingale has done for the science and art of nursing. And who can deny its rightful place to "nursing" in the domain of medicine, as practised in the 20th century? Medicine without the hand-maid of "nursing" is but a bird with a disabled wing. It is no wonder therefore that Miss Nightingale should be looked upon with gratitude and veneration in all countries where modern medicine is practised.

Born on 12th May, 1820, in Italy, where her parents had gone to stay soon after their marriage, Florence Nightingale, with her younger sister Parthenope, was soon brought to England. Miss Nightingale had the advantage of a liberal education under the kind care of her parents and her aunt and also of occasional visits to the Continent during one of which she had an opportunity of seeing the good work that was being done at the Institute of Deaconesses at Kaiserswerth in Germany. It appears that Miss Nightingale had an ardent desire to help the sick and the suffering almost from her girlhood, in fact it may be said she was born with it. And that is why she did not much care for the ordinary pleasures of life with its conventionalities and always felt attracted to answer a call for help whenever there was a case of illness, etc. in or near the place where she was staying. Coupled with this she had a distinctly religious frame of mind. But she did not much care for rigid orthodoxy and the usual wrangles between Protestants and Roman Catholics of the day did not appeal to her at all as could be seen from the fact that when she had to make a selection of women to help her in her work she admitted them irrespective of their faiths. It might be truly said of her that she saw Christ in every human being in suffering and tried to render service to Him by relieving that suffering. The visit to the Institute at Kaiserswerth fired her imagination as here she saw "a hospital with 100 beds, an infant school, a penitentiary with 12 inmates, an orphan asylum and a normal school for the training of school mistresses" and although there was no nursing there at the time, Miss Nightingale had her only training from what she saw at the institution, so that on her return to England she began to think seriously of starting an institution of her own. Difficulties in her way were very great. "Nursing" as a profession.



was looked down upon in England in those days. The few nurses that were seen in hospitals in London were mostly women of no character, and drunkenness was a common vice amongst them. No decent woman therefore cared to take up nursing, which almost meant ruining her character. Miss Nightingale had to struggle hard against these and many other difficulties and eventually succeeded in starting in London "the establishment for gentlewomen" where women of character were admitted as nurses for the first time. A special selection was made by Miss Nightingale herself in appointing nurses at the institution and they had to work under strict personal supervision and special guidance and instruction. This was Miss Nightingale's first start in life and her name soon began to be known all over the country, so that when the cry for help from the theatre of war in the Crimea came in the year 1854, Mr. Sydney Herbert, the then Secretary of War, had no difficulty in making the selection of Miss Florence Nightingale for taking over charge of a contingent of women nurses and finding the necessary equipment for nursing at the large War Hospital at Scutari. This selection had the unanimous approval of this country and Miss Nightingale had a very hearty send-off from the people. The arrangements for nursing the wounded and the sick at the Hospital in Scutari, who were arriving in train loads daily were practically nil. Those were the pre-antiseptic days of surgery when surgeons had to practise their skill on mutilated patients without the aid of anæsthetics, and their sufferings may therefore be imagined. Their wounds were expected to heal with the application of various sorts of crude preparations as a result of which suppuration of the wounds and hospital gangrene were very common and the mortality was very high. Erysipelas and pneumonia and epidemics of cholera wiped away others in large numbers and thus above 50 per cent. of the sick and wounded died. The only attention paid to these sufferers was by means of ward orderlies. Miss Nightingale had therefore to plod on an untilled soil, working against odds of every description. Her indomitable energy, her burning desire for service and her keen intellect for devising ways and means stood to her credit and she soon established order where there had been chaos. The right type of woman was found in the hour of need who put the large war Hospital at Scutari of over 2000 beds on a sound working basis not only in nursing the sick but also in provisioning and victualling it and in introducing sanitary measures as well. Behind all this managing and directing capacity she had a tender woman's heart fired with a Christian sense of service and she never missed her round of mercy at the dead of night with a lamp in her hand bringing comfort to each patient as she passed along long rows of beds. She was therefore spoken of by the patients in feeling terms as "the Lady with the Lamp," and she really brought light where darkness of suffering born out of ignorance had prevailed. The result of all this excellent management and care of the sick was noticed in the fact that the mortality which was as high as 42 per 100 when Miss Nightingale took over charge dropped down to 22 per thousand, when she left it.

Miss Nightingale not only looked to the nursing work proper of a large war hospital, but also looked to the commissariat and other departments and thus put the whole management of the Hospital on a proper working basis as has been said above. This she could do only because she was given a free hand in the management by the

War Secretary, Mr. Herberts, which fact made her rather unpopular with the officers on the spot, but even they had to yield to her superior skill in management. She combined tact with authority and had great influence in higher circles especially with Queen Victoria and was therefore freely supplied with funds and provisions by the people of England with whom she was highly popular, so that even before her return to England a fund called the "Nightingale Fund" was started and quickly subscribed to and it was left for Miss Nightingale herself to decide how best to utilize it. On the signing of peace in Paris in March 1856, she had to wind up the hospitals at Balaclava and Scutari and the War Office placed a man-of-war at her disposal for her return to England. But she preferred to sail by a private boat, and even on arrival in England, although the regiments and the people were ready to give her a warm reception she eluded all the arrangements and quietly slipped into her private residence at Leahurst, almost unnoticed and unannounced. On her return to England her real labours began with regard to the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into and report upon the state of health and general sanitary arrangements of the army in times of peace. She had to supply the questionnaire and direct the lines of inquiry of the Commission. This led to a wide, spread scheme of reform of the barracks and hospitals not only in England but also in India, and the well-known Military Hospital at Netley owes its origin and establishment to the persevering labours of Miss Florence Nightingale. She was thus looked up to as an authority in all matters connected with Hospitals—both civil and military—regarding their construction and management. And most of the sanitary details such as allotment of cubic space per head, ventilation, drainage, &c. were all carefully studied by her and put into systematic working order. But the chief part of her initiative and labour lay in "Nursing" itself and this was so evolved and organised with careful attention to every detail that Miss Florence Nightingale can very well be styled the mother of modern sick nursing. "Nursing" is said to be as old as Christianity, but nursing as it is seen practised today in all the civilized countries was taken in hand, shaped and put upon a scientific and systematic basis by Florence Nightingale, who might therefore be said to be the founder of modern sick nursing. Before her time, it was confined to a few sisters of the different religious orders who came forth to nurse the sick and wounded in times of emergency out of their religious devotion and enthusiasm. In civil practice, as in London hospitals of the time, it was resorted to as an occupation by women of questionable character, who always drank and misbehaved themselves. "To be a nurse" was therefore looked down upon and women of character never thought of taking up the work. Those who had absolutely nothing to fall back upon and had not much to lose in character took up this line, and naturally therefore, their work was of a mercenary character. "Night nursing" was not known in those days and was considered impossible. To Florence Nightingale is due the credit of revolutionizing the whole idea of sick nursing of the time. In selecting her probationers she always took care to see that they were gentlewomen of character willing to work with a spirit of service and devotion. She considered a religious motive essential for the highest kind of nurse, because she herself took to nursing to see God in every human being and try to reach Him through service. All

work, even that of scavenging, was sacred to her as God's work. It was with such a high ideal before her and a spirit of devotion and self-surrender that she took to nursing and it is no wonder therefore that she infused the same spirit into those who worked under her. Amongst the books that she wrote must be mentioned one which is of special importance—her "Notes on Nursing"—which perhaps embodies all the essential points in a nurse's training. Lastly the school which was founded in memory of her services during the Crimean war was organised and started under her direction at the St. Thomas' Hospital in London and may be taken as a type of institution for the training of modern nurses. Not only was the school known as the Nightingale School, but even the nurses and sisters who passed out from it were known as the Nightingale nurses and were largely in demand not only in Great Britain, but even abroad in the Colonies and in India. Thus although Florence Nightingale has passed away (she died at the ripe age of 90), she has impressed her permanent stamp on Sick Nursing.

A perusal of the volume under review, is warmly recommend to such of our Indian friends, both men and women, as are interested in "nursing"—and there ought to be many.

P. V. SHIKHARE.

### CHILD MARRIAGES.

**CHILD MARRIAGES.** By MARY E. RICHMOND and FRED S. HALL. (Russell Sage Foundation, New York.) 1925. 8×5½. pp. 159. \$1.50.

IT came as a distinct shock to the women's clubs and organizations in the United States of America, when the above book was published, and when the Russell Sage Foundation also reported that there are in that enlightened country 667,000 married persons who were under the age of sixteen when they married, and that in the census of 1924 there was recorded 18,388 married girls between twelve and fifteen years of age; that in fourteen States the legal age for the marriage of girls is 12 and for boys 14; and that over a vast area of country it is quite easy for children under 16 to obtain marriage licenses.

It is interesting to read this book published and written in an enlightened country with the object of pointing out that even in America there are on the statute book these primitive permissive laws suited to the jungle man, not to a mentally developed people. The book largely consists of statistics, tables, comparisons and tabulations of marriages in various States, and the recording of numerous cases of child marriage and the resultant evil consequences. It may seem curious to the people in India to learn that these bad customs are allowed in America, which is a country always held up to us as leading in modern ideas and progressive thought. But that does not give us any reason to fold our hands and say that if America permits these things then surely it must be all right and India need not change. India cannot bolster up her following of unnatural customs, and save her conscience, with the thought that as child marriage is permitted by one of the new Nations of the World, she may well continue. The condition of things in America is not in the least parallel to India. In America there is a population of over one hundred million people, and out of this number there are only eighteen thousand marriages taking place of children under fifteen years of age; so it is the exception

and not the rule in that country; while here in India a large proportion of Hindu girl children are married by the time they are twelve years old and become mothers when they are thirteen or fourteen. American men and women have allowed this unnatural age for marriage to remain on the statute books more from lack of thought than from approval of the custom, most of the people in these 14 States being quite unaware of the fact of the legal marriage age in their State, as in practice the vast majority of girls do not marry before attaining 18 or 20 years. And now that the fact is made known, there is a very strong movement to raise the marriage age and to fix the minimum for the whole of the United States as sixteen for girls. No one who has a slight knowledge of physiology and psychology, could imagine that when a girl has reached an age when it is physically just possible for her to bear a child, that she has then reached an age that makes it desirable or suitable that she should do so. The majority of girls continue growing up until they are at least seventeen years old. Between attaining their age of puberty and reaching the age of seventeen, their bodies are growing and storing up reserves of energy and strength that will enable them, when the right time comes for them to become mothers, to bring forth strong healthy children. During this time also the mind of the child is receptive and she is able to study and develop mentally. These are the most vital years of a girl's life, when the life force is growing and expanding within her and her creative powers are taking hold of their instrument. What is of the most vital importance to a girl during these years, from twelve to seventeen, is that strength of body shall be developed, that mind shall be cultivated, and character formed; during these receptive years all this can be done.

It is the same with boys. A boy may be physically capable of becoming a father when he is fourteen years of age, but in every other way be entirely unprepared for the function of fatherhood. The premature exercise of these functions which are meant by nature only to be used by men and women, is the cause of so much of the weakness of body and lack of strength, determination and perseverance that one sees in India today. It is not possible for little undeveloped girls who are stunted in their growth and uneducated in their minds to give birth to strong, mentally vital children; and also it is not possible for a boy, who should be in his college studying to fit himself for his future vocation in life, developing his body by physical games and exercises, to do his work or his play properly if his sex nature has been prematurely awakened and he is thinking of his wife and baby instead of concentrating his mind on his mental and physical development.

Let India realise that it does not in the least matter if the whole of the world advocates child marriage. It is for India to lead the way in reform, not to follow bad customs. As a matter of fact not one single country in the world permits the evil customs that are permitted in India. In the fourteen States of America where child marriage is legal, such marriages take place as a rare exception not as a rule, and then most usually among the most ignorant of the negroes and the foreign immigrants. No enlightened people in the world allow such a barbarous thing to happen, as child marriage and child motherhood. It is not only contrary to the laws of nature, which are the laws of God, but also it is the cause of much fatal deterioration of the race. So let the Indian people unite to-

gether for the purpose of getting rid of this bad custom; following their American brothers and sisters in this respect, that the moment they realize that a law belonging to the dark ages exists on their statute book they work to get it changed.

India in the future can deliver a great message of spirituality to the world, not only from the noble teachings of the Bhagavad Gita and Upanishads, which are already well-known in Western lands but by the example of the life of the Indian people who live the teachings of their religion of Ahimsa, Harmlessness, meaning kindness to all, human and animal, of the one life, the same in man and woman, not for the God in man to dominate God in the woman and subject her, but giving the birthright of freedom to every child born.

India was a Holy Land, and can again be a Holy Land, but not until her people are free and by "free" we do not mean merely the superficial freedom of self-government, but the freedom of every human being born on Indian soil.

DOROTHY JINARAJADASA.

### MODERN INDUSTRY.

**THE RISE OF MODERN INDUSTRY.** By J. L. HAMMOND and BARARA HAMMOND. (Second Edition.) (Methuen & Co., London.) 1925. 9 x 5½. pp. 280. 10s. 6d.

THIS is an admirable book. It is the history of the rise of England to economic eminence in the 1st half of the 19th century, and the reactions which the fact had on the entire social life of that country. It gives an account of the changes in the organisation of agriculture and industry, in the scale and character of commerce, and in the technique of the particular industries like iron, pottery, and cotton. The chief merit of the book, however, lies not in the wealth of details or the narration of the events which led to the final result summed up in the well-accepted phrase Industrial Revolution, but in the insight which the writers give into the inwardness of these changes, and the breadth of vision with which they have dealt with the subject. It is not so much an account of the mechanical inventions and their effects on the working of the economic life as that of the way in which the people's minds moved to new orbits and the whole social outlook of the governing classes underwent a radical change. The chapters entitled Shadow of the Slave Trade and the Curse of Midas give a vivid account of the manner in which the values of life were degraded and the appreciation of its real significance lost for all practical purposes. The enormous expansion in the productive powers of man went far ahead of his moral development, and the forces were brought into being which could have been used for the uplift of the society, but in actual practice created ugly, sordid and ignoble conditions of life. The authors strike an optimistic note in the concluding chapter of the book. They show how in the midst of disorder and confusion the beginning of a new society could be traced and anticipate that the constructive statesmanship will be equal to the task of economic reorganisation.

It is hoped that the book will be widely read in India. It is extremely well written and, as

already stated, is characterised by qualities which make it a very stimulating reading. The writers possess the ability of getting at the root of things, and show a remarkable grasp of the vital issues of life. In India the fundamental aspects of our economic problems do not receive adequate attention. It is necessary to understand the far-reaching importance of the economic changes within our own country—changes which not only affect the quantity of wealth but also its relation to social well-being and the cultural basis of our national life. This book can serve as a good introduction to the method of presenting and interpreting economic events in their bearing on wider aspects of the social life.

GYAN CHAND.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- LORD CORNWALLS. (Selection from the State Papers of the Governor-Generals of India.) (Basil Blackwell, Oxford.) 1926. 9 x 6. pp. 212+200. 36s. for 2 volumes.
- LIFE IN THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE. By SIR EVAN MACONOHIE. (Chapman and Hall, Ltd., London.) 1926. 9 x 5½. pp. 269. 18s.
- EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By SCOTT NEARING. (The Press League, London.) 1926. 7¼ x 5. pp. 159. 2s.
- RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE DALTON PLAN. By A. G. LYNCH. (George Philip & Son, Ltd., London.) 1926. 8 x 5½. pp. 164. 4s.
- GROWTH OF LEGAL AID WORK IN THE UNITED STATES. (U. S. A. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, PRIMARILY AS IT AFFECTS THE WAGE-EARNER.) (Bureau of Labour Statistics, Washington.) 1926. pp. 145.
- CHRISTIANITY AS BHAKTIYOGA. By A. J. APPASAMI. (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.) 1926. 7¼ x 5. pp. 232. Rs. 1.
- THE PHILOSOPHY OF ADULT EDUCATION. THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITIES IN VIENNA. (The World's Association for Adult Education, London.) pp. 35.
- INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS AND LABOUR LEGISLATION IN JAPAN. By Iwao F. IYUSAWA. (I. L. O., Geneva.) 1926. 9 x 6. pp. 119. 2s.
- SEAMEN'S ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT. (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1926. 9½ x 6¼. pp. 890. 16s.
- PROTECTION OF THE HEALTH OF SEAMEN AGAINST VENEREAL DISEASE. (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1926. 9½ x 6¼. pp. 72. 1s.
- REPORT OF THE BARODA LAND MORTGAGE BANK COMMITTEE for 1924-25, Vol. I. 1926. 9½ x 6¼. pp. 165.

### CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK ... ..	311
ARTICLES :—	
Lord Birkenhead's Speech ... ..	312
The British Moneylenders Bill ... ..	313
Democracy. By H. C. E. Zacharias, Ph.D. ... ..	315
REVIEWS :—	
Ireland. By Professor T. G. P. Spear ... ..	317
Florence Nightingale. By Rao Bahadur P. V. Shikhare, L.M. & S., Civil Surgeon ... ..	318
Child Marriages. By Mrs. Dorothy Jinarajadasa ... ..	320
Modern Industry. By Professor Gyan Chand ... ..	321
BOOKS RECEIVED ... ..	321
THE PUNJAB LEADERS APPEAL ... ..	323
S. I. S. FIRE RELIEF FUND ... ..	324

S. I. S. FIRE RELIEF FUND.  
His Excellency the Viceroy's Letter.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
GANESHKHIND.

August 3  
1926

Om hristi

I am sending

you a small contribution

towards the fund for the

repatriation of your recent

mishap. It is with

much pleasure that I

send it, for on account

of our old acquaintance

and also for the work your

work is doing, I think

very glad to have had

the opportunity of seeing

something.

Yours

W. S. S.

## The S. I. S. Fire Relief Fund. The Panjab Leaders' Appeal.

DEAR SIR,

The Servants of India Society has suffered a terrible loss by fire. This Society was founded by Mr. Gokhale in 1905, with the object of training national missionaries for the service of India. It consists of highly educated men who have dedicated their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit seeking to promote the national interests of the people. One of the vows which every member takes at the time of his admission to the Society is that he will devote no part of his energies to earning money for himself and that he will be content with such provision for himself and his family as the Society may be able to make. The maintenance allowances provided by the Society to many of its members accrued in great part from the income of the Arya Bhushan Press which has been destroyed by fire.

Deprived of their mainstay, the members of the Society cannot but turn in their distress to their countrymen for that prompt and generous help in money which alone can put them in their former position and enable them to resume their career of service to the public. Their sacrifices and constant devotion to the cause of the motherland, the political, social, economic and educational activities carried on by them in different parts of the country and the relief operations conducted by them at various times, are too well-known to be repeated. The names of Gokhale, Sastri, Devadhar, Joshi, Kunzru and other members are household words among educated Indians.

We appeal to your patriotism and generous nature to help the Society in this hour of its adversity by making a liberal contribution to its Fire Relief Fund, so that "Gokhale's truest monument" may not suffer for want of pecuniary help and the members who have sacrificed all their prospects in life for the sake of the country may be enabled to carry on their beneficent and national activities.

It has been calculated that two lakhs of rupees are required to enable the Society to make a fresh start. We expect the Panjab to make a handsome contribution and request you to give a liberal donation for this cause.

Contributions may be sent through Mr. Haradatta Sharma, Servants of India Society, The Palms, Lahore.

Yours sincerely,

HARKISHEN LAL,  
GOKUL CHAND NARANG,  
MUHAMMAD IQBAL,  
NARENDRA NATH.

*The following appeal by the Hon'ble Sardar Jogendra Singh, Minister for Industries, appeared in the TRIBUNE dated 20th July 1926:—*

May I invite the attention of your readers to the financial position of the Servants of India Society, resulting from the destruction by fire of their two presses in Poona, which was their mainstay, and to the appeal to the public for assistance made by the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, the President of the Society, in the columns of the SERVANT OF INDIA of the 12th June. The public activities of the Society in various spheres have with characteristic modesty been summarised by Mr. Sastri. In the fields of sane politics, the co-operative movement, the uplift of women and of the depressed or backward classes, the relief of the distress caused by famines, floods, epidemics or by outbreaks such as the Moplah rebellion in Malabar, the amelioration of the labouring classes and of the people of Indian States etc., a small band of selfless men composing the Society has with religious zeal during the short space of twenty-one years undertaken and accomplished in many parts of India work of which any country and any people may justly be proud. To that great public spirit and achievement, eminent men of all shades of opinion, the Governor of Bombay, Mahatma Gandhi, Non-cooperators, Liberals, Independents, Responsivists, non-Brahmans have borne recent testimony by sympathy, contributions and offers of help, to enable the Society to recover from the calamity it has suffered and to continue unabated its varied activities.

I appeal to your readers to translate their sympathy with the labours of the Society into contributions, big or small, which may be sent to Mr. G. K. Devadhar, Vice-President of the Society, Poona City. I hope the public will, by their generosity, help the Society to erect, on the ashes of the property destroyed, a temple worthy of the great Gokhale and which will widen the circle of its zealous and able devotees, like Sastri and his lieutenants, while it will also prove that the people of India, whatever their political, social, or religious differences, are true "bhaguts".

JOGENDRA SINGH.

### The Servants of India Society's Fire Relief Fund.

27th July to 1st August.

Trustees of the N. M. Wadia Charities,		
Bombay	...	Rs. 30,000
H. E. Lord Irwin	...	500
Dewan Bahadur Pavanaskar, Kishangarh	..	200
X., Poona	...	200
Mr. H. G. Gharpurey, I.C.S., Mhow	..	200
Mr. S. C. Mookerji, Bar-at Law, Calcutta	..	150
Mr. M. G. Mukundaraja Aiyengar, Sivaganga	100	

Collection made by Mr. Mukundaraja		Mr. V. V. Sathaye, Poona	15
Aiyengar, Sivaganga	100	X., Sukkur	15
Mr. L. R. Abhyankar, Yeotmal	100	Through Mr. F. C. Bottlewala, Bombay	11
Mr. V. H. Kordhi, Hangandi	100	The Secretary, Sanskrit Pathashala, Poona	10
Mr. G. N. Roy, I.C.S. Calcutta	100	Dr. G. S. Palsule, Poona	10
Mr. S. N. Roy, I.C.S. Calcutta	100	Dr. Mrs. Rakhambai, Rajkot	10
The Secretary, Servants of the People Society, Lahore	100	Mr. R. G. Kavathekar, Poona	10
Mr. B. G. Pahalajani, M.L.C., Sukkur	100	Mr. R. Vaithicathaswami Ayer, Mudikondan	10
The Hon. Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K.C.I.E.	100	Anonymous, Sukkur	10
A Lady Sympathiser, Madras	100	S. S., Sukkur	10
Mr. V. L. Venugopal Mudaliar, Always	100	S., Garhiyasin	10
Miss Edith M. Backhouse, Sohagpur	100	Mr. R. D. Gulatse, Garhiyasin	10
Rai Bahadur Badridas Gosuka, M.L.C., Calcutta	100	X., Sukkur	10
Mr. C. A. Seshagiri Sastriar, Madras	100	P., Sukkur	10
Shrimant Sardar Abasaheb Heblkar, Poona	100	J., Sukkur	10
Messrs. Kundandas & Co., Pleaders, Sukkur	75	A., Sukkur	10
Rao Bahadur A. K. Pai, Bombay	51	X. S., Sukkur	10
The Hon. Rai Sabib Chaudhri Chhotu Ram, Simla	50	H., Sukkur	10
Dr. R. D. Karmarkar, Poona	50	X. I., Sukkur	10
Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar, Bombay	50	L., Sukkur	10
Rai Bahadur Raja Singh Kalyan Singh, Amritsar	50	Mr. Awatsingh, Pleader, Sukkur	10
B., Sukkur	50	Dr. R. V. Bapat, Kolhapur	10
Prof. G. B. Jathar, Poona	50	Moreshwar, Poona	10
Mr. S. C. Mukerji, I.C.S., Howrah	50	Rao Bahadur R. V. Krishnan, Madras	10
Mr. K. G. Joshi, Poona	50	Mr. Baij Nath Bhalla, Lahore	10
Anonymous Friend, Poona	50	Mr. S. Subramania Aiyar, Shiyali	10
Mr. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar, Shiyali	30	Mr. S. Raghupathi Aiyar, Shiyali	10
Mr. L. Graham, Simla	30	Mr. Amal Home, Calcutta	10
Rao Sahib V. R. Kelkar, Sholapur	30	Mr. K. S. Gupte, Poona	10
R. J., Sukkur	30	Mr. P. M. Joseph, Calcutta	7
Dr. H. H. Mann, Poona	25	The Staff of the L. M. Central High School, Shiyali	7
G., Sukkur	25	The Staff of Subhaya's Mudaliar's Hindu High School, Shiyali	6
Mr. Jhematmal Gulabrai, Pleader, Sukkur	25	Dr. Kedar Nath, L.S.C.P., Simla	5
Mr. Mukhi Dewandas, Old Sukkur	25	T., Sukkur	5
Seth Thanwardas Tulcidas, Old Sukkur	25	N., Sukkur	5
Seth Lachmandas Kolumal Contractor, Sukkur	25	A Sympathiser, Shiyali	5
Anonymous, Sukkur	25	Mr. K. Marudurai Jakam Pillai, Shiyali	5
Dr. N. V. Modak, L.M. & S., Harda	25	Mr. S. C. Sinha Sarma, Calcutta	5
The Secretary, Gujarat Patrakar Mandal, Ahmedabad	25	Mr. P. O. Philip, Calcutta	5
Mr. D. L. Paranjpe, Poona	25	Officials, Office of the Director of Agriculture, Poona	4
Mr. M. S. Ekambara Rau, Mangalore	25	Mr. D. S. Sapre, Poona	3
Mr. B. S. Tripuranthaka Mudaliar, Calicut	25	X., Sukkur	3
The Lord Bishop of Madras, Madras	25	Mr. B. A. Tarkase, Ahmednagar	2
Mr. M. Pathanjali Sastri, Madras	25	Mr. S. K. Ganguli, Calcutta	2
The Teachers, Khandesh Education Society's High School, Amalner	25	Prof. P. N. Sarkar, Calcutta	2
Dr. John Matibai, Calcutta	25	A friend, Calcutta	2
Mr. V. T. Agashe, Poona (1st instalment)	25	Mr. R. Krishnarao, Madras	1
Rao Bahadur B. N. Sathaye, Poona	25	The Staff of the Post Office, Shiyali	1
Mr. P. H. Barve, Poona	25	Mr. Srinivasa Aiyar, Shiyali	1
Gokhale Pustakalaya, Hathras	21-10	Mr. T. V. Srinivasan, Shiyali	1
G. T., Sukkur	20	Mr. S. Chockalinga Mudaliar, Shiyali	1
K., Sukkur	20	Mr. D. Subramair, Shiyali	1
Anonymous, Sukkur	20	Mr. S. K. Narayana Aiyar, Shiyali	1
Mr. M. N. Mookherji, Calcutta	20	Mr. K. S. Aiyar, Shiyali	1
Mr. D. R. Soman, Poona	20	Mr. S. Rajgopala Aiyar, Shiyali	1
Mr. K. V. Tatrinarayan Pilla', Shiyali	15	Mr. K. Aravamuthu Aiyengar, Shiyali	1
		Mr. M. S. Subramania Aiyar, Shiyali	1
		Mr. V. Swedareny Aiyar, Shiyali	1
		Mr. P. Jagathisa Aiyar, Shiyali	1
		Mr. Upendranath Atul, Lahore	1
		Mr. T. Krishnamachariar, Vellore	0-8
		Total Rs.	34,446-2
		Previously acknowledged	1,03,438-7
			Rs. 1,37,884-9