

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WE are gravely told that the conversations that were in progress between Pandit Malaviya and Pandit Nehru have come to nought, as if anyone could have imagined that a compromise was at all possible between the two policies of indiscriminate obstruction and discriminate opposition. On the contrary it is a matter of surprise that an attempt at finding a *via media* should at all have been made. After this momentous discovery that no middle course between working and wrecking the constitution could be found which both Pandits could conscientiously tread together, Pandit Malaviya turned to form a new party with the express object of combating the Congress, i.e. the Swarajists. One would have thought that in this the Pandit would seek for allies in all constitutionalist groups, whose common aim is to rescue the country from all forms of non-co-operation, but he does not do so. He insists that members of this new body should be members of the Congress as well, and yet should be opposed to its ruling policy. If a person is in the Congress and follows out the policy decided upon by the majority, our Pandit has no use for him; on the contrary, if he is outside the Congress but follows the policy of which the Pandit approves, even then, the Pandit has no use for him. The right thing in Pandit Malaviya's eyes is to be in the Congress and still ever to be at war with it. And yet one of the reasons given for forming this party is that it is necessary to take the mandate of the Congress! The Congress mandate has been given, whether right or wrong, and because it does not suit the Pandit he chooses to set it aside. Such being the Pandit's devotion to the Congress, he might well have made the new party, if its formation was at all necessary, more comprehensive

than it is by admitting non-congressmen of his way of thinking.

* * *

Even in this inconsistent policy, however, the Panditji has been forestalled by the Change of Name, Responsivists, who are just what not of Policy.

he would like Indian politicians to be: remaining within the Congress, not for the purpose of carrying out, but for defying, the decision of the majority. What then was the need for him and Lala Lajpat Rai to found a new party? They might as well have joined the Responsivists but instead they invite the Responsivists to co-operate with them. So far as their politics are concerned they are in no way different from those of other parties—the Liberals, Independents, Nationals or Responsivists. They make acceptance of office conditional on sufficient power being secured to the Ministers in the opinion of members of the party. This condition, which again is borrowed from the Responsivist party, is absolutely unmeaning. If the Party feels that the power which the Ministers enjoy under the constitution is insufficient, it is for them so to declare now. If on the other hand it is enough to persuade a man of public spirit to try his hand at bettering the condition of his fellow-beings, then also the party should make a declaration to that effect at the present time. We cannot understand why they defer that question till after the elections are over and leave its determination to the vote of individual members. The constitution is there before them to be judged favourably or unfavourably; it is not going to be altered before November next. It is therefore for the party as a whole to decide whether under the present constitution it is open to them to accept office or not. If however, they mean that the ministerships should ordinarily be acceptable but the actual acceptance or refusal will depend on whether the Party is able to secure a majority or not by the Party, they are laying down a proposition which is a mere commonplace. For whether any such condition is prescribed or not, every offer will naturally be so considered by every party. No one can think of accepting a Minister's post unless he believes that he will have the support of a majority of members in the Council. Such a party with nothing but commonplaces for its basic principals will appeal to few. It would have been much better if the existing groups had been consolidated, but apparently personal ambitions and prejudices militate against this obvious course of action.

IF this year's meeting of the League Assembly is momentous, India's contribution so far does not seem to deserve this epithet. If at least it must be admitted that the Maharaja of Kapurthala has

struck an altogether new line, even that is hardly a matter of satisfaction, seeing that the noble representative of India seems to have specialized in matters of gastronomic. *Reuter* of course considered it of utmost interest that Sir A. Chamberlain was given by the Maharaja an Indian dish to taste, which it had taken three hours to prepare, though the cabled news about the luncheon given by him subsequently to Monsieur Briand is unpicturesquely void of details. At all events, these "inner affairs", we have no doubt, must have proved of solid, if fleeting, satisfaction to all concerned; and perhaps they are the kind of Indian contribution to the League's work, which is in entire accordance with Lord Birkenhead's ideas on the subject. They are certainly not very likely to disabuse the outside world's mind of the general prejudice that India is a coolie-nation, ruled over by highly picturesque and "oriental" princes, whose expensive tastes keep only with difficulty pace with their "fabulous wealth". That, to be serious and quite frank, is bad enough; but what is really intolerable is that the Indian Government should be allowed at Geneva to hide itself behind these Princely creatures of its own—when there is danger that consent to a Slavery Convention might strike at our pretty custom of *bigar*—and actually to lay down the principle that "they did not consider that any interference with the internal administration of the Ruling Princes was justified" (on such a paltry question as slavery or forced labour presumably), but that they "would not fail to make suitable recommendations to the State Rulers" on the subject. With the papers still ringing with the news of British interference with the internal administration of the Nizam, this pretext is simply contemptible. But perhaps we are wrong: perhaps it was only "suitable recommendations" that were made to the Nizam, as they were made to the Maharajas of Indore and of Nabha?

THE mill-hands of Indore who have been on strike for over two months have submitted a reasoned representation to the mill agents protesting against the reduction in their dearness allowances effected since the institution of a 10 hour day. The representation points out that the mill-owners have been acting for the last 22 years contrary to the provisions of the Factories Act (1904) of the Indore State. The Act did not lay down the maximum hours of work for men, but in the Census Report the State authorities have stated in unmistakable terms that 10 hours is the longest a man should be allowed to work in a day: As to women and children the Act itself puts a maximum limit of work at 11 (with a minimum rest of 1½ hours) and at 7 hours respectively. But, notwithstanding the law, the mill operatives are made to work, men, women and children, indifferently for 13 hours in the summer and 11½ hours in the winter. In some years the dividends were as much as 150% and the mill agents' commission from 4 to 6 lakhs a year. Labour therefore naturally claimed over-time wages in all these years and dearness allowances. The over-time wages they modestly put at three months' salary. They are so sure of their grounds that they are quite willing to submit their claim to the arbitration of anyone whom Mr. Glancy A.G.G.I., may appoint for the purpose. It is too much to expect, of course, that the mill-owners will admit the soundness of their position and either continue to the mill-hands their dearness allowances or agree to the proposal for arbitration. For they feel that if only they hold out long enough the mill

employees will have to yield in the long run. It may be perhaps that the mill-hands will have eventually to yield, as we learn that some have already done, but the strong financial position of the mill-owners will not be mistaken by anyone for the justness of their claim. Anyway to the citizens of Indore the demand of the millhands seems entirely just, for in the interest of the interest of the industry itself they have strongly urged the mill-owners to submit the differences between the two parties to arbitration, and have approached the Prime Minister to that effect.

* * *

ON another page we are publishing to-day the translation of an article on "The Economic Future of Capitalism" by Dr. Heinrich Rommen of M. Gladbach, published by him in the June / Aug. issue of *Soziale Kultur*, a quarterly issued by the German Volksvereins Verlag at M. Gladbach. The quarterly deals with economic and social questions generally and attains a high standard. Dr. Rommen's article is especially interesting, as indicating the gradual transition since the war of much German and other continental thought from the old clichés of "Social-Democracy" to what at one time was called Christian, and to-day is being called "Economic Democracy." In the same issue of *Soziale Kultur* there is another article (by Dr. H. Funke) on "Economic Democracy in Germany" which he concludes with the following words: "The principal task of the Trade Unions to-day consists in educating their members away from an ideology of resentment and nagging, enabling them to become men mentally capable of joint administration and joint decisions, of discipline and obedience to laws, in the framing of which they have had a voice. The bad example of August 1922, when the Ruhr miners agreed to an iniquitous rise in the price of coal, provided they got their share in such profiteering in the form of exorbitant wages, proves an as yet lamentable absence of such qualities amongst labour, whom Lujo Brentano rightly calls 'avaricious little bourgeois.' Such labour mentality cannot reconstruct an economic system based on justice. Economic Democracy seeks the détente of economic tension, co-responsibility and co-direction, on the part of Labour, in short, economic solidarity: but such goal can only be reached by insight into the realities of economic life, by self-discipline" and—we venture to add—by concentration on duties rather than on rights. Economic *Swaraj*, as political *Swaraj*, can only thus come; otherwise, if there is any change, it will only be the substitution of one set of task-master for another.

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REVIEWING Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's book on "The Indian Constitution", *New Government Service and India*, Madras, in its leading article of September 2, has a passage which we commend to the earnest attention of Government servants, particularly retired Government servants. Every Government servant ought to train himself (and this training can be obtained only by practice) to give the benefit of his knowledge and experience to the public and this in itself would be no mean service to the Nation. A retired Government servant is in a position of greater advantage since he can also criticize, but the least he can and ought to do is what a servant still in active service is at liberty to do, and fill up the gap of criticism by merely setting out the pros. and cons. of a subject without raising himself on one side or the other.

THE LEAGUE.

SEPTEMBER 8th, 1914. The victorious German armies within less than six weeks have crumpled up all Belgian, French, English defences. They are before the gates of Paris; the French President, M. Poincaré, and his Government are about to flee to Bordeaux. The war seems on the point of being decided; the audacious German strategic plan of rushing victory, if victory is to be achieved at all, seems to be within an ace of being successful. Then comes Sept. 8—the battle of the Marne, the first in which the German armies do not attain their objective. Kluck's army is deflected; the onrush upon Paris is stayed. The German strategic plan has failed; the war of movement is ended, the digging in process begins, the fantastically superior power of the Allies has time to develop its latent strength and to get, *boa constrictor* like, Germany into its coils, slowly, ah how slowly! tightening them, and at a long last crushing to death its victim.

Sept. 8th, 1926. The League of Nations Assembly unanimously admits Germany to membership of the League and grants it a permanent seat on its Council. The President's announcement that all the 48 votes had been cast in Germany's favour is being greeted with frenetic applause. Two days more and the German delegates take their seats in the Assembly—on the right of the British Empire delegation; the French Government, of which M. Poincaré is the head, sends its Foreign Minister as delegate to make a welcome speech, at the end of which all delegates stand and cheer; at the great Press luncheon following, Monsieur Briand and Herr Stresemann cordially, delightfully, clink glasses.

The contrast is complete; the change wrought within twelve short years—short, as History counts—is no less striking. No wonder, the League President, M. Motta, concluded his speech by saying: "This indeed is a historical day, with the League assuming a more universal character and the possibility of international co-operation improved." Think of the great and, generally speaking, quite unexpected difficulties which had arisen only six months previously and had made Germany's admission impossible, even when Locarno had seemed to remove out of the way all the major obstacles, which for so long had seemed insuperable—not least of all, M. "Poincaré-la-guerre." And in fact, at the end of the six months all these new difficulties seemed to be as formidable as at the beginning, and English, French and German papers dating only a fortnight before the fateful 8th of September were full of foreboding, as to what was to happen, if as seemed only too likely, Germany's admission had once more to be postponed. Yet within a week, the Special Committee of the League meets and passes on Lord Cecil's plan of the future composition of the Council with a few minor amendments to the Council, which promptly and unanimously adopts it: whereupon

the historic Assembly meeting of the 8th takes place. Surely a wonderful *denouement* and one that ought to justify all the optimism with which this new development of the League of Nations inspires the superficial observer. Before the 8th what a poor mutilated "World" organization this League was, with America, Russia, Germany, Turkey, &c. still standing outside it! Now, with Germany, the *quondam* arch-enemy, admitted, nay whole-heartedly welcomed, into the League, surely the League has reached its turning point and is fast approaching the goal of universality? "Turkey, &c." is really only a minor quibble. Russia is capable of such kaleidoscopic changes that, with Germany within the League and Zinovieff outside the Soviet Government, a N. P. P. ("new political policy") is just as possible, if unexpected, as the N. E. P. ("new economic policy") had been in its own time. So really, there remains only the U. S. A.—and surely, after all these recent changes, she too will ultimately see the force of them and, may be soon, may be late, come in, thus providing the eagerly awaited coping-stone for the great arch of all Humanity, the designs of which, after all, were those of an American master builder.

It is easy, we say, to greet Germany's admission to the League with such sentiments, and no doubt it is with just such sentiments that it actually is being greeted. It is easy—but, we believe it is an entire misconception of the whole position. The simultaneous cold-shouldering of the League by two hitherto so staunch patrons of the League, as Brazil and Spain were, provides for the discerning observer the first proverbial straws which show how the wind really is blowing. We are by no means inclined to underrate the momentous change which has come over the League through Germany's admission: on the contrary, we fully concur that this change is momentous, is fundamental, and that with it the first chapter in the history of the League has been closed. Throughout that first chapter the League was a League of the Victor Nations. Henceforth it has ceased to be such: but not by dropping all qualifying nouns and by thus becoming a universal League of all the Nations; but merely by substituting one qualifying noun for another. The League of Victor Nations has become the League of Debtor Nations.

This explanation, we are afraid, is one which the facts are compelling one to accept. The phenomenal rise to power of the United States of America since the War is acknowledged on all sides, but realized to the full by few. The U. S. A., until then a debtor nation of Europe, has now become the creditor nation of the whole world; industrially, militarily, navally, it is not merely the match of any country, but overwhelmingly its superior. American Imperialism has its nerve centre in Wall Street; Wall Street advances the capital and Wall Street reaps the fruits of the dollar exploitation which is getting the whole world into its nets.

The Latin American States, whether with or without outward display of American Marines (as in Central America and the Caribbean), are already largely "run by", and for the benefit of, the U. S. A. Certainly the whole West Coast of South America down to Chile is: and if the A. B. C. States (Argentine, Brazil, Chile) are still holding out, it is doubly significant that Brazil should have decided at this very moment that, if the League is dear to it, America must be dearer still. Hawaii, the Philippines and Samoa are old stories; so is the "open door" into China. But all these examples of Dollar Imperialism do not exhaust the expansive exuberance and vitality of Wall Street. Since the War—the saying has become trite—all Europe too has had to pay tribute to Wall Street. "Reparations" at one time seemed to portend the coming of a golden age of lordly idleness for all the Victor Nations, with the slave of the Versailles lamp, Germany, paying and working for everybody else. Alas! The dream has proved but a dream; nay, a nightmare. Germany slaved; and blood and gold were pressed out of it—but the gold was fairy gold, never making by one penny richer the nations that extracted it. The blood remained, soiling their hands; the gold flew away into Uncle Sam's pockets without a bottom. More: the victor nations themselves soon found that they had to slave, not a whit less than the Germans; and to slave for whom? To pay tribute money for 62 years to the United States. American gold, extracted from the Sisyphus labour of Victors and Vanquished alike, returned to Europe, buying up factories and public utilities, starting new banks, new mortgages, new servitudes.

France for a long time had hugged to herself the thought that *le Boche payera tout*; even she in the end had to realize, that even so, *le Yankee prendra tout*: the *Boche* might still be paying for all, yet in the end it was the *Yankee* who would be taking all. And so, there was a re-orientation, even in France. France and Germany—were they not all in the same boat? What was the use of keeping up the quarrel with a fellow bond-slave? In this post-war world of loaded dice you might stake a *mark* or a *franc*; the *dollar* alone in any case would get the stakes. And so eventually even Frenchmen came to understand that France needed Germany, German industry, German science, German grit; that without them France herself had no hope of ever meeting her debtor on equal terms. The Dawes Plan and German Reparations ceased to interest France; the American Debt Settlement occupied the whole stage. Schneider and Krupp, French and German steel, came together and if the combine has actually not been signed yet, it will be soon enough. Americans, no longer Germans, were insulted in the streets of Paris; and Clemenceau, once more expressing in one flashing phrase the innermost mind of France, told America in his Open Letter to its President, that "France is not for sale."

Hence Locarno; hence the French urging of

Germany into the League. Germany and France—well, yes, and England,—against their mutual "Shylock". England, you will note, is taking a second place in all this picture. England is badly hit and as one of the other European debtor nations: but for one thing, it cannot afford to say so, but must for its credit and its world business sake, put up a brave face and pretend that the financial centre of the world is still the City; for another, she is mortally afraid of America whom, whatever the cost, she is not going to displease. France and Germany are doing exactly what England wishes them to do: hence Sir Austen Chamberlain in the "Bless you, my children" attitude at Geneva. England in fact, *qua* European debtor nation, is heart and soul with them; but England as the British Empire half of Anglo-Saxondom must keep at least one eye on the "partner". England hopes to make the best, if not of two worlds, at least of two hemispheres, and England can be trusted to muddle through. But that is the only sense in which she will be trusted: for the rest, she will go on deserving her international reputation of *la perfide Albion*. And the League, hitherto dominated by England and English ideas, is now, as she enters upon her second chapter, coming definitely under the sway of France and French ideas. The League, having been an attempt at a world-dominion of Anglo-Saxon mentality, becomes something like Count Koulentzoff's "Pan-Europa"—less than Pan-Europe, because not including nations, who owe America nothing, like Spain; more than Pan-Europe, because including all nations on the defensive against America, even when outside Europe, like Japan. But a League she remains, that is, a leaguening together of some sections of the world against some other sections. Yesterday it was against the vanquished, today it is against the creditor. But League it remains.

Will it ever become the Society of all the Nations?

COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

A NEW LAW IN THE IRISH FREE STATE.

SOME of the points that were raised in the debate on the (Compulsory) School Attendance Bill in the Irish Free State's Parliament deserve to be closely studied in India by those who are engaged either in drafting or administering a law of compulsion. All these points revolve round the question: what should be the degree of stringency of Compulsory Education Acts?

First, as to the period of compulsion. What should be the starting age? 5 or 6 or 7? The real question in Ireland was between 5 and 6, though there were not wanting a few deputies who wanted compulsion to commence only at 7, but they were really opposed to the principle of compulsion itself, and finding that they were outvoted on it, attempted to introduce into the Bill amendments calculated to reduce it to a nullity. Their principal argument in favour of raising the minimum age for compulsory attendance from 6 to 7 was that at the age of 6 children are not sufficiently developed physically to

bear the strain of travelling two miles to school and back; nor are they sufficiently developed mentally to profit by any education imparted in school. On the question of physical infirmity there was produced the almost conclusive testimony of officers charged with the medical inspection of children in rural parts of England, where compulsion begins at the age of 5. The Chief Medical Officer of the British Board of Education recently instituted a special investigation into the effect produced on the health of children by being compelled to go to school at this early age and the report, generally speaking, was to the effect that there was no physical disadvantage to the children and that, indeed, it was the other way about. The C. M. O. himself says, "On the whole there is not much direct evidence that the journey to school is of itself a determining factor (in the health of the school child.)" Dr. Robinson mentions that there is no evidence that distance is a factor in introducing poor physique. Dr. Thomson considers the evidence available as being in favour of the children who live at a distance being healthier and more active than others. He puts forward the view that such children are, in fact, less susceptible to colds and infectious diseases. To this it was objected that Ireland being more rainy than England, what was true of the former would not be true of the latter. But the objection was no sooner made than it was rebutted by citing the instance of Norway, about the wettest country in Europe, where the starting age for attendance is 5. On the other hand Scotland, which is one of the driest countries, has also 5, with no injurious effects in either of these countries. Which proves that 5 is not an unsuitable lower limit of age (not to speak of 6) from the physical point of view at which to enforce compulsion. It should of course be remembered that inclement weather would be a reasonable excuse for non-attendance on a particular day. As to whether children when six years old derived any benefit from schooling, it was argued that even if the children learnt nothing in particular at school, the mere habit of regularity which they imbibed was most important. Besides languages were best learnt between the ages 4 and 8, and since Irish children had to learn two languages, English and Irish, it was thought essential that schooling should commence at 6 if not at 5.

The Act eventually adopted the age of 6, though many, including the Minister of Education, were in favour of 5. In several countries, as said before, the age of 5 is embodied in Compulsory Acts, and generally in those in which the age of 6 is put in, a provision is generally inserted giving power to the authorities to extend the compulsory clauses to children of 5. Thus the School Attendance Act of Northern Ireland empowers the local authority to make bye-laws to reduce the lower limit to 5 years. The Irish Free State's Act however makes no such provisions.

The next question was about the upper limit. The Act of the Irish Free State fixes it at 14, but there was a strong movement for pushing it on to 16. An amendment was moved to that effect, its object being not to extend the period of elementary education but to require the child to undergo technical or post-elementary education for two years after the elementary course was finished. The chief argument of course was that the years from 12 to 16 or 18 were the years when it was particularly necessary for the fuller development of the character and brain of the child that there should be regular instruction, and for this reason in most progressive countries the upper limit of age

for compulsion is 16. In this connexion an experiment that is being conducted in Canada deserves to be noticed. The province of Ontario passed in 1919 an Act containing special provisions with regard to adolescent children, under which children between 14 and 16 were compelled to attend school. Certain exemptions were provided for. A child employed in or about the home of its parents or guardian obtained what is called a home certificate, and in certain circumstances where a child was in a particular type of employment he got an exemption also, but special part-time courses were instituted for these children which they had to attend for not less than 400 hours per year. While that was made compulsory, there were also taken in the same Act powers to compel children up to the age of 18 to attend part-time or special courses for special purposes. The Report of the Education Minister for 1923 describes how the Act has worked in actual practice.

"The enrolment in the elementary schools has now risen as a result of this legislation to 601,485, which is 21% of the entire population. The enrolment in the secondary schools has risen to 60,395, and shows an increase of 4% during the two years of the operation of the Adolescent School Attendance Act. The increased attendance since the Adolescent School Attendance Act became operative, particularly noticeable in the upper forms of the elementary schools and in the lower forms of the secondary schools, would indicate that many juveniles who formerly spent the years of their early adolescence in unnecessary employments, often intermittent and unprofitable, or in actual idleness, are now under systematic training and discipline. The number of young people between 14 and 16 years of age who have applied for home permits (that is the special exemption allowed under the Act) or for work certificates has been relatively small, so small in fact that it has been found unnecessary to establish the part-time classes required under the terms of the Act in all but the largest of the urban centres. Progress has been made during the year in organising such classes. The classes have been established and conducted with little or no disturbance of employment relations and with a minimum of friction. Employers co-operated freely and willingly with the school authorities in making adjustments for the time required for school attendance. The pupils themselves have been quick to realise the benefits which they are receiving from the instruction in these classes. As evidence of this it is pointed out that many of those who are freed from the necessity of attending as they reach the age of 16 ask to be allowed to remain in the classes."

The population of Ontario is not quite 3,000,000—it is 2,933,000, and the total expenditure on primary education in that province is £8,000,000 or 55 shillings per head.

The Free State Parliament rejected the amendment to raise the upper limit to 16, though the Minister for Education showed every sympathy with the object and assured the deputies that in a few years' time the change would become inevitable. But for the present, mainly on the ground that sufficient trained teachers would not be forthcoming, he had reluctantly to oppose it. Increased expenditure was also a consideration, though with the Minister it was by no means the decisive

one. As a result of the Act, as passed, the Free State would incur an increased charge of from £100,000 to £150,000, and if the amendment were accepted the increase in annual expenditure would have been nearly £200,000. Eventually the Minister took power to extend the compulsory provisions to children between the years 14 and 16, the section in regard to which being as follows:—

(1) The Minister may by order from time to time apply the provisions of this Act to children or any class of children who have attained the age of fourteen years and have not attained the age of sixteen years.

(2) The Minister may by and in any order made by him under this section do all or any of the following things, that is to say:—

(a) limit the application of the order to any particular part of Saorstát Éireann,

(b) except any children or class of children from the operation of the order,

(c) except any of the provisions of this Act from the operation of the order,

(d) make such adaptations and modifications of the provisions of this Act in their application to the children or class of children to which the order relates as the Minister shall think necessary for the purposes of such application,

(e) extend, restrict, amend, or revoke any previous order made under this section.

(3) Whenever the Minister makes an order under this section applying the provisions of this Act to children or any class of children authorised by this section, the provisions of this Act shall apply to such children or class of children subject to and in accordance with the terms of the order for so long as the order continues in force.

(4) Every order made by the Minister under this section shall be laid before each House of the Oireachtas as soon as may be after it is made, and if a resolution is passed by either such House within the next subsequent twenty-one days on which that House has sat annulling such order, such order shall be annulled accordingly but without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under such order.

The last subsection appears at first sight to bear some resemblance to the section in the compulsory Education Act, which provides that every proposal of Government to apply on its own initiative the Act to local bodies shall be laid in the form of a resolution before the legislature and it is only after the legislature passes the resolution that the Act can be applied. The resemblance of this section with the section in the Irish law is more apparent than real, for the Irish Act only makes it obligatory on Government to inform the legislature of the application of the Act to children between 14 and 16, and even then every such case goes to the legislature for ratification, after the Act has been applied, while the Assam legislature must give its consent before the Act can at all be applied.

There was much discussion as to what should be laid down as reasonable excuses for non-attendance, the general consensus being that as few loopholes as possible should be left for evading the provisions of the law. The Bill allowed, in the case of boys above the age of ten, 10 days' absence from school in the season when the crops are put in and another 10 days when the crops are harvested, in order that children might help their parents

in light agricultural work. This clause was fiercely opposed on the ground that it was inhuman to employ children of tender years in agricultural work however light and on the ground that the interruption would seriously dislocate the education of the children. Ultimately as a compromise children above the age of 12 were exempted from attendance for ten days each season only till the year 1936, that is to say, the exemption is to remain in force only for ten years. A general provision like what obtains in all Indian Acts has been inserted viz. that the fact "that the child has been prevented from attending school by some other sufficient cause," will be regarded as a reasonable excuse for non-attendance, the sufficiency of the cause being determined by the District Justice who will hear cases regarding non-compliance with the compulsory provisions. How the parent's failure to comply with the Act is dealt with in the Irish Free State deserves to be noted. First of all, when a child absents itself from school, the obligation is laid on the parent to communicate to the school authorities the cause of its absence not later than the third day. Then, in case of the failure of the parent to comply with the Act a warning is served on him requiring him within one week after such service to cause the child to attend school and in case of disregard of such warning will be prosecuted for the offence, the penalty on conviction being fine up to 20s. in the case of a first offence and 40s. in the case of a second offence. If a parent within three months after conviction repeats the offence, he will be tried by a summary procedure. The provision in regard to the summary procedure is generally absent from all Indian Acts, and the fine levied is much smaller. If in spite of the best efforts of the parent, it is found that he is unable to cause his child to attend school, then the Free State Act provides for the child being sent to an industrial school or committed to the care of a relative or other fit person.

POLITICUS.

THE FUTURE OF CAPITALISM.

A GREAT tragedy has taken place in these our days: the faith of our Socialist masses in the early advent of the Socialist paradise has collapsed. It was a faith, for which much had been sacrificed; not least it had entailed contempt, exile, prison, hunger. But all these were borne steadfastly in the strength of that faith—often the only faith left in our factories and tenement houses. It has been shattered—and the broad masses behind machines and shop-boards are now left with empty and aching hearts, dumbly resigning themselves to fate and perhaps ready for a better faith.

Their grandfathers had with the utmost of "science" prophesied the inevitable downfall of Capitalism. Their fathers lived still in a happy *parousia* mentality; they themselves—as their leader Bebel—expected to see the end of Capitalism, the goal of all their hopes, the fulfilment of all their longings, the prize of all their fights.

The first falling away took place amongst the Trade Union leaders, who in their daily contest with Capitalism soon came to know its tremendous energy, and amongst the Intellectuals, at least those who kept their capacity for the recognition of facts, and who soon applied a Liberal criticism

to the faith of the masses and their gospel, Marx's *Kapital*.

That men like Bebel and others so firmly believed in the early collapse of Capitalism, was not least due to the fact that they lived in Western Europe. In America such a faith would simply not have been possible. The history of Europe, the history of 3000 years of successive and constantly changing political and economic forms, provided sufficient empirical material for the construction of an eschatology of Capitalism: "a land without an Ancient and Mediaeval History, a naively capitalistic country like America, could never be comprehended by the abstractions of a European philosophy of history.

It is obvious however that theses about the future of Capitalism can only then have any solid foundation, when they base themselves on the study of a purely capitalistic country and people, where "the economic man" dominates all spheres of life. Europe can produce no suitable material for prophecies about the future of capitalism, because its humanity is too burdened with traditions; because it still possesses, though outwardly living in a capitalist environment, a world of conceptions dating from economically and socially differing epochs. How often are economic acts of our Capitalists influenced by non-economic factors, by sentiments and ideas dating from the feudal or romantic culture-periods. The successful business man marries into army circles or into that of the old nobility and takes over their forms of thought and life, because he deems them superior to his own. That means that henceforth he will live in two distinct worlds: as economic being in that of capitalism, as social being in that of feudalism. Whence also plain merchants like August Thyssen or naturally noble natures like Walter Rathenau had, as true economists, a horror of that kind of amalgams.

The future of Capitalism, then, may there be best studied, where the "economic man" is the decisive type, where the world of economic facts is identical with that of ideas and sentiments—that is to say in America, the land of pure economics. There alone it is possible to perceive the development and future of Capitalism.

II.

The strongest proof according to Marx for the early and necessary collapse of Capitalism is the concentration of capital: but just on this point has he least of all seen the wide possibilities of Capitalism. The actual facts of the development in America on the contrary make an extremely optimistic prognosis possible for Capitalism. Robert S. Brookings, formerly himself a manufacturer, now professor at the University of St. Louis, President of the Institute of Economics and Institute of Government Research, Consumers' representative at the Labour Conference of

1919, concludes his book "Industrial Ownership: its economical and social significance" (New York 1925), which *Bulletins d'Etudes et d'Information* (Antwerp, 1926, p. 418) calls "a philosophy of industrial concentration", with the following words:

"The problem of Capital and Labour, which has formed the theme of so many and so different arguments, seems about to be solved by the diffusion of industrial property which is gradually getting into the hands of a great multitude of small shareholders."

It is by this method that Brookings believes that the end of Socialism, viz. just distribution of the national income, will be achieved without having to interfere with the rights of private ownership.

Brookings' thesis has often been advocated in Germany and several attempts in the direction of "workers' shares" have been made. They have come to nothing, mainly on account of Labour's refusal to allow thereby its own interests to be linked up with those of Capital, thus placing an obstacle in the way of an early advent of Socialism. Perhaps also Labour did not realize sufficiently that in a highly developed capitalistic State political domination is by no means tantamount to economic domination, since economics more and more tends to become proof against outside interference and autonomous master of its own affairs. That these attempts failed is perhaps not very remarkable either, since the period of crisis and inflation never gave the worker much opportunity for saving: but anyhow it is not their failure which is the most remarkable point, but the fact, that with us almost all such attempts were caused by socio-ethical considerations and not by purely economic ones. In America the same thing was done unconsciously or out of economic necessity and considerations: the same men, who out of their naively consistent economic mentality had formed trusts, pools &c., have for economic reasons seen to the accommodation of the power of concentrated capital and to the transfer of industrial property rights to the great mass of their workers and employees, without trade unions or philanthropic institutions taking any decisive part in this development. Now all this is typically American. We go in for social welfare work and therefore require socio-ethical motives: with the result that "business" is usually against us. Americans overwhelmingly go in for welfare work not so much for socio-ethical reasons (except in the case of certain circles, such as the Quakers'), but because it pays—because economically private welfare-work is not a burden, but an advantage. Hence Brookings' conclusions are of special importance in the question about the future of capitalism, because his idea originates from the home of capitalist economics and is not alien to it. At the same time one gets the consolation that the "trust" and "combine" have a socio-economic meaning, that they are a force which indeed aims at the evil of private gain, but yet must produce the good.

III.

In America too—or rather, just there—the motive force of all founders of big businesses was the desire for economic power and unlimited profits. The unlimited potentialities of a rich country; the necessity (because of the high wages) for organizational and technical perfection, and for the substitution of the machine for manual labour; and an ever widening and ever more receptive market: all these factors were bound furiously to accelerate all capitalistic thought and will. But an early further consequence was the attempt to prevent the wild competition and ruinous anarchy of production by a process of monopolizing and trustifying. America's Capitalism, uninfluenced by any conceptions taken over from other, feudal or guild, ideologies, had within a few years, aided by some financial geniuses, gathered together into trusts and combines the factories of each different branch of production. The Trust was hammered together and administered, autocratically, not co-operatively. Financiers, often without much property of their own, have by means of certificates in holding companies blossomed forth into economic dictators, who can say, "I am Business." These men dominated the labour, and the goods, and the money-market and even politically attained to paramount power: yet their only aim was—profits.

If one asks, whence all this capital, one must reply, that a good deal of it came from Europe. For speculative reasons European capital used to flow abundantly into America. At the zenith of the trustification period (1898-1902) the U. S. A. owed (in stocks and bonds) 1850 million dollars abroad, in 1907 4500 millions. In addition new capital is formed locally with surprising rapidity, owing to the prosperity of American business: the national wealth, computed at 16,000 million dollars in 1860, in 1912 had reached 186,000: the wealth increases twelvefold, the inhabitants only threefold (from 31 millions in 1860 to 94 millions in 1912).

But soon after began the fight of the consumer and of the State by anti-Trust legislation against the one-sided dictation of all prices (Interstate Commerce Commission Act, 1887; Sherman Act 1890; Federal Trade Commission Act and Clayton Act, 1914); and it ended in eliminating the worst faults of industrial concentration and irresponsible trustification, i. e. the overpowering of the Market.

Now although the subjective root of all that centralization and trustification was merely the desire to do away with inconvenient competition and to enhance the profit-rate by establishing a dictatorship over the market: yet, objectively there has resulted some good. The anarchy of production and absolutely unfettered competition had caused business, and with it the lives of multitudes, to swing several times within a single generation from boom to slump and from prosperity to misery: that anarchy is now being regulated, the undirected and unrestricted

economic forces are being centrally dominated and guided. Business and the lives of the economically dependent become constant: and that is objectively the good side of it.

HEINRICH ROMMEN.

MISCELLANEA.

HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM.

RT. HON. V. S. SASTRI'S SPEECH.

Below is a speech which Mr. Srinivasa Sastri made at Kumbakonam on September 6, as reported in the Hindu:—

THE Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri speaking at a public meeting, held in the Saraswathi Pathasala premises under the presidency of Rao Sahib C. R. Lakshmiwaraha Iyengar said, in the course of his speech, that although this problem was not very acute in this part of India, its echoes were heard even here.

THE TWO ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM.

This problem divided itself into two halves. (1) That about riots which made so much noise and which was looked upon in England as a check to political advance. (2) The other one was the political problem, that which concerns separate representation under proportions in which the seats of influence and power should be divided between communities. These two problems were not altogether disconnected, and sometimes came close together as at the present moment, but in their intrinsic nature they were apart and it were just as well that they considered them as though they were non-religious. If they examined the ground closely they would see that their connection with religion was largely illusory. For instance there were Mahomedan leaders who were actuated by purely political motives who did not instigate them at all, who deplored them as much as others and would, if they could, bring them to a speedy termination, but in politics when there was a situation created by forces extraneous to them they did not consider it very wrong to make use of it. In other words they did not scruple to fish in troubled waters. Now when the riots went on and people cut their throats and filled the streets with blood, some of the political leaders professed that it was the political trouble that was at the bottom of these things and if the political trouble in which they were interested was composed to their satisfaction, the riots would be heard of no more. That view however was, in his opinion, essentially wrong.

FALLACY OF "POLITICAL RIOTS"

The riots were in no way intimately connected with these political quarrels but their existence was taken advantage of by political agitations for their own purpose, thereby wishing to impress the Government with the fact that they were important persons, that if they were pleased and satisfied and were allowed to become friendly with the Hindus they could ask their followers to be quiet and trouble the peace of the land no more.

In his judgment the riots were of no serious consequence to the politics though they were great sources of disturbance and annoyance causing damage to property, loss of life and unusual anxiety. He was sure there was nothing very political about them, riots there were long before any political ambitions began to emerge and riots there would be in this country even when all the political ambitions were satisfied and Self-Government was fully established, even when they had full Swaraj. It was

impossible to say that Hindus and Mahomedans would not cut their throats, that amongst Hindus themselves there won't be any quarrel, that Brahmans and non-Brahmans were going to be friends for ever and that Sri Vaishnavas, for instance, those who wear namam one way or another, were going to let temples be the abodes of peace and godliness. He would not believe for a moment that with the establishment of complete Home Rule there was going to be communal peace and harmony. None of them were prepared to accept their position seriously. Yet their leaders were in the habit of crying out and some newspapers also echoing the cry that the presence of a third party, not interested in the settlement of quarrels, was responsible for all their communal troubles and that the moment the third party withdrew and India knew how to govern itself all was going to be peace, mutual trust and beautiful harmony. This was pure rubbish. Those who read History would have no doubt that when Home Rule was established there would be many more prolonged riots. There were plenty of people who had animal spirits who would certainly kill each other and quarrel.

POLITICAL TROUBLES.

The political trouble was quite different. It was caused by intelligent and ambitious people who wished to obtain power. They roused the consciousness of a very small community. They went and told Government that their community did not get a Judgeship or the post of Police Inspector or Educational Officer, one thing and another. The next time there was a chance, the authorities were somehow or other willing to lend an attentive ear to their requests and the man who took his complaint made capital out of it and generally got his job. This state of affairs was happening at the present day and that was why people were sharpening communal feelings all along the line. So long as the Government was prepared to listen to these demands men would come forward. If they quietly talked to people, made them reasonable and worked up their patriotic and national feelings and if thereby half a dozen prominent people would quiet down and consider it a shame to go about in this fashion the aims of the nation would certainly be furthered. If a few were quieted down, other people who were down all the time might spring up and apply for jobs and they will rise up, so that they will go on and the state of things could be remedied only very slowly.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

Proceeding, the speaker asked what was there which fanned this fire up and whether there were institutions in the country which were stereotyped and made the complaint really everlasting. There were, he said two or three points to which he wished to draw their attention. The European community till then were friends of nationalistic spirit, at least in theory and profession, but the Reforms of 1919 gave them separate electorates and an abiding interest in the maintenance of this system of separate representation through separate electorates. When they planted democratic institutions they should certainly try and make them fit for them in India but at the same time they should take good care not to introduce a bad type or a dubious species of democracy. They tried to do that but following in the precedent of 1909 they were overthrown and the pernicious system of communal electorates and through them communal representation according to fixed proportions by statutory arrangements came into existence and the European community took advantage

of it. They had till then stood up for a general electorate; they blamed the Mahomedan community for not understanding the future requirements of the nation and for having separate electorates for themselves. He was speaking not of the official but of the influential part of the European community such as merchants and missionaries who had some influence in shaping wholesome opinion. At any rate the people were able always to appeal to them and they let the Mahomedans go on, but in 1919 they themselves took separate electorates and now if the country wanted to return to the whole one type of franchise, the Europeans had become their greatest adversaries; for they were a most influential and best organised exceedingly rich community, and brought to bear great resources both here and in England and could wield the political machine in England. The Secretary of State, the Viceroy, the Councils and their potentates were always manipulated by the European community and it happened that in this struggle for the removal of the communal feeling in the franchise system, they not only had the Mahomedans to-day against them but they had the far more formidable evil of the British public being arrayed against them. It was very difficult to get out of it, but his own feeling was that they should persuade the European community to drop the special electorate a good deal sooner and then they could go to persuade the Mahomedan community. He then referred to the need for pressing this question, so that there might be a possibility of influence on England being enlisted in support of the Reform.

EXTENSION OF THE COMMUNAL CLAIMS.

Dealing with the separate Mahomedan electorate problem he said that the best Mahomedans at the time of Lucknow Pact in 1916 stated that they wanted communal representation only for a few years, 15 years at the most. They further said that, by that time, the community would obtain the confidence of the Hindus, would have learned to appreciate the necessity of national institutions and would voluntarily come forward and say that they did not want separate electorates any more. The fact, at the end of 15 years, has been the very opposite. Instead of the people asking for the removal of the system, the Mahomedan community had been asking for an extension of it and this extension of the separate electorates system had gone down to municipalities, District Boards, Taluk Boards, and Village Panchayats, School Committees, and College Committees and they wanted to divide up the services also in proportion. Only the other day Sir Alexander Muddiman announced his intention to fix certain proportions even in the superior services and promised that after a few places had been filled up by competitive examination a few other places could be reserved for being filled up in order to satisfy the demands of communities that might have suffered badly. More than that they came to the most lamentable state of things in Bengal where a solemn resolution was passed to the effect that in all grades of departmental services 40 per cent. should be given to Mahomedans.

EFFECTS OF THE FRANCHISE LAW.

The franchise law was very bad, it had created communal electorates and taught everybody the moment he came into public life that if he was a Hindu he would vote for a Hindu, if a Mahomedan he would vote for a Mahomedan and so it was the case with the European and the Indian Christian communities. In each one of these communities there were exceedingly catholic-minded

people of a cosmopolitan spirit who rebelled against this idea of being imprisoned within communal walls. There were many Europeans, e. g. Dr. Besant and Mr. Andrews who refused to be influenced by law, and openly stated that it was a bad law. He knew Dr. Besant never used her vote nor Mr. Andrews, because they must vote only for an European candidate. If Mr. Andrews wanted to stand as a candidate he must go and ask the suffrages of his fellow-countrymen whose politics were quite different to his own. "You think and feel one way. Your ambitions and desires are in one way; but the law says put all that aside. If you want to be a citizen of this country you must be a citizen only of the European community. We do not recognise an Indian nation and we do not ask you to belong to the Indian nation." This was a great evil and a man like Mr. Andrews felt his whole soul revolted. Similarly in the Indian Christian community there are many like Mr. K. T. Paul, Mr. S. K. Dutta, who were of this view. This obnoxious system could be removed only if the law of the land allowed complete freedom to an individual to belong either to the special community to which he belonged by race or to the general collectivity if he so pleased. This could not be done under the present state of things; even if they were cosmopolitan-spirited they could not belong to the Indian nation for the franchise law refused to recognise it. There were in the Mahomedan community Mr. Jinnah, Dr. Ansari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who would rather belong to the Indian nation if the law gave them a friendly hand and took them along. In the general register any voter could be at perfect liberty to vote for candidates of any nationality only if there was a general electorate; that was an elementary part of the citizenship of India and they could not deprive the citizen of it. Option must be given to people belonging to separate communities to exercise franchise either in their own community or the general electorate as they liked.

Secondly taking the whole specialised community together, having determined the numerical proportion in the legislature that it is entitled to, so change the law that one half or one-third, as they might agree, should be elected through special electorates of that community and the other portion should be elected through common electorates.

These two, continued the speaker, seemed to be the changes required in the law because he believed that in this country law was a maker of opinion at least as much as opinions were makers of law. He would urge thinking people in the country of all communities to come together into one organisation and press for these alterations. He said that he had put this matter before the highest in the land and that if these changes were influentially backed up in the popular legislatures they would perhaps have a sympathetic response in the highest quarters.

With a vote of thanks proposed by the Chairman the meeting came to a close.

REVIEWS.

THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS.

THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE FROM PLATO TO THE PRESENT. By the Rev. ROBERT H. MURRAY. (W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd. Cambridge.) 12s. 6d.

AS a historian of political theories the late Prof. William Dunning of the Columbia University

achieved an eminence, which is not likely to be excelled for many a year to come. Yet Dr. Murray's book is a welcome addition to the literature on the subject. It has not been his aim to give an exhaustive account of all the political philosophers from Plato onwards, big and small. He has rather aimed at a discriminating selection of the thinkers, whose political speculations have served as veritable landmarks in the development of political thought. In a lucid and striking way the author unfolds the civic idea of Plato and Aristotle; the *Civitas Dei* of St. Augustine; the battle royal between the Imperialists like Dante and the boundless ambition of the Popes; the first stirrings of secular independence in Machiavelli; the Protestant politics of Calvin; the birth of autocratic national sovereignties and the reaction as represented by the Social Contract theorists; the rumblings of the three great revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the Individualism of the Utilitarians; and the violent Socialistic onslaught of our own day. All these find a lucid exponent in Dr. Murray. There is hardly an important phase he has omitted to discuss, and yet the book is not a long one, which in itself is a very creditable performance. A full bibliography, and a detailed chronology of political writings are additional features, which will make the volume all the more valuable to all earnest students of politics. Of course like all human productions the book is not without a few defects. Even in a book whose virtue is brevity, the last chapter on Recent Political Theory suffers from undue compression, which does less than justice to the Socialistic theories of the present day. On page 373 occurs a sentence, which is positively unjust to the teaching of Kant: "Kant and the early Fichte had pursued the policy advocated by Macchiavelli". Kant may not have been as great a thinker in politics as he was in all the other branches of philosophy; nevertheless to put him down on the level of Macchiavelli, even though this be done in an off-hand *obiter dictum* fashion, is a serious historical error. But far be it from us to suggest that a stray defect of this type in any way affects the value of the book as a whole.

Dr. Murray's political sympathies are expressed without any attempt at camouflaging. With Mazzini he is a nationalist with humanitarian longings. With him he also wholeheartedly believes in the gospel of duty, not in any blatant assertion of rights. With Green he believes in the moral mission of the State. From these standpoints he has more faith in the practicability of the ideal as represented in the League of Nations than in the militant Socialism, which is to serve as a prelude to the introduction of peace and plenty on earth. He fights shy of Socialism, and while recognising an ethical element in it, he quotes with approval a remark of King Oscar of Sweden to his minister Barrere: "A young man, my dear Minister, who has not been a Socialist before he is five and twenty shows that he has no heart. But if he continues to be one after five and twenty he shows that he has no head." Socialism tends to be international and so also tends to be regarded as anti-national and unpatriotic in a society, which regards the ideal of nationalism as the highest political category. But there are sides of Socialism to which the author is surprisingly indifferent. It is clear that his main inspiration comes from the traditional English political conceptions. With Mazzini he could cry: "O my brothers, love your country. Country is our house, the house that God has given us, setting therein a populous

family, to love us and be loved by us, to understand and be understood by us better and more readily than others are." Would that such sterling patriotism could be evoked in a country which needs it most, e. g. India, for it is a necessary phase of political development a country must needs pass through. But there is nothing to show that a healthy patriotism is incompatible with a broad-based humanism, which is represented by at least some saner types of Socialism.

Dr. Murray waxes most eloquent when he comes to speak of liberty; he recalls its inspiration to Byron and Shelley and Wordsworth and Hazlitt and Godwin. He deplores that "passionate utterances for liberty as a blessing in itself are now rare." He feels that the present day passion for government, for authority, has no poet to sing its glory, and finds in this an argument to show it is not likely to live long, for "what the poet does not sing, does not last."

Altogether Dr. Murray has succeeded in presenting an entertaining survey of political development in Europe, which in its most modern forms has served as model for the whole world. In a number of things Europe has learned much from the East, and in some things she has not been at all able to improve on the East. But when we come to speak of politics, the East must acknowledge the supremacy of the West. Modern research has indeed brought to light the existence in ancient India of some communities like the Licchavies, who had the honour to give birth to Buddha, with republican traditions and customs. But they did not take root in the soil, and pale to insignificance before the splendid political experiments of ancient Greece and Rome. If with the break-up of the Roman Empire the political grandeur of Europe waned, it was destined in course of time to emerge in a new form and with fuller vigour, the stronger for the deep struggle it passed through against the forces of the most splendidly organised religious institution in the whole world, the Roman Catholic Church on the one hand, and the powerful national monarchies on the other. Patriotism has not flourished elsewhere as it has flourished in Europe, and political liberty has not had that appeal to the Oriental mind, for whom the earthly ties of country and governments have had no fascination. The political awakening of the Oriental mind is a new phenomenon, it is a plant of tender growth and needs a good deal of careful culture. To us the very richness of the political experience of Europe must mean much, and its value is heightened when it is presented to us in its most salient features in a book such as that written by Dr. Murray.

A. R. WADIA.

**WHERE THE LEAGUE DOES NOT SHINE.
A DANGER SPOT IN EUROPE AND ITS
GOVERNMENT BY THE LEAGUE OF
NATIONS.** By SIR ROBERT DONALD, G.B.E.,
L.L.D. London. 1925. 7 x 4½. pp. 166. (Leonard
Parsons. 3/6.)

SIR ROBERT DONALD, for 16 years editor of the *Daily Chronicle*, naturally knows how to write up a subject in a popular style: and if proof were needed, the above little volume would amply bear us out. Even the title is a trifle, well, "popular": for the Saar really has never been a danger spot, except in the sense that the whole occupied Rhineland is. The League has of course been given in the title: (as elsewhere) a very dirty piece of business to do and has done it as well as it can do these

things. Before Locarno, France insisted on running the Saar more or less as a prefecture of France and systematically exasperated the 99% German inhabitants. (By the way, these latter are called in French *Sarrois* and in German—and why not in English?—*Saarlander*: but what is this monstrosity *Sarrois* adopted by the author?)

This was the position, when this little book was written: since then however Locarno has taken place and the egregious Monsieur Rault—for five years head of the "Governing Commission"—has now been succeeded by Mr. George W. Stephens (a Canadian) and most of the "problems" seem to have vanished with Mr. Rault. It is interesting in this connection to see how in the Saar, with a Frenchman at the head, the complaints to the League were all on the part of the natives against the exploiting victor nation; whilst in Danzig, with a British High Commissioner, the complaints were all on the part of the exploiting victor nation against the natives. Now, to redress the balance, the Britisher in Danzig has been succeeded by a notoriously Gallophil Dutchman, at the same time that a Canadian has taken the Frenchman's place in the Saar. Is that really the best the League can do, one wonders?

But even in the Saar of course the position as such remains a vicious one, as Saarlanders are Germans, have always been Germans and mean to remain Germans—their separation from their motherland until the Plebiscite in 1935 being one of the fruits of the war and otherwise utterly unjustifiable. The little book by Sir Robert therefore retains its value, although things have changed very considerably since it was written. It gives a vivid picture of one of the results of Versailles and as such remains useful. For ourselves we think, a good deal more (and very good "copy" at that!) might have been made of the cross examination of M. Rault by Lord Robert Cecil at Geneva in July 1923.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

BOOK RECEIVED.

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- ERLOSUNG. By DR. E. SOHLUND and DR. P. SOHMOLL. Muenchen. 1925. 7¼ x 5. pp. 64. Kosel & Pastet.
- THE OPIUM EVIL IN INDIA. By C. F. ANDREWS. (The Student Christian Movement, London.) 1926. 7 x 5. pp. 63. 1s.
- UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE. By A. B. FORSBERG. (The H. W. Wilson Co., New York.) 1926. 7¼ x 5. pp. 487. \$2.
- KATHOLISCHE MISSIONSARZTLICHE FURSORGE. JAHRBUCH f. 1926 DES MISSIONSARZTLICHEN INSTITUTS WURZBURG. Aachen. 1926. (Missionsdruckerei A. G.) 9 x 6. pp. 152.
- SAMMLUNG KOSEL. Kosel & Pastet, Muenchen: 7 x 4¼. Mk. 7.—
- No 8. Baumstark, Die Messe im Morgenland. pp. 184.
43. Lubjok, Die christlichen Kirchen des Orients. p. 206.
60. Grabmann, Thomas von Aquin. pp. 172.
61. Lanlersdorfer, Die Kultur der Babylonier und Assyrer. pp. 242. Map & 32 ill.
- MODERN CHINESE HISTORY: SELECTED READINGS. By H. F. MAONAIK. (Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai.) 1926. 9 x 6. pp. 910.
- READINGS IN ECONOMICS FOR CHINA. By C. F. REMER. (Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai.) 1926. 7¼ x 5. pp. 635.

**The Servants of India Society's
Fire Relief Fund**

(6th to 12th September.)

I.—GENERAL LIST.

Rev. G. Sherwood Eddy...	Rs. 1000
Seth Vallabhdas Ishwardas, Khandwa	501
Seth Sorabji Framji Khandwa	101
Seth Radhakisanji Jaikisanji, Khandwa	101
Seth Jaerupji Baijnathji, Khandwa	101
Mr. Valkunthlal S. Thakore, Bombay	100
Collections at Sivaganga	75
Mr. M. S. Dbody, Superintending Engineer, Jhelum Cantt.	50
Mr. P. P. Ginwala, Calcutta	50
Mr. D. V. Rege, I.C.S., D.C., Khandwa	50
Mr. M. C. N. Muthukumar, Kumbakonam	50
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Mr. P. N. Natesa Iyar, Poona	50
Mr. D. N. Basu, Bar-at-law, Calcutta	50
Mr. Durga Charan Banerjee, Calcutta	50
The Staff of the Indian Station Hospital, Marine Lines, Bombay	43
Mr. Ramachandra Lingu, Khandwa	40
Staff in the Department of Education, Simla	34-2
Dr. C. V. Raman, F.R.S., Calcutta	25
Mr. Radha Kisben Sonthalia, Calcutta	25
Mr. A. Subrahmomya Aiyer, Kumbakonam	25
Mr. Ramachandra Aiyer, Kumbakonam	25
Mr. K. C. Roy, Simla	25
Rai Babadur Durga Prasad, Patna	20
Principal Debendra Nath Sen, Patna	20
Mr. R. M. Wathodkar, Sub-judge, Khandwa	20
Mr. K. R. Raghuratha Rao, Kumbakonam	20
The Jaya Vilas Rice Mills, Kumbakonam	20
Reo Bahadur P. V. Seshu Aiyar, Kumbakonam	20
Mr. D. R. Soman, Poona	20
Mr. D. V. Peranjpye, Khandwa	15
Mr. G. B. Vyas, Dar-es-Salaam	15
Mr. N. R. Subbier, Kumbakonam	15
Mr. A. R. Venkatarama Chettier & Rajagopal Chettier, Kumbakonam	15
Mr. T. Krienaswami Aiyengar, Kumbakonam	15
The Southern Indian Confectionary Kumba- konam	15
Mr. Sagune, Khandwa	11
Dr. R. S. Mulchand, Sukkur	10
Anonymous, Patna	10
Dr. D. M. Bose, Calcutta	10
Mr. Govardhan Lal, Calcutta	10
Mr. Samuel Das, Angul	10
Mr. Mulchand Shukul	10
Mr. S. Kalyanasundara Satriar, Kumbakonam	10
Mr. K. V. Raman Reddi, M.L.A., Simla	10
Mr. Ganapat Govind Telang, Poona	10
Mr. Dasarathi Pattanaik, Obsingh	10
Miss D. D. Solomon, Dunbar	7-8
" Mery Isabel Standen, Adyar	7
Mr. Padamsi Seth, Calcutta	5
Mr. Laxmidas, Calcutta	5
Mr. R. J. Pal, Khandwa	5
Mr. T. G. Ramaswami Aiyer, Kumbakonam	5
Mr. L. Narayana Aiyer, Kumbakonam	5
Prot. P. K. Pariji, Cuttack	5

Mr. Pratap Ch. Naik, Khurda	Rs. 5
Mr. R. Swaminatha Aiyer, Kumbakonam	5
The Bengal Coal Co., Poona (2nd instalment)	4
Prof. B. V. Ray, Cuttack	3
Mr. Kedarnath Mangaraj, Khurda	1

Total Rs. ... 3,024-10

II.—COLLECTIONS IN FYZABAD.

Raja Sir Sayid Abu Jaffer Sahib, K.C.I.E.	200
Babu Nand Lal Manucha	100
Lala Ram Raghbeer Lal	50
Babu Mahendra Deva Varma	50
Babu Nirpendra Nath Dutt	50
Babu Kamapat Ram	50
Pt. Parmeshwar Nath Sapru	25
Pt. Sri Ram Misra	25
Pt. Kali Prasad Mehta	25
Pt. Kashinath Rai Bahadur	20
Babu Maroharial	20
Mr. E. M. Nanavatty, I.C.S.	15
Kunwar Pratap Bikram Shah, I.C.S.	10
Dr. Prabhad Narain Mathnur	10
Thakur Lal Bibari Singh	10
Thakur Hargobind Singh	10
Pt. Suraj Narain Kicblu	10

Total ... Rs. 680

III.—COLLECTIONS AT BAHRAICH.

Sirdar Narain Singh	200
Kunwar Maharaj Singh	30
Pt. Tirloki Nath Kaul	30
R. B. Lal Ratan Chand	25
Babu Kirpa Ram	25
Babu Basant Rai Bhandari	25
Dr. R. S. Srivastava	25
Sirdar Dharam Singh	15
Babu Bhairon Nath	15
Babu Jaswant Rai Bhandari	15
Lala Ganga Bisban	15
Thakur Hukum Singh	15
Babu Gaya Prasad	10
Pandit Gaya Prasad	10
Dr. Gupta	10

Total ... Rs. 465

IV.—COLLECTIONS AT LUCKNOW.

(Further List.)

Raja Suraj Bakhsh Singh of Kasmanda	Rs. 100
Pandit Lakshbman Prasad Pandey	100
Bhaiya Hari Saran Dass of Bagh Hazara	100
Nawab Sajjad Ali Khan & Nawab Sayaid Ali Khen	20
Dr. Sayiad Uzgafar Khan	20
Dr. V. S. Ram	15
Dr. Wali Mohommad	10
Rev. J. N. Mukand	10
Ch. Ram Bhaironlal	10
Pt. Mathra Prasad Naithani	5
Babu Sital Pershad	5
Babu Bankeylal	5
Babu G. Narain Kapur	5
Babu Hiralal Chatterji	5

Total ... Rs. 410

Total for the Week ... Rs. 4,579-10

Total amount realised to date ... Rs. 98,465-9