

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

DURING the discussion on the Bombay University Bill, attack was directed against sub-clause 4 of clause 5, which required the Syndicate to report to the Chancellor for communicating to the Viceroy the action taken to carry out his advice given during his inspection of the University. We think that needless anxiety is shown about the liberty of the University in this connection. The Viceroy will rarely visit or inspect the University and if he gives advice on any matter it will be only when he discovers some important sin of omission or commission. In this case the advice should be welcome and nothing is lost by communicating to him what has been done in the matter of his advice. In any case we do not think that this clause will mean any leading strings to pull the University every now and then. Sub-clause 5, however, which gives the Chancellor the power to carry out the suggestions of the Visitor without the co-operation of the Syndicate and the Senate is highly objectionable. No discussion has been raised about it so far. Dr. Ambedkar's amendment that the State grants to the Colleges should not be made except through the University cannot be accepted unless the University has a competent financial body like the University Council of the London University. We do not think the Syndicate as it will be constituted under the Bill will be the right sort of body to apportion grants amongst the several colleges. The amendment was however lost on quite different grounds. Mr. R. G. Pradhan's amendment that the report be re-

committed to the Select Committee for making a statutory provision of a Government grant was probably intended only as a protest and as such it has admirably served its purpose, although it was rejected as *ultra vires*. It is to be regretted that the motion for making the Vice-Chancellor's post elective has been defeated and the opportunity of having the principal executive officer of the University responsible to the opinion of the Senate has been lost. It is a curious feature of the debate that many of the Swarajists and Responsivists who always foam at the mouth whenever there is any suspicion of autocracy in Government proceedings threw their weight into the scale against democracy on this occasion and Mr. Pradhan—the greater honour to him—was left with a handful of supporters drawn from the Non-Brahman, Mahomedan and nominated elements who are usually depicted as forming together the villain of the piece to press for a real democratization of the University. During the discussion on the motion for deleting the clause creating a Rector the Education Minister declared that the financial position of the University was not so weak as was generally imagined. We think that the optimism of the Education Minister is not justified by facts and the appointment of a Rector on a high salary would be hardly prudent in the present position of the finances of the University.

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THE Hon'ble Sir Phiroze C. Sethna has published a leaflet on constitutional reforms, in which a good three-quarters is devoted to warning Indian publicists against being misled by the interested advice which is being dinned into their ears into formulating a constitution "suited to the genius of India." There may be a few theorists who would add to the sum-total of human knowledge by indulging in political speculation of the kind suggested, but most of those who proffer this advice are concerned to prove that parliamentary democracy is only suited to the west, and therefore eastern countries must not slavishly imitate European countries, where conditions were peculiarly favourable for the growth of such democracy, but evolve a system of government which, though it may smack of paternalism, will suit them better. Our publicists must indeed, as Sir Phiroze Sethna pleads with such earnestness, set their face sternly against such fanciful conceits and concentrate their attention on the *quantum* of power we secure for the people instead of the way in which it is to be distributed. Indeed, Sir Phiroze shrewdly observes that it is not within the competence of the Commission to consider any scheme as an alternative to responsible government. In the matter of making alterations in the standard form of popular government, the constitution of the Irish Free State should serve as a warning. As ultimately passed, it was supposed to be an improvement on the older constitutions, but experience has proved that most of the

novelties introduced into it like the composition of the Senate and the Referendum and the Initiative, have proved failures. It is easy enough to make out a case against, e. g., the transplantation in India of the system of Cabinet government and for the introduction of American or Swiss systems or for a combination of these systems in which some members of the Executive are nominated by a popularly-elected President and others elected by the Legislature. In a country where party divisions are largely artificial any such expedient for the representation of all Parties in the Executive and for removing at least certain portfolios from the sway of party politics have a good promise. In fact in countries like S. Africa a proposal is seriously made for substituting for Cabinet government a system in which all Parties combine in governing the country, in the belief that the latter type of Executive "makes public service, rather than ambition for sovereignty, the aim of statesmen." Many such proposals can be made and possibly they may be improvements; but we agree with Sir Phiroze that we should not complicate the question of the measure of Reforms by such abstract considerations in regard to their form.

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THE Independent Labour Party is going to move a resolution at the Party's annual Conference declaring that no Royal Commission which does not adequately represent Indian opinion can provide a satisfactory constitution for India and urging that at least half the members should represent the elected parties in the Assembly. In view of the rumours afloat about a wholly British composition of the Commission it is reassuring to know that at least one party in England sets its face against such a preposterous composition. Nothing can be more effective in alienating the sympathies of Indians than a Commission without a single Indian on it. The move of the Labour Party ought to be followed up in India by an attempt to create a panel of competent Indians who in the opinion of the public are fit to discharge ably the duties of a member of the Statutory Commission. Such a panel would enable the choice to be made in accordance with popular wishes, although there is nothing mandatory about it. We are not sure however whether it is so necessary to arrive at a ready-made constitution for India as the resolution proposes further on. It is enough if the British parties know the major constitutional changes which the Indians regard as the minimum that is absolutely necessary. The Labour Party's move is a timely reminder that Indians must be up and doing if they do not want their case to go by default.

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IN connexion with the Compulsory Physical Training course sanctioned by the Bombay University for adoption in the Arts Colleges of Poona at a cost of Rs. 7,000 odd for the next term, we may mention that a resolution was moved in the last session of the Bihar Council calling for Military Training as a "required" subject in the secondary schools. The Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Fawcus, opposed this resolution on the ground that, if by military training was meant what it really meant, viz. training in the use of bayonet, rifle, machine gun, etc., pupils not only in secondary schools, but even in high schools, were obviously too young for it; and, further, financial considerations alone would rule it out. If military training were to be given only to students in schools, the cost would be Rs. 125 lakhs non-recurring and Rs. 46 lakhs recurring. If middle schools

also were to be included, the non-recurring cost would come to Rs. 325 lakhs and the recurring cost to Rs. 116 lakhs. But there would be no objection, Mr. Fawcus said, either in theory or in practice, to giving training in military drill compulsorily to all students in secondary schools. By military drill is understood the training of the squad in how to march, how to form fours, and exercises of that kind, which instil into those who take such exercises a spirit of discipline and courage, which is a great asset to the students when they go up to the colleges and receive real military training. To those who do not join colleges the military drill is useful by way of improving their physique. Such military discipline can be given by retired military instructors at a reasonable cost. The Committee on the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces has made a unanimous recommendation in favour of such military discipline and the Government of India have adopted this part of the report. It therefore behoves school authorities to introduce such physical training accompanied by military drill in secondary schools. Private and aided schools may well expect a grant from Local Governments towards the expenses of such training.

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COMPULSORY primary education was introduced in two wards of Bombay City less than two years ago; but to judge from the latest report of the Bombay Schools Committee, the results that have attended its working even during this short period can by no means be looked upon as disappointing. Out of the total number 21,468 children between 6 and 11 years of age in these two wards, 12,000 were at school on March 31, 1926, leaving roughly 9,550 to be provided for. But actually the number of children to be provided for was even larger, for 5,253 were ascertained to have left these localities and shifted elsewhere. On the same date this year, the number of children learning in primary schools rose to 13,371, leaving 8,097 to be brought under instruction. But of these 2,770 were exempted from the operation of the Compulsory Education Act and the number of children awaiting provision was 5,327 as against 9,550 of the previous year. But the significance of these figures is even better realised when it is borne in mind that while in the first year 32 per cent. of the total number of children were receiving instruction and 68 per cent. were going without it, the proportions were very nearly reversed after only a year's working of compulsion, being 62 and 38 respectively. All which once more brings home the fact that compulsion is the only effective means of universalising primary education within a measurable distance of time. Let it however not be supposed that the task of enforcing compulsion in Bombay was free from difficulties. There was no lack of parents who instead of sending their grown-up children to school would keep them at home in order to look after their younger children during their absence for most of the day, while there were others, mostly illiterate and ignorant, who would not allow their daughters of marriageable age, i. e. between 9 and 11, to go to school. Muslim girls have so far been exempted from the operation of compulsion; but the compulsory provisions of the Act will shortly be made applicable even to them. The proportion of exemptions to the number of children at school, nearly 20 per cent., appears to be unduly high; but it must be presumed that exemptions are allowed only on satisfactory grounds. The results of the medical inspection of school children arranged for by the Schools Committee show how unsatisfactory the health of our children is. The inspection brought out the astounding fact that only 40 boys and 34

girls out of every 100 can be said to be quite healthy and as many as 27.8 per cent. of boys and 32.2 per cent. of girls are suffering from malnutrition; and 26 and 27.5 per cent. respectively from diseases of teeth. Steps for improving their physique are urgently necessary if further deterioration is to be avoided.

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**THE National Christian Council of India** (including Ceylon) has undertaken an industrial survey of India under the guidance of Miss M. C. Matheson, who is an authority on industrial and welfare questions in Great Britain. Miss I. Wingate of the Y.W.C.A. will be associated with Miss Matheson. The Council has done some preliminary work in establishing contact with other people working in the same field. The object of the survey is to keep a watchful eye on insanitary conditions, employment of children, disease-producing atmosphere and other well-known evils of the Industrial System and prevent India from being subjected to the same maladjustments and convulsions to which the pioneer countries in Modern Industrialism have been already exposed for nearly half a century. This survey, being unofficial, will give no cause for the usual complaint of the trammels of the red tape. In an undertaking, the purpose of which is to ameliorate the condition of industrial workers, the Christian and the non-Christian are on a common platform and the object of "establishing Christian standards in industries" can never be one with which there need be the slightest disagreement. In any appeal to the Government in future for legislation in industrial matters such a reliable survey will strengthen the hands of both officials and non-officials. This survey besides will cover a part of the ground intended to be traversed by the proposed economic survey of India which at any rate those who follow the lead of the Economic Inquiry Committee are anxious to set in motion. We heartily welcome the proposed scheme and feel assured that under such capable advisers chosen by the National Christian Council, the work will be carried to a successful issue within two or three years.

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**THE newly formed society in Poona** to aid released prisoners will doubtless supply a long felt public want; for with a big jail at Yerowda, there is a good deal of very useful activity in which it can engage itself. Like similar societies elsewhere, this new society seeks to reclaim criminals by helping them to become honest and respectable citizens. Nor is it going to neglect juvenile and casual offenders but will try to prevent their developing into confirmed criminals. To achieve the end in view, the new institution intends to maintain a home where released prisoners can find food and shelter for a few days before permanent employment can be found for them; while those wishing to go back to their homes will be given the requisite railway fares. With a view to provide work to those that might come under its care, the new institution has also a mind to run in course of time a workshop with departments of hand spinning, hand weaving, carpentry, furniture making, bookbinding, etc. The programme of work which it has set before itself might appear to some as somewhat ambitious; but given sufficient public support, there is no reason why it should be difficult of fulfilment. There are of course the usual ways of helping forward the Society's work, e. g. by strengthening its membership or by giving financial help; but the Society's work will also be considerably facilitated by people promising to employ released prisoners whom the Society may recommend for the purpose. Among the

organisers one finds well-known earnest-minded Theosophists like Dr. V. C. Gokhale who is the Honorary Secretary and Treasurer of the Society and Rao Bahadur Dr. P. V. Shikhare, who for some time past have been unostentatiously doing their best for reclaiming criminals by arranging weekly religious sermons at Yerowda jail.

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IT is not of course only in Kenya that the white planters demand an elected majority in the legislature; the demand is common to all East African Colonies. Accordingly, a motion to this effect was formally tabled in the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia, but the Governor of that Colony, Sir Herbert Stanley, in speaking to it, did not, like Sir E. Grigg, incite the settlers to press the demand and virtually promised them that it would be granted, but he felt constrained to point out, as indeed Sir E. Grigg should have done, that it is a matter for the E. A. Commission to report upon and for H. M. Government to decide upon; and further that there are many difficulties in the way of Government sanctioning an increase in unofficial membership, not to speak of an elected majority. "In judging of the fitness of the representatives of the people in this House to obtain a larger share of power, the decision will be influenced very largely by the opinion formed of their words and their deeds." Among the questions that would present themselves to the Imperial Government Sir Herbert mentioned as the most important: "whether the attitude of the Council towards the natives would be such that the Imperial Government would relinquish some share in the trusteeship and responsibilities without undue apprehension." This consideration of course never occurs to Sir E. Grigg, who is only concerned to devise methods for the solution of the deadlocks that will arise as a result of the whites being allowed to return a majority of members by election.

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SOME time ago we published in this journal a draft convention drawn up by the League of Nations Union and "embodying certain conditions regarded as a bare minimum of humanity, efficiency and decency in prison and penal administration." This draft was submitted as a basis of discussion to the Federation of League of Nations Societies, which thereupon passed a resolution on the subject. It is hoped that some country will ask at the sitting of the League Assembly for an international prison inquiry, so that as a result of such inquiry some of the gross abuses now prevalent may be put a stop to, like imprisonment without trial and without a charge being preferred for months and even for years; flogging in prisons and police cells for the purpose of extorting confessions; herding young offenders with master criminals; keeping healthy prisoners in windowless cells, etc. What would interest us in India most of all is international agreement by which the power to intern persons on suspicion will be put under some kind of restraint. As *Headway* puts it, "The right of every Government to safeguard the State against revolution is fundamental and the political prisoner is inevitable in our present unhappy divisions. But common sense and humanity alike demand that they, as well as the criminal prisoners, be accorded *fair trial*, reasonable conditions as to food, light, warmth, ventilation, immunity from torture, and the other features of a civilized penal system." Will any of the Indian representatives move a resolution, if not at the present session, at the next, for the adoption of this convention?

## EAST AFRICAN POLICY.

## THE GOVERNORS' CONFERENCE.

By C. F. ANDREWS.

OF all the documents that I have come across, dealing with the subject of East African Federation, the Governors' Conference Report (published by Waterlow & Sons, London, price 2s. 6d.) is a document of the highest importance. It gives the statements and conclusions reached on burning questions. Beneath a humanitarian profession and the language of modern-day philanthropy it seems to me to contain many of the old dangers of the sacrifice of the native African interests to the white settlers, which has been such a painful feature of the past in Kenya as well as in Belgian Congo. The report begins with the enunciation of what has been so often called the Dual Mandate, i. e.,

1. The care of the native African and his development.

2. The economic exploitation of the soil for the use of civilized mankind.

There has been often pointed out a distinction between Kenya and West Africa. In Kenya, the second part of the Dual Mandate has often been carried out with a sacrifice of the first part. In Western Africa, native production has itself been developed and has been the means of exploiting the soil for civilized mankind.

In Kenya, the charge has been seriously brought forward and never adequately refuted, that the native has been sacrificed to the European. According to the frank statement made by Major Grogan, in his book "From Cape to Cairo," the matter lies thus,

"We have stolen the native's lands, and now we must steal his limbs" (i. e. by compulsory labour).

We know what determined attempts have been made by the settlers, often with the connivance of Government officials, to obtain forced African native labour for their estates, either directly, or else by indirect means through the excessively high hut and poll tax. Now let us see what the Governors suggest in their Memorandum, as a safeguard against this. It reads as follows:—

*Land.*

(i) There are those lands which were indubitably unoccupied and unclaimed at the time when British Government was established.

(ii) There are those lands to which there was only a doubtful claim.

(iii) There are lands effectively occupied by a large and settled native population.

"These lands mentioned in (iii) should clearly be reserved to its original native owners. In (i) and (ii) sufficient land for their own use should be secured to the native tribes originally sprinkled or wandering over it, but the rest is clearly the property of the British Government to develop in the manner which it considers most suitable and effective."

*Conclusions.*

"(i) Wherever a native population exists sufficient land should be secured to it to afford full oppor-

tunity for either stock breeding and dairying, or for production of crops according as the land is fit for pasture or agricultural purposes.

(ii) European colonisation should be encouraged wherever the climate is suitable and adequate areas are available for settlement without depriving the native population of sufficient land for its own use.

(iii) The area reserved for a native tribe should be sufficient to accommodate the whole tribe together."

(The Governor of Tanganyika makes two reservations. (a) The Land Ordinance whereunder the land is vested in the Governor to use for the common benefit, direct and indirect, of the native to remain unimpaired in every respect. (b) The Governor does not bind himself to the policy of native reserves, to which he is opposed.)

Then follows the labour policy which reads briefly as follows:—

*Land*

"(1) The ideal in view should be to make the land put to its best economic use, while also providing for the steady progress and welfare of its native inhabitants, and safeguarding them against serfdom in any form whatever.

(2) Steady progress cannot be secured in some areas unless every available native who shows no tendency to work is given to understand that Government expects him to do a reasonable amount of work either (a) in production in his own reserve or (b) in labour for wages outside it.

(3) In areas where the first alternative (a) is not within his reach, the native should be definitely encouraged to go out to labour. In others where both alternatives are open to him, the Government is not concerned to impose either upon him.

4. While communications are undeveloped the native should be instructed to grow sufficient food-stuff for his own livelihood.

5. In establishing markets for produce, it is desirable that the process of production should be regulated so as to secure the most efficient methods and the highest possible standard of production. If these principles are accepted, they will indicate what restrictions are necessary in the production of certain crops by natives. There is no case for debarring a native, just because he is a native, from growing any economic crop; but there is a very strong case for debarring from production any inefficient producer who endangers other producers, whatever his race.

6. In areas open for settlement, Government should encourage the growth of those crops where least labour is required and should regulate the growth of those which make heavy demands on labourers for short periods of the year.

7. It is by no means certain that the native will make adequate economic use of all the land secured to him, but that is no reason why any attempt should be made in the future to take the land from him. It is evident that in most cases the native is alive to economic advantages, and that his rudimentary ideas concerning the nature of wealth are changing. He is not likely to be content forever with owning undeveloped land, or the mere

multiplication of cattle, where he sees the profit that can be made in neighbouring areas from the skilled cultivation of land, or economic animal husbandry. He will always be free to choose whether to develop the land himself or to bring in the aid of European skill and knowledge to develop it; and in many cases he will probably prefer to lease the land for cultivation by others rather than take the risk and trouble involved in organising its cultivation himself. There is no reason why Government should limit his freedom of choice provided only that the land is leased on fair terms and that adequate rents are secured for its native owners."

In this article, I have contented myself with quoting passages from this very important Memorandum with very slight abbreviation. I have done this, because I regarded it as one of the most far-reaching statements ever published by a responsible body with regard to modern land policy in Africa. The whole future of the East African Federation will be modelled along these lines. Yet when we examine it (especially sections 2 and 7 on Land), we can easily see how many opportunities for oppressing the native African still remain, if only the Government of the country is ready to connive at them. It is also not difficult to understand how the European settlers may reduce to impotence the portions in the Memorandum in favour of the native Africans by emphasising some other part of the land policy which is in their own favour. Therefore the Memorandum, though it represents an advance in certain directions, does not seem to me to be able to overcome the economic eagerness for selfish advancement, which is inherent in European colonization.

### RURAL RECONSTRUCTION.

RURAL reconstruction is a part of the general programme of national reconstruction. But it is a vital part. For India is pre-eminently a land of villages. They number nearly 7,00,000 and hold more than 90 per cent of the population. Thus the real home of the nation is in the rural parts. The cradle of ancient Indian culture also lies there. Much of what is of abiding value in our ancient ideals and institutions is still to be found in a wonderfully intact state in many of the villages. The village, more than the town, is also the economic and political unit in this country. The foundations of our freedom and future growth have, therefore, to be laid in these nerve centres of national life.

No one who knows something of the sad plight of our villagers will fail to realise the gravity and magnitude of the problems awaiting solution in rural areas. Villages where once milk and honey flowed, learning and plenty flourished, are now the haunts of poverty and ignorance. The erstwhile hives of industry and healthy labour have been reduced to idle abodes of unemployed men and women who, with half-starved stomachs and lifeless looks, sink deeper and deeper into disease, drink, demoralisation and other evils that sap the vitality of a race. This deplorable decay of village life is the outcome of many factors. But it is, in the main, due to the shifting of the nation's centre of gravity from rural to urban parts as a result of the impact of western industrialism. This is largely responsible for the neglect of villages and the drain therefrom of the best

intelligence and wealth to the cities. While the labouring classes leave for cities in search of work and wages, the educated upper and middle classes are attracted to them by their craze for urban comforts. Decay of agriculture and the abandonment of cottage industries are but the natural consequences of the same evil. The decay and depletion of rural areas are proceeding at such an alarmingly rapid rate that unless it is stopped in time there is the danger of the life current in the villages—already vitiated—getting dry at no distant date. Rural reconstruction is nothing but an organised attempt to stop this suicidal bleeding of villages, to set up a counter-flow of life and energy from urban to rural centres so as to return to the villager what has been unjustly robbed from him. Its aim is to revive, conserve and enrich village life and restore the balance between the agricultural and industrial types of civilisation. Thus alone can we rescue the nation's soul and rebuild national life on foundations which have served us for ages, and which alone is suited to the genius of the race. Swaraj will be an empty dream so long as the masses, who live in villages are not awakened, educated and organised to protect themselves against starvation and exploitation in all the different spheres of life. Indian nation-builders have not realised too soon the urgency of this task.

Before proceeding to a detailed consideration of the problem, it is well to guard ourselves at the outset against a danger that rises from the reign of urbanism in the modern mind. The villages are already suffering from the rude shock of reactions caused by the social and economic revolution in cities. It will be a tragedy of no mean consequence if, under the name of "Progress", the evils of urbanism are imported into rural reform and economics. Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee, in his recently published book "Rural Economy of India" observes that modern science and social policy have touched only the fringe of our rural life and warns us against the careless doctrines of those who would regard the prevailing unsettlement in the villages and agricultural depression as the travails of "Progress." He says (p. 7): "The study of rural economics will show the essential connection between the framework of social polity and the adjustment of population to resources and regional conditions. In its constructive aspects, it will rescue rural organisations from the impact of industrialism, preserve and expand the social and traditional values associated with agriculture as an important factor in social progress. Thus the application of science to the arts of life will promote a wide diffusion of population and social initiative and correct the present tendency to look upon culture as a purely urban product. Economics being shorn in this manner of its urban predilections, social development will proceed on more harmonious lines."

Coming to closer grips with the task before us, we are faced by two outstanding problems, the chronic poverty and ignorance of the Indian masses. These twin evils are the root causes of our present helplessness. It is difficult to estimate their comparative dominance in the evolution and psychology of slavery. Both in their cause and consequence, they are intimately locked up. The remedies also, similarly, overlap to a certain extent and should, therefore, be applied almost simultaneously. For the sake of convenience, however, we shall deal first with the poverty problem. The compelling logic of the realities of life also justifies such treatment. To the starving wretch food is the first necessity of life. India's hungry millions must therefore be fed, in the first instance, before they can be expected to interest themselves in anything else. Along with poverty also goes unemployment. Those who have bestowed

Thought on these questions are more or less agreed that their cure consists, primarily, in the improvement of agriculture and, secondarily, in the establishment of cottage industries. Agriculture, the mainstay of the masses, is highly disorganised in India to-day, our lands are not as productive as they are in other countries. The average yield per acre is only Rs. 25 in India, while it is Rs. 150 in Japan. Our soil has also considerably deteriorated due to neglect. The average yield in British India of such a staple crop as rice has fallen from 7 mds. 15 seers per acre in 1910 to 5 mds. 38 seers in 1925. The area under rice-cultivation has also diminished from 78,730,642 acres in 1909 to 77,200,711 acres in 1925. It is beyond the scope of this article to go in detail into the causes that have led to this deplorable state of agriculture. We should be content with a bare enumeration of them here. The absence of adequate irrigation facilities, the neglect of tanks and wells, absentee landlordism, uneconomic fragmentation of holdings, lack of capital, initiative and intelligence among the ryots, their ignorance of the advanced methods of scientific cultivation and excessive conservatism in clinging to traditional methods, even after they have proved to be unprofitable,—these are some of the causes that have led to the present disorganisation and decay of agriculture. These should be removed and cultivation conducted on scientific lines before land again becomes a profitable field of labour and the solvent of India's poverty and unemployment including that of the educated middle classes. Here, again, there is need to make a guarded approach to the problem and exercise great care in the adaptation of western methods so as to fit in with Indian crops and conditions of climate and soil. The Agricultural Department has, no doubt, done something in this direction. But its achievements, limited as they are, have not yet been placed within the easy reach of the Indian ryot. Much remains to be done both in research and the spread of the knowledge already gained among the agricultural population. It will be one of the primary functions of the rural worker to form the connecting link between the department and the cultivator, at least in the earlier stages of his work.

But agriculture, however well developed, cannot by itself meet all the requirements of rural economy in a country like India. Agricultural labour, for a long time to come, will not yield all the income that the villager needs. Nor will it engage him throughout the year. He has long periods of enforced idleness to fill up, which, in some parts of the country, extend to nearly 6 months in the year. Agriculture cannot also provide work for all classes of the village population. Not more than 71 per cent. of the 90 per cent. who live in villages can be reckoned as agriculturists who live upon the land. Even of this 71 per cent., not all are actual cultivators of the soil. There is, on the average, hardly an acre of land under cultivation per head of the population in British India. Further, we cannot also ignore the fact that cultivation in this country is practically a gamble in rains, depending for its success on the timely advent of the monsoons. All this goes to establish the contention that a stable supplementary occupation, besides agriculture, will be a source of great relief to the ryots. In the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi, hand spinning and weaving easily occupy the foremost place among such subsidiary industries. This is not the place to go at length into the economics of the Charkas. But it does not require much argument to prove that an industry which meets a prime need of the people, and yields an appreciable income without disturbing the home atmosphere or rural conditions, and which could absorb the labour of young and old, men, women and children, has an important

place in the economic development of the villages.

There is also ample scope for developing other industries like dairying, poultry farming, bee culture, market gardening, fruit-gardening, mat-making, leather, rope and rattan work and such other handicrafts that could be easily carried on in villages. A wise choice has to be made of the industries suited to the economic conditions and state of skilled labour in each locality. Many villages have colonies of weavers, carpet-makers, potters and metal workers besides blacksmiths and carpenters who are to be found in almost every village. The rural worker can do much to revive these industries wherever they are disorganised and put them on a sound footing. He can also introduce new industries that have a chance of taking root in the locality.

Closely allied to agricultural development is the problem of cattle protection which requires urgent attention at the hands of experts. Indian cattle suffer as much as the Indian ryot due to ignorance and poverty. They have considerably deteriorated by bad breeding and neglect. Their yield in power is not at all commensurate with the cost of their maintenance. The Indian cow requires protection not only against the knife of the Muslim fanatic, but, even to a greater extent, against the cold, callous and often cruel neglect of the Hindus who profess to worship her. Here, as in every other direction, science is of considerable help. The breed of cattle could be improved by scientific culture and careful rearing. The preservation and extension of pasture lands is another question which should receive attention in this connection. The State can do much in all these directions by legislation and free aid. But the rural worker has to awaken the social conscience and stimulate rural interest in all these questions.

In the solution of the problems connected with the economic reconstruction of rural life, we cannot exaggerate the importance of co-operation as an instrument of progress. The experience of recently emancipated nations like Ireland, Denmark, Holland, Germany and Italy should be a source of great inspiration and help to us in our present attempts at nation-building. Within the comparatively short period of its introduction the co-operative movement has taken root in India. But its development is fettered by many factors which should be removed before it can play its full part in our future progress. The co-operative principle has also to be extended to all sides of economic life. The value of credit societies to save the villager from the hands of the money-lender has been amply established. But the ryot has yet to imbibe fully the qualities of thrift, regularity in payment and the economic use of money in general. Agricultural co-operation can also do much to help the cultivator in the purchase of costly machinery, implements, manure and seeds. Co-operative marketing of the produce will eliminate the middle-man and add his gains to those of the cultivators themselves. Co-operation is also highly useful in cattle insurance and the general advancement of cottage industries. Indeed, co-operation is the key note of the world's future progress. It is a powerful lever of economic uplift and mass welfare in a poor country like ours. The gospel is also easily spread among a people whose social order for ages past is based on mutual service and interdependence. The problems of rural transport also become easier of solution if the co-operative principle is applied thereto. Co-operative societies for road reconstruction and road repair would eliminate the evil of contractors, ensure efficiency and benefit the labouring classes in villages. The housing problem in rural areas can also be better solved by co-operative methods. Electrification and the production of power from natura-

sources for the development of cottage industries also come within the easy reach of villagers if schemes therefor are conceived and worked on co-operative lines. There is nothing inherently impracticable in the aim of those who hope to revolutionise rural life, raise the standard of existence in the villages and bring all the blessings of science to the door of the villager by the aid of electricity and co-operation. All that is wanted to realise the dream is an organised effort on the part of the State and the people, under the direction of a master mind, to work out the schemes. Co-operation is the only solvent of many of the evils of modern capitalism and Indian nation-builders would do well to take a timely lesson from the experience of the west and raise their structure on the basis of a co-operative commonwealth. If Bolshevism is an evil to be combated, the best way to do it is not by sitting tight on the back of the poor labouring classes—agricultural as well as industrial—but by giving timely help so as to enable them to stand on their own legs and get rid of the load of misery that now weighs them down.

M. R. RAMASWAMI.

(To be concluded.)

### OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

GENEVA, September 15.

#### A CRITICAL SESSION.

THE Eighth Assembly of the League of Nations has just finished its debate on the report of the work of the Council and the Secretariat. Before anybody knew what it was up to the *Journal de Geneve* had made the reflection that such debates yearly increasingly tended to become the mere exchange of complimentary banalities. In that respect at least it may be said that the present session has set an innovation. As a result of last week's discussions at Geneva the impression has come to be definitely established in Europe that the League is a vital body, and if the European States, no matter how great, wished to avail themselves of its machinery in the conduct of their affairs they should take pains to secure the goodwill of the Assembly where the smaller nations predominate. What is perhaps even a greater gain from the point of view of one of the principles of the League, the memorable wording of which "open covenants openly arrived at" will be remembered, is the deference that statesmen now assembled at Geneva have found it necessary to show to public opinion. The complaint is no longer that the public are indifferent to the League, it is rather that they have become very attentive and very critical of the happenings at Geneva. M. Motta, the President of the Swiss Confederation and the head of the Swiss delegation to the League, cannot be considered as inclined to show any concession to excesses. The exigencies of his office as well as his position, which is virtually that of the League's host, all call for considerable discretion. By temperament also he is a moderate possessed of something of that substantiality which is characteristic of these mountain folks living in such direct contact with the elements. Even he in his speech in the Assembly on the last day of the debate found it necessary to persuade the Council to give greater publicity to their deliberations. "I am my-

self a member of a Government, the Executive of which does not hold its discussions in public," said he. "But I wonder whether it would not be possible, so far as the Council is concerned, for the discussions leading up to decisions to be given rather more publicity." There is significance also in his guarded but important statement. "I think I am the interpreter of the whole of the Assembly if I tender my thanks to M. Briand and Sir Austen Chamberlain for having made replies to some of the observations on the methods followed by the Council which were made in the course of the discussion. It would have been a pity if those observations had not had notice taken of them. The French and the British Delegates spoke with a frankness to which homage must be paid. We hope that the evolution which has been shown in the methods followed by the Council and the Assembly will continue."

#### THE ASSEMBLY'S DEMANDS.

The storm centre of the Assembly's debate last week was the Dutch demand to reopen the protocol to which a reference has already been made in this correspondence, and the Polish proposal to outlaw war. This latter was in many ways ingenious and constituted for the main part the dramatic element in the rumours which kept the lobbies of the Hotel Victoria, where the delegates to the session in the Salle de la Reformation and the pressmen had assembled at rather high temperature. Its frank and direct end was Germany, which is comprehensible, considering the tension which now prevails round the Baltic and considering also that Poland has to deal with two such neighbours as Soviet Russia and Germany, and her own past history besides. Formally, however, the proposition of M. François Sokal of the Polish delegation aimed at nothing less than the outlawing of war of every kind. Even the League's Covenant, it was argued, had not wholly discountenanced war, there was a "gap" to be filled up, and a solemn declaration by the Assembly definitely repudiating every attempt to resort to force would have a moral and even a mystical effect. That such a statement was too good an opportunity for the professional diplomats, jurists, and experts which every delegation contained to bring their talents to bear upon it will at once be evident. The proposition therefore underwent many metamorphoses even before it was finally and formally presented in the Assembly and meanwhile every speaker was alluding to it. It assumed all the colour and interest which allusions usually assume before the tribunal. And, one morning, when everybody expected the Polish proposal to be formally presented, M. Sokal announced that his experts had gone into the modifications imposed upon his original proposition as a result of private consultations, they had found it had lost all its practical force and point, and so he would have to consult his Government anew about it. It must be added that in the final form in which this proposal reached the Assembly and from the Assembly to the appropriate committee for its consideration it is most harmless and only calls upon the Assembly to declare all aggressive wars illegal and

to impose upon all its members the obligations to settle by arbitration every difference that may arise between them. The Dutch proposal also in its revised form has the objectionable reference to the protocol eliminated from it and is contented with calling the Assembly's attention to the disarmament question. Nevertheless they served the purpose of giving a nucleus to the angry critics in the debate.

In such exigencies a tacit understanding not easy to define settles the principal figures in the drama. In this debate Sir Austen Chamberlain became the personification of the Great Powers and M. Hambro of the Norwegian delegation, President of the Chamber of Deputies, the mouthpiece of what have been called the "revolting nations." The points of M. Hambro's criticism of the Council—widely shared—may be briefly summarised. Their force consists not in their originality but in their outspokenness. They are all fairly familiar but this is the first time that they were explicitly mentioned and as explicitly replied to. In the very bosom of the Council, he said, another Council had been formed which met within closed doors. What was the significance of the marked tendency to fill up the delegations to the Assembly from the ranks of diplomacy unlike the earlier Assemblies where statesmen and active politicians were more in evidence? In the Assembly's debates on the work of the Council they expressed their opinions and asked questions but they were only crying into a great void, for the Council itself kept silent and minded its own business. Why should not the proceedings of election to the Council be open and systematic? he demanded; at present an onymous lists are circulated amidst them and underhand practices vitiated the proceedings. The Council had asked for the support of world-opinion on behalf of the League; now that they had got it were they careful that it was not turned against the League? What had become of disarmament? Did they know that the failures at Geneva on this score had the most depressing consequences? Count Apponyi, the aged Hungarian statesman and the chief of his delegation, told the Assembly that he must use strong language where disarmament was concerned and tell them that unless the League went ahead in achieving equitable disarmament it would be the most dishonourable bankruptcy for the League.

#### THE JUSTIFICATION.

In their task of justification the representatives of the Great Powers had two advocates in the persons of M. Politis of the Greek delegation and M. Scialoja, the first delegate of Italy. Both counselled prudence to the Assembly and in doing it both resorted to subtle logic, which was not lost upon it in spite of its findings being lost. To M. Politis it appeared yet too early to reopen the Protocol and not until they had completed the trilogy of arbitration, security, disarmament, by adding a codified system of international law with adequate sanctions would it be opportune to hark back to that controversy. By thus arguing, in spite of his having taken such a prominent part in the making of the Protocol, he fell under the suspicion of fishing a seat for Greece in

the Council and Great Britain's support for it. They were reaping now, he said, the disillusionment which was the natural sequel to some of the illusions they themselves had perhaps engendered, and it was well not to mislead the world again by grandiose declarations, for the Polish proposals would add nothing to the force of the League. M. Scialoja, who also dealt mainly with this last point, held that the bringing up of fresh resolutions embodying the principles implied in the covenant would only have the effect of casting doubts upon them and minimising their solemnity. M. Lange of the Norwegian delegation answered M. Politis with at least equal logic that if they set about to arrive at the circle which M. Politis described to them they would find themselves in a vicious circle and the League might as well cause the words of the Italian poet, "Abandon hope all ye who enter here," to be inscribed on the Palace of Nations. Herr Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, who also associated himself with the criticism of the position which M. Politis had taken up, said that, in the very difficult times they were all passing through in Europe, perhaps what mattered was not so much convention and codification as the conscientiousness of responsible leaders. In his opinion a solemn declaration by the Assembly on behalf of its members, repudiating violence, would have a great moral effect. The parts of his speech which were most effective were his declaration that the interpretation of the French and British Foreign Ministers was right when they said that the Locarno agreements were as effective in the West as in the East, and his decision to put Germany's signature to the optional clause of the Arbitration Court in the Hague. These have won him a very good press even in France, and raised his prestige at Geneva. And he rallied to the side of his Locarno friends when he pointed out to the Assembly that the pact had paved the way for Germany's entry into the League.

The main business of justification, however, fell, as expected, on the shoulders of M. Briand and Sir Austen Chamberlain. Of these the first chose to flatter the Assembly and the second to be frank and firm. Their two speeches differed in tone accordingly. M. Briand's was almost a homely discourse, a friendly conversation to clear away difficulties. Its whole aim was to clear away the discontent of a passing mood and its intimate appeal which was very effective in its own way cannot bear reproduction. He had not yet found out the difference between Great Powers, Small Powers, and Middle Powers. It was true that they sometimes met by themselves but it was only because they met in a smaller room that there was the appearance of privacy about it. They were fewer on these occasions and so needed only a smaller room. Did they not know that they were all devoted to the League, and did not his country stiek to arbitration even when she was the loser as in the recent case before the Hague Court? The loss naturally pained him but he had not once regretted that he had accepted arbitration. What greater assurance did they want of the League's efficacy than the relation which now prevailed between Ger-



many and France and the result of its intervention in the incident that came before him when he was the president of the Council? Sir Austen was more deliberate. His speech did not convey the impression of having been solely addressed to the occasion, nor are its effects likely to be exhausted by it. His whole aspect and bearing and his utterance were such as to form an irresistible subject to a caricaturist who wants to make the infuriated British lion his subject. If there was a key to his whole speech in it, it was this: "Ladies and Gentlemen, you do not know what you ask us. You are asking nothing less than the disruption of the British Empire. I yield to no one in my devotion to this great League of Nations, but not even for this League of Nations will I destroy that smaller but older League of which my own country was the birth-place and of which it remains the centre." And this was his final reply for all proposals such as guarantees, pacts, and protocols. One by one he answered all the points raised against the Council, not sweetly and smilingly as M. Briand did, but vigorously and almost defiantly. Some of them had met privately occasionally but then it was mostly to attend to their own business, and when they talked the League's business in these meetings it was with a view to and had the effect of facilitating the League's agenda. Besides the rumours in the lobbies had reached him and he was aware that there were other similar meetings. They talked of arbitration. Had not Great Britain played the most important part as an arbitrator in some of the most delicate situations and did not his country set a fine example in the Mosul question by making even the Council's award a basis of negotiations instead of insisting on its fullest enforcement as they had a right to do? Were they talking security? Great Britain had accepted certain responsibilities in the guarantees implied in the Locarno pact. She knew how to give guarantees and how to keep them, as the case of Belgium had proved. When the other nations had done as much they could ask more of her. Besides, only the other day he had accepted on behalf of his country the Finnish proposal to render financial aid to the country attacked by other members in the event of an aggressive war. He confessed that he was disappointed that there were no other voices supporting it similarly. As regards disarmament, the strength of the British fighting forces was appreciably below the pre-war level and was decreasing yearly. Which other country, having the same responsibilities in so many parts of the world, could say the same? He ended up by pleading for the very special conditions of the Empire which was constituted of autonomous communities and which made it difficult to take and execute unilateral decisions as it was possible for other governments to do. He assured them that the foreign policy of his Government was based on the League of Nations and bade them think of the League in another way than as a super-state.

The South American delegates from Chile and Paraguay dealt with the codification of international laws, Panama's difficulties with the United States were explained by her representative, the Australian delegate dealt with the reservations which the conditions prevailing in his country necessitated as regards the recommendations of the Economic Conference, and the Lithuanian delegate proposed the neutralisation of the Baltic States as the only guarantee of peace in Eastern Europe.

## OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

DURBAN, 9th September.

### THE S.A.P. ON THE INDIAN AGREEMENT.

WHITE South Africa is being rent in twain over the flag controversy. Of this more anon. Here we are concerned with the attitude of the South African Party over the Capetown Agreement. It will be remembered that when the Agreement was before Parliament, the leader of the Party, Gen. Smuts, kept silent over the matter and let his silence be taken for consent. Since then the flag controversy has become very acute and the temptation to attack the Pact Government on its radical change of front over the Indian question has been too strong for the S.A.P. to resist. It is something like our Moderates in India ridiculing the Non-co-operators for forswearing non-co-operation not because the adoption of co-operation is undesirable but because it is not what they had pledged themselves to do. The Pact Government, when they came into office, promised not to be content to follow up the S.A.P. policy of confining Indians in bazars but to turn them out of the country bag and baggage. In the event it has only entrenched them the more securely in South Africa. This is the burthen of the S.A.P. leaders' song. They will not repudiate the Agreement either. Paradoxically enough, it was Gen. Smuts that displayed concern at Mr. Peit Grobler's idea that the Agreement could easily be set aside. Gen. Smuts in his speech at Rustenberg is reported to have said as follows:—"And now Mr. Peit Grobler in his Rustenberg apologia said there really was no agreement. He (Gen. Smuts) would not discuss the Agreement. It might be the best in the world, but it was certainly an agreement quite different from the policy for which the Pact Government had received a mandate. It would be the most difficult thing in the world to get away from the Agreement. It was useless for Mr. Grobler to pretend that the Agreement could be easily set aside. South Africa, having made a solemn agreement with mighty India, could not lightly repudiate that agreement." At the S.A.P. Congress held on the 7th September at Maritzburg the Indian question was discussed. The Agreement was left untouched. Even a resolution brought up by Mr. T. E. Wadley, the ex-Mayor of Durban, "that, in view of the Indian Agreement now in existence, restrictions on the movements of Asiatics within the Union should be removed," was withdrawn at the instance of Sir Thomas Watt, who feared a split in the party if the motion was pressed. The following resolutions were however carried:—

"That Clause 12 of Act 37 of 1927 relating to Immigration of Asiatics be so amended as to divest the Minister of the power he has taken to himself under the Act of accepting from Asiatics the surrender of their domicile certificates in the Transvaal and enabling him to send them to other provinces."

"This Congress takes strong exception to the attitude the Minister of the Interior has taken up with regard to the Indian question, more especially in regard to the fact that he stated in Parliament that the Universities and Colleges are there for coloured persons and natives as much as for the whites, and even requested the Technical College of Maritzburg and Durban to accept Indian scholars."

"This Congress protests against the views expressed by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Malan, that European and Asiatic children should occupy the same school benches."

How reminiscent of caste-ridden rural India of

Malabar! In vain did Dr. Arbuckle remind the Congress that forty years ago he attended schools with Indians and asked how they were going justly to keep the Indians out of Government schools. The Chairman was cheered as he replied that their policy was separate schools for separate races and colours. Here is an incident to which the *Natal Mercury* gave prominence in its editorial page. A European correspondent reports that "the conductor (of a tram) wanted the Indian to move to the back seat and allow me to take the one in front of him. He refused to move, stating that he had paid for his seat and was within the three seats allowed to coloured travellers on European trams and therefore entitled to stay where he was", and for this accuses the Indian of "abusive pride"!! The *Natal Mercury*, by the way, has been consistently helping to create an atmosphere of hostility to Indians. If there is one Indian insolvency case and half a dozen European ones, the *Mercury* is sure to mention only the Indian case in its headlines. On the 1st September Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for the Dominions, spoke at the Mayor's dinner and made a very fine Empire speech. He said among other things that no British subject from any part of the Empire was an alien in any other part of it, that the Empire's faith in freedom and justice had no racial exclusiveness about it and made a graceful reference to India represented at the meeting in the person of "the High Commissioner for India." The *Mercury* had no place for such inconvenient declarations by Cabinet Ministers. Coming back to the S.A.P., although there is no fear of their repudiating the Agreement, and they may even be trusted to give it a trial, their dragging it into undue prominence on account of party exigencies and continual harping on the idea of segregation or repatriation might counteract the good influence created by the Capetown Conference.

#### REPATRIATION.

Speaking of repatriation, it is interesting to note that the number of applicants for repatriation has considerably increased since the regulations under the new Act have come into operation. 214 passengers left Durban on the 20th August, and there are still 700 applications on hand, said the Protector of Indian Immigrants in a press interview. The number of applications at present in hand was far larger than for a considerable time in the past, but he was unable to say if it was just a "spurt" or if the rush would be maintained.

#### INTEREST IN INDIAN AFFAIRS.

The Natal papers are evincing some interest in the affairs of India. The pity is that very little news is cabled out from there, and that little is mostly about communal riots, which put India in a bad light here. The *Natal Advertiser*, a friendly paper, commented the other day on the position of the Indian States, taking the cue from Lord Sydenham's article in the *Nineteenth Century*. The *Natal Witness*, another friendly paper, wrote on the "Future of the Indian Army" supporting the action of the Council of State in turning down the resolution on the Skeen Committee report. Also on the communal riots in India and the part played by the cow in causing them.

#### TRADE AND COMMERCE.

The local papers publish a summary of the report of the Board of Trade and Industries which made inquiries regarding the possibilities of establishing an export trade to India of South African cheese and beef and found the prospects disappointing, owing to the lack of cold storage and shipping facilities. The Conference of the British Empire Chambers of Commerce is to meet in Capetown in October and it is said that India will be represented

thereat, and that the delegation includes an Indian also.

#### THE FLAG CONTROVERSY.

As was said above, white South Africa is torn in twain over the flag question. The point of contention is the space and prominence to be given to the Union Jack in the South African flag. The Government flag gives it one eighty-sixth, while the Senate's design gives it a fourth of the entire space. In the former it occupies the top left hand corner, while in the latter it is almost in the centre. A fierce campaign is being waged over the flag, both parties fighting almost savagely. To the Nationalist the Union Jack means only his defeat and humiliation; while to the S. A. P. it represents something more, the spirit of reconciliation and fellowship in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

#### RACIAL CONFLICT.

If there is one problem that dominates and permeates the whole of South African politics, it is that of races. The flag controversy represents broadly the conflict between the British and the Dutch, though, curiously enough, the leaders of both parties are Dutch, General Smuts and Gen. Hertzog. Natal is the most British of the Provinces in the Union and is mighty proud of its British extraction and ideals. They go into raptures over it, as for instance when Col. Amery and Mr. Sastri sing its praises. But it is Natal that is most un-British in its treatment of Indians; freedom, justice and fairplay have no place there. It is the Dutch Nationalist that does not believe in equality of races in church and state; and it is that party which enunciated at the Round Table Conference the noble policy of uplifting all the elements of the permanent population, which is so thoroughly British in character. The Labour Party in South Africa has an anomalous policy, full of contradictions. They do not much care for the flag; they are concerned with the economic well-being of the labouring classes. The chief leaders of the Party are Britishers, and they support the Government flag. They profess to be free from racial politics and ask for equal wages for equal work on a civilised basis irrespective of colour or race. But they will not admit coloured peoples into their trade unions, nor will they urge the Government to recognise separate trade unions for coloured workers. They ask for standard wages in the trades that they work in but not in others where the coloured worker predominates, as for instance, the agricultural workers, who are mostly Natives. On the one hand they agitate for a white South Africa, where all labour shall be white and on the other beseech Government somehow to import more Natives from Portuguese East Africa to remedy the unemployment among the whites!

#### THE I. C. U.

The white Labour Party will have nothing to do with the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, an organisation of the Natives on trade union lines. It has obtained rapid and extensive support from the Natives in the country. The ill-treatment they receive at the hands of the whites has driven them into the arms of the I.C.U., which promises them relief, and in many cases by fighting their causes in the Courts did obtain relief. The organisation has grown so powerful that it is feared by the whites as a menace to them. The whites are pressing the Government to take severe action against it, prohibit freedom of speech and so on. Even the Dutch Reformed Church denounced the I. C. U. because its leaders protested that racial inequality was un-Christian. And yet of such absorbing interest is the flag controversy that in some places whites profess great consideration for the opinion of the Natives over the flag question and even go the length of admitting some Natives on the Flag Committees!

## REVIEW SECTION.

### FRANCE OF TO-DAY.

**FRANCE.** By SISLEY HUDDLESTON. (Earnest Benn & Co. London.) 1923. pp. 613. 21s.

THIS book is the seventh of the "Modern World Series" edited by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, and it maintains the high standard set by its predecessors. Mr. Huddleston, as a distinguished publicist who has adopted Paris as his place of residence, is peculiarly fitted to interpret France to English-speaking peoples, and he has written a most readable and fascinating book. So great is his enthusiasm for all things French indeed, that he has written a book twice the normal length of this series, a fact which would cause us no regret were it not that the price has grown in proportion. This is the more regrettable, as the book is essentially one for immediate reading; it has the stamp of contemporary politics, of the ebb and flow of pressing controversies upon it, and a large part of it will go out of date very quickly. However its readableness fully compensates for its length, and the reader will find himself well rewarded for his trouble.

As a book it has not the compression of Mr. Gooch's "Germany" or the incisiveness of Dr. Inge's "England"; it is essentially journalism at its most brilliant rather than weighty history. This is not to say that its views are shallow or its learning meagre, for Mr. Huddleston's opinions are stimulating as his facts are profuse, but everything is treated in relation to immediate political problems rather than for their importance in themselves, which is one of the great differences between journalism and history. For history the present may be insignificant compared to the past, for journalism the present is always exciting and momentous, the world is always young, and the past is but a jumble of old unhappy far-off things "which chroniclers rescue with pedantic labour and tedious speech, and hold up as a bogey before the self-confident men of the moment."

Its journalistic note is both the strength and weakness of the book. It gives it its breeziness, its personal note, and its grip of the present; it also sometimes gives the impression of being a series of rather long articles. The journalists' and speakers' trick of emphasis by means of a series of short simple sentences is sometimes carried to the point of filling a whole page with them as on p. 76 (with 20 full stops to 295 words), and there are loose sentences like "They encouraged the arts and introduced magnificence into the arts" on the same page. Sometimes also his enthusiasm for France leads him into rather special pleading as in defence of French Colonial policy, pp. 46-49. Why not say that France sought compensation for her eclipse in Europe by acquiring new colonies and have done with it, instead of condemning "the Socialist theory that they (the colonies) should be allowed to go to perdition in their own manner and to sit tight on wealth which might be employed for the amelioration of the conditions of mankind"? The idea

of the directors of great industrial syndicates sitting down to discuss how best they can "ameliorate the conditions of mankind" is beautiful to think of, but we doubt if even the directors themselves would altogether appreciate the compliment. Imperialism is always primarily a desire for wealth; its *quality* is determined by whether a desire for the "amelioration of mankind" follows after.

The book is divided into three sections, "The Making of National Unity," "Between Two Wars" (the Franco-Prussian and the Great War) and "The World War and After." The first traces the growth of centralisation from the chaos of mediæval days, through the subordination of the nobles to the Court by Louis XIV, the Revolution to Napoleon's establishment of a scientific bureaucracy, and on to the third Republic, a bureaucracy without a director, an unstable political equilibrium due to the simultaneous love of centralisation and the fear of a dictator. In modern French history there is a curious parallel to Indian, that the continuity of history has to be sought beneath the formal organisations which express the state in the institutions which express society.

The third section with its chapters on the War and After, on political personalities, on literary and artistic movements and on "Problems of To-day" is of absorbing interest. Mr. Huddleston stresses the incompetence and small-mindedness of the French Parliament, which has escaped the fate of the Italian Parliament only because the French have had so many Mussolinis already and have not yet forgotten the last, the "congenital" French financial incompetence, the problem of the stationary birth rate. But in spite of all he ends on a hopeful note. France is still the cultural queen of Europe and a great future in the kingdom of the mind may yet await her. "The politicians and the diplomatists do not come well out from any conscientious study of the past half century because they worked in traditional grooves, but the thinkers and artists and the anonymous crowd of generous-minded Frenchmen help to restore to their country the rôle in which France likes to cast herself—that of the Intellectual Mother of Europe."

T. G. P. SPEAR.

### INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

**INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.** Vol. II. By S. RADHAKRISHNAN. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1927. 8¾ × 5½. pp. 797. 25s.

PROF. RADHAKRISHNAN'S second volume on Indian Philosophy deals with the six orthodox systems of Hindu thought, the Nyāya, the Vaiśeṣika, the Sāṃkhya, the Yoga, the Purva Mīmāṃsā, and the Vedānta. It is a systematic study of these systems. But unfortunately the presentation is very defective. Notwithstanding the author's wide reading, his frequent allusions to allied thoughts of western philosophers and his own critical remarks, the average reader will find it very difficult to keep up his interest in the work. The writing

lacks conciseness and precision. The allusions sometimes put a false complexion upon Indian thought. And his criticisms not unoften stray into vague metaphysical conceptions that the protagonists of the systems would have regarded as pointless. As evidence of the last, we may point to his criticism of the epistemological postulates of the Nyāya on p. 138 and to his criticism of the Sāṅkhya metaphysics on pp. 331-32. We shall now proceed to consider some of the points raised by the professor in the book.

The Nyāya holds that the soul is all-pervading and unique in each individual, and that consciousness is not an essential property of it. Prof. Radhakrishnan rightly remarks in this connection: "Unless we assume the reality of self as consciousness, the explanation of consciousness becomes difficult. We cannot make consciousness a *tertium quid*, a sort of mechanical glow which arises when two unconscious substances, soul and matter, interact" (p. 154). At the same time, it would be hazardous to describe Nyāya philosophy as a system that has "not very much to distinguish it from materialism" (p. 152). True, on the Nyāya theory of the unconscious soul, the state of liberation or complete painlessness would have very little to attract anybody. Still the Nyāya recognises that consciousness can be a property of the soul, and of the soul *only*; and although its moksha may be likened to a state of torpor or the supreme felicity of the stone, there appears to commonsense at least a family likeness between it and the highest bliss of Brahman promised by Advait Vedānta, a system by no means materialistic in the estimation of the professor. Under the circumstances we can only wish that he had not given vent, in a philosophical work, to his religious enthusiasm for a more human God in his appraisal of the Nyāya idea of liberation (see p. 152).

Prof. Radhakrishnan's treatment of the evolution of prakṛiti is very confusing. He admits that according to the Sāṅkhya, "the mere presence of the puruṣas excites prakṛiti to activity and development" (p. 288). But on the very next page he goes on to assert that "the puruṣas exert on prakṛiti a mechanical force," without adducing any evidence to this effect from the writings of the Sāṅkhyas themselves. And he concludes the discussion with the remark, "The efficient cause of prakṛiti's development is not the mere presence of the puruṣas, for they are always present, but their non-discrimination." The first view, as it appears to us, is the true Sāṅkhya view. The second position is hard to maintain. The last view is probably held by a few Sāṅkhya writers who come very near to the Advaitic point of view on the subject. But Prof. Radhakrishnan has made no attempt to estimate these different views and give a definite statement of the Sāṅkhya position. He often fails to place a clear perspective before his readers in his treatment of various topics.

Prof. Radhakrishnan thinks that, according to Vedānta, "being is identical with thought" (p. 458), and that "the fundamental consciousness, which is the basis of all reality, is not to be confused with the human consciousness, which appears rather late in the cosmic evolution" (p. 481). But these are western ideas, the counterpart of which is not to be met with in Vedāntic philosophy. Again he attributes to Sāṅkara the view that "the objects of knowledge are phases of spirit" (p. 498). But in what sense are they the phases of spirit? Prof. Radhakrishnan explains: "Objects have no existence for themselves and if they are not the contents of my or your consciousness, they are the contents of the divine consciousness. . . . The continuous divine percipient accounts for the permanent world-order. . . . He is the universal spirit who creates and is aware of the

contents of the universe. . . . When the individual awakes to life, breaks down the contracting upadhis which limit his vision, he will realize that the whole world is filled with Atman inside and out. . . ." (pp. 498-99). This is a typical passage showing what little respect Prof. Radhakrishnan has for strict reasoning and preciseness of expression. God accounts for the world-order. But how? Is it because He is the percipient of it, or because He is its creator? Is Atman out there, *in* the things, as the salt may be said to be *in* the water of the sea? Are things phases of spirit because they contain spirit inside them, or in some other sense? The professor does not explain. Instances of this sort can be multiplied. He confuses different issues, rambles from subject to subject, and leaves the reader wondering what may be at the back of the professor's mind.

Speaking of anubhava or Advaitic intuition, he says, "In the present state of evolution, anubhava may be subjective and its evidence worthy of credence only when it is in conformity with the dictates of reason" (514). This seems to suggest that the anubhava is a psychic instrument developed in course of evolution, different from the intellect but co-ordinate with it, and useful for apprehending a particular type of reality namely the Atman. Nothing can be a more erroneous view from the standpoint of Advaitism which the professor presumes to set forth. Anubhava in Advaitism is not a psychic instrument, subjective at this stage, and likely to become different in course of time. He calls it "the integral intelligence". But we have yet to know an intelligent operation which is non-integral. The phrase conveys no meaning.

The section on "Sāṅkara's Theory and Some Western Views" would excite the interest of many. But unfortunately it is written in a very uncritical vein, and would not satisfy anyone who cared for more than expressional resemblances and half-truths. In one place he says, "For Sāṅkara, as for Bradley, there are no absolute truths, as there are no mere errors. . . . The world seen, felt, tasted and touched, is as real as the being of the man who sees, feels, tastes and touches" (p. 407). Now it is true that Sāṅkara distinguishes between different kind of reality and attributes *Vyavaharik satta* or empirical reality to the world that is sensed. But this is a very different conception from that of "degrees of truth" in Bradley. From the point of view of Brahman or the Atman, the world is simply an error, it is wholly non-existent. But so far as it is real, it is not *less real* than Brahman, but real absolutely and without qualification. Again, it is a complete perversion of Sāṅkara's view to affirm that the world as seen, felt, etc., is as real as the being of the man who sees, feels, etc. The latter is in his true nature Atman and nothing but Atman: while the world as seen, felt, etc., is essentially Atman, and therefore unreal. In fact, if the world and the knower of the world were equally real, the dualism could never be got over. For there can never be any real unity between the subject on the one hand and the object on the other.

He also thinks that both for Bradley and Sāṅkara appearances are resolved into the Absolute. "How all these are resolved into reality is a 'somehow' in Bradley and *avivṛcāniya* in Sāṅkara." A little further on he says, "It is Sāṅkara's excessive attachment to logical precision that leads him into somewhat misleading statement, to the effect that the world is naught" (p. 638). See also pages 538 and 586. Sāṅkara nowhere suggests that the world retains any form in Brahman, that it is *somehow* real in it. To suppose that he does, is a complete misinterpretation of his philosophy. It also looks very

strange that logical precision should lead anyone into misleading statements. If it does, will it be logic in the proper sense? It is significant, however, that he admits that Sankara does make statements that signify the complete unreality of the world.

Prof. Radhakrishnan refutes Deussen and puts forth the contention that "so far as any logical proof of Brahman is available in Sankara's writings, it is undoubtedly the ontological proof." But what are we to understand by a logical proof? Is proof by direct experience illogical? Prof. Radhakrishnan admits on the very same page that for Sankara "integral experience, or anubhava, is the basal fact. . . . It supplies the proof—if proof be the name for it—of man's awareness of a spiritual reality. Brahman is present to every man and is the universal fact of life." Prof. Radhakrishnan does not attempt to show that Sankara ever couched his argument for the reality of Brahman in the terms in which western rationalists before Kant did to prove the reality of God. The latter derived the reality of God from the idea of Him. This is properly to be called the ontological argument. But of this we find no trace in Sankara.

Prof. Radhakrishnan thinks that the view, according to which the world is unreal, "makes a tragic joke of life, renders meaningless many statements of Sankara on the world of experience, and does violence to every canon of sound interpretation," and so he goes on to put forth "considerations which support the phenomenal as against the illusory character of the world" (p. 581.) See also p. 584. Now the professor admits in another place that Sankara employs the analogy of the snake and the rope to illustrate the relation of the world and Brahman. "We can only say that Brahman appears as the world, even as the rope appears as the snake" (p. 569). If this is so, can the world be anything but illusory in respect of Brahman? We may however suppose that Prof. Radhakrishnan is in possession of a sounder canon of interpretation. But the evidence of it is nowhere to be found. He brings forth certain considerations which have their significance in the original context but which in no way affect Sankara's central position that the world is unreal and merely illusory in the ultimate sense. That, according to Sankara, mere avidya cannot be the cause of the world, that there must be the supreme reality of Brahman as the basis of the world (as the rope is the basis of the snake), that he argues against the subjectivism of Buddhists and the reduction of waking experience to the level of dreams, proves absolutely nothing against the main thesis of vivarta-vada, namely that the world is a false appearance which passes for reality because we are ignorant of the nature of Brahman. On any other hypothesis, Advaitism or the non-dualistic reality of Brahman, can never be proved. If we retain some reality for the world as world, there would be no sense in speaking of the reality of Brahman, for Brahman and the world cannot both be real at the same time.

In another place he says, "The real accepts the phenomenal. Appearances belong to the reality. This is the truth suggested by the hypothesis of ananyatva or non-difference advocated by the Advaita." The canon of interpretation here adopted is difficult for the average intelligence to grasp. If there is non-difference between appearance and reality, one of the terms must be unreal. What is the sense in saying that one accepts the other? Prof. Radhakrishnan is sorry that great scholars have rushed to the conclusion that the reality of the world is antagonistic to that of Brahman (p. 586). We cannot help thinking that the scholars have good grounds for their view.

The book lacks compactness of argument and precision of statement. Students of Indian philo-

sophy will find much that is inaccurate and misleading, while those who make their first acquaintance with Indian philosophy through this book will have a very poor idea of the Indian claim to acuteness and subtlety of thought. Much of the reasoning as presented appears truly antiquated and unconvincing. There is no doubt, however, that much labour has been spent upon its production. We commend the idea to place Indian philosophy in an intelligible and a more modern form before the general reader, but we are doubtful whether the present volume achieves that object.

G. R. MALKANI.

### MUSSOLINI AND FASCISM.

**MUSSOLINI, HIS WORK AND THE NEW SYNDICAL LAW.** By C. R. MURIELLO. (Macniven & Wallace, Edinburgh.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 73. 15s.

**FASCISM.** By G. PREZZOLINI. (Methuen & Co., Ltd. London), 1926. 7¼ × 5. pp. viii, 201. 7s. 6d.

AT the very outset Muriello assures us that his book has been written with no idea of propaganda, but that claim can scarcely be justified as the author paints for us only the bright side of the picture. That work, however, has been very thoroughly done. The picture is rather a lurid one; it shows the decadence of Italian Liberalism and the excesses of Italian socialism. Both of them failed to maintain the due balance between liberty and order and the communists went so far as to capture the factories by force. Bolshevism was threatening Italy. The social structure, and especially the economic organization of Italian society, was shaken to its very foundations by the disturbances of the war and its aftermath. Nitti was too much of a theorist and Giolitti with his patchwork remedies of a conservative nature was no better. Bonomi and Facta were too weak to do anything but drift helplessly along the current that was swiftly and surely leading the nation to a catastrophe. Heroic measures were necessary. Remedies suggested were more than enough; but the will, the driving power, necessary to carry them into actuality was wanting. Men were eagerly looking for a Napoleon and he appeared in the person of Benito Mussolini.

Mussolini was in his early life an ardent socialist himself, though there are proofs enough that he hated the empty noise of which his leaders were so pathetically fond. The break had come when Mussolini was dismissed from the party when he began to preach that Italy should join in the War on the side of the Allies. He was full of kick and almost immediately started a paper of his own for the spread of his opinions. Like many apostates he nearly went to the opposite extreme. He served as a volunteer, was wounded and returned after a prolonged illness to his political activities. The human side of his character had been greatly touched by what he saw of the realities of warfare, its suffering and its heroism. His heart was, therefore, at once drawn to the young men who returned from their trenches and demanded in vain from the politicians the lands and the other good things of life that had been so recklessly promised them. The parliamentarians of Italy could only offer them talk, more talk and yet more talk and in their anger they joined the Fascist movement started by Mussolini. He promised them action and plenty of it. With their help he smote the communists hip and thigh, forced castor-oil down their throats, burnt their houses and even murdered them if it came to that. That was, as he believed, due to them for exposing their country to the perils of Bolshevism and anarchy. With a military discipline

which came so easy to these war-returned young men, he welded Fascism into an unconquerable force and organised his march on Rome. He came and saw and conquered. The Government simply capitulated and the King summoned Mussolini to form a new cabinet and within twenty-four hours Mussolini became the master of Italy.

With the help of de Stephani the budget was balanced and even a surplus could be shown. The national debt was reduced by more than 12,000 million lira within three years. Public expenditure was reduced by 25% and superfluous personnel was everywhere cut down. In the railways alone 60,000 employes were dismissed, and the service remained as efficient as before. Heads of departments and their employes were given a certain sum within which to manage affairs with the threat of wholesale dismissal in case of refusal or failure.

Industry was put upon its legs again by abolishing strikes and imposing compulsory arbitration. Unemployment and sickness insurance was secured to the workers and even old-age pensions were provided for. Secret societies including the rotten freemasonry of Italy were done away with and the Fascist organisation was converted into the national militia. Italy once more took her proper place among the nations and resumed her normal economic life.

So far Muriello is in agreement with Prezzolini, the author of Fascism. The latter is, however, more deeply concerned with its inner philosophy and is not a little anxious about its future. Fascism he found out to be a very composite mixture. "Ingenuous youth, maturity carried away with enthusiasm, mistaken sacrifices in matters of war funds and grants for public works, outrageous disputes amongst people who had grown rich in politics. Shameless journalism and, scattered here and there, honest labour—all these had their part in Fascism."

Fascism is spiritually bankrupt, borrowing ideas alike from the Futurism of Marinetti and the Classical Idealism of Gentile. It is poor in administrative ability and several of them had to receive their administrative training under outsiders like de Stephani and Gentile. Unscrupulous opportunists like Misuri, the disreputable Rossi and Dumini with a dozen murders to his credit easily find a place of profit and power in the party.

The Matteotti murder was one of the most unscrupulous actions that has brought Fascism into disrepute. Syndicates, the militia, the police and in fact every active organisation has been captured by the Fascists and the press with a very few exceptions is under their control. Nothing that is against Fascism can be spoken, written or done without exposing the opponent to the tender mercies of the Fascist secret organization which has earned a reputation equal to that of the Russian Cheka. Even Mussolini finds it often difficult to control his myrmidons, as was evident in the Corfu affair that very nearly brought on a war with Greece. Hence his frantic attempts to bring the Catholic Church over to his side. The attempts of the stag-beetle have not as yet appreciatively moved the tortoise, though the Church is not altogether disinclined to join hands with Fascism. Its South-European character prevents it from identifying itself completely with an aggressively nationalistic movement.

It is no wonder that Fascism is not popular with the politically-minded classes and hence one is not at all surprised at the numerous plots against the life of the leader. They are the natural outcome of a régime that has suppressed all criticism, has turned the Italian Parliament with its permanent Fascist majority into nothing better than a debating

club whence the Duce might pick up a bright idea or two for his own purposes. With the masses it commands respect, for they do not care for much beyond peaceful enjoyment of their little joys. The capitalists favour it because it gives stability to the national credit. But the real opinion of the people cannot be gauged until free elections are held and these at present Fascism is not prepared to allow.

Fascism has saved Italy from chaos, but the order it has brought about is so stunning as likely permanently to injure Italian capacity for self-government. Internal quarrels are not altogether absent, but the Duce puts his hand to everything which is likely to injure the unity of the party and his personal magnetism has so often saved the situation. To those who love order at any cost Mussolini has become a name to conjure with—a myth all the world over. But one would always wish for a return to the freedom of the Press and Unbiased Justice, which are things of the past.

R. H. KELKAR.

### CULTURAL DIFFUSION.

**THE DIFFUSION OF CULTURE.** By R. R. MARETT. (Cambridge University Press.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 38. 1s. 6d.

IN electing to devote his lecture to a criticism of the Elliott-Smith-Perry theory of cultural diffusion, the Frazer lecturer in Social Anthropology has made a good choice; though an adequate survey of the subject is hardly possible within the bounds of a single lecture.

Dr. Marett begins by clearing the scientific character of Sir Edward Tylor from the charge of ignoring data that has been discovered since he wrote; an absurd charge, and one which Prof. Elliott-Smith never makes. It cannot be denied that Tylor's work did tend to make people look on culture as a thing developing independently in different areas; and if Prof. Elliott-Smith can prove his independent origin, he will be entitled to say that Tylor has put people on the wrong track; diffusion being a possibility then as now, though the increase of data has rendered it a more obvious one.

The defence of Sir James Frazer from similar charges is largely left to himself, and the lecturer proceeds to attack the positive tracts of the diffusionist school. This he treats under two divisions—the derivation of primitive culture from Egypt and the general question of Diffusion. It cannot be said that the arguments brought forward under either of these heads seriously affect the Elliott-Smith-Perry position. While it is admitted that the methods and means by which this theory is urged are often not those of scholars or even of gentlemen, and that hypothesis is, as so often, tacitly treated as assured fact, yet the cogency of the arguments and the validity of the facts are not shaken by Dr. Marett. He admits a place for diffusion as one among many possible and fruitful avenues of enquiry. That position will not satisfy the diffusionist; and if it is wrong to put "no road" against the other tracks, it is at least justifiable to label the diffusionist path "much gold hath been found here."

WALTER O. FITCH.

### THE CONQUEST OF WAR.

**JANUS, THE CONQUEST OF WAR.** By WILLIAM MCDUGALL. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., London.) 1927. 6¼ × 4¼. pp. 140. 2s. 6d.

THIS little book belongs to the series entitled "Today and Tomorrow", many of which have already

shown marked originality of thought. It starts with a searching analysis of the origins of war, and concludes, with perfect truth (as the present reviewer can bear witness from the experiences of the recent Hindu-Muslim riots in Nagpur), that the chief cause of war is the fear of aggression. The conquest of war can only be effected, Dr. McDougall believes, as that fear is removed by the knowledge that there exists in the world a super-national power strongly enough supplied with an irresistible equipment of force to crush at once any outbreak of national aggression. He therefore proposes that the League of Nations, in which he is a great believer, should be equipped with an international air-force strong enough to enforce the decisions of the International Court of Justice, and that all the individual nations should consent to give up their own air-forces in order to give this international air-force a clear field.

Herein, we fear, will be the chief difficulty in the way of the realisation of Dr. McDougall's ideal. How is he to persuade the nations to surrender their right to this supreme arm of modern warfare? The book is marred by sneers at the position of those idealists who hold that the greatest essential of all, in regard to this supremely important and difficult question of the conquest of war, is that the peoples should undergo a radical change of heart: and that such a change can only be brought about through the practical object-lesson supplied by the fact that there are some men who, in view of the teachings of their religion, deny the right of the State to resort to warfare under any circumstances at all. There are also such foolish statements as the following, "In Russia, in China, in Africa are many millions of men well suited to become the tools of a new Attila, a new Tamerlane, a new Genghis Khan, or a new Napoleon".

On the whole, however, it is a valuable little book, and attacks a great problem in a spirit of constructive commonsense.

J. S. HOYLAND.

#### ENGLISH DEMOCRATIC IDEAS.

ENGLISH DEMOCRATIC IDEAS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By G. P. GOOCH. (Cambridge University Press.) 1927. 7½ x 5. pp. x, 315. 10s. 6d.

WE have read somewhere that ideas rule the world, and that what we call a revolution is nothing but the passage of an idea from theory to practice. The influence of ideas on the genesis and course of a revolution can hardly be over-emphasised. The French Revolution of 1789 was mainly due to the political philosophy of Rousseau and Voltaire,—a fact which is well-known to students of European history. The influence of democratic ideas on the origin and course of the English Revolution in the 17th century is not known to many. Dr. Gooch has therefore done a distinct service to students of political science by giving a brilliant exposition of the democratic ideas in the 17th century England in the book before us. It may be of interest to note that this book is an old one but in a rejuvenated form. It was first published in 1898 and went out of print in 1906. The great demand for the book necessitated a second edition—which is before us—an edition which has been made more useful than the earlier one partly by the bibliographical references being brought up to date, and partly by the addition of some useful appendices. To that great scholar in political science, Professor Laski, belongs the credit, as the author acknowledges in the Preface, for the reappearance of the book, and for the matter of that, in its more useful form than the first.

It is in the fitness of things that the author should seek the origin of democratic ideas in the Reformation of the 16th century. "Modern Democracy," the author avers, "is the child of the Reformation, not of the Reformers." The Reformers, Luther and Calvin, had no definite democratic ideas to give to the world. The former was indifferent to political ideas generally, while the latter's political system is full of inconsistencies and confusions. Though the Reformers had no definite democratic philosophy to offer to the world, the religious movement which they initiated enunciated two intellectual principles, namely, the mighty duty of free inquiry and the priesthood of all believers. The first led to political criticism, that is, liberty, the latter to equality. Thus the two principles of Modern Democracy—Liberty and Equality—were the fruits of the Reformation.

The author rightly recognises the part played by Reformation in the development of democratic ideas in England. "For without the fighting power which they derived from their patron and ally, they would have failed to make any progress in an age when the struggle of creed was the dominant factor of national life. And with the decline of the theocratic spirit, the popular basis came ever more clearly into view."

The author then discusses the political ideas of the Huguenots and the Ultramontanes because of their influence on the political struggle of the 17th century. The growth of democratic ideas in England before the 17th century is then dealt with. The political ideas of Wycliffe, John Ball, Fortescue, More, Poynt, Christopher Goodman, John Knox, Buchanan, Andrew Melville and Robert Brown are examined.

The author has thus prepared the ground for his main thesis, English Democratic ideas in the 17th century. "Political thinking at the accession of James I retained an Elizabethan character. Of the three men who meditated most seriously about the deeper principles of politics, Bacon, Lord Brooke and Raleigh, not one ventured beyond the bounds of conservative constitutionalism." But as the years rolled on democratic ideas gained ground. The tendency towards the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people was due to a variety of factors, such as the absence of external danger, peace and plenty within the country, the temperament of the nation and the character of the sovereigns. At a time when the people were desirous of taking a greater share in the government of the kingdom, the Kings promulgated the Divine Right Theory. The King's position was maintained by the Church and Universities. The Parliament, which was predominantly Puritan in composition opposed the theory and thwarted him at every step. But till the summoning of the Long Parliament in 1640, what the Parliament desired to destroy was the Church, not the Monarchy. But after 1640 the desire to transfer the general direction of government from the king to the *House of Commons* became prominent. The early acts of the Long Parliament are given a passing mention and after them is given a catalogue of the events culminating in the Civil War of 1642.

The author rightly points out that the year 1645 is a turning point in the history of English political philosophy. "Power passed into the hands of the War party and in the new elections several future Republicans and Regicides entered the House for the first time, among them Sydeny and Blake, Ireton and Ludlow, Hutchinson and Skippon." The final defeat of the King and his Presbyterian allies, the Scots, led to the triumph of Republicanism. The second Civil War was purely due to the machinations and intrigues of Charles I, and if Charles lost his head and if England became a Republic, the fault lay

with the King and King alone. "Republicanism," the author aptly remarks, "was the result of circumstances, not of intentions."

Thus England happened to have a Republican government. But it was not a Republic in the real sense of the term, and hence the establishment of a so-called Republic did not help the progress of democratic ideas in England. The Rule of the Rump was the rule of a minority. The government of Cromwell was 'monarchy without kingship.' It was in this Republican period of English history that political ideas were prolific. The Levellers and the Communists set forth their ultra-democratic philosophy. The author pays pointed attention to the political ideas of Harrington—one whose opinions have not been given their proper due by writers on political philosophy.

The author fittingly closes the book with sections devoted to the Restoration, the Glorious Revolution and with the debt of France and America to the English democratic ideas. Anyone studying the framework of colonial governments will easily conclude the debt of America to English democratic ideas. But as to that of France to England the author says thus, "The influence of the speculations of English thinkers before Locke on the political thought of France was very small. . . . But in studying Locke they were studying Locke's teachers; and when it is remembered that there is little in Rousseau that was not in Locke and little in Locke that he did not find in the thinkers of the interregnum the connection of the French Revolution with the thought which we have been surveying becomes apparent."

We have thus pointed out in our summary how Dr. Gooch has traced the origin and growth of democratic ideas in England. The author has compressed within the limits of a small volume a mine of information. We wish the author had been more explanatory and elaborate so that his work might be a unique book of reference sought by all those who wish to know the currents of political life in 17th century England. The book shows the author's deep erudition, and is written with a felicity of expression, all his own. We have therefore no hesitation in saying that the book is a distinct contribution to the political literature on the 17th century England.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAN.

### INDIAN COUNTRY LIFE.

**MURUGAN,—THE TILLER.** By K. S. VENKATARAMANI. (Svetaranya Ashram, Madras.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 309. Rs. 2-8-0.

THIS is a novel quite out of the ordinary. As the title suggests, village life occupies a good portion of the story and lends main interest to it. The peacefulness of a country life is brought out forcibly by contrasting it with the city life as it affects a brilliant and rising young lawyer. The real hero of the story is, however, not Murugan, but his master Ramachandran. The plot is well handled and the characters are admirably true to life. Those who desire to have a real knowledge of Indian ways and manners ought to read this book, which effectively disposes of the myths and pet theories of western tourists. Starting life in a very humble way, the plodding Ramachandran by his honest work succeeds in raising himself to a position which enables him to put into practice his ideal of giving every man three acres of land and a bit of garden for his house. In

this work he utilises the services of predatory gangs and turns them into honest men. We are introduced into this Arcadia in a convincing manner and the way in which the simple country folk have been brought into the story lends a certain amount of reality to the whole thing.

Incidentally we are shown what an amount of good can be done by a sympathetic officer, and that Englishmen are not all snobs. Some there are who can feel with the natives of this country, and others who have the courage to face ostracism from their society and be content to settle down in this country and live as if they were the sons of the soil. The impression is left on our minds that schemes involving the betterment of the rural population can only succeed if they have the powerful backing of Government officers in high places. Considering that the number of officers with the necessary sympathy, vision, power, and courage are few and far between, one cannot help wishing that our rich men would turn their attention to the work of rural development and demonstrate that as good effects would follow private enterprise as Government efforts. Let us hope that the author will turn his attention to this possibility and use his facile pen for giving us an equally convincing book about the fruitfulness of private enterprise.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1925. Vol. I. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. (Oxford University Press.) 1927. 9½ × 6½. pp. 611. 25s.
- THE RIGHTS AND THE DUTIES OF THE INDIAN CITIZEN. (Kamala Lectures.) By Rt. Hon. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI. (Calcutta University Press.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 116.
- A DEFENCE OF CONSERVATISM. By ARTHUR M. LUDOVICI. (Faber & Gwyer, Ltd., London.) 1927. 9 × 5½. pp. 276. 12s. 6d.
- MODERN INDIA. By R. PALME DUTT. (Communist Party of Great Britain, London.) 1927. 7½ × 4½. pp. 174.
- SOME WORLD PROBLEMS. By ANTONY F. INGRAM. (Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 90. 3s.
- ORGANISATION OF INDIAN BANKING. By B. T. THAKUR. (Lalchand & Sons, Calcutta.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 469. Rs. 15.

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