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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE electioneering campaign is everywhere at the height of its activity, but the struggle is being conducted in an atmosphere of unreality and futility. The country is only bewildered by the appeals of representatives of a multiplicity of parties with little or no difference in their official platforms. The two really opposing parties with a fundamental divergence in their view-points are the Swaraj party on the one hand and the constitutionalists, whatever label they may fancy at the moment, on the other. (We of course leave the communalists out of reckoning for the present.) But the election addresses of the protagonists of even these two parties contain little that rises above the level of commonplace platitude, and it is much to be feared that the public at large, which is generally indifferent to politics, by this campaign will become confirmed in its cynicism. As between the Swarajists and the constitutionalists, the likelihood is that neither party will obtain a decisive majority at the polls, with the result that neither parliamentarianism nor direct actionism will have an unfettered opportunity of proving its virtue. The constitutionalists themselves are however divided into so many small groups that unless they make an alliance, at any rate after the elections, their position will be hopeless as against the Swarajists. But these alliances will always be very loose, and there will be a marked tendency for a two-party system, which is of the essence of responsible government, to

be replaced by group government, with all the attendant evils of low intrigues and petty squabbles. If at the very start responsible government is to function in India under such severe handicaps, the resultant loss to the country will be tremendous. But the founders of diverse constitutionalist groups do not seem yet to realize how fatal it is for them to have their forces, which are none too numerous or strong, to be scattered in the face of their common enemy, the direct actionists.

* * *

THE inwardness of the newly formed Independent Congress Party is best given in the observations of Babu Bepin Chandra Pal given below. The only conceivable reason for the separate existence of such a Party, which ostensibly differs is no respect from the other Constitutional Parties is that its innermost motive is to consolidate the Hindus. If this explanation is not acceptable to the founders of the party there is nothing for it but to refer the multiplication of parties to the personal considerations to which Mr. Pal adverts. He writes :—

As regards the doings at Delhi, it is too early to say anything about these. Pandit Malaviya, his age notwithstanding, is a man of infinite go and even more than infinite ambition. For the last three years he had been moving heaven and earth to secure a following in the Legislature. At first he joined the Nationalist Party in the Assembly. But it could not provide for two such prominent leaders as Pandit Motilal and Pandit Malaviya. Next he broke away from the Nationalist Party and joined the new Independent Party. Here also Mr. Jinnah kept him, without meaning it, practically in the shade. But God did not create the Panditji to play second fiddle to anyone and the beginning of this year found Pandit Malaviya separating himself from the Independents in the hope of forming a new Party. At long last his chance has come, thanks to Providence and the patriotic liberalism of Mr. G. D. Birla. The Pandit is now out to organise nominally a United Congress, but really a Communal Hindu Party. The same motive and the same psychology has also been at work in the latest development of Lala Lajpat Rai. He had been an opponent of the Swarajists' policy and programme until he came to the Council. But God never made him to be a Deputy Leader not even of the Swarajya Party. He too is a confirmed

communalist. This is the psychology of the Delhi development. But we have an old adage which says that ten beggars can lie inside a single blanket, but an empire cannot hold two emperors.

A CONFERENCE of Excise Ministers and Commissioners met at Simla on the 21st, Sir Basil Blackett presiding on the first day. As regards the question of a new internal Opium Policy for India, the Finance Member referred to the lack of coordination of authorities, to the "black spots" and to baby doping. As regards the first point he significantly said that "the control of opium is a subject which interests the whole of India, not British India alone" and he added that "smuggling now goes on from certain areas in India to various places in British India and beyond". According to him, "the Secretary of State for India is also deeply impressed with the gravity of the issues." Finally, he intimated that legislation regarding "dangerous drugs", i. e. drugs "which we all agree can only be used medically", was being contemplated, in order better to control imported manufactured drugs. After this *hors d'oeuvre* however which, we confess, did not fail to whet our appetite, there has supervened a complete famine of further news about the conclave of these directors of the country's excise departments. We suggest that, even if Sir Basil Blackett's speech alone was available for immediate publication, the further proceedings at the Conference might have been reported and the public kept informed about a subject in which it is well known to be deeply interested. But presumably Sir Basil Blackett's speech will be the first and the last that the public will hear about the Conference. Still we are grateful for the official acknowledgment that the reform of the opium traffic in India is bound up with that of the Indian States and with the latter's shedding of one more little "independence". All India is interdependent and no parts are any longer, if ever they were, independent of any other: an Indian domestic opium policy must be either a policy for the whole India or no policy at all; and the sooner our Princes are made to conform to a policy, based, not on the welfare of their privy purse, nor even on that of their "own" States, but of the 32 crores of Indians as a whole, the better for India and the better for the whole world.

FOR quite an age past there has existed in India an invidious distinction in regard to reservation of compartments in the first and second class railway carriages as compared with that of the lower classes. A compartment of the first two classes could be reserved on payment of fares equal only to its marked *sleeping* capacity (as opposed to its higher seating capacity), while for the lower classes the number of fares charged was equal to the full marked *seating* capacity, good care having been taken to offer or mark no sleeping accommodation on the lower classes. The East Indian railway administration has, we hope, not as a consequence of State management, recently gone one better in this agesanctified invidiousness and

offered, of course as an experimental measure, to reserve from Howrah to stations on that railway system first and second class compartments of five berths on payment respectively of only three and four fares, i. e., one fare less than even the marked sleeping capacity.

Traffic in first and second class railway passengers taken together has long been known to be notoriously non-paying, not because the fare per seat is by any means unremunerative but because our hospitable railway managers provide trains with extravagantly larger accommodation of the classes named than the passenger pays for or is willing to use without being ungrateful. The unsophisticated railway manager of old persuaded himself by means of some impossible statistics that it cost more to carry the first and second class passengers than the amount realized in the shape of fares. The modern Indian manager, who has of late developed a keener perception of the degree of reliability of statistics and a purer love of scientific accuracy in statistics, has discovered that "no one knows or can know what the cost of carriage is." His new way lies not *via* anything smacking of "cost of carriage" but *via* the method of "trial and error". One fare per berth of three or four seats and four and five such berths are the methods which have been under prolonged trial. The unpublished results of the latter trial have evidently encouraged the East Indian Railway administration to make the wonderful experiment referred to above offering a full compartment for a still smaller charge. We pray for light on the methods of our railway administrators.

THE labour of Mr. Joshi in promoting a Maternity Benefits Bill in the last Legislative Assembly is not entirely thrown away; for in the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa the representative of Labour brought forward a resolution in the last session asking that in the coal-fields and other organised industries the employment of women be prohibited when they are in an advanced state of pregnancy and for three months after confinement and that the employers be required to pay a maternity benefit equal in amount to the wages that might have been earned during this period. Objection was raised on behalf of Government that it would be premature to enforce a system of compulsory insurance before voluntary associations have had time to grow; but, official opposition notwithstanding, the resolution was passed in the Council by a majority of 35 to 27. We notice, by the way, that the Factories Regulation Act passed recently by the Legislature of Malta prohibits the employment of women during pregnancy or within 20 days from confinement in factories, building works or quarries without a certificate of the District Medical Officer, and provides that "in the terms of employment of married women provision must be made for fair payment in such cases." This Act, seeking as it does merely to introduce the principle of compulsory maternity benefit without imposing onerous conditions on the employers, is a good model for India to follow—to start with. The Minister for Industry, in introducing the Maltese Bill, remarked that "the proposed legislation was a modest social reform drafted to meet their special requirements. It was certainly not a copy of similar laws abroad, where industries were more numerous and more developed, and the social standard was higher. He had drafted the Bill in such a way as not to interfere with either industrialists or capitalists."

Legislation compiled on these principles should be acceptable even to our employing class and we would be content too, seeing that anyhow a beginning would be made with such a scheme of maternity benefit, which could be developed later on.

WE confess we experienced a shock of surprise when not so very long ago we saw the official publications advertised for sale in newspapers. For we had gained the impression that though the publications are put on the market, the Superintendent of the Sales Department at any rate, at 8 Hastings Street in Calcutta, was most reluctant to part with them. We naturally thought on seeing the advertisement that official publications would now be made readily available to the public on payment. But it did not take us long to be disillusioned on this point. The dilatory ways of the Sales Department have undergone no amendment of any sort. As this is a matter of general interest, we should like to bring to the notice of the public an instance, by no means the worst, of the unconscionable delay that normally takes place at 8 Hastings St. in executing orders for official publications. We ordered on the 28th August a publication to be sent to us, V.P.P., and we duly received it on the 27th September. Why it should take much more than a week for Poona people to have their supplies of books from Calcutta we cannot for the life of us understand. It is not however a question of mere delay. You ask for one report; the office will however like you to read another and you will have that rather than the one you ordered. If then you ask for a refund, you will surely get it in something like two or three months' time after being referred to two or three Treasury offices. Surely, since Government now go to the expense of advertising their wares, they may go to a little more expense in maintaining an office which will be able to supply the goods before the customer has lost all recollection of ever having ordered them.

The Governments in India may well take a leaf out of the book of the Colonial Governments and the Governments of other countries like the U. S. A. It would appear at first sight that you would take much longer to obtain a publication from Toronto or Washington than from Calcutta. The fact is however just the contrary. If one asked simultaneously for the free supply of certain publications from Washington and for the supply on payment of certain other publications from Calcutta, nine to ten one would get the former if not sooner, at any rate not much later than the latter. We remember just a casual letter bringing from one State in Canada free of cost publications in the despatching of which was spent about Rs. 100 by way of postage alone, and our library is entered on the mailing list to receive several such publications year after year. From the United States we received last year when the taxation inquiry was going on a cartload of books dealing with the taxation systems in different States. Just contrast with this the method adopted in India. To a request for a certain publication made to the Bengal Government on the 12th of February a negative reply is despatched on the 24th of September. We really think seven months and a half is, despite the vexation of the Bengal Swarajists, a trifle too long a time, in which to pen a reply of four lines or so, half of which is taken up by "I have the honour to be, Sir," &c.

THE NEXT BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

IT is more than two months ago since we last commented on the British Miners' Lock-out—or Strike, as some, we think incorrectly, style it. In the meantime many moves have been made to arrive at a sensible, even if not at an honourable, settlement. But everything has been in vain. The miners, who undoubtedly started with an unreasonable *non-possumus* too, have learnt wisdom, though late. They have certainly been badly advised by their leaders all along and it is now generally conceded in Labour circles that their initial—and formidable—mistake was not to accept the Samuel Commission's Report, lock, stock and barrel: not because it conceded all their points, but as the maximum concession which the other side was prepared to offer in the interests of industrial peace. Their refusal to take this line alienated the sympathies of even their fellow trade-unionists and was really the cause of the latter calling off the general strike. It further enabled the Government to repudiate on its part the Commission's recommendations, which of course went very much further than an employers' Government relished. Yet to spend twenty-two million sterling on a coal subsidy, in order to enable a Commission of their own to draw up recommendations, and then to refuse to act upon such recommendations, when formulated, would obviously have been a trifle difficult even for Mr. Baldwin's Government. Knowing what we do now about Mr. Baldwin, we realize what a godsend it must have been for him that the miners at the time refused to abide by the findings of the Commission and thereby fogged the whole issue so much as to enable him to repudiate on his own part his own Commission's dearly bought findings, without incurring the just odium for such action. Since then the miners have given way—and as they advanced, Government receded. What Mr. Baldwin seemed to offer, as long as the miners refused to hear of it, that he refused, as soon as the miners had come to agree to it on their part.

The whole history of the lock-out these last five months has been simply the history of the shiftness of "honest" Mr. Baldwin's Government and one begins to realize that maybe the miners were not so wrong after all when in the beginning they refused to treat with a Government which they knew perhaps by some curious instinct that it could not be trusted. Never did Mr. Baldwin's prestige stand so high, as during the General Strike, when he appeared as the strong, fairminded, providential arbiter between owners and miners. Of that prestige it is safe to say not a single particle is left today. Never has man been so rapidly and so utterly discredited. Today he stands revealed as the owners man, who with them is aiming at but one thing—the unconditional surrender of the men. Sir W. Joynson Hicks' "teach them a lesson" policy is now seen to be his own. If at one time the Labour press was thought to overstate the case by drawing such conclusions, few British papers today outside

the die-hard organs offer any other comment. Especially so after that amazing incident—Mr. Baldwin's "message" to America, when the British miners were starting on a campaign there to replenish their strike funds. It must (outside of War times) in any case be almost unprecedented for the British Prime Minister to make a special, direct appeal to the people of a foreign country; and that this extraordinary procedure should have been resorted to, in order to prevent American charity from relieving distress amongst the families of the British miners, is really so colossal a piece of meanness (to use Mr. Lloyd George's word), as one was fain to believe a British Premier would really be incapable of. Yet so it is and the British public today seems to have come to the obvious conclusion that [its quondam hero, Mr. Baldwin, cynically means to starve the miners into unconditional surrender and, to prevent American money helping them, has not disdained any method, however mean. And so, one expects soon to hear that the British miners have had to go back to work, cowed and, for the time, broken. The owners in that case no doubt will chuckle and all the hard-faced gentlemen of business congratulate their man, Mr. Baldwin. But sowing the wind always will mean reaping the whirlwind: and Mr. Baldwin will realize that soon enough, certainly not later than at the next elections, to judge not merely from the utterances of his opponents, but from the silences of what once were his best friends.

The legendary Mr. Baldwin, jovial, honest, blunt—the Mr. Baldwin of the pipe and the pigs—has gone. Instead there remains a spokesman of capitalism at its very stupidest; nay worse, a politician, who appeals to men's finest sentiments to advance party advantages of a grossly selfish nature—and who has been found out. It is of the irony of things that the stock of another British politician, who in his time has been notorious for the very same conduct, should to-day be rising, as Mr. Baldwin's is dropping to vanishing point: we mean Mr. George. Yet such is the case. There is no doubt about it that it is Mr. George who, from the moment of the General Strike right through the miners' struggle has stood for decency and commonsense and has voiced in that effective manner of his of which he is a past-master the sentiments of the generality of the British public. Not only does that hold good, as against Mr. Baldwin, but also as against Mr. MacDonald. The latter has been leader of the other side and therefore has never been quite able to assume that attitude of impartiality, of standing above the quarrel, which a man like the Liberal leader could and did assume. The Tory Democracy, for which Mr. Baldwin at one time seemed to stand, has been scraped; the treasure of general goodwill, which the British people lavishly poured in upon its leader, "Honest Mr. Baldwin," has been utterly squandered. The British voter is constitutionally shy of doctrinaire socialist experiments and therefore still distrustful of seeing Mr. MacDonald back at the

head of affairs: but even that negative support of Mr. Baldwin has now gone through the acumen of Mr. George. The latter is shedding one by one those "Liberals" who are really Conservatives in disguise: his position is not weakened but strengthened thereby. He is biding his time: for ourselves we agree entirely with the *New Statesman* that Mr. George's wisdom will stand revealed at the next elections, as will Mr. Baldwin's folly. Our contemporary predicts a rout of the Conservatives at the next General Elections, similar to that of 1906: with infuriated industrial labour voting solidly for Mr. MacDonald's party and the rest of the country for Mr. Lloyd George's. Between them they will sweep the board, leaving Mr. Baldwin to meditate—perhaps on the saying that honesty is the best policy. Even if the Conservatives secured one-third of the total strength of the House of Commons, the result will be, will have to be, a new Liberal-Labour, George-Snowden, Coalition Government, resulting eventually in a fairly progressive Centre Party, with extremists to the die-hard right of it and extremists to the Communist left of it.

The life of a British Parliament is five years: in any case therefore Mr. Baldwin will have to face the electors not later than 1929—the very year, in which the Royal Commission for revising the Indian Constitution must be appointed. It is an ill wind indeed, that blows no one any good.

CHRISTIANITY AND INDIA.

"THE wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof but canst not tell whence it came or whither it goeth; so is everyone that is born of the spirit.' The words are true of all time. We clearly do not yet understand the inner workings of the mighty forces of the spirit. Buddhism after its first enthusiasm found its stationary level in Asia itself. Christianity was able to penetrate Europe, but its current became closed and blocked with the debris as often as it struggled forward into the interior of Asia. Islam again found an easy outlet for its tidal current in the decaying Byzantine Empire and along the North Coast of Asia but failed to pass through the barrier of Western Europe except in the extreme point of Spain"—says Mr. C. F. Andrews in a recent article on "India and Africa", and in the last resort, it is so. We have indeed no justification to presume that we will be able to understand these workings which, however, need not necessarily mean a concession either to arid scepticism on the one hand, or elusive obscurantism on the other.

That we have always to face the inexplicable fecundity of the virgin first cause is a fact encountered in every field of knowledge—one may almost say in every case of an idea stretched backward to its ultimates—and is as striking a problem today as it was to the philosophy of the pious

bishop, Berkeley. "Let knowledge grow from more to more but more of reverence in us dwell" is the hope which Victorian doubts and fears raised, and I think it has more than fulfilled itself. All the great strides in Atomic Physics and Behaviourist Psychology, all the increasing knowledge and increasing sensitiveness, curiosity and criticism have only augmented the wistfulness of our contemplations. What we are faced with is the spectacle of an apparently amazing combination of religious and secular forces in our age, both never so genuine, which renders the task of everyone possessed of a real intellectual ideal all but "confounding." Agnosticism may strike us as noble at first sight because Agnosticism like other noble things is really speaking only an ideal, that is to say unreachable in the ordinary sense of the term. To taste of the well of the resplendence of real agnosticism and fall into annihilation's waste in that moment—even that species of annihilation which appears to be the vanishing point of our horizon—is given to few, and even to those few, it comes only in rare moments. The greater part of our life is not made up of such golden moments but the very exacting mathematical points of time. It needs a structure of concrete to support it. When it passes we may contemplate in a mood of reverent salutation "the wind that bloweth where it listeth," but as men we look before and after, and set out with our charts and maps and forecasts to gauge its movements. We start with comprehensiveness as the ideal of our philosophic vagabondage and [end] as very respectable tourists in consistency. A *credo* of some sort crystallises itself, and presently the question is only that of deciding its form.

And it is an eminently satisfying sort of *credo* which has been put forward by the popular and provoking Dean Inge in his Hulsean lectures, a reprint of which has been just brought out by Longman's under the name of "The Platonic Tradition in English Thought." The work, he tells us, is "a plea for the recognition of a third type of Christian thought and belief, by the side of the two great types which, for want of better names, are usually called Catholic and Protestant. In his own words, "the characteristics of this type of Christianity are—a spiritual religion based on a firm belief in the absolute and eternal values as the most real things in the universe—a confidence that these values are knowable by man—a belief that they can nevertheless be known only by the whole-hearted consecration of the intellect, will and affections to the great quest—an entirely open mind towards the discoveries of science—a reverent and receptive attitude to the beauty, sublimity, and wisdom of the creation, as a revelation of the mind and the character of the creator—a complete indifference to the current valuations of the worldling."

He complains of "the recrudescence of superstitions of all kinds, necromancy, miraculous cures, and the lower forms of religion generally"

of our age, and is in a fortunate position when he turns to Greece rather than to Palestine for Christian origins. My visit to Jerusalem and the contact of the Rabbi convinced me that it was not for nothing that Christianity like Buddhism had to find what was in some respects simpler and more virginal soil than the land of its origin, though I think it is significant to note that they both are the very crown of complex types of culture. Christianity in Palestine would have reduced itself as surely and as unfortunately into speculations, sophistications, sectionalisations and incantations as the Vedic Religion got "translated" into Brahminism. To know how European culture has affected the Hebrew mind one has only to walk through Jerusalem and then turn to the suburbs where the Zionists have established such beautiful and flourishing colonies, and see in what condition the wandering sons returned to their long-lost mother. It is the very opposite of the parable of the prodigal son.

The Dean traces back Christianity to "a new spiritual enlightenment quite unique in character" which "passed over Greece and South Italy in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C." and characterises it as "a revolt against the primitive type of culture, in which the structure of society was built upon the worship of the powers of nature." Its essential feature according to him being the recognition of an unseen world of an unchanging reality behind the flux of phenomena, a spiritual universe with which the world of appearance grew pale and unsubstantial and became only a symbol or even an illusion." This mystic tradition passed over from Pythagoras to Plato and, asphyxiated as it was by the materialism and militarism of Rome, was resurrected in Alexandria and expounded by such famous protagonists as Porphyry, Plotinus, Proclus, and Iamblicus. Its influence is to be detected not only in the Fourth Gospel, but in the epistles of Saint Paul. "The things that are seen are temporal but the things that are not seen are eternal" is "pure Platonism." Conducting us farther to the Middle Ages, he declares that "Christ Himself, if He had returned to earth in the Middle Ages, would certainly have been burnt alive for denying the dogmas about His own nature"—because, a system of "Cæsaropapism" had come into being and Religion was made dependent on authority; the voice of the "inward witness" was stifled by the barbarians of the west in the Dark Ages. Then came the Revival of Learning and the overthrow of the doctrine of Ecclesiastical Infallibility. And then the Higher Criticism threatening to wreck Protestantism by its own methods. But Protestantism spoke first through the mouths of the mystics and then through the mouths of the Poets, and to the latter the Dean pays a great tribute. He divides them into non-Christian poets like Shelley and Christians like Wordsworth and alluding to the "The One remains, the Many change and pass" of the former he describes it as Plato and Plotinus

"turned into exquisite music." And well may he make the music-makers the inheritors of ancient renown, for they are truly the bearers of that prophetic fire which every reader of the famous Dialogues must have experienced, and which I think should form as great an occasion as any other for the metamorphosis which is technically known as "conversion."

* * * * *

But, all this is Religion, not Theology, and it is when religions have to face theology that there is brought about that unholy alliance between prophet and priest, in the name of holiness. Making Plato the key to the interpretations of Christianity is not very unlike the proceedings of the Socialists who make the establishing of the kingdom of God upon the earth the motive of their endeavours. It naturally, though certainly not inevitably, leads to defrauding God of His other kingdoms and creations, and in following the Dean one begins to feel rather uneasy about even this high ecclesiastic throwing away the baby with the bath water almost without knowing it, however deftly he may steer clear through the Scylla and Charybdis which beset his generation in matters clerical. Even at the risk of being banal, one must insist that Christianity cannot do without Christ and Christian theology must treat Him as the Christos and not merely as Jesus. Which seems to me must bring in the doctrine of the Trinity and all the other doctrines which make the Protestant temperament so impatient.

What behoves our purpose here however, is to notice how Protestantism returns to Plato as invariably as the Catholic Church turns to Aristotle; and in this case, so fully as to make him the very foundation rather than mere background. We in India have not yet quite faced the fact that while Christ is universal, Christianity has not only Christ in it but a good deal of Greek thought besides, which in my opinion accounts for the lack of a long line of luminaries in the Annals of Indian Christianity. Not that we have had no brilliant Indian Christians but they have been invariably those whose philosophic affinities, whatever their theology may have been, were Indian and not Greek; and this has been specially evident in the Brahma Samaj of Bengal and the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay—movements which owe a great deal to Christian influence but could never be grafted on to the Christian Church.

I have often felt that the Dark Ages were rather a blessing to Protestantism as they left only such morsels of the thought and life of classical times as to make its task particularly facile. That the "inward witness" of which the Dean speaks was abundantly present in the religion of Plato we know from the Dialogues, but as regards his theology we are in complete obscurity. There seems, however, to be little doubt that Plato like Pythagoras had a very definite theology though like all prophets he was not contained within it,

but the natural habits of the Protestant mind no less than the scantiness of the information about it tends to dismiss lightly every consideration of it. It winks its eye at it and treats it rather as the inevitable irony of fate which must put in that bit of contemporaneous infancy into so much of transcendent maturity.

Ever since my visit to Greece I have come to believe that the Renaissance was far from being an unmixed blessing to Europe, and I had an agreeably surprising confirmation of that conviction when at Dublin much later Mr. George Russell in a casual conversation let fall the remark: "But for the Renaissance the European civilisation might have been saved from materialism." I shall never forget the feeling of dismay which came over me when room after room in the museum at Athens revealed to me the same sight of gods and goddesses whose inner consciousness seemed to be as statuesque and material as the hard marble of which they were chiselled. They had an annoying suggestion of eugenics about them, and were so different in spirit from the exquisite finds of Tutankhamen exhibited in Cairo which I had seen just before crossing over to Greece. I sat down wearily at least in one of the rooms when a Greek student who was making some copies presently came over and spoke to me. And to him I poured forth my disillusionment, for to the Greece of Orpheus and Plato an Indian is taught to feel near akin and there I was not so much with my admiration roused as with my contrariety after all that expectant and exacting pilgrimage.

He understood me at once and persuaded me to follow him into the outskirts of Athens to those hills and mountains beside the sea where he said the men who had carved those gods and goddesses had actually held discourse with them. He had a curious way of putting it: it is from the colours of Olympus he said that they got the idea of those forms. A crumbling old Byzantine Church stood there with the paintings on the walls and the ceiling loudly proclaiming the contrast of the spirit of the Eastern Empire to that of the Western. In all the big monasteries and churches of Italy including the Vatican with its astonishing accumulation of treasures which visited later I never felt quite so happy as among the little monks who guarded the walls of that Church. Lean ascetic figures with their long hands and tapering fingers, gilded crowns and flowing robes, and eyes of inexhaustible expressiveness there looked at me with profound assurance.

I am convinced that to this day the gods of Greece lead the same uproarious life on the hills and dales beside Pierius and beyond, but the bold Parthenon which stands out almost challengingly on the Athenian mount is not so much a temple as a tomb. It is not a living witness to their eternal existence but like Caopin's funeral march rather makes us feel that it is all over; the glory is fled.

"Our own Indian monuments some of them dating farther back, and shorn of the magnetism of a living populace clustering around them for a longer time breathe a different spirit. Who that stands on the ruins of Nalanda or those of Anuradhapura can think of them merely as symbols of departed things?"

"Language consists of four-fourths which are well-known to clever seers. These, however, conceal three-fourths of it and do not circulate them; so that men speak one-fourth of the possible human language"—says a hymn of the Rig-Veda and the "grandeur that was Rome" got only this one-fourth of the "glory that was Greece", the remaining three-fourths having irrecoverably perished. And that is all that Greece gave to posterity in her art. Whatever be the truth of Kipling's vulgarised jingle about East and West, they certainly cannot meet in creative art, though an intelligent art-criticism may treat them as complementary. The spirit of the East can never rest in snug respectability on the door-step of form anxiously grasping the tangible nothingness. It must get through it, beyond it, and about it, and of this greater victory it must always leave the impress as a signal of hope. The East and the West may meet in the universal Christ but not in Greek philosophy and Greek science and in that strange bifurcation of personality into the irreconcilable spheres of belief of scepticism and belief which is as markedly visible in the Dean as in Greek Thought.

But the Platonic tradition brought to my mind and kept humming to my ears our own "tat tvam asi"; "ekam sat, vipra bahudha vadanti"; "kasmai devaya havisha vidhema?" It reminded me also of Rabindranath Tagore discoursing in white robes and vibrating tones in the little chapel in the avenue of "sals" in Santiniketan on his favourite theme of the "Ekam Advaitam;" in the house of God designed after the principles of his father so as to admit nothing but flooding sunlight into it. Is there not enough in the spirit of this philosophy for Christian theology to find material for a background? The Indian Renaissance brought us many good things among which must be reckoned the nationalisation of Indian Christians. National politics and national dress have seized them, but will they ever produce a "Christopanishad"?

R. R.

THE FUTURE OF CAPITALISM.

VI.

As mentioned, the small shares issued carry no right of voting. As a consequence, the ownership of capital has become distinct from the management and control of a business and since now a group of capitalists can no longer influence the concern in a purely selfish sense, the management is henceforth in the position to serve in a properly understood economic sense, no longer a part, but the

whole of the undertaking. The management becomes the impartial organ, serving the entirety of those interested in the undertaking, reconciling the opposed interests of the different individual parties. It will see to it that there is a sufficient profit for the capital invested: but it will not tolerate the distribution of the highest possible dividend for mere financial and profiteering reasons. The management will also esteem quite differently the production-factor "labour." Labour will cease to be for it merely a commodity which is mechanically bought according to the law of supply and demand. Labour now constitutes the most important part of the apparatus of production. Emancipated from one-sided interest in the capital invested, the management will now be able to consider the labour question objectively. This is the road by which the Americans, without any ethical motives, have arrived at respecting the personality of the worker, which henceforth figures as an irrational, yet by no means negligible, factor in the scheme of production. Thus the rationalizing American takes account of this irrational item, though one will not deny that the American still tries to fix this psychological, spiritual, item by rational methods. But this is not the essential point. The human uniformity in America makes it particularly easy to do so—but the essential point is that the item is being taken into consideration at all. And this the management does—not least, because the worker by his shareholding has become tied up through his capitalistic interests in the business.

Another matter of moment arises. Through its separation of ownership from management America seems to obviate the dangerous development, which ultimately would be fatal to capitalism—viz. the supersession of the *entrepreneur* by the financier. The development, sketched out above, places control not in the hands of the Stock Exchange operator, but of the *entrepreneur* who feels responsible for his works and for the human lives tied up therewith. Thus also that other factor of production, capital, becomes stabilized and economic reason enters upon the rule of all economic forces.

Considering all these ideas together, one can well understand the optimism of so many observers. The Peace idea, which has begun to play an important role in politics, has in the advocates of the above ideas found heralds of peace on the social and economic planes. At the same time concentration of capital, from which Karl Marx expected the necessary collapse of Capitalism, has got the new meaning of adding to the stability of Capitalism by tying labour through capitalistic interests to capitalistic undertakings and capitalistic business. A trustworthy observer of America (quoted by Herb. Feis in *Internationale Rundschau der Arbeit*, March, p. 226) remarks:

"This movement represents a method of transforming the capitalistic organization of industry in a sense which has become neces-

sary and desirable owing to modern democratic tendencies in industry, without at the same time impairing the fundamental nature of the capitalistic system, which, notwithstanding its defects, so far has proved the most desirable social system which humanity has as yet been able to erect. The transformation of the capitalistic system through this new form of property consists in regard to the workers' share in the ownership of the concern first of all in the fact that the employee thereby in one form or another obtains a greater share in the profit, which he has helped to create, than would have been possible otherwise under the wage-system; and secondly in the other fact, that the worker thereby obtains a right of participating in the control of the undertaking. This transformation is particularly important, since it may perhaps portend a satisfactory solution of the problem of the relations between capital and labour."

This observer then largely confirms the conclusions to which the facts seem to point and which Brookings, perhaps a trifle too optimistically, likewise has drawn.

VII.

One's own conclusions then may be summed up as twofold.

First of all, Capitalism, for all that has been said against it, is still pregnant with huge potentialities. All violent attempts, born of a non-economic ideology, to overthrow Capitalism, contradict the spirit of economics and history. Historical abstractions, based on a materialist conception of history, are unreal and block the way to the tasks of the present. Equally unreal are the dreams and the romanticism of many sections of the "Youth Movement" towards economics.

Secondly, it must be borne in mind that the development, we observe in America, is grounded in the concrete and individual peculiarities of American business and of American mentality. For the economic life of Western Europe, based as it is on a different culture, certain corrections are needed and a mere imitation is impossible. But what are the lines along which we must think and which America partly shows us?

On the part of labour they mean the abandonment of concepts and ends, originating in the ideology of Marxism and having nothing to do with economic facts. In this respect the Trade Unions have got further than the political "Labour" parties. What are to be cultivated are all those concepts and ideas which form the basis of the true workers' councils, as grounded in reality—but the complex of ideas "economic democracy" must be purged of all mechanical ideas in favour of a new understanding of the value of economic leadership and economic following. The purely fighting ingredient must be eliminated in favour of realization

that economics only has a meaning, when it is for somebody, when it is service of the commonwealth; just as all work must cease to be mechanical juxtaposition and become organic collaboration. This road with our traditions of 3000 years and all our resultant complexities is of course bound to be a long one.

The employers on their part must recognize that with the increasing social importance of their activities—as necessitated by the economic development—their social responsibility too is increasing. The socio-economic viewpoint must come to rule all social economics; a socio-ethical responsibility corresponding to the facts, must be cultivated; the social side of business must be realized. And the *entrepreneur* too must endeavour to emancipate himself from concepts taken over from times of feudalism and monarchism in industry. Only the objective consideration of the facts, of which the souls and lives of the workers is one, can here be of use. The spiritual life, so much stronger here than in America, must again find a home in our economic system. It is time that our business-men realized these their own tasks and responsibilities.

Ducunt fata volentem, nolentem trahunt: the willing the Fates lead, the unwilling they drag.

HEINRICH ROMMEN.

REVIEWS.

FASCISM, LIBERALISM AND DEMOCRACY.

LA LIBERTE EN ITALIE. By DON LUIGI STURZO. Paris, 1926. 9 x 6. pp. 48. (La Democratie. Frs. 2.50).

THE above is the reprint of an address delivered eighteen months ago at Paris by the founder of the *Partito Popolare*, the Catholic-Democratic Party of Italy, who, like other opponents of Fascism, finds it more salubrious to sojourn outside his own country for the time being. The importance and fascination of this little brochure seem to stand in inverse ratio to its bulk and its perusal is strongly to be recommended to all who are grappling with the intriguing problem, how justly to evaluate Italian Fascism—as passionately loved by its adherents, as it is passionately hated by its opponents. We in India have seen only these very days, how difficult, not to say impossible, it is even for a person like Rabindranath Tagore, to combine respect and admiration for some aspects of Fascism and for the personality of its *Duce* with strong disapproval of other aspects of it and of other prominent leaders of the movement.

Don Luigi Sturzo's address is most illuminating on this point. He himself of course is not a "Liberal", of whom Fascism is the sworn enemy, but as a Catholic he naturally and wholeheartedly approved of Cavaliere Mussolini's opposition to "Liberalism", to the irreligious school, to the atheist State and to all the rest of the works of "Anti-Clericalism." Nor is he a Communist, nor even a Socialist—the other *bêtes noires* of Fascism—but stands on the Catholic standpoint of the solid-

rity of Capital and Labour, of the sanctity of private property and enterprise, and of the need for democracy in industry, no less than in politics. And yet Fascism hates Don Sturzo and has suppressed the *Partito Popolare*, as it has suppressed the Liberals and the Socialists. The thing seems baffling enough, until one realizes that the essence of Fascism consists just in this that it opposes other parties, not because they are right or wrong, but because it holds that no other party has the right to exist at all. One State—One Party—One Opinion; anything beyond is of the evil one: thus might be said to run the Fascist *credo*.

Now to all of us, brought up as we are in British ideology, it is hard to believe that such grotesque concepts can really find serious acceptance anywhere. The fact is however that outside the British Isles and especially where the ideas of the French Revolution have gone deepest, i. e. in Latin countries, the very ideology, which now so starkly confronts us in Italy, is of the warp and woof of all thought, not only to-day but has been so for a century and more. Under the *ancien régime* loyalty was the loyalty of a subject to the Prince: but to what was loyalty to be directed henceforth when the Revolution had done away with King and Throne? Don Sturzo rightly explains that to meet the exigency, an idol was manufactured, "a new deity conceived, called either *State* or *Nation*, to which were given all the attributes of force, law and ethics, and of which the Executive in power and the dominant oligarchies became the priesthood. The Absolute which the individual seeks within himself, the moment he ceases to believe in God, the crowd seeks in the State of which it has made the Moloch of modern civilization. This new Moloch has saved the external appearances of a constitutional government, but has in its deepest reality of being devoured all freedom and reinstated the oligarchies and dictatorships which it was called in to slay" (p. 33). "The old 'reason of State' of the Caesarism of Royalty became the 'national end' of the Neo-Cesarism of State" (p. 36).

England has escaped all this, because at her revolution (which took place a whole century before the French one) she kept kingship, though merely as a figurehead, and this device has enabled her to develop the concept and practice that, provided a citizen was loyal to the king, he might otherwise hold any opinion he please and try to persuade his fellow-citizens to share it. Loyalty to a king however who can do no wrong, because he can no longer rule, but only reign (i. e. be king), is of course a mere phrase, evacuated of all meaning: yet it has admirably, and perhaps unconsciously, served to root firmly in the British mind the idea that a man's political opposition to the king's government was entirely compatible with his loyalty to the king himself and therefore leaves him as good and as patriotic an Englishman as the others are. This is the genesis of democracy in Britain and this the reason why republican thought on the Continent has always been so hopelessly undemocratic. Don Sturzo does not speak of England, but he puts it very clearly that in all Latin countries, and not only in Italy, there never has been such a political mental outlook. From the days of the French Terror and its guillotine the oligarchy actually in power have always posed as the one and only true interpreters of what is right and true, and have denounced those who dared to differ from them as "factious" and "traitorous". "The State defends itself" has always been the cry from Robespierre downwards and been the pretext for "exceptional

laws", now against Socialism, now against "Clericalism". For "the State" in that ideology is identical with the party in power—the opposition parties, as Don Sturzo says (p. 37), being branded as "anti-State." G. Gentile, the official philosopher of Fascism, similarly defines the nation as being "not history nor geography, but programme and mission."

This explains also that phenomenon of anti-clericalism which to the British mind is so strange. The men of the French Revolution were atheists: therefore all who did not agree with them in their irreligion were "enemies of the State." President Calles of Mexico brings this out so well in that egregious 13th clause of his recent "Decree", which says that "publications either religious or merely showing marked tendencies in favour of religion (!) and religious creeds through titles or propaganda, may not comment on national politics or inform (!) readers of acts of the authorities of the country or on particulars related directly to the functioning of public institutions". In other words, Mexicans who are not atheists have no full citizenship rights; they are "public enemies" and can congratulate themselves on being allowed to exist at all. And why? Because the party in power is atheist and because the party in power is the State. Exactly the same logic, as that used by the Communist Party in power at Moscow or by the Fascist Party in power at Rome. When Cavaliere Mussolini issued his Proclamation three months ago, accompanying the Rules made under the Fascist Trade Union Act of April 3rd of this year, he said that with the latter "the democratic, liberal, agnostic and incompetent State has ceased to exist and its place is taken by the Fascist State". In Mexico it is the religious people who are "enemies of the State"; in Italy the irreligious—but the principle underlying both ideologies is the same. Things have gone to their extreme limit in Mexico and Italy, therefore they stand out clear: but as a matter of fact, the principle has been the same in France, and in the countries of her other imitators, too. The new Italian Trade Unions are only open for membership (I quote the official text) to "Italian citizens of good moral and political conduct from the national point of view": and here again the Fascist legislation suffers not from any ambiguity. But are things different in France? Has any office within the gift of the French Government ever been given to any French citizen who was *not* of "good political conduct"? French laws don't put the thing as bluntly, as do Cavaliere Mussolini's: but *au fond*, is there a difference?

This conclusion is the main burden of Don Sturzo's pamphlet and he does well to bring it out. One only wishes that more of us would familiarize ourselves with an ideology so remote from all we are taught and would come to understand that when the Latin world today (and others) talk of "Liberty", they do not mean the democratic freedom of Britain, but that they mean merely the right and the duty of the paramount party in the State to gag and outlaw and if necessary guillotine all people whose opinions differ from their own. Nobody certainly can understand Foreign Politics today, unless he has grasped this meaning of "Liberalism".

It would be ungrateful to expect more than the treatment of one point in a slender treatise of 48 pages: but one must at least warn the reader, that the main problem raised by Fascism has not been treated, i. e. how to steer clear of popular licence and anarchy on the one hand, and of oligarchical egoism and dictatorship on the

other. Granted that Fascism is wrong, how is democracy to effect the solidarity of all citizens, of all classes and even of all parties, without sacrificing either Freedom or Efficiency? This is the practical problem of our day; this will be the deepest problem of India too. At least let us learn, how certainly not to do it, before we join in an attempt for a solution which is occupying the best political thought of all modern countries.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

WHAT TO TEACH THE RISING GENERATION.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE. Nos. 1-16.

JOHN HENRY MACKAY: "THE ANARCHISTS" (reprint in German translation). Published by Die Neue Gesellschaft, Berlin Hassenwinkel, 1924|5.

ANY National scheme which does not allocate a good proportion of its attention and its funds to the education of the young, is short-sighted and short-lived. It speaks badly for modern times that, though grants for universities are forthcoming, there is never sufficient money for elementary instruction, and that public opinion even in advanced countries is not far-sighted enough to appreciate the importance and the economy of utilising the early years of people's lives.

"Never Too Old to Learn" is undoubtedly a fine, optimistic maxim for individuals, but the German proverb "If Little Johnny doesn't learn it, John never will" is a more practical and more economical motto for Education Departments!

As every mother knows, childhood is the time for the inculcation of good habits, morals and ideals. An adult will not stop spitting because we tell him it is obnoxious. What does he care for our opinion anyway? Moreover, it is almost too much to expect of him. His contemporaries spit, and his parents spat. But we have a fair chance of preventing his children from forming the disgusting habit, and it is our business to make our anti-expectorating or pro-washing arguments forcible enough to counteract the bad example of the older generation. The Jesuit educator who said that a child must be under his care till the age of seven, and could then go where he liked, may have exaggerated, but not much.

The influence exerted over our childish minds by our environment, including the toys and books given to us, cannot be overestimated.

As regards toys, an American publication, "The Mother-Craft Manual" by Mary L. Read, has a page showing pictures of "social toys," i. e. dolls, bricks, etc., and of "anti-social toys," i. e. toy guns, boxes of soldiers, and the like. The moral is obvious: it may be "natural" for little boys to play at soldiers, but, given the appropriate suggestion, it will be equally "natural" for them to play at scouting or other non-bloodthirsty games. The illustration of this point in Baroness von Suttner's novel "Lay Down Your Arms" is classical. The heroine, the widow of an officer killed in war, becomes engaged a second time—to another soldier. Herself an officer's daughter, but horror-stricken at the sacrifices demanded by war, she asks her second fiancé how it was that he, so peace-loving a character, ever chose a military career. Frederick, who subsequently gives up his profession, replies that, ever since he could remember, it had always been taken for granted by his affectionate relatives that he would one day "be a brave

soldier like Daddy," and that, by the mere force of suggestion from all sides, little Freddy had developed into the officer Frederick.

As with toys, so with books. We admit that books are a powerful influence, yet juvenile libraries, private as well as public, are generally sadly deficient. It is a hopeful sign that the Soviet Government has recognised the importance of supplying good juvenile literature, and that a committee specially appointed for the purpose, have been working for three years already, making a survey of existing juvenile literature and its influence on the children. Members of this committee also tell stories to children at the juvenile reading rooms, watching the reaction, and inviting their hearers' views.

The results are appalling of neglecting to inculcate hygienic habits during the early years while the mind is still plastic. In every country hospitals and asylums for the feeble-minded are crowded with patients who are the victims, not of deliberate vice, nor yet of the visitation of heaven, but of sheer ignorance on their own part or that of their parents. How much human suffering could be saved as the result of a more rational training of the young is immeasurable, but even from the economic point of view, what a saving! The same person who supports the work of the hospitals in relieving misery (and rightly so), will poochpooch the efforts of the schools, which are slaving against crushing odds, viz. indifference or hostility of the pupils' parents, to bring about a state of affairs when fewer hospitals will be needed. All this is no exaggeration. The preventibility of disease is being realised more and more.

So much for the pitiful wastage in things physical. Turning to ideals, we are oppressed by the number of false ideals with which we ourselves grew up and by the gross injustice of transmitting such ideals to the next generation. Why not spare them that painful process of unlearning? For we must admit, if we are honest, that much of our ethics needs overhauling. A few homely illustrations:

A certain popular children's hymn beginning:—
"All things bright and beautiful,
All creatures great and small,
All things wise and wonderful,
The Lord God made them all,"

And containing several beautiful verses, included the following libel on the Deity:—

"The rich man in his castle,
The poor man a his gate,
He made them high or lowly,
And ordered their estate."

This verse is happily omitted in the "Books for the Bairns" series by W. Stead, but it is less than 25 years ago that we sang this hymn unquestioningly accepting the ethics its teaches. Is no one responsible? At a confirmation class (not 20 years ago) in London, a twelve year old girl, in whose mind doubts had arisen regarding the salvation of her Nonconformist playmates, asked the clergyman: "But can't Dissenters go to heaven?" "I am afraid not, dear," was the definite reply, "No Dissenters in heaven." We need only adapt this true story to the Hindu-Muslim problem.

The history text-books on which the English child was brought up till very recently, and still is often even now, foster Jingoism as nothing else can, and if a boy leaves school at seventeen, thinking every other nation inferior to his own, we really cannot blame *him*. Again, why do parents use the kindly policeman as a "rakshas" to scare their children? The impression is often lasting.

A book published in 1919 by two London educationists, Dr. F. H. Hayward and Arnold Freeman ("The Spiritual Foundations of Reconstruction: A Plea for New Educational Methods") is brimful of suggestions. We wonder how many of them have become practice in these six years?

The need for presenting these better ideals to young folks in books has been realised by the *Neue Gesellschaft*, of Berlin, the first six books of whose series of attractive and cheap books written for "a rising generation desirous of being imbued with a new and better spirit" are here under review.

Each volume consists of about a hundred pages, well printed, and packed with interesting and "live" reading matter. In view of the lack of juvenile literature in Indian languages, the contents of each volume will be mentioned.

Vol. 1. "*Leo Tolstoy*"—short stories and selections from essays. Vol. 2. "*America*"—an astonishingly varied selection of passages on American life, work and ideals. It does not fall into the usual blind admiration of everything American solely because it is American: it throws light on the seamy side too—the evils of the "third degree" trial, of the excessive veneration of "speed"—the needless brutality in the slaughter-houses of Chicago, etc. Vol. 3. "*Heinrich Heine*"—selections from the less known works of Heine, including illuminating passages from his memoirs, where the author pleads for greater justice in social and industrial life. Vol. 4. "*Love of Animals*"—reprobates cruelty to dumb creatures. Here again, the stories and incidents are telling and pointed; the faithful dog of fiction, who invariably rescued the youngest child of the family from drowning, is absent. Instead, the dog is shown in his true light, i. e. as an intelligent and affectionate companion. Vol. 5. "*The Land of Mystery: A Fairy-tale of our Own Times*"—written by Clara Meyer-Lugan, shows that a fairy-tale can be engrossing from beginning to end without including the traditional kings and princesses. The idea of the story is so good that it really deserves a separate review. There should be more such stories, but it takes a clever author to write them. The heroine, the semi-mortal daughter of a fairy mother, finds true happiness among humble labouring people; having spent her childhood in the Happy Isles, she is distressed by the vain pursuit of wealth to which the denizens of the Floating Land (the world) are devoted. Vol. 6. "*Heroes of Goodness*". The types of heroism here presented in true stories, all of modern times, are far better than the type of military heroism which has hitherto been singled out for the admiration of children. Why select only certain stereotyped kinds of heroism? Is not the heroism of the miner who faces loneliness and danger in the course of his daily work, worthy of mention? A particularly stirring account is that of a German doctor of Cologne who, at the age of 47 devoted himself for twenty-six years to the task of lessening the cruelties practised on the Russian convicts bound for Siberia—this in face of the severest official persecution and personal risk.

There is, in these volumes, a noticeable lack of the "goody-goody" element detested by all children. Neither in Volume 4 nor in Volume 6 does sentiment ever degenerate into sentimentality.

So much for ideals. If we sincerely admit the necessity of overhauling our ethics, there is at least a ray of hope. We fear, however, that there is still much wilful and tendentious misrepresent-

ation of facts in training the "young idea." Even then, there is the dreary confusion of thought. It will be more than a pity if we allow our own muddles to go down to posterity.

This task of clearing up muddles is also being shouldered by the *Neue Gesellschaft*. One of their publications is a reprint (in German) of John Henry Mackay's "*Anarchists*" written in about 1897. "Anarchy" is one of those imperfectly understood expressions, like "Bolshevism," "Charity" and many another. "Anarchy" is not synonymous with "chaos" and "boob-throwing," as the usual acceptance of the word has come to mean. Anarchy, as defined by Mackay, branched off from socialism and communism, the essential idea of anarchy being incompatible with the principle of socialism and communism. Whereas the two latter tend to decrease the importance of the individual, who is to possess no private property, and the proceeds of whose work is to be merged into that of the whole community, anarchy claims full freedom for each man's individuality, the right of private property and the duty of asserting himself economically. The individual is to be self-reliant, and is to demand a sufficient wage for the work he does. Philanthropy as practised by the amateur is demoralising both to the giver and to the recipient, and the Christian virtue of self-sacrifice and self-depreciation should find no place in the labour-market. He who is content to work at a starvation wage is unfair both to himself and to his fellow-workers. So far from countenancing violence, the task of anarchy is to do away with the arbitrariness of governments by passive resistance. Government even by a majority, Mackay says, is but "privileged force" because no government can ever be really representative, and history shows us that the few will always take advantage of the masses. Neither should it be possible for a government to force its subjects into wars. War-like spirits there will always be. Granted; but then let those hooligans exterminate each other, if they must, as long as the peace-loving majority are not drawn into the quarrel.

As far as education through books is concerned let us, then, bear in mind that a "stitch in time saves nine", though the French (wise nation) estimate the saving at a thousand!

HETTY KOHN.

CHILD LABOUR.

CHILD LABOR. By J. E. JOHNSON. (The H. W. Wilson Company, New York). 1926. 90 cents.

THIS book belongs to the Reference Shelf series, published by the H. W. Wilson Company of New York. The books written in this series are useful to students, who have occasion to take part in debates, as both the sides of the subject are given and the reader is expected to form his own conclusions. The present volume is a continuation of the one written by the same author in 1924, embodying the information gained in the subsequent two years.

Although children between the ages of 10 and 15 form but 8.5% of the population, the importance of the subject is nevertheless not to be proportionately measured, for the child is the greatest asset of a nation and has therefore to be protected from exploitation during this minority, in order to prevent his deterioration as a worker, soldier and citizen. The nation has every right, in the interest of its own safety, to interfere with the parents or communities, who fail to do their

duty by their children, resulting in a danger to the State. Employment of children while young creates illiteracy, lowers the standard of life of existing labor, and degrades the quality of future labour, so far as physique, intelligence and skill are concerned. It is not likely that the wrong will be righted automatically under the pressure of public opinion and improvements in the economic condition of the country, as increasing competition in industrial and commercial activities will force the capitalists to employ cheap child labour. In its own interest, therefore, the State must interfere and legislate to stop this waste. Local or provincial legislation will not do. National and even international legislation is required, to introduce uniform improvements and to deprive any locality from taking undue advantage, when not subjected to these restrictions.

DHOONDIRAJ THENGDI.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE CHURCH AND THE SEX QUESTION. By J. W. COURTTS. ("The Living Church" Series.) (James Clarke & Co., Ltd., London.) 1926. 7¼ x 5, pp. 256. 6s.
- METHODS OF CONDUCTING FAMILY BUDGET ENQUIRIES. (International Labour Office, Geneva.) 1926. 9¼ x 6¼, pp. 100. 1s. 6d.
- WESTERMANN'S WELTATLAS. By A. LIEBERS. 16th edition. 9 x 10. ix+117+92 pp. Letter press, 109 pp. maps. Braunschweig. 1926. (G. Westermann. Mk. 30.-)
- THE HANDBOOK AND DIRECTORY OF ADULT EDUCATION. (H. W. F. Deane & Sons, Ltd., London.) 1926. 8½ x 5½, pp. 190. 6d.
- DIE GROSSMACHTE IN OSTASIEN VON 1894 BIS 1914. By Dr. O. FRANCKE Braunschweig. 8½ x 5½, pp. xxiv & 408. (G. Westermann. Mk. 8.-)

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE BARODA PRESS ACT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—Will you allow me a little space in your paper in order to amplify somewhat your remarks, with which I entirely agree, on the two topics on Indian States in your issue of last week?

First, as to the plan to enlarge the power of control which Kolhapur State exercises at present over its feudatories. This plan has already been tried in Idar, with results which surely the British Government will not be wishful to see repeated in Kolhapur. Idar has really proved a grave warning which the British Government will not be wise to neglect.

Second, as to the Press Act of Baroda State. As you say, the provisions empowering the authorities to give or refuse permission at their discretion to start a newspaper or a printing press have no precedent in British India. Only these provisions were contained in Baroda's Press Act of 1911, which owed its inspiration to the British Indian Press Act of the preceding year. And they were sought to be re-enacted in 1925, but all members of the Dhara Sabha excepting three officials stoutly opposed the proposal, which thus fell to the ground. Even so the present Act gives the power of confiscating and suspending the publication of the offending

newspaper and closing down the press for one year. It passes one's comprehension why, with these drastic provisions already on the statute book, the Baroda Government should require others the like of which no civilized country even in its worst panic, has found it necessary to enact.

And what are the kind of journals the Baroda Government has to deal with? There is, first of all, the *Sayaji Vijay*, which is as good as an official organ. It is in fact more Royalist than the King could be. It needs no saying that the *Vijay* dared not comment on the new Press Act. Then there is the *Jagruti* which ventured recently to lift its voice against the addition to the municipal burdens which has created quite a commotion in Baroda. In the article His Highness the Gaekwar was held personally responsible for the municipal taxation, the Dewan and the Council being relieved of all responsibility in the matter. The paper spoke of "Royal obstinacy" and characterized this high-handed act as "Moghlai in Baroda." Well, the Baroda authorities did not let the grass grow under their feet: the paper was made immediately to tender an abject apology for making this kind of saucy comment. The *Baroda Vartman* no doubt professes nationalistic sympathies, but it has not so far criticised the Press Act at all. It may be driven for very shame to write something, but after the experiences it has had with the Baroda Government its will not, one may be sure, be of too violent a character. It is only *Nava Gujerat*, which with reckless courage has kept the flag of the freedom of the Press flying, but how many papers, one wonders, will stake their all on fearless criticism of the Baroda Government?

The petty tricks which the Government employs in order to harass the independence of newspapers which it dare not bring openly under the operation of the Press Act are a most disgraceful feature in the present administration. The authorities let it be widely known to the departmental heads that Government advertisements and notices were not to be sent to *Nava Gujerat* which shows itself to be so untamable. When the matter was raised in an interpellation in the Dhara Sabha the Dewan had the face to say that no such orders were issued by Government. He was of course technically right because the orders issued were not official, but demi-official or confidential. When, however, the Dewan was further asked whether the Chief Justice had not issued confidential circulars discontinuing the publication of court notices in this paper as "under instructions from Government" the Dewan of course could only evade the question by saying that the heads of departments were at liberty to give or withhold their patronage at their discretion, in this way indirectly admitting that confidential orders had been issued for stopping the patronage of *Nava Gujerat*. The Baroda Government has excluded the *Hindustan and Advocate of India* and the *Sourashtra* of Ranpur from its public libraries in the State, and it has appointed a Publicity and Intelligence Officer and made him the channel for the distribution of Government patronage in the form of state advertisements to different papers. No doubt rates of advertisement and figures of circulation have been invited, but it is feared that the determining factor will be the complexion of the paper's politics. Docility will earn a good bit of state patronage, while independence will forfeit all. This is a fear widely entertained; I hope it will prove unfounded, but in the present mentality of the State authorities betrayed by the tenour of their new Press Act this is very unlikely. As you wrote, the State seems determined to achieve a high rank among the more autocratic and backward of Indian States.

J. B.

Baroda,
September 26.