

THE Servant of India

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

Vol. X, No. 37. }

POONA—THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1927.

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

CONTENTS.

	Page
EDITORIALS OF THE WEEK	441
ARTICLES :—	
An India Govern Itself	443
Democracy—Theory and Practice	444
Cultural Reconstruction.—II and III. By M. R. Ramaswami, B.A., B.L.	445
SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER	447
EUROPEAN LETTER	449
REVIEW SECTION :—	
Japanese Imperialism. By Dr. V. Shiva Ram, M.A., Ph.D. (Harvard) F.R. Hist. S.	452
Waldwin's Addresses. By Prof. R. Sadasiva Aiyer, M.A.	453
Prison Reform. By Miss M. Katherine Davis	454
Diagnosis of Monetary Ills. By P. B. Junnarkar, M.A.	455
Nigerian Days. By S. A. Waiz	456
BOOKS RECEIVED	456

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

The sixth session of the U. P. Liberal Conference, which was held last week at Agra, was an unqualified success in every way. It would be no exaggeration to say that the chief contributory cause of this remarkable success was the selection as President of Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu, who, with Indit Kunzru, is one of the ablest public men of a younger generation we have, not only in the United Provinces but in the whole of India. The address which he delivered from the presidential chair was fully worthy of his reputation, being couched in the best nationalist style. It contained a very powerful and cogent plea for the grant to India of all civil power, in all departments, in the Central as well as Local Governments, except those of defence and foreign relations, being made over to popular representatives. The consideration of the unworkability of representative but non-responsible government, which is now a commonplace in politics since the time of Lord Durham, should alone persuade the British authorities to part with power in good time, but Pandit Gurtu adduces many other considerations of equal weight. The only other theme upon which Pandit Gurtu found it possible to dwell in his extraordinarily able address is the communal question which threatens to engulf us. He deals with this problem from that detached point of view, of which we among our public men can boast. He shows how the separate communal electorates have in fact benefited or can possibly benefit the Mahomedans, though such electorates are prolific of vital injury to the commonweal. One of the disadvantages of the communal election which he points out perhaps

did not strike other observers with equal force, viz. the utter impracticability of joint responsibility, which is the pith and marrow of Cabinet government, with election on a communal ticket. "How are the common policies to be formulated," he asks, "when the Ministers are subject to the pull of divergent and even hostile policies of their respective communities to whom alone they really and constitutionally owe allegiance as representatives? The result is that the Ministers intrigue against each other, adopt unscrupulous tactics to secure a majority of votes—each for himself, and appeal for communal support in the most shameless manner. Frankly, we have not only a Legislature hopelessly divided into partisan communal groups, but, what is worse, an Executive equally divided on a communal basis, over and above its unnatural division into 'transferred' and 'reserved'." The evil described here we in Bombay are just now experiencing in an acute form, and the corruption has spread from the Executive to the Legislature, which is the only explanation of the constant shifting of parties that was discernible in the last days of the Council Session now over. As Pandit Gurtu says, "we have in fact yet to realize that a demand for separate electorates joined to a demand for responsible government is an absolute contradiction in terms."

* * *

THE attitude of passive resistance displayed by workers who are not dismissed, out of sympathy for the dismissed Section, has stiffened the Railway authorities in their resolution not to give in to what they regard as unreasonable demands of labour. The only satisfaction offered by the B. N. Railway is two departmental Committees to go into the issues involved and arrive at a satisfactory solution. The crux of the problem lies in the unwillingness of the B. N. Railway to undertake work which could be done in the workshop of the Railway, if orders to private firms in India as well as England had not been placed already. A more detailed explanation than the one vouchsafed so far is necessary, if Indians are to be convinced about the reasonableness of the retrenchment effected by the discharge of a couple of thousand employees. Instead of being piqued, the Railway authorities ought to try and find out what has been the motive behind the demonstration to which the labourers are driven as a protest against the final decision of the Railway Administration. An impartial committee appointed by the Railway Board seems to us best in the interests of all parties concerned.

It is equally the duty of the leaders of labour all over the country to see that this local impasse does not extend into a general conflagration. Nothing is gained by other railway employees participating in a general strike even out of sympathy for the workers of the B. N. Railway. With an inchoate organization of labour, as we have it in India, a general

strike is not even to be thought of. Its anti-social effects are too well known to make us tolerate such a weapon even in extreme emergencies. Failing this, the most appropriate method of settling the dispute is clearly the intervention of the Railway Board. The Board has an indisputable right to intervene in all the serious concerns of the railways whether they are State railways or company-managed railways. The statement issued by the Government of India has not satisfied anybody; the inaction of the Board is already creating a suspicion that at the back of the whole scheme of retrenchment there is the sinister move of patronizing British industry by lessening the output of Indian Railway workshops. In such a situation it is the clear duty of the Railway Board to take immediate action of a nature calculated to dispel all suspicions and to establish peace and good-will.

* * *

WHATEVER the future may hold in store for the recently formed Ministerialist party in the Bombay Legislative Council, it has at least led to a good deal of saving of the Council's valuable time by expeditious despatch of business. A study of the proceedings of the Council since the formation of the party will disclose the fact that with its support the Government are able to cut short protracted debates and to carry through any proposals, reactionary or unprogressive though they be. This cannot be better illustrated than in connection with some of the most objectionable features of the University Reform Bill. Similarly we do not know of any large grant for Backbay Reclamation being allowed by the Council without subjecting it to the closest scrutiny; but during the last session of the Council when a considerable amount was demanded in order to cover some excess expenditure in connection with the reclamation of Backbay, it was granted by the Council practically without question. In saying this, we are aware of the fact that the chairman of the Party and one or two others did criticise the demand; but their criticism lacked that vigour which had invariably characterised similar debates in the past. The Government deserved very much stronger castigation for their failure to examine the comparative merits of dry and dredged filling a—matter which was specially emphasised by the Backbay Reclamation Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Grimwood Mears and which was considered by them so vital to the success of the whole scheme that, in the Committee's opinion, it should have been a condition precedent to the commencement of reclamation operations. Not only has this not yet been done but has apparently not yet been even set on foot. Nor does much point seem to have been made of the fact that during 1926-27, as seen from the recently published report of the Development Department, the dredging operations have shown less satisfactory results than during the previous year. And yet the Government demand was carried without anybody daring to challenge a division! So far as an outsider can see, the position of the Government seems to have been strengthened instead of weakened since this Party came into being. Not that we consider that there is anything inherently wrong in supporting the ministers; but care should be taken to see that the bargain is not a one-sided one and no opportunity should be lost of adding to or extending popular rights, which ought to be the end for which every party which calls itself popular ought to strive. We shall hope that in days to come the new party will be able to give a more satisfactory account of itself.

* * *

WE do not think the Bombay Legislative Council has enhanced its reputation as a progressive and democratic body by its rejection of the proposal to lower the municipal franchise in Bombay City and to reserve on the Bombay Municipal Corporation a few seats for backward and depressed classes who constitute nearly one-half of Bombay. Under the existing Act, persons paying a monthly house-rent of Rs. 10 can exercise the vote at the municipal elections in Bombay. In view of the fact that rents have recently shown a downward tendency, the present franchise has been generally regarded as unduly high. A bill was therefore brought forward by a representative of the depressed classes that it should be lowered to Rs. 5. But even such an eminently reasonable demand was stoutly resisted by people who otherwise are not tired of posing as unfailing friends of democracy and indefatigable champions of popular rights. The minimum limit of house rent qualifying a voter to cast his vote is in some of the mofussil municipalities as low as Rs. 3 and has not been known to be causing any harm to anybody. In Bombay public opinion is more advanced than elsewhere, which should really have induced these advocates of the *status quo* to vote for its lowering. But vested interests had the upper hand and consistency had to go to the wall. After the fate that overtook such a mildly democratic proposal as this, who could be so foolish as to expect the Bombay Legislative Council to vote for the reservation of seats on the Corporation for backward and depressed classes? No doubt such reservation of seats for a community is open to serious objection; all the same it is tolerated in some cases. The Minister for Local Self-Government gave expression to his holy horror at the introduction in the Bombay Municipality of the poison of communalism which appeared to him to be the underlying idea of the Bill. But the public will take long to forget that it was this very gentleman who did not shrink from an extension of the communal principle in favour of his own community in connection with local boards and municipalities and was reported to be actively trying not very long ago for its introduction even in the sacred temple of learning—the Bombay University. But though earmarking of seats on a communal basis as a permanent feature of our representative bodies is to be condemned, its retention for a stated period has doubtless the effect of training the community concerned in the art of self-government. If those who were opposed to the measure before the Council had proposed some such modification, they would have had some constructive achievement to their credit. It was pointed out that those who sponsored the measure were actuated not so much by democratic ideas as by selfish considerations, inasmuch as they wanted to confine its benefits to the Marathi-speaking people alone. If so, the proper course to defeat that selfish purpose was not by a wholesale rejection of the measure but by its improvement in the desired direction. The truth is that members of the newly formed Coalition party are at least as subservient to the wealthy classes as they have proved themselves to be to Government.

* * *

IN his presidential address, the Diwan of Junagad State referred to the heavily over-cast political and social horizon on account of communal dissensions stimulated by the approaching Royal Commission and appealed to all who have a stake in the stability of the country to take a dispassionate view of the whole situation. According to him, the crying need of the hour was education. As far as Muslims are concerned,

Muslim Educational Conference.

their position in the matter of secondary education was, according to him, disappointing and the remedy is a network of denominational schools. In higher education the community was phenomenally backward and he appealed to the Muslims to found scholarships and institute educational trusts. In conclusion he paid a tribute to three "champions of Muslim education," namely Sir Leslie Wilson, the Hon. Mr. Hotson and Sir Ibrahim Jaffer. So far we find ourselves in agreement with the President; but it is difficult to see how his scheme of religious education can be made to fit in with general non-denominational schools. In his opinion the daily life of the pupil should be so arranged as to provide for a reasonable period of time for religious education. We must admit that the President is conscious of "the almost insurmountable difficulties with which the problem of religious education bristles". His plea for denominational schools therefore is the logical outcome of the neutral position of ordinary schools with regard to religious education. But we are constrained to remark that the complete separation of the Muslim pupils in accordance with this scheme is hardly calculated to develop a feeling of a common nationality and might easily accentuate a communal outlook in the social and political sphere. Fortunately the President's notion of religious education is not circumscribed but thoroughly broad and catholic. By religious education he means not simply the reading of the Holy Quoran but the inculcation of the true spirit and essence of Islam; "in a word the liberal Islamic culture, with its high and noble ideals and its true philosophy."

SAYS the *Irish Statesman*: "We do not know whether any have noticed the extraordinary fertility of the Irish in discovering new and unexpected ways of embarrassing their political opponents Daniel O'Connell, we think, invented the monster mass meeting. Parnell and his associates perfected the methods of Parliamentary obstruction. The boycott was another weapon the invention of which must be credited to Ireland. The non-payment of rent also. The policy of getting elected to the legislature and not attending it is an Irish invention. The mass hunger strike is one of our original imaginations, and it is possible that in Mr Jinks' action in the last Dail there is the germ of yet a new kind of active political inactivity. We also invented, though not many are proud of the invention, a way of escaping from political pledges by warning God to stand two feet away while the oath was taken. It is curious to note that while in other countries political activity is always positive, in Ireland it is just as often negative as positive. We conspire together not to do things. We conspired not to speak to unpopular people. We conspired not to pay rent. We conspired not to attend the Parliament to which we were elected. We conspire not to eat or drink when we are in prison. An immense number of people without any conspiracy at all decide not to vote at elections. Others conspire not to mean what they say when they take an oath. Mr. Jinks and Mr. Walsh in some political dilemma fold up their tents, like the Arabs, and silently steal away". But there is at least one invention which we do not owe to Ireland: it is the vow of mutism in the Council. Thanks to the inventive genius of Mr. Jayakar, we get ourselves elected, go to the Council, take the oath, draw our allowances, even take part in the voting, but refuse to influence the voting by making speeches. However, even Mr. Jayakar is not particularly proud of this, and, we may be sure, is not going to repeat it.

CAN INDIA GOVERN ITSELF ?

AN EXAMINATION OF SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK'S POSITION.

MR. J. C. MOLONY, has disposed of the arguments advanced by Sir Reginald Craddock in an article written for a London journal under the above heading, in the *Hindu* of Madras during the last week. Sir Reginald of course answers the question in the negative. His arguments as summed up by Mr. Molony are these:—(1) The Legislatures of India are devoid of business men. (2) The Legislatures represent only the intelligentsia. (3) The electorate in India is politically unconscious, indifferent, inarticulate. (4) India unaided could never defend itself against foreign aggression. As against (1) Mr. Molony has shown that business men are rarely successful statesmen. The business of the man of business and the business of the statesman are two different things. Argument (2) Mr. Molony meets by the counter-question: "Would anything be gained if Legislatures represented the nation's lack of intelligence?" As for (3) Mr. Molony's retort courteous is that the average elector in every country is a dunderhead. The appeal in England to the elector is always addressed to his cupidity. The political consciousness of the English elector is in Mr. Molony's opinion a myth. Granting that India could not undertake full self-government next week, this assertion, says Mr. Molony, is beside the point because we have to think of times far ahead. Argument (4) is true but it is equally applicable to Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

Sir Reginald Craddock says that the Indians have muddled the job of Diarchy in spite of the heroic efforts of their Secretaries. Mr. Molony says in reply that the level of practical ability among Indians is very high and the want of success of Diarchy is due to its being based on a faulty principle. Mr. Molony repudiates the bland assumption that an Indian is necessarily inferior. As a practical administrator Mr. Molony has a right to give an opinion about the ministerial administration in Madras and he says emphatically that the failure in this case was due to the fact that the Ministers were not asked to take themselves very seriously. The fatal error of Diarchy is that it divided the national concerns into "essential" and "not really essential". In spite of this however Sir Reginald Craddock can think of Diarchy as the only possible form of government for India for ages to come and he suggests that India should decide what measure of power must be reserved for Europeans. On this Mr. Molony's telling comment is that Diarchy cannot work even when inspired from the Indian end.

Going however to the root of the matter, Mr. Molony says that the question "Can India govern itself," has been asked too late. The die is cast by the pronouncement of 1917 and it is outside the range of practical politics to state that self-government for India will ever be an impossibility. "That way madness lies and the consequences of madness". Mr. Molony admits that India will need the assistance

from England for a considerable time ; however, this should not be imposed but given willingly. Mr. Molony advises both the extreme Swarajists and die-hards in England to give up their extreme positions. There are two bits of work to be done in India ; one is the proper government of India at present, the other is to fit India for governing itself in the future. Both the Englishmen and the Indians must unite together in getting them done. As for the second bit of work Mr. Molony gives a warning that it cannot be postponed to the Greek Calends as the die-hards would wish to.

We wish that retired administrators like Sir Reginald Craddock would employ their leisure more usefully than by traducing the Indians and racking their brains for finding out all sorts of excuses for backing out of a promise made by their countrymen after due deliberation. We might remind Sir Reginald Craddock that the Reform Bill of 1832 made provision only for the intelligentsia to begin with and it was only later than the other strata of society were represented. But comparative history is not the strong point of the die-hard.

DEMOCRACY—THEORY AND PRACTICE.

PROF. ALISON PHILLIP'S VIEWS.

(*Concluded from last week.*)

AT the outset, while examining the basis and purpose of government, Prof. A. Phillips makes a deprecatory reference to Jefferson and to Prof. Woodrow Wilson which is hardly justified by an analysis of their own statement of their case. When Jefferson said that the consent of the governed must not be tacit but properly expressed he knew full well that this condition is hardly realized in three-fourths of the governments in the world : yet as an ideal of democracy it had to be enunciated in clear terms. Similarly Prof. Wilson knew that self-determination is beset with grave practical difficulties, yet it would be wrong to assert that phrase-making should not be indulged in. The fact is that the antipathy of the average European political thinker to Prof. Wilson's doctrine is due to the fact that he finds the doctrine of self-determination a very inconvenient luggage to carry, when he or rather his government is out on an imperialistic venture. But all the same the doctrine of self-determination, although it may produce metaphysical tragedies, is an integral part of the conception of democracy. True there are difficulties in its practical application, but this ought not to be made a ground for its rejection. We think Prof. Wilson has done the greatest service to undeveloped and backward nations by pointing out that their ultimate goal ought to be self-determination. The reference to mandates clearly brings out the motive underlying Prof. Alison Phillip's caveat against political idealism of Prof. Wilson's pattern. If self-determination is accepted, what will happen to the beautiful mandates which give the powerful states a grip over smaller states in the name of altruism ?

That democracy in the west is rapidly falling into discredit is clear to every observer ; but from this we can hardly draw the conclusion that the history of governments since the French Revolution has been that of a series of experiments towards the ideal, if by this we mean that democracy has not been realised at all. All over Europe we can see that in spite of occasional setbacks actual democracy is operative and producing most of the good effects which in theory we are led to expect from it by its very definition. What may happen to democracy in the future it would be very difficult to predict, but there is not enough justification for the pessimism which is clearly discernible in Prof. A. Phillip's examination of the origins of modern democracy.

The condition for realizing the ideal of liberty based on equality, that a sense of public duty and an altruistic spirit directs the wills of a majority of citizens, pointed out by Lord Bryce, ought to be impressed on the minds of all those who in India want to give a fair trial to a democratic constitution. The debacle of our local self-government is in a large measure due to the failure to realize this condition. We wonder how many of the members of our municipalities and local boards are actuated by a sense of public duty and an altruistic spirit. This however need not make us despair about democratic government. A free press and well-balanced public opinion ought to expose continually any lapses from this high standard discernible in the actions of any class of citizens. If we look to the other conditions which are the pre-requisites of the success of representative government it would appear that India will have to do lot of spade-work before a successful democracy can be assured. These conditions are smallness of the country and ease of communications ; unity of religious outlook or at least a spirit of toleration ; absence of alien races ; and classes and the capacity to make a wise choice of representatives. It would almost appear as if in framing this list, the writer had specially in mind the case of India ; so completely does the description fit that we cannot do better than ponder over this part of Prof. A. Phillip's analysis of democracy. Of course our country is not small, but there is the ease of communications. There is no unity in religion but as a substitute we ought to develop a spirit of toleration. It is quite true that no stable democracy can be reared, if Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians cannot learn to tolerate each other's small foibles and to develop a feeling of common nationality in spite of religious diversity. Prof. A. Phillips has pointed out that democracy collapsed in the Netherlands because the Catholics and Protestants could not be reconciled. All this however, instead of proving that democracy is impossible in countries like India, simply indicates that certain impediments have to be strenuously removed before a representative government can be successfully worked. And if the people of such a country succeed in realizing the conditions essential for the working a democratic form of government, then there is nothing to prevent them from essaying such a task. England has evol-

ved a successful representative government although it passed through a period of deadly feud between Catholics and Protestants. What has been possible in England will be possible elsewhere.

While giving a high meed of praise along with Prof. Alison Philips to the English people for their habit of reforming the constitution bit by bit, capacity for orderly debate and a remarkable political tolerance, we cannot agree with him when he says that the adaptation of the British constitution to other peoples has proved a delusion. We do not also share his conceit that the Anglo-Saxon people have a peculiar aptitude for democratic government and that no other people can aspire to this virtue which is a sort of racial gift or the happy accident in the historical evolution of this particular ethnic group. This Anglo-Saxon genius for representative government is a pure myth. Similarly Prof. A. Phillip's idea that the Latin race is congenitally incapable of working representative government is equally mythical. The account given of the United States hardly justifies the belief in the genius of the Anglo-Saxon for democratic institutions. It is doubtful, however, whether the polyglot population of the United States can be designated Anglo-Saxon at all.

The scepticism expressed by Prof. A. Phillips about democracy in general is a bit premature. It may be true as he says that representative government has not acclimatized itself in many countries, but it is doing so year after year and in many countries enough experience has been gathered to make us believe that representative government is likely to be more and more successful as decade succeeds decade. That we have to be ever on the alert to avoid the pitfalls of democracy which he has pointed out none would wish to gainsay; especially we have to guard against the dominance of political merceneries, corruption and a weakening of the unity of national sentiment. Modern democracy is only a century and half old and a longer trial will be necessary before we shall be justified in passing a final judgment on it.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION.*

II

NEXT to poverty, the problem that demands immediate attention at the hands of the rural worker is education. It may even be said to precede economic uplift in importance. For education is the starting point of all reform. Salvation is impossible of realisation for a people who are steeped in ignorance. An ignorant person not only fails to earn anything and maintain himself through self-help, he cannot even economically use or safely keep what others might give him out of charity. Again, ignorance, more than poverty, is the promoter of disease, drink, demoralisation, insanitation, moral vices and bad social or religious customs that sap the life of a race. Education, therefore, is the first step in all measures of social or economic amelioration. That alone opens the inner eye and insures the individual as well as the nation against all forms of slavery and decay. The problem in India is as huge as it is urgent. For less than 4 per cent. of our people are literate and the

sort of education imparted to our boys and girls is not worthy of the name and does not serve them much in life.

This is not the place to dilate on the many defects of the prevailing system and the direction in which reform should proceed in order to satisfy the needs of the nation. The problem could be reduced, so far as rural reconstruction is concerned, to the field of elementary and mass education. Liquidation of illiteracy is the prime need here. The villagers should be made literate as soon and as well as possible. Literacy, especially among the adults, very soon leads to self-education and the acquisition of all that is necessary for self-advancement. It enables the villager to read and profit by the information contained in the numerous official publications, pamphlets and journals bearing on the better pursuit of agriculture, education, co-operation and rural welfare in general. The introduction of compulsory elementary education in rural areas no doubt forms an essential part of the campaign against illiteracy. But the system works slow and takes time to succeed. Further, it deals only with the younger generation. Therefore, a well conceived system of adult mass education should find a prominent place in all programmes of rural reconstruction. The liquidation of illiteracy should proceed from both ends. The campaign could be carried on through folk schools, lantern lectures, cinema shows, exhibitions, dramas, harikathas and other appealing ways of imparting knowledge to the mass mind. Shandies, places of pilgrimage and festivals provide excellent opportunities for adult education and should be fully utilised by the rural worker. Libraries and reading rooms should follow in the wake of literacy.

As regards the kind of instruction that should be given in rural areas, it is hardly necessary to observe that it should be directly helpful to the villager to lead a better and fuller life. The adult should as far as possible be taught all that is of interest and utility to him. This will naturally include the rudiments of scientific agriculture, rural industries, economics, sanitation, history, civics and sociology. Special stress should be laid on the value of discipline and co-operation in economic and social life and the need for cultivating habits of organised work and a healthy national outlook on all matters relating to the commonweal. In this connection India would do well to follow in the footsteps of Denmark, where adult education through Bishop Gruntvig's folk schools, has progressed a great deal and created, as it were, a new social and agricultural order based on the principles of thorough-going co-operation. The Danish farmer of today knows not only the technical and scientific aspects of farming, but also something about history, economics, literature, sociology, etc.; in fact, all that makes his life efficient, cultured, rich and religious. The folk schools founded by Bishop Gruntvig are miniature colleges for the farmers helping them to lead a life of rural idealism rooted in the love of the home and the co-operative organisation of business. As we have yet to discover our Raffeisens in the economic sphere, we have also to discover our Gruntvigs on the educational side. If our countryside are planted with well conducted folk schools on the Danish model or any other that fits in with our conditions, the awakening and uplift of the agricultural masses is only a question of time. The intelligent adult will master in three to four months what it will take as many years for a child to pick up. Education is the greatest leavening factor in a country like ours, steeped in ignorance and inertia. Besides training in the liberal arts and cultural subjects, special training in agricultural and industrial processes should also be given whenever the villagers require it. The departments of

* The first article in this series appeared in the issue of October 6.

agriculture and industry could, as they should, do much in this direction and help easily to bring the benefits of science and research to the door of the villager. They should as far as possible offer their services free or at a nominal cost so that all classes of ryots may take advantage of them.

The system of elementary and secondary education devised for the children of ryots must, it cannot be too strongly emphasised, fit in with rural life. Besides imparting instruction in the three R's and the elements of a liberal culture, the schools should take special care not to pluck the child's mind from off its environment but, as far as possible, allow it to imbibe the natural bias of its rural surroundings and give the boys and girls all facilities for preparing themselves for their future life in the village itself. One of the serious complaints against the present system is that it provides no such preparation and, what is worse, tends to create in the village pupils an aversion for rural life and an unnatural as well as an undesirable craving for urban standards. The educational reformer should hasten to remove this defect and build up a new system of elementary and secondary training suited to rural requirements.

The village school which fulfils these requirements of the people, young as well as old, naturally becomes the life-centre of the place, shedding light on all the important problems relating to its moral and material welfare. The teacher who ministers to all these needs would also gradually come to occupy a position of no mean prominence and responsibility among the villagers. He will, if only he brings to bear on his work the necessary measure of ability, enthusiasm and public spirit, very easily become the leader of the locality, enjoying the love and confidence of the simple village folk who would look up to him as their friend, philosopher and guide. He can thus by his personal example and influence elevate the general tone of village life, infuse a new spirit of service, sacrifice and nationalism into the mass mind and strive to change their outlook so as to answer the altered conditions of modern life. There is no sphere of service, whether it be education, co-operation, social or religious activity, in which he can take part without giving a fresh stimulus to village life. He is the master architect of national life, entrusted with the mission of moulding the mind of the villagers, young and old, boys and girls, who are the hope of the land. His is the hand that silently lays the foundations of our freedom and future growth. It is therefore the undoubted duty of the State to keep him absolutely above want and well equipped for the task. To starve him is not only inhuman, but also suicidal to the best interests of the nation. Village education, it may be observed here, also provides ample scope for the employment of our educated youths who are now swelling the ranks of the idle and the unemployed. Their energies, running to waste now, could be usefully employed in a field which is as wide as it is fruitful. The villages are literally dying for want of education and leadership. Our young men could, with a little training, be made to provide both. Non-official agencies, with their limited resources, cannot tackle a problem of such huge dimensions. It is primarily the duty of the State. Our educated youths, one may be certain, will not fail to respond to the call for serving the nation, if the conditions of service are honourable and fairly attractive.

Closely related to education is the work of rural welfare. General social amelioration and reform among the villagers should proceed parallel to economic uplift and educational advancement. Some of the important problems that demand early attention in this field are rural sanitation, medical relief, maternity and child welfare and prohibition. Nature is

undoubtedly a great healer and preventive of ill-health. But, paradoxical as it may seem, many of our villages are breeding grounds of diseases like malaria, Kala-Azar, cholera, small-pox, hook-worm, and other maladies that annually levy a heavy toll of mortality from the rural population. The low vitality of the villager and his feeble powers of resistance caused by poverty and starvation are among the chief causes of this high death-rate. But ignorance, insanitation and bad water-supply are no less responsible for this tragic paradox of rural life. These factors have to be removed by educating the villagers on personal and social hygiene, improving rural sanitation and drainage, opening up free dispensaries and hospitals—preferably of the indigenous systems of medicine, supplemented wherever possible by western surgery—and ensuring good water-supply by sinking wells or other devices. As has been already pointed out, the educational side of our programme, especially adult education, includes the teaching of the villager in the elements of hygiene, sanitation, etc. Campaigns should also be periodically organised with the help of village students, scouts, teachers and adults to clean the village temples, tanks, markets and backyards where the rubbish heap usually springs up. Special attention has also to be paid to ensure sanitation and protect water-supply during festivals and shandy days. Such occasions also provide ample opportunities for carrying on a campaign against drink, animal sacrifices and other weird orgies which the villagers often indulge in. The villager is never more shy and impermeable than when he is asked to attend formally convened meetings and conferences, to which he is not accustomed. But on festive occasions, when religious or social observances or business bring them together, their mind is in an unconsciously joyous, open and highly receptive mood. The rural worker should therefore take advantage of these unique occasions for broadcasting his ideas on social betterment, sanitation, prohibition, politics and all other topics on which he would like to educate the rural folk.

III.

The last, but not the least, important part of rural work is local self-government. An all-round programme of reconstruction should not exclude politics from its pale, for politics is the spear-head of all public service. This is especially so in India, where public good is usually expected to flow from administrative heads through official channels. The village panchayat or local self-government is intended as a corrective to this slavish expectancy and a training ground for the villager to learn to do things for himself. The seeds of swaraj have to be sown in the villages. Unless the political crop there is properly raised the nation as a whole will not make much headway towards its goal. The rural voters form the base of the big edifice of democracy that we are striving to build up. The foundations of the structure cannot be deemed to have been duly laid so long as the villager is ignorant of the value of his vote and does not exercise it intelligently with a fully awakened civic conscience. The administration of village panchayats, taluk boards and district boards gives proof of our practical capacity for self-government. The evidence is useful not so much for outsiders to sit in judgment over our fitness or otherwise for freedom—for that is a birth-right which nobody can grant or deprive us of—as for ourselves to know our own limitations with a view to improve our character and capacity. The rural worker should, therefore, spare no efforts to make local self-government a success by removing inefficiency, corruption and other vagaries in the elections to and

administration of local bodies. He should strive to purify public life in the villages, stimulate and organise local opinion on questions concerning the welfare of the people through public meetings, discussions and debates. The evils of spoon-feeding will also disappear if the villagers are taught to think out their own problems, deliberate collectively on matters affecting their interests and arrive at decisions on their own initiative and responsibility. The rural worker is their best mouth-piece to voice their grievances to the local officials and make representations to the Government or higher legislative and administrative bodies with a view to get redress. Unable to make their voices heard before the higher authorities, the villagers often choose silently to endure wrongs in an attitude of resignation. The art of agitation is no doubt often abused for advancing unholy causes. But it is all the same an eminently useful and powerful weapon to open the eyes of authority and imbue it with a sense of responsibility. The urban citizen in India is now fairly well versed in the art. Our villagers have also to be taught its theory and practice so that they may not be victimised, as they are now being done, by the hand of petty officialdom, which is often as high-handed as it is corrupt. They have to be inspired with a sense of self respect and made conscious of the fact that all authority and government derive their sanctions ultimately from the people who are the fountainhead of sovereignty in a democratic state. Once awakened to a sense of their inner power, imbued with the democratic spirit and educated in its cardinal doctrines, the villagers are bound gradually to gather strength, themselves organise resistance to wrongs and oppressions, economic, social or political, and protect their interests without the aid or intervention of the professional politician. That is the best way to build up democracy. The villages of ancient and mediaeval India were more or less self-governing republics. It will not therefore be difficult to revive their atrophied or latent powers of self-help.

The programme of work outlined above is no doubt ambitious. It embraces, as it must, all aspects of rural life. The village, especially in India, is the nation in miniature. Therefore no sphere of nation-building activity should be left unattended to by the rural worker. His is the task of laying the foundations of our national edifice, the foundations of our freedom and future growth, on the surest and broadest possible scale. By the very nature of the work, progress is bound to be slow. It will take a long time before the abysmal ignorance, poverty and inertia of the villagers, the accumulation of ages of neglect, decay and despair is removed. There is also a considerable element of dreary, exacting toil in the work which, it must be observed, is the least fitted for the firebrand, sensation-loving temperament. The impatient idealist will have to sublimate all his fanatic zeal and enthusiasm into a steady, ever-burning fire of patriotism and persistent, practical capacity for up-hill work before he can hope to stick on and succeed in this field of endeavour. The plumes of popularity and fame will also be denied or, at least, be slow in coming, to one who has to bury himself in remote, unknown corners of the country, far removed from the limelight. The villagers themselves might take time to clear their minds of all suspicions regarding his aims, understand his benevolent, patriotic intentions and take him into their confidence. Being very conservative in their nature, they would only approach him with caution; but once convinced of his bonafides and lofty aim, there is no limit to the implicit trust and faith that these simple folk would repose in their new-found leader.

The worker has also one other important factor

to bear in mind. He should go to the village more as a student than as a teacher. He should be ready to disabuse his mind of all pre-conceived ideas of reform and progress. The conditions in the village might not agree with them and demand quite a different solution from the one he had in view. The modern educated youths are especially prone to nurse conceit of knowledge and reject whatever is not found in their text-books or gilt-edged volumes. Their education has not, in the generality of cases, helped or trained them to study the book of life spread out before them. They should, therefore, be humble enough to realise that the villagers might have something valuable to teach them, some priceless heritage of experience handed down from generations, some treasure of wisdom in their crude common sense and apparently uncultured hearts. A worker endowed with the power of sympathy, understanding, insight into human nature and an infinite fund of patience and resourceful energy, is bound in the long run to beat his better in book lore, who goes to the village relying on his academic qualifications or university laurels. Benevolent intentions and patriotic impulses alone will not suffice by themselves to win success. They have to be harnessed to qualities which alone will ensure efficiency in work and help to overcome the many obstacles in the path.

(Concluded.)

M. R. RAMASWAMI.

OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

DURBAN, 24th SEPTEMBER.

THE EDUCATION COMMISSION.

THE most important event during the last fortnight from the Indian point of view is the announcement on the 22nd September of the decision of the Natal Administration to appoint, in accordance with the Capetown Agreement, a Commission to enquire into the condition of Indian education in that province. The 22nd of September happens to be the birthday of Mr. Sastri, and, quite appropriately, the *Natal Witness* called the appointment a birthday present to Mr. Sastri. Indeed, considering how very nearly Natal had repudiated the Agreement and how desperate the situation seemed in Natal when Mr. Sastri arrived here, it is a remarkable tribute to his personality and good work that the Natal Administration has actually decided to implement the Agreement. As Mr. Sastri said in an interview in the *Natal Witness*, "There cannot be any more doubt as to the intention of the Union Government and the Administration of Natal to stand faithfully by the provisions of the Agreement." He went on to say: "The news of the appointment of the Commission will be received with great satisfaction in India. It will be an indubitable proof that the Capetown Agreement is a reality and will result in a benefit to the Indian population resident here. The Natal Administration is to be congratulated on having magnanimously ignored its differences with the Union Government and resolved to bear the burdens cast on it by the Agreement." "One would wish," he continued, "that the sceptics in the Indian community saw the importance of this step and, instead of cavilling, gave all possible assistance in the work of the Commission." It is to be hoped that the Indian community will realise the

immense significance of this step and take full advantage of it.

The one unsatisfactory feature of the Commission is that it is to be composed of the members of the Natal Executive, who are four in number, and two other members from the Provincial Council. It is as it were that the members of the Executive Council in a province in India constituted themselves into a commission along with two members from the provincial legislative council. This is rather an extraordinary method of empanelling a commission, and open to grave objection under normal conditions. As the *Natal Advertiser* put it, "the body will never be able to forget for long its major responsibilities to the Province as a whole, nor will it be able to free itself entirely from its earlier predispositions on the Indian question." But it rightly adds at the same time, "The Agent-General is much too wise a man to cavil at half a loaf because it is not a whole loaf." The relieving features of the commission are that the sittings will be public, and that it is to be assisted by an expert from India. Mr. Sastri in the interview referred to above said that the expert would be an Indian with administrative experience and he will be assisted by a lady expert in kindergarten teaching in Indian schools. The *Natal Advertiser* has welcomed the appointment of the Commission and so have *Indian Opinion* and the *Natal Witness*.

"GENTLEMEN'S SETTLEMENT."

Mr. Sastri returned from a tour in the northern districts of Natal. He visited in the course of ten days Ladysmith, Newcastle, Dannhauser, Dundee, Colenso, Escourt and Greytown. In every place he was well received, the Mayor and Councillors as well as the resident Indians receiving him on arrival and the Mayors giving him official lunches and presiding over his meetings, which drew record attendances. It was quite a triumphal march and his speeches left a great and good impression behind. For the first time in several of these places Indians and Europeans sat together at lunches and dinners—events which recall inter-caste dinners in India. At Newcastle, which is the constituency of Mr. O. R. Nel, both he and Sir Thomas Watt, an ex-Minister, were present. Sir Thomas had just a week ago strongly criticised the Agreement, but after hearing Mr. Sastri he said, in moving a vote of thanks, that he saw no reason why the two races could not live together in harmony; that Mr. Sastri had thrown a great deal of light on the question and had submitted some aspects of the case of which many were ignorant; and that he considered the Agreement fairly satisfactory and thought it should be given a fair trial. Mr. Nel was understood to have declined to carry on a campaign against the Agreement in order to give it a fair chance. Even the *Natal Mercury*, a consistent opponent of the Indian, seems to have changed a bit. For it says: "If the spirit in which the Indian community of Natal shoulders its share of the obligations of the Capetown Agreement is in any way worthy of the statesmanlike quality of Mr. Sastri's recent speeches in the Northern districts of the Province, then we need not doubt the eventual success of the "Gentlemen's Settlement".

Mr. Sastri has now shown the European community something of the broader conceptions at the back of the policy, and at the same time he has actively discouraged the formulation of extravagant claims.

Very near Greytown is a farm on which stood the house in which Gen. Botha was born. That piece of ground had come into the possession of an Indian merchant, Mr. M. E. Lakhi, who took advantage of Mr. Sastri's visit, and made a present of it to him in order that Mr. Sastri might pass on the gift to the Greytown Municipality. The ground will be converted into a garden and Mr. Sastri planted a tree at the spot where Gen. Botha was born, and in so doing, paid a tribute to the great reconciler of South Africa.

BISHOP OF NATAL'S GREAT HELP.

Another very significant event is the prominent place that His Lordship the Bishop of Natal gave the Indian question in his Charge to the clergy and laity at the Diocesan Synod at Maritzburg last week. He welcomed the Agreement and quoted with approval the upliftment section of it, and said that the lessening of the "inferiority complex" of the Indian would date from it. "We, English people, cannot—can we?—afford to despise any longer a people out of whom has come one whom many of us have had the privilege of meeting, the present Agent in South Africa of the Indian Government." The Bishop exhorted the Churchmen that in case of need they "must stand by him and give him the help and encouragement which he will look for and welcome from us, for his people's sake." The day previous he had given Mr. Sastri an opportunity to address the clergy and laity who had assembled for the Synod at a garden party and Mr. Sastri made an impressive appeal to the Church to set about creating another, better and more Christian public opinion, and to allow nothing unrighteous to be done in their name. Following closely on the example of Natal, the Synod of the Diocese of Johannesburg passed a resolution welcoming the Capetown Agreement and considering it the beginning of better understanding and better treatment of Indian subjects of the British Empire resident in South Africa.

SOCIAL WORK AMONG INDIANS.

The South African Party has a women's side to it, and that section met the other day and discussed, among other matters, the Indian question. A resolution was brought up to prohibit by legislation the purchase of land by Indians in European areas. It was lost. It was decided that Indians should not be penalised for the fact of their being Indians as long as they were in this country although every effort should be made to prevent the increase of the Asiatic population.

Under the inspiration of Mr. Sastri two organisations have recently been started in Durban; the Social Service Committee to improve the sanitary conditions of the Indian community and the Child Welfare Association. Both are working vigorously and are full of promise. In the formation of the latter body, Mrs. Stanford, who is now at the Theosophical Society in Madras, took the initiative

and gave it the necessary start, and the Indian community here are much beholden to her. It is very probable that a fully trained nurse and midwife from India may be persuaded to come over to South Africa.

INDIAN GRIEVANCES.

A number of Indians in Capetown were under orders of deportation as unlawful entrants under sec. 22 of the old Act. That has nothing to do with the legislation subsequent to the Agreement. In view however of the Minister's promise of amnesty, provided the Indian community accepted the Agreement and promised to work it loyally, the deportations have been countermanded though the promise from the Indian community has not yet been made. The delay is due to the secession of the Transvaal and efforts are still being made to bring about re-union between the Transvaal British Indian Association and the Congress.

There has been some complaint about the unsympathetic attitude of the Health Boards in the peri-Durban area, the population of which is nearly two-thirds Indian. Often no notice is given to the parties when they are assessed to pay certain taxes; only a notice published in the local press, which does not reach many of the Indians who are illiterate. Then the rate of interest on arrears is 10 per cent. per mensem! That is a statutory obligation and cannot be varied at the discretion of the Health Boards. Indians also complain that though they pay taxes, and perhaps pay the bulk of them, they get very little service in return and that the taxes collected from them are used mostly on salaries of European employees of the Boards. The statutory obligation to charge an exorbitant rate of interest on arrears is likely to be modified.

Another matter that is vexing the minds of the Indians is the new restriction which the Johannesburg Town Council is seeking to impose on Indians and coloured peoples in the municipal trams. Hitherto there was no legal segregation, though there was a tacit one. But now the Town Council propose to make it obligatory and that is being protested against. Colour prejudice reaches extraordinary lengths in the Transvaal. For instance, the Transvaal Provincial Council had just passed an Ordinance prohibiting Native cheffeurs from driving motor cars which contain Europeans. If enforced, this will throw out of work a large number of Native cheffeurs. Another instance: Justice Barry found that a white girl of twenty-one had tempted a Native to commit adultery with her, and he sentenced both of them to prison; and while the white tempter gets 6 months the Native gets 9 months!! In Natal only the other day the Magistrate decided that Natives could only be served with refreshments in Native "eating houses" and not in tea rooms meant for whites!!! The European proprietors of these tea rooms are in distress because "many of them make more money out of natives than Europeans". That is South Africa.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, 29th September.

THE OPIUM QUESTION.

THE last eight of the plenary meetings of the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, the fifteenth to the twenty-second, were devoted to a wide range of subjects, some of which have already been indicated in this correspondence. The rapporteur of the Advisory Committee on the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs, Madame Larsen-Jahn of the Norwegian delegation, submitted to the Assembly along with her report the following resolution which was carried: "The Assembly notes with approval the report of the Advisory Committee on traffic in opium and the resolution contained therein, and earnestly recommends them to the attention of the States Members of the League." In the course of her speech presenting the report Madame Larsen-Jahn remarked, "The very serious statement has this year been made by the Advisory Committee that action by the Governments fell far short of their contractual obligations. The Advisory Committee has very strongly emphasized the fact that it is impossible for it to grapple with the difficulties of the drug problem, except to the extent to which it is aided by the goodwill and direct executive action of the individual Governments. Lord Lytton, speaking "as the delegate of a country that knows this evil, whose people are very much alive to its gravity and very much in earnest in their determination to put an end to it," said that this was "one of those questions in which India looked to the League of Nations for help. He made a really impassioned plea for vigorous action, which he insisted was possible only by combined effort. There were probably not more than thirty factories in the whole of the world in which the drugs were manufactured and if only all the Governments concerned were determined to put an end to them, the evils would cease, and this reproach to civilisation would be removed. Referring to India he said that India imported a small amount of cocaine for medical purposes, but the illicit traffic in cocaine in India was stated by this Committee to be as large as forty times the legitimate imports, and this too, in spite of the existence of vigorous and efficient administrative efforts to suppress it. Dr. Veverka of the Czechoslovakian delegation, who was the rapporteur for the Commission of enquiry into the production of opium in Persia, said that he appeared on the tribune of the Assembly for the third time in connection with the opium question and he could hardly suppress some reflections on the evolution of the problem of opium as its had come up in the course of their deliberations at Geneva. The committee of enquiry into the production of opium in Persia was the first result of a practical kind which had endeavoured to discover scientific and empirical means in order to attack one of the causes, over-production, and to diminish the effect, facility of consumption. The Persian Government had naturally declared that the final acceptance of the recommendations of experts in this matter would depend to a large extent on that Government obtaining liberty of action with regard to customs tariffs and also on the suppression of those restrictive tariffs which at present prevented the sale of those Persian products which ought to be substituted for the production of opium. The first delegate of Persia, H. H. Mohamad Ali Khan Foroughi, thanked the Committee for "having been able to understand the sacrifice that the Persian nation is undertaking", and added, "The Persian Government indeed needs help in the new economic conditions created by the applications of the recom-

mendations following the enquiry into the production of opium in Persia."

The President communicated to the Assembly a letter accompanied by a draft resolution moved by the delegates of Finland, Poland and Sweden, with which were associated also those of Belgium, Denmark, and Czechoslovakia concerning the question of alcoholism. The object of the motion is to endeavour to co-ordinate and centralise the international study of a scientific and practical character of the question. "Alcoholism" in this context has been defined as "the abuses of alcoholic drinks and their noxious effects to individuals and to society". All aspects of this question pertaining to the fields of medicine, economics, social statistics, law, etc., are to be taken up. The proposal was approved by the Assembly and inscribed on the agenda of the ninth session.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE.

The report of Mr. M. Portela of the Cuban delegation, the rapporteur of the Committee on traffic in women and children, centred on the question of licensed houses and on the measures in force with regard to souteneurs and procurers. He recalled the various proposals made in his Committee. A number of delegates had emphasized the importance of the employment of women in the police. Some had contended that the age of consent should in no case be lower than the age of marriage. The German delegate informed her colleagues that a new law which provided for severe penalties was to come into force on October 1st, abolishing licensed houses in Germany within the limits of its power. Hungary had also reported the abolition of licensed houses recently. Several delegates had given it as their opinion that the abolition of licensed houses in their countries had been fully justified by results. In Cuba they had long been abolished. The delegate from France had stated that his country was also moving towards their abolition but that it must be given time. The suppression of regulated prostitution could only be effected by attacking not only the licensed house system but all the different factors involved, and that had been stated to be the policy adopted by France. The Committee had been unanimous in recommending that the strictest possible measures should be taken against souteneurs and procurers. The British delegates had laid stress on the desirability of adequate punishments being provided for in regard to sexual assaults on children, and also for persons who for the sake of financial gain stimulated the graver forms of vice. A very spirited and remarkable speech in this connection was that of the Hon. Edith Lytton of the British Empire delegation. Several interesting points in the report of the Fifth Committee were dwelt upon by her; it had been evident that "below all our respect for women, respect for home, respect for purity, there lay a substratum of the grossest possible indulgence leading to very degrading vices," and that the existence of licensed houses and *maisons tolerees* was undoubtedly bound up with the traffic, the importance of raising both the age of consent and the age of marriage, the enormous influence of what is called 'the third party,' and the variety of perfectly innocent girls who were not prostitutes to start with being brought into the traffic were all borne out by the report. The Assembly approved the report, commended the Committee highly for it, and drew the attention of the States Members to its conclusions.

Child welfare was another of the subjects of the fifth Committee. The main themes of the report of M. Jansen of the Belgian delegation which was approved by the Assembly were blind children, illegitimate children, the effect produced on children by certain cinematograph productions, the results

obtained from the giving of subsidies to large families, the bearing on children of the questions of age of consent and age of marriage, the recreation of children, and certain questions referring to their legal position.

As regards the report of Mlle. Forchhammer of the Danish delegation on the protection of women and children in the Near East, the Assembly approved her resolution commending the work of Miss Jeppe at Aleppo which resulted in the rescue of some 1600 to 2000 people and asked for the continuation of the financial support given to her by voluntary contributions until the completion of that work.

AN INDIAN RAPPORTEUR.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar was the rapporteur of the second Committee of the Assembly and reported upon the work of the Health Organisation. In his speech, presenting the report to the Assembly, he referred to the appointment of the new Health Committee, and commended the "notable departure in appointing expert assessors from such countries as Australia and Japan" as confirming the universality of the League. The interchange of Health personnel and the system of international health courses of studies and instruction in health problems which are given to people of all countries in selected centres were also aspects of the work of the Health Organisation worth noticing. The valuable work carried out by the Health Organisation through its various bodies in the matter of sleeping sickness—a subject of special benefit to vast tracts in Africa—and the Conference on Rabies were concrete achievements. There were two other matters of which he spoke with "special personal reference," viz., the Malaria Enquiry and the Singapore Bureau. To a country like India, Malaria was a matter of the greatest import and when the Malaria Committee visited India as it was due to do next winter he hoped that their useful labours would be continued in his country to the mutual benefit of India and the rest of the world. He attached special importance to the work of the Singapore Bureau, not only because it was efficacious in giving early intimation of the spread of epidemics and serving as a centre of research, but because it was a visible link between the life of the tropics, the life of the Orient, and the life of the League, as forming an invaluable means of inter-communication between the work done at Geneva and that carried out in the far distant countries. The Assembly recorded its unqualified approval and appreciation of the services rendered to international public health by the Health Committee and its expert Commissions.

Professor Mackenna of the Chilean delegation reporting on the mission carried out in certain countries of Latin America by the President of the Health Committee called attention to the extreme importance of the League participating in the activities in the social sphere in South America, "for this participation, though it is of recent date, has already produced very encouraging results, the beneficial effects of which may even go considerably further than the health domain." The report which dealt more specially with the efforts to diminish infant mortality was commended by the Assembly and a resolution was passed requesting the Council, after having obtained the Health Committee's advice on these different suggestions for co-operation with Latin American countries to consider how they may be put into practice."

The Assembly noted with satisfaction and gratitude the offer made by the Italian Government to establish at Rome under the auspices of the League of Nations an educative International Cinematograph Institute and requested the Council to take decisive

steps about it in consultation particularly with the International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation.

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM.

Major Elliot of the British Empire delegation, who presented the report on the work for the establishment of Bulgarian Refugees and had it approved by the Assembly, was in an enviable position inasmuch as he could say: "We are now at the beginning of the stage of accomplishment. There has not been so far time for very great accomplishments in the way of actual settlements. But the work is now *entrain* and relations have been established. The money has been found—two and a quarter million pounds sterling—and therefore there is every reason to hope that the rapporteur who takes my place at the next meeting of the Assembly will be able to report, not merely that preparations have been begun, as I am able to tell you to-day, but that an actual serious beginning of the work has been made and that real steps have been taken towards the settlement of this very difficult question. Dr. Nansen, the High Commissioner for Refugees, was not, however, in the same fortunate position. In an address to the Assembly on the question of Armenian Refugees he had to admit: "After much work and various vain attempts to find the necessary support, I have come to the conclusion that the right thing for me to do was to propose to the Council that the connection of the League of Nations with the scheme to settle the refugees in Erivan should now be ended." The proposal has not, however, been accepted by the Council who have created a new situation by unanimously desiring that a new appeal should be sent out to all the members of the League to give the necessary money to carry out the scheme. In a spirited appeal which he made on behalf of the Armenian refugees (to whose pitiable condition I myself can bear witness, having visited their camps in the outskirts of Aleppo and Athens), Dr. Nansen asked: "Do the governments of Western Europe remember the nameless horrors through which the remains of an ancient people have had to pass? Let them at least remember that during the war their governments undertook that when peace was restored an Armenian State should be created and that a national home should be set up in which the survivors of the Armenian people could work out a happier destiny for themselves. These pledges were sealed by the shedding of rivers of Armenian blood but nothing has been done, nothing of any kind to carry them out." "The Council of the League has taken a new initiative", he added; "do not let it be another empty hope held out to the Armenians, to be followed by a new and still graver disappointment."

THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE.

The Polish delegate, M. Gliwic, who was the rapporteur of the Economic Committee, in presenting his report, dwelt upon the preparation and groundwork of the International Economic Conference mainly, and appealed to all governments to send duly authorised representatives to the diplomatic conference to be held at Geneva next month. The work of the Conference itself was the subject of the speech of M. Loucheur of the French delegation and he won the Assembly's approbation for it. The Conference, he said, was a result of the economic distress which was prevalent in 1925 when it was proposed, of the post-war conditions, and of the over-industrialisation which had taken place in certain countries. The questions taken up in that Conference covered the three great fields of enterprise, commerce, industry, and agriculture, of which perhaps the first was the important work done. Here the question was no longer that of free trade but of the freedom of trade on account of the disastrous competition in tariffs

which was almost as grave as the former competition in armaments. The need for the simplification of tariffs and for the unification of customs nomenclature and the need for stability in commercial treaties were the main points treated in the commercial section of the Economic Conference. In the industrial section rationalisation and the international question of industrial cartels came in for examination. The danger of rationalisation was standardisation with the consequent unemployment among other things and in the matter of international industrial understanding in which the Conference could not do much, the possibilities of price rises, and the danger that they might lead to monopolies in raw materials were the questions to be tackled. In the field of agriculture it was notable that at this Conference the subject was placed on the same footing as commerce and industry. The consideration of the whole question of the two diverse policies which may be characterised on the one hand as the American (high wages and low production costs) and on the other as the European (low production costs and wages kept at the same time within low limits) policy, represented the part of the work still undone. On this subject many and long were the speeches made and an outstanding suggestion came from M. Jouhaux of the French delegation. "The great problem before Europe is to create the consuming market which she needs. I believe the central and essential problem to be the promotion of the consuming power of the masses by following the policy of high wages and low production costs". It need hardly be added that he represented the interests of the working classes.

POLITICS AGAIN.

Among many other interesting topics which the Assembly considered successively in the closing week of its session such as Greek Loan, the report of the Mandatory Commission, the report of the International Commission on Intellectual Co-operation, etc., were the question of the building of the permanent home of the League, and the trilogy of arbitration, security and disarmament. The first of these questions had a bearing on politics within the League and the second on the politics with which the League had to deal, and a touch of politics enlivened the proceedings once again, but fortunately, unlike the earlier part of the session, by being followed with a note of hopefulness throughout. The discussion as regards the buildings was characterised by all the weakness of parliamentary procedure and brought only a frank rebuke from a member of the Australian delegation who, subject to the presidential ruling, wished to declare his own impression of excessive talking done at Geneva. The Paul-Boncour (French) proposal as regard disarmament, which was finally grafted to Dutch and German suggestions is that the League should undertake and advocate the conclusion of pacts of security and arbitration to give nations the feeling of confidence which must precede disarmament. Lord Onslow's amendment provided that the nations will have full discretion regarding their reply when they are asked to furnish information to the League concerning their armaments. Indeed, they need reply only if they cared. The Assembly in the end passed a five-barrelled resolution on disarmament of which, in spite of the diplomatic enthusiasm displayed, it is safe to predict that the outcome will be meagre, or, to put it in other words, an equally mighty and impressive verbal reconsideration of the entire problem. It would be wrong to conceal the note of anxiety with which the Assembly closed on account of Herr Stresemann's second speech on disarmament and his outspoken support to President Hindenburg's speech at Tannenberg repudiating Germany's war guilt.

REVIEW SECTION.

JAPANESE IMPERIALISM.

THE NEW KOREA. By ALLEYNE IRELAND. (G. P. Dutton & Co., New York.) 1926, 9 x 6. pp. xii, 352. \$ 5.

THIS survey of the Japanese administrative system in Korea was written to supply a long felt need in comparative colonial policy. Twenty years ago, as students of colonial government will remember, Mr. Alleyne Ireland published some useful volumes on Tropical Colonization and British Administration in the Far East (Burma, Malaya, etc.). It was his intention to follow up these with a volume on Japanese Colonial Administration in Formosa, but the Russo-Japanese war intervened and the study has been delayed until quite recently. He has now selected Korea, the largest and most populous of Japanese colonial possessions, instead of Formosa, where the inhabitants are relatively more backward. Written in Mr. Ireland's effective style and with the benefit of his large experience in the Far East, the book presents for the first time in English a detailed, though biased, account of the aims, methods and results of Japanese administration in Korea. The author freely admits that all his materials are one-sided and drawn mainly from official sources supplemented by his personal observations.

Mr. Ireland, it may be recalled, belongs to the school of Benjamin Kidd, and firmly believes in the mission of the Anglo-Saxon races of civilizing the rest of mankind; though he now condescendingly admits the claims of Japanese for the same self-appointed mission in Asia, Africa and Oceania. The author, after discussing the ethics of imperialism in the first chapter, enthusiastically concludes that "Korea is to-day infinitely better governed than it ever was under its own native rulers, that it is better governed than most self-governing countries (presumably including his own, i. e., the U.S.A.), that it is as well governed as any of the British, American, French, Dutch and Portuguese dependencies which I have visited and is better governed than most of them, having in view as well the cultural and economic development of the people as the technique of administration". When he arrived at this conclusion, the author fails to take into account the harmful land laws enabling the Japanese colonization of Korean lands, the discriminatory policy against the Korean people and officials, the attempts at Japanisation of the Koreans, and finally the needless severity and ruthless cruelty which was resorted to by the Japanese in putting down the Korean Nationalist movement.

The second and third chapters deal with descriptive and historical material, other chapters discuss the machinery of central and local government, education, public health and sanitation, etc. More than a third of the book deals with the economic development of Korea under Japanese rule and the author approvingly eulogizes the good work of Japan in Korea, without taking into account some of

the harmful effects of Japanese economic policy in Korea which were prominently pointed out by the foreign missionaries in Korea and other critics of Japanese policy. The author praises the machinery of government established by Japan, and he glosses over such facts as the cost of the police and military systems. The total cost of the police force maintained in Korea amounted in 1924 to about 23 million yen out of the 33 million yen set against the budget item "Local offices of the Government-General" and that for a population of only 17 million people. As against this 23 million yen of police expenditure, only 3 million yen from central revenues and another 3 million yen from local revenues or a total of 6 million yen was spent on education. It is only a year ago that a University was sanctioned for Korea, with a view to preventing the Korean students from going abroad or even to Japan, as the Japanese are very suspicious of foreign returned Korean students who have proved to be in the past leaders of the Korean Nationalist movement. All this does not prove Mr. Ireland's contention that Korea is infinitely better governed than any self-governing country or any other European colony. Which self-governing country spends so much on police relatively to education or public health? It is no doubt true, the colony is more economically governed as the civil services in general are paid less than in any European colony, though even here the Japanese civilian gets overseas allowance and a more handsome pension than in other dependencies. Prior to 1919, Koreans were not admitted to the higher civil posts and principalships of certain schools, and even now they are admitted on lesser pay for the same kind of work, as is the case in India and other European colonies.

Of the Korean Independence movement, Mr. Ireland rightly says that there is absolutely no possibility of Korean independence being reached by the road of revolt. The Koreans cannot drive the Japanese out of the country as the efforts of 1919 proved conclusively. The author adds that if the cause of Korean independence were espoused by any nation powerful enough to create a serious threat to the Japanese occupancy, the first move made to carry out that threat would, without question, plunge Asia into war overnight and would bring the rest of the world into the struggle within a month. There is only one possibility according to him of an independent Korea. That is, if at some future time the League of Nations or some similar association of powers should prescribe a universal surrender of all colonial dependencies to their native inhabitants, Korea would be one of Japan's contributions to the general settlement. But Mr. Ireland knows too well that such a general settlement is too remote a possibility, as long as men of his way of thinking write books propagating the manifold benefits of imperialism. He concludes by saying that the future of Korea lies in one of two directions:—It may become

an integral part of the Japanese political system, sending elected representatives to the Imperial Diet in Tokyo; or again it may eventually be given Dominion Home Rule within the Japanese Empire.

Mr. Ireland might have pointed out, however, that Japan has no present intention of letting Korea ever go out of its control, because most Japanese feel (as the British feel about Ireland) that Korea in foreign hands or even as a hostile independent country cannot fail to be a source of danger to the security of Japan, as she was in the past. Like most imperialists, Mr. Ireland counsels the Koreans "to co-operate with the Japanese in building up the cultural and economic conditions favourable on the one hand to the granting, and on the other to the successful use, of local self-government."

As Mr. St. Nihal Singh points out, Japan is both hated and feared by nations of the West with possessions in the East; she is feared because she is credited with an ambition of dominating Asia to a degree even greater than that to which it is now dominated. In all places where the West dominates the East, Japan is being charged with cherishing secret designs to oust Europe and America (from Java, Indo-China, Straits Settlements and Hongkong and the Philippines) and to substitute herself in their place. Her past policy in Korea, China and Manchuria lends support to this view, and even makes her forfeit Asia's goodwill, which she has enjoyed up till now. Hence the Singapore naval base and the abandonment of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

If Japan wishes to regain the confidence and good-will of all Asia and set an example to Europe, she must inaugurate as an earnest a new policy in Korea whereby she may enable and equip Koreans to govern themselves within a measurable distance of time, for after all the Koreans (17 millions of them) more or less belong to the same racial stock as the Japanese and had been in the past the preceptors of Japan. It was in fact Korea that first introduced Chinese classics, religion and philosophy into Japan and brought civilization to the doors of Japan. Sheer gratitude as well as a policy of enlightened self-interest demands that Japan should release Koreans from their bondage and equip them for autonomy. Will Japan do it and prove true to the great teachings of Buddha and thus set a shining example to the nations of Europe? If she does, the renaissance of Asia is an accomplished fact.

V. SHIVA RAM.

BALDWIN'S ADDRESSES.

ON ENGLAND AND OTHER ADDRESSES.

By STANLEY BALDWIN. (Philip Allan & Co. Ltd., London.) 1926. 9 x 5½. pp. xii, 275. 12s. 6d. SPEAKING in 1924 at the Cambridge Union against the danger of rhetoric, Mr. Baldwin prefaced his remarks by saying that he had never been a rhetorician or an orator, and he attributed the fact to his having read as a boy Froude's description of oratory as the harlot of the arts. He then argued, with eloquence Froude-wise, how the fatal gift has been responsible

for more bloodshed in the world than all the guns and explosives that ever have been invented, clinching his reply with the observation that "it is not necessarily the man most fluent of speech to whom we should entrust the destinies of the country." Mr. Baldwin did not say that eloquence of a high order was a disqualification for the office of statesman. Should it, however, be deemed as such, Mr. Baldwin, in spite of his ease and fluency, is not subject to it. Not that he has not genuine eloquence at command when he warms to his theme, but that plain, unadorned language is with him partly the effect of deliberate choice and partly of temperament. This is what we should expect from the head of an old-established hardware factory—but not perhaps from one so closely related on the mother's side to Rudyard Kipling.

It may be said that few politicians in England have realized to the same degree as Mr. Baldwin the saying of that Cambridge historian and divine, Dr. Figgis, that "in regard to truth, the more one reads of man's notions about the meaning and method of civil society, the more often is one inclined in despair to say that truth has as little to do with politics as it has with most politicians." Mr. Baldwin never tires of exhorting his audience to moralize public life by reducing the area of casuistry and duplicity. In the course of his learned Rectorial Address at Edinburgh (1925), crammed with quotations from varied sources, he says: "The difference between the Greek sophist and the modern demagogue, it is said, consists in this: the one displays his ingenuity by appearing to prove that which his hearers knew to be false, the other displays it by appearing to prove that which his hearers wish to be true. It is the business of the universities to change all this, and they are doing it." Endowed with detachment and independence of judgment, Mr. Baldwin scorns the idols of the market-place, and, as politician, is resolved, so far as his light permits, not to swell the volume of sophistry of which he considers politics to be the breeding ground. While he knows the tremendous power that words have in unsluicing pent-up floods of emotion, he is more keenly alive to the havoc wrought by the debased currency of loose language. The self-control this consciousness imposes on Mr. Baldwin does not always tend to invest his language with a serene and classic beauty. Their frequent baldness may not enable his addresses to withstand time's fell teeth. In this same weighty address on "Truth and Politics" the ideas instead of flowing in a fine transition seem to partake of the character of Baconian jottings.

But there are themes that thaw the ice and make the crystal fountain flow, when the speaker becomes something of an orator *malgré lui*. For listen to him when fired by the burning passion for the classics, which he shares with other distinguished sons of Oxford. From the terrace of a Florentine villa, he happened to hear a bell so sweet that it thrilled him with a nameless joy and evoked echoes from his innermost heart. It was an English bell, he was told later, which had been brought into Italy at the time of the Reformation; and there, in the lovely valley of the Arno, "after four centuries it stirred the heart of a wandering Englishman and made him sick for home. Thus the chance word of a Latin inscription, a line in the anthology, a phrase of Horace, or a chorus-ending of Euripides' plucks at the heart-strings and stirs a thousand memories subconscious and ancestral."

Then again the two speeches on Industrial Peace have a Sinaitic ring about them, at the end of one of which Mr. Baldwin utters the solemn warning: "England! Steady! Look where you are going! Human hands were given to clasp, and not to

be raised against one another in fratricidal strife." But his actual steering of the coal crisis did not assure many thoughtful men in England of his constructive statesmanship.

Of Shropshire extraction, Mr. Baldwin is not merely English, but typically Salopian in his love of the countryside. As he strides along on the downs with his cherry-wood pipe in full blast you could not tell him from Hodge. In his simple pleasures and homespun character he is racy of the soil, an Englishman to the marrow in the best sense of the term. The long memories of the race sleeping in his blood suddenly wake up into song as it were at the close of his address on England, when he dwells on her glad sights and sounds. The passage in spite of its length compels quotation:—

"The sounds of England, the tinkle of the hammer on the anvil in the country smithy, the corncrake on a dewy morning, the sound of the scythe against the whetstone, and the sight of a plough team coming over the brow of a hill, the sight that has been seen in England long after the Empire has perished and every works in England has ceased to function, for centuries the one eternal sight of England. The wild anemones in the woods in April, the last load at night of hay being drawn down a lane as the twilight comes on, when you can scarcely distinguish the figures of the horses as they take it home to the farm, and above all, most subtle, most penetrating and most moving, the smell of wood smoke coming up in an autumn evening, or the smell of the scutch fires: that wood smoke that our ancestors, tens of thousands years ago, must have caught on the air when they were coming home with the result of the day's forage, when they were still nomads, and when they were still roaming the forest and the plains of the continent of Europe. These things strike down into the very depths of our nature, and touch chords that go back to the beginning of time and the human race, but they are chords that with every year of our life sound a deeper note in our innermost being."

In this address we hear also a note which is not altogether pleasing. As an unqualified panegyric on the English character—Baldwin himself likes 'England' and 'English,' and, dislikes 'Britain' and 'British'—this lecture contains enough national self-complacency to task and bring the sweat to the brow of a dozen Bernard Shaws. The rhapsody of national self-admiration bores us, whether it comes from an Indian or from an Englishman. It is then that we feel that "patriotism is not enough" Here and elsewhere Mr Baldwin mentions with approbation the English schoolboy's resistance to the efforts of the schoolmaster to put ideas into him. "Englishmen let the body grow undisturbed by mental storms, until they get into their early twenties, and then they go out into the world able to graft the sane mind on the sane body." We believe in the development of body and mind *pri passu*, but not in the absolute postponement of mental to bodily excellence. The best reply and antidote to Baldwin's address is G. S. Street's essay (published in 1902) on the "Persistence of Youth." We will only quote a sentence or two from Street: "Englishmen have the intolerance of schoolboys for ideas not traditional and familiar to themselves and the pride of school boys in their own ignorance... they feel instinctively that brains make a man grow old and are determined to avoid them accordingly." When we think of the self-sufficiency and woodenness of the average Englishman, confident in the infallibility of his own wisdom, we feel that there is much force in the shafts of satirists.

The other addresses in this volume are all interesting, but lack weight of subject matter and distinction of style that will preserve them from the mildew of time. But the generous commonplaces sown in them are the utterances of a man marked by deep-seated moral and spiritual earnestness. Nor could his charity be hidden—the charity of the man who ignored with genial indifference Lord Birkenhead's jeers at his "second class brains" and invited him into the Cabinet. Indeed Mr. Baldwin is a stranger to personal enmity and personal ambition; jealousy can never come within hailing distance of him. Sincerity is another pervading charm in these speeches. Speaking at the annual dinner of the London Teachers' Association, he said: "Forty years ago all the King's horses and all the King's men would have failed to have drawn me into the presence of a company of schoolmasters and in relation to them I once had every qualification as a passive resister and a practiser of very skilled *ca' canny*." As leader of the Conservative Party Mr. Baldwin has the "cross-bencher" mind which makes him often indistinguishable from a Liberal. Among his early friends one was a shepherd and another was a workman; and he says: "with such friends of one's childhood, it is little wonder that one learned a profound sympathy for the common man, of whom I am one, which has never deserted me and never will." A good man undoubtedly, but not a great statesman, for his moves are incalculable.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.

PRISON REFORM.

THE CONVICT OF TO-DAY. By SYDNEY A. MOSELEY. (Cecil Palmer, London.) 1927. 7¾ × 5. pp. xii, 237. 6s.

PUNISHMENT AND PERSONALITY. By HAROLD BEGBIE. (Mills & Boon, Ltd., London.) 1927. 7¾ × 5. pp. 126. 5s.

BOTH these books, published almost simultaneously, attack the same problem, the English Prison System, and cover much the same ground. The major part of each book is concerned with the record of impressions received from visiting particular institutions, of which five are identical. These two publications, however, differ in value. The *Convict of To-day* is by far the better book. The author is well versed in his subject as he is already well-known for the statement of his views on the Borstal system. His outlook is sanely wide. He realises the immense difficulties of the whole problem. Humanitarianism minus discipline spells 'sloppy sentimentalism'. The mean between that and iron militarism has to be gained if the prisoner's ultimate reformation is to be achieved. Mr. Moseley is not content with narrating the story of a series of visits paid to English prisons. He considers not only the point of view of the average visitor full of ignorant prejudices but that of the prison governor, the servant of the Home Office and of the prisoner himself. He realises the problematical depth of the situation and is content to fling out statements of constructive worth as well as of cogent criticism. It is in the four concluding chapters particularly that Mr. Moseley brings his readers face to face with reality when he discusses the main causes of crime, especially habitual crimes, the value of capital punishment and the criminal point of view.

Mr. Begbie's book—'Punishment and Personality'—on the other hand is of only a questionable value. It suffers from its method of compilation as in reality it is nothing more than a string of reprinted press articles on English prisons. An at-

tempt has been made by the addition of preface and concluding chapter to give to the whole a unity of force. The reader, however, notes a certain inconsistency in theory between the later additions and original sketches and wholeheartedly agrees that the very title is a misnomer, as feared by the author in his introductory sentence. The theory of punishment is left in complete abeyance and the author's attempt to analyse the bases of human personality and its needs is restricted to some rather superficial remarks in the concluding chapter. The idea, at the back of the mind of the author is of great value but needs much greater depth in expression. Mr. Begbie realises rightly that we cannot continue the reorganisation of our prisons on reformatory lines unless we know more about human psychology. He advocates strongly a greater use of experimental psychology and shows what driving force lies in the Christian ideal, given a complete revolution in the methods of religious instruction at present allowed in the average prison. Apart from this line of argument adopted in the concluding pages, the reader is left to grapple with a series of personal impressions interlarded with a few random ideas flung out at intervals and left hanging in space.

Both authors, however, in certain respects attain similar conclusions but in every respect the greater force of argument is to be found in Mr. Moseley's book. First, both writers deplore the lack of any unified theory as to the best means of prison management. Much is really left to the particular prison governor and much is said for the wise, humane response generally made. Both books also exemplify the great progress achieved in the present century to humanise the work on reformatory lines. Punishment either as a deterrent or as a means of retribution belongs to the old order. (Mr. Moseley, however, argues for the retention of the capital sentence and some of his readers will probably disagree, being aware of the many instances in European countries during the past few years—where its abolition has not led to an increase in crime.) "Training is the great plank in the platform of reform." This training has to be one of body, mind and spirit and emphasis is laid on the necessity of combining kindness with discipline in order to restore the lost sense of self-respect and personal responsibility. Both authors also agree that something must be done to lessen the number of apparent (but uncertified) mental defectives being retained within prison walls but neither fling out any concrete proposals of reform. Opinion in both books is also unanimous on the need of still greater classification. Juvenile remand cases still go to Wandsworth prison: Borstal revokeses still herd beneath the same Wormwood Scrubs roof as adult first offenders. The problem of the woman criminal is also shown up in both books as being something far more difficult and complex than that of the more simple male. Finally both writers concur that neither can the Prison Commissioners be attacked on the score of either brutalising harshness or of undue leniency. A reforming policy is shown to be in the air of nine-tenths of the institutions visited and even where, as at Camp Hill, conditions have been most ameliorated it has always to be remembered that no mere amelioration can make up for liberty once lost.

'The Convict of To-day' is undoubtedly the more valuable book. Not only does the reader draw first-hand information about ten of the best known English prisons but interesting information of a more general type is often sandwiched in. This is especially manifest in the discussion of the problem of the recidivist or habitual offender. The reader learns that owing to social reform in the world outside and the improved methods of discipline within

the gaol the type of criminal handled seems far less hardened than that of a previous generation. Mr. Begbie again and again emphasises the preponderance of an unreclaimable type of prisoner and seems to adopt the old exploded theory of the boon criminal with the criminal physique. Mr. Moseley on the contrary points out that if prison reform is started outside the prison walls and continued beyond it afterwards, the incidence of habitual crime must decrease rapidly. Improved social conditions and improved methods of treating the juvenile delinquent will prevent much of the manufacture of criminals occurring to-day. Improved after-care on the other hand will safeguard the chances against a man's return to prison—once the human touch and fellowship of a helping hand have enabled him to surmount the circumstances, a harsh, unkindly world permits. The responsibility therefore for much of the deplored recidivism rests not on the shoulders of the Prison Commissioners and their management of prisons but on the ordinary citizens outside, who only take an interest in the potential criminal *after* he has fallen and who do little, if anything, on his emergence from prison to help forward his reabsorption into ordinary society.

Only in one particular does this book by Mr. Moseley lack strength and that is in its silence on the lessons to be learnt from psychology as regards both the basic needs of the average criminal and the best way he can be met by a reformed prison regime. Only by means of a greater depth of study in abnormal psychology can a sound unified policy of prison administration be achieved.

In conclusion it may be said that no student of social reform can fail to be interested in this book. Not only has the author helped to dissipate misconceptions current regarding prison management, but he has flung out many helpful suggestions for its future reform. Where censure is merited as in the case of a foreign female detenué locked in Holloway Gaol it is unfailingly given. Where praise is deserved as for the faithful service of many prison governors, warders and voluntary teachers and visitors it is unstintingly granted and it is to the heroic volunteer group in particular to whom the book is dedicated. As for the author's general impression, we can but fall back on his own words. "As for me," he writes at the end of chapter 15, "I am content in my belief that every effort is being made by the authorities to speed up any necessary reforms and I, therefore, think that the attitude of the public should be one of complete confidence in and encouragement of, the prison authorities generally."

M. KATHERINE DAVIS.

DIAGNOSIS OF MONETARY ILLS.

CREDIT AND CURRENCY—NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL. By WALTER WOODLIFE. (P. S. King & Son., Ltd., London.) 1927. 8¾ × 5½. pp. xxiv, 178. 8s. 6d.

THIS represents an attempt to diagnose the monetary ills from which the world is suffering and to devise a remedy that will be at once sound, practicable and universal. While the attempt will command the sympathy of enquirers, agreement will be difficult with respect to details in the author's diagnosis and his remedy. According to the author, the Bank Charter Act of 1844 destroyed for England the free market in gold as a metal, money ceased to be 'the handmaid of commerce' and became lord paramount of production, exchange and every phase of human activity, it ceased to be the representative of commodity credit and itself became a commodity to be

bought and sold as a means of individual enrichment at the cost of the community at large. The author thus has no sympathy with those who will acquiesce in a gold standard, nor has he any sympathy with those who, like Mr. Keynes, comment upon the inequity of a currency that fails to maintain a constant relation to commodity prices. Indeed he insists that the price current is necessarily a variant and what is wanted is that the unit of measurement must be a constant and that, prior to the passing of the Bank Charter Act in 1844, the metal value of a coin might vary as circumstances occasioned but that its value was constant.

If this is so, the obvious conclusion would be for England at least to repeal the obnoxious Act of 1844 and to revert to the good old days, when money was money "an overhead carrier of values in the commercial factory," and was not an engine of oppression it developed into. The author, however, elaborates a scheme of introducing an international unit of the ascertained weight of pure gold representing the price of four bushels of wheat of standard weight and utilising the machinery of the League of Nations for the purpose of working it.

While we may not enter into the merits of the scheme, it may be readily conceded that the monetary troubles have done considerable mischief to finance and industry in all countries. But who will bell this cat? Surely not the League of Nations mouse. Indeed the League of Nations actually elaborated a scheme of its own in 1922, under the inspiration and guidance of a distinguished financier, none other than Sir Basil Blackett, who since has been ruling the destinies of India in the region of finance and currency. The response, however, of the various continental currencies to the scheme was an incontinent depreciation.

The author, however, disarms criticism by suggesting that the League of Nations will have in that case to be in reality 'the League of Nations' and will have to be reconstituted on lines less befitting a composition between victors and vanquished inspired by the sense of injuries received. The author has our sympathy.

P. B. JUNNARKAR.

NIGERIAN DAYS.

NIGERIAN DAYS. By A. C. C. HASTINGS. (John Lane The Bodley Head, Ltd., London.) 1927. pp. 255. 12s. 6d.

THIS interesting book is a record of hard pioneer work in opening up the Nigeria Colony on the West Coast of Africa. The author who was for nineteen years a political officer describes vividly the conditions and customs that prevailed in the country at the time of his taking up the appointment in 190 . It is full of exciting adventures and encounters with cannibals and beasts. The book narrates the story of how those territories were won for civilization without shedding a drop of blood. The unassuming manner in which the author describes his accomplishments of a great mission is praiseworthy. There is nothing of the American arrogance and egoism of "we won the war" kind. The author ends by saying: "There is no race which can beat the British in handling natives. We don't go out to their countries with entirely altruistic motives, no one does. We have our own country's interests to serve. But where we score is that we believe in keeping up the native's end, and

helping the under-dog in fight." The author believes that Nigeria has a great possibility and bright future.

S. A. WAIZ.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE NEW COLONIAL POLICY.** By HELMER KEY. (Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 214.
- THE RIDDLE OF THE IRISH.** By J. C. MOLONY. (Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 248. 7s. 6d.
- THE ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF THE EMPIRE.** By T. WORSWICK. (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd. London.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 167.
- DELPHOS: THE EUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE.** By E. S. PANKHURST. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London.) 1927. 6½ × 4½. pp. 95. 2s. 6d.
- WHERE IS CIVILISATION GOING?** By SCOTT NEARING. (Vanguard Press, New York.) 1927. 7¼ × 4½. pp. 110.
- INFORMATION ON THE PROBLEM OF SECURITY, 1917-1926.** By WHEELER BENNET & LANGERMANN. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1927. 9 × 6. pp. 243. 10s. 6d.
- THE LIFE OF GOTAMA, THE BUDDHA.** By E. H. BROWSTER. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. London.) 1926. 8½ × 5½. pp. 243. 10s. 6d.
- ACROSS ARCTIC AMERICA.** By KNUD RASMUSAM. (G. F. Putnam's Sons, New York.) 1927. 9½ × 6½. pp. 388. 2s.
- PRIMITIVE TRADE: ITS PSYCHOLOGY AND ECONOMICS.** By ELIZABETH E HOYT. (Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., Ltd., London.) 1926. 8½ × 5½. pp. 191. 7s. 6d.
- NATIONAL CHARACTER AND ITS FACTORS IN ITS FORMATION.** By ERNEST BARKER. (Methuen & Co. Ltd., London.) 1927. 2 × 5½. pp. 288.
- ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES.** By B. C. LAW. (Motilal Banarsidas, Lahore.) 1926. 8½ × 5½. pp. 191.
- JAPANESE TRAITS AND FOREIGN INFLUENCES.** By INAZO NITOE. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London.) 1927. 8½ × 6. pp. 216.
- BOMBAY INDUSTRY: THE COTTON MILLS.** By S. M. RUTNAGUR. (The Indian Textile Journal, Ltd., Bombay.) 1927. 10½ × 7. pp. 744. Rs. 20.

PLEASE ALWAYS REMEMBER

the name and the address to order Ayurvedic medicines or to take medical advice.

Vidyanadi Kaviraj Bholanath Sastri, Bhisagacharya Kavi-Chintamani Jotishalankar, Renowned Physician of India and Senior Raj-Vaid, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar. Specialist for pthisis, chronic fevers, consumption, dyspepsia or acid dyspepsia, nervous debility and other diseases peculiar to males and females. Successfully treating the eyes and uric diseases.

Each and every communication strictly confidential.

Secretary.

Keep in Touch With
Greater India in the Colonies.

ASK FOR

The African Comrade.
THE MOST WIDELY-READ INDIAN NEWSPAPER.
The Best Medium for Advertisements.

Annual Subscription 20s.

Apply to P. O. Box 38, DAR-ES-SALAAM. (T. T.