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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

MUCH has happened during this week to make us

The industrial unrest. despair of allaying the industrial unrest all over India. In Bombay the reply of the Millowners has failed to satisfy the leaders of labour of either

section and many of the workers have already left for their homes. The coroner's verdict in the inquest held over the body of a worker killed in the recent firing, exonerating the police officer concerned, has added to the ill-feeling among the workers. The strictures passed by the Magistrate in the Bhamungachee firing case ought to be a warning to the police to exercise the right with the greatest caution and self-restraint. The G. I. P. Railway workers' threat to strike, if their demands are not conceded within eight days, is also ominous and likely to lead to serious stoppage of communications if it materializes. We hope that the workers would try other methods of settlement before they resort to the last weapon of a strike. ●

Dr. Besant and Mr. Kirk have raised a strong protest against the acceptance of financial assistance from Moscow by the Bombay Textile Labour Union. We think however that Mr. N. M. Joshi's explanation ought to satisfy everybody. In the first

place, he says that the money was not solicited; in the second place, as long as the money is given without imposing any conditions and is in any case used for proper purposes and not for riot and bloodshed, there is no objection in his opinion to make use of it, and in this opinion all reasonable persons will concur. In fact those who have such a dread of Communism should be glad that by some of the Communist money being diverted to good purposes, the Red movement is left with less resources for mischief.

We are glad to learn that the G. I. P. Railway Staff Union have decided to formulate their grievances and wait till the December Conference of workers is held, before taking any direct action. But so far as the Mill strike in Sholapur is concerned it requires careful handling. The general Conference of the G. I. P. Railway Employees' Union can hardly be credited with much diplomacy or wisdom judging from their ill-assorted Resolution.

The recent news from Calcutta of the workers' hooliganism and attack on police officers is hardly calculated to raise the workers in the estimation of their countrymen. In contrast to this, the behaviour of the locked out workers in Jamshedpur has been remarkably peaceful. The only moral we can draw from all these outbursts of ill-will is that unless the employees set about seriously to remove the just grievances of the workers in a spirit of good-will the common weal may suffer untold harm in years to come.

* * *

IT is clear from the English papers received by last mail that the boycott of the Simon Commission is making itself felt there. In fact there appears to be a clearer perception of the realities of the situation now than a little while ago when it was complacently believed that by the time the Commission returned to India in October, the boycott would have crumbled to pieces. But we are not sure that the motives underlying the boycott are seen equally clearly. E. g. the *New Statesman* still seems to think that the boycott was organised as a means of bringing responsible government for this country nearer. It may be stated categorically none of the boycotters entertain that belief. Their attitude of non-cooperation with the Commission is really an expression of protest against the national insult implied in the exclusion of Indians from the personnel of the Commission. It is

to be hoped that it will be regarded in that light. It should also be realised that the only basis on which the boycott can be called off is the appointment of an adequate number of Indians to the Commission on terms of absolute equality with the white ones. Much is naturally being made in England of the fact that two, and not three as seems to be supposed, provincial councils had decided upon co-operation; and the recent passage by the Panjab Council without any discussion whatsoever of the Government motion for the election of a Committee to collaborate with the Commission is also sure to be looked upon as a feather in the official cap. But it would be wrong to infer from this that the general public is now less hostilely disposed to the Commission as at present constituted.

* * *

THE Conference of the subjects of Bhor State held last week has once again drawn the Chiefsahab's attention to the desirability of establishing representative institutions in the State. The demand has lost none of its force by reason of the existence for some weeks past of what is called a Council. This consists of the State officials and cannot be trusted to represent faithfully public opinion in the State. It meets behind closed doors and its proceedings are a sealed book to the public. It can therefore never do duty for a properly constituted legislative council, from which the present Council differs as white from black. When the present ruler took up the reins of administration he spoke sympathetically about the popular demands and only asked for time to think out how to give them practical effect. Six years have gone by without anything being done in that direction and no one can say how many more will go by before the Chiefsahab's promised reforms see the light. But the least that he can do in the meantime is to fix a civil list for himself upon which the Viceroy laid so much stress in his address to the Princes' Chamber, of which the ruler of Bhor is a member. Then there are loud complaints which find expression at successive conferences that the judiciary and magistracy are scandalously corrupt. Now we have no intention of making the problem look less difficult than it really is. What all reasonable people will expect of the Chiefsahab is evidence of an unmistakable desire on his part to do everything in his power to root out the evil. Something might also be done to democratise local bodies of which there are but very few in the State and which are hardly distinguishable from State departments. Sir Leslie Wilson visited the State last week, and eulogised his host's solicitude for the welfare of his subjects. This was what common courtesy demanded; but if he had taken the least trouble to find out what the public thought of the present régime we are sure he would have been more sparing in his praise of the Chiefsahab.

* * *

THE dissatisfaction with the Princes' scheme formulated in their recent Bombay Conference is shown by Mr. Manilal "Princes' scheme". Kothari's statement to the press recently made. He thinks it unfair to the people affected by the scheme that its full details are not published. The first proposal of the Princes is the formation of a body called the 'Viceroy in Indian States in Council' which will discuss the treaty rights of the Princes and their relations with the paramount power. The claim of the Princes to have direct relations with the Crown, Mr. Kothari regards as devoid of historical and legal basis and if realized would lead to a situation of great difficulty. It would in his opinion isolate the

people of the States from the people of British India. With regard to the treaties Mr. Kothari thinks that as they were entered into when the affairs of the country were in an unsettled condition, they should not be binding now. From the legal point of view, this appears to us a strange doctrine. Till such time as they are revised and remodelled, they must be regarded as binding. Although Mr. Kothari appreciates the Resolution affirming the Princes' determination to ensure the reign of law in their States and to promote the good government of their people, he thinks that the people will not feel assured until immediate steps are taken by the Princes to introduce responsible government in their territories.

The main factors of this responsible government are the separation of the Privy purse from the general revenues, making the revenues available for the welfare of the subjects and the guarantee of the elementary rights of citizenship including free speech, free press and the right of association. The most unfortunate part of this affair of the scheme of Princes, he says, is that the subjects of states who are most vitally affected by the proposed constitution have not at all been consulted. Not only that, even the States Enquiry Committee has not been authorised to record the evidence of the representatives of the subjects of the States. The people of the states accordingly would be justified in his opinion in not accepting the findings of the Butler Committee on which the voice of the seventy millions has not made itself felt. The only proper course for the people of the States according to him is to formulate their own scheme defining the place of the States in the future polity of India and canvass support for it from the people of British India.

* * *

THE *Indian Labour Review* indulges in some plain speaking about the precipitateness of the action of the Communists and Labour. We think it is rendering great service in warning labour against direct action on the slightest pretexts. The issue of May 1928 says that there is some danger at present of the creed of extreme Communism gaining adherents in India and it points to the fact that in the recent strike of textile labourers in Bombay, the sober leaders have been set aside and the Communists preferred as advisers by the rank and file of labour. The Communists, says the Editor, are out to undermine and destroy Trade Unionism. In all the recent strikes the Communists with their 'general strike' slogan have been dominant. The Indian labour movement as far as he can see would lead to Bolshevism unless the accredited leaders of the movement bestir themselves and grapple vigorously with this enemy. Communism is, he says, the very antithesis of democracy, which latter cannot tolerate the dictatorship of a few strong men supported by force. Following the example of the United Society of Boiler Makers and Shipbuilders he would like Indian Trade Unions to make a rule that no Communist should be eligible for nomination as a delegate to the Labour Party or to the Trade Union Congress. In this connection the *Review* deplors that the Nationalist Press should be so enthusiastic about Communistic propaganda. The root cause of the strikes is the present economic system which is nothing short of legalized exploitation of the workers by society itself. The *Review* recommends a thorough and impartial inquiry into this subject without further delay. If the Government were to create suitable machinery for dealing promptly with trade disputes as they arise, it thinks it would cut the ground from under the feet of extremist agitators who now openly assert that the Government are hand and glove with the employers.

REORGANISATION OF THE MEDICAL SERVICES.

THE "cardinal features" of the scheme for the reorganization of the medical services, which has now been finally adopted by Government, were thus described by Lord Birkenhead in the House of Lords on March 29, 1927: "First, the retention of the Indian Medical Service and the necessary war reserve of trained medical men; secondly, the provision of European medical attendance for European officers of the superior civil service; and, thirdly, the creation of Provincial Medical Services, recruitment for which will be carried out by the local Governments themselves." The first two of these principles are open to the gravest objection, and the official communiqué now issued will therefore cause profound discontent in the country. It appeared to us to be the saving grace of the Lee Commission's Report that it recommended the disbandment of the I.M.S. The precise method of bringing it about may not have appealed to all, but the Commission certainly gave grounds for hoping that the principal grievances of the Indians in regard to the medical services would be remedied: viz. that the needs of the Army would no longer be allowed to dominate the civil medical service and that the Indians would no longer be shut out from superior medical posts. The decision, however, to retain the I.M.S. shatters this hope. It is too late in the day to examine the argument concerning the war reserve, to which Government have recourse in defending their present policy. India must depend, with all other countries including Great Britain, for medical assistance in war time upon volunteers from the medical profession. To this it is objected that volunteers are not procurable in sufficient numbers in India, but the obvious reply is that if they are not procurable in this country, Government may as well procure them from England. The personnel of the I.M.S. is now largely British because, we are told, Indians of the necessary qualifications are not available. If Government has no hesitation to go to England in filling posts which it thinks cannot be adequately filled here, it should surely have no hesitation in securing from England the volunteers it is unable to secure in India. And as these volunteers too are paid while employed no particular difficulty need be felt. England anyhow now supplies the war reserve both for India and England, for India on the permanent service basis and for England on the volunteer basis. The only change required is that she will supply it hereafter, for both countries on the volunteer basis.

The only mitigation of the wrong done to India in retaining the I.M.S. that is now offered is that 90 of the posts hitherto reserved for the Service in the provinces will now be surrendered to the private profession. This number corresponds roughly to the figure given by the Government of India twenty years ago as capable of reduction from the I.M.S. cadre. They stated at the time that about one-third of the I.M.S. officers in civil employ did not form

part of the war reserve and that the appointments held by them could be transferred to independent practitioners. The total cadre strength of the I.M.S. at present is, we believe, 766, those in military employ being 404 and in civil employ 362. One-third of 362 is 120; and 120 officers represent 94 posts. This means that India will now be in the position which she seemed on the point of occupying in 1908, under the pressure which Lord Morley exerted at the time. But reaction again asserted itself and progress was thrown back. Although therefore the release of 90 posts from the grasp of the I.M.S. is an advance on the present state of things we should remember that it is an advance which had been promised and very nearly had been accomplished twenty years ago. In the I.M.S. itself, as reconstituted, Indian officers will be 90 out of 302. The proportion does not exceed 30%, which has already been laid down; so surely in the allocation of posts in the I.M.S. there is no special reason for congratulation.

The principle of providing European medical attendance for European officers that is now laid down is a novel one, for it has never been previously accepted by Government. And it must be resisted to the uttermost. There is certainly no justification for it, for we find several Indian medical practitioners enjoying a large practice in England and indeed some commanding the largest practice among Europeans in India. It is not therefore the case that European women object to being treated by Indian doctors. The objection would rather appear to be political. Surgeon-General Sir R. Charles expressed it thus on one occasion: "Supposing that in time of political disaffection you were in charge of a district in a dangerous state, and your medical adviser was an Indian whose political ideas were not yours. It very often happens in India that you have an unpleasant feeling in the interior, and if you call for this medical man you will probably do him an injustice, you may think he is going to poison you and say you had died of cholera. Hence I consider there should always be a leaven—and a strong leaven—of European medical men in India." It would be criminal to pander to such absurd racial prejudices, and just because the principle is being introduced now for the first time, we must offer it our most strenuous opposition. The Hindu-Moslem animosities are at times at white heat and the fear of being poisoned which Europeans entertain against Indians in times of excitement may well be entertained by Hindus against Mahomedans and *vice versa*. It would then follow that the State must undertake to provide Moslem I.M.S. officers for Moslems holding superior posts; and the same rule may be extended indefinitely. The Moslems in superior posts will any day outnumber the Europeans and their claim for medical attendance by men of their own race stands far higher than the claim of the Europeans. That 112 posts in the I.M.S. should be reserved to Europeans for no other purpose than that of furnishing medical attendance on a handful of men (they will surely be fewer than 3,000) seems

the height of absurdity. The European population in India, non-official as well as official, is only 230,000 and even if the 112 posts reserved to Europeans were meant to cater for the whole of the population, it would mean, when these figures are compared with the whole British Indian population, which is 241 millions, and the number of I. M. S. officers in civil work, which is 362 that Europeans have 400 times more officers (and of their own race to boot) to attend to their medical needs than Indians!

It should be noted that in addition to this colour line in the civil medical service the one in the military medical service remains as before. The Royal Army Medical Corps is of course open only to men of pure British extraction, and its number on the Indian establishment is no less than 284. But there is a further restriction. Not even the purely military element of the I.M.S., where possibly Indians may succeed in making entry, can minister to British Troops. These must be attended upon only by the 100% white R.A.M.C. The military I.M.S. officers, who are perhaps only 90% white, can minister to Indian Troops alone!

The newly constituted provincial medical services are however free from the colour line, for the Europeans can enter these services just as much as the Indians. No one can therefore allege that the colour line is indiscriminately drawn!

CONDONATION OF ILLEGAL ENTRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

(By an Occasional Correspondent.)

IN reply to a question in the Assembly Dr. Malan, Minister of the Interior, announced the terms of condonation of illegal Indian entrants now in the Union of South Africa. It is feared that the Transvaal Indians are not quite satisfied with them. In view of the controversy that raged, and may still rage, round this topic of condonation, it would be worth while briefly to survey the situation.

It is common ground that there are in the Union of South Africa a number of Indians who are not there legally but have come in or been introduced by fraudulent representations. The Supreme Courts in the Cape and in Natal have held that the Government are within their rights to deport such people when discovered. In the Transvaal, however, where a system of registration certificates obtains, the Supreme Court held that even if it was conclusively proved that an Indian had obtained his registration certificate fraudulently, it could not be cancelled: which meant that the Indian was entitled to continue to remain in the Transvaal. The Court justified its decision on the ground that it was unjust and a great hardship if an Indian, who had long been in the country and established business, was at that stage ordered to be deported because it was then discovered that he was introduced into the country by somebody on fraudulent representations.

In order to remove the anomaly of a fraudulent entrant being liable to deportation in the Cape and in Natal but not in the Transvaal, the Minister of the Interior introduced a section in Act 37 of 1927 taking power to cancel registration certificates "obtained by fraudulent representations made by him or on his behalf" and to deport the person concerned.

This section was not discussed at the Round Table Conference and does not form part of the Agreement, but certain members of the Indian Delegation knew of it. The South African Indian Congress, under the guidance of Mr. C. F. Andrews, did not, and would not, object to the provision on the ground that no self-respecting community could ask that fraud should go unchallenged. At the instance of the Transvaal Indians, they agreed to ask that no retrospective effect be given to Sec. 5 of the new Act. Mr. Patrick Duncan and Mr. Alexander made similar requests to the Minister. To this the Minister agreed, provided that the Indian community assured him of their co-operation in stopping further illicit entry of Indians and in carrying out the Agreement. This decision the Minister announced in the House of Assembly on the 23rd June 1927.

The next question was whether the non-retrospective effect of Sec. 5 should be secured by statute or by the administrative action of the Minister. It was feared at the time, not without good reason, that there was little chance of securing it statutorily in a House of Assembly none too friendly to the Agreement. It was also felt that since Mr. Duncan had himself asked for amnesty, there was no fear of a written promise by the present Minister being repudiated by his successor from the Opposition party. The Congress and Mr. Andrews accepted this position and endeavoured to obtain from the Indian community the promise of co-operation which the Minister desired.

The Transvaal British Indian Association, however, took a different view right through. It disapproved the Agreement for several reasons. And among them was this that Sec. 5 took away one of the vested rights of the Transvaal Indians. Subsequently when the Congress Deputation and Mr. Andrews were negotiating with the Minister at Cape Town for an amnesty for the past, the representative of the Transvaal British Indian Association (shortly BIAS) participated in them and was a consenting party to the arrangement with the Minister. On his return to the Transvaal, however, he repudiated the arrangement on behalf of the BIAS and held out for a statutory amnesty. On the alleged ground that the Congress failed to safeguard the vested interests of the Transvaal Indians, the BIAS seceded from the Congress in May 1927 and applied to the Minister to receive a separate deputation from the BIAS. The Minister promptly replied by telegraph regretting the secession as injurious to the best interests of the Indian community and declining to receive another deputation as he had already met the Congress.

The situation when Mr. Sastri arrived in the country was that all efforts made by Mr. Andrews to induce the BIAS to agree to give the promise of co-operation and join the Congress to enable it to give it on behalf of the whole community proved in vain. On the 6th July, however, the BIAS consented to give the undertaking, but would not rejoin the Congress. Thus, an amnesty which could have been effectuated immediately after the Minister's statement in the Assembly on June 23 was held up indefinitely on account of the action of the BIAS.

On Oct. 1st. the BIAS addressed the Minister independently offering to give the promise of co-operation. The Minister, however, declined to deal with more bodies than one and desired the BIAS to approach him through the Congress. Meanwhile some alleged fraudulent entrants were threatened with action under Sec. 5 and there was a growing body of opinion in the Transvaal that the Indian community should join the Congress, enable it to give the promise and secure amnesty. Ultimately these formed

themselves into the Transvaal Indian Congress and the latter got itself affiliated to the South African Indian Congress (shortly, SAIC) at the Kimberly session in the first week of Jan. 1928. Meanwhile the BIAS openly denounced the Agreement in Christmas week.

The Kimberly session of the SAIC passed a resolution offering the co-operation that the Minister desired, and appointed a special committee to negotiate the terms of condonation of illegal entrants. The Deputation met the Minister at Cape Town on the 21st of February 1928, and came out satisfied with the interview.

The terms of condonation were that all those illegal entrants who entered the country before 5th July 1924, would be condoned, provided each such person applied before 1st Oct. 1928 for such relief and furnished such information as may be required by the Immigration Officers. The justification for this limit of time was that those who entered the Union since that date would not have acquired the domicile even if they had come in legally. The Congress Deputation agreed to this date. They will have all the rights of legal entrants, except that if their wives and minor children are not already in the Union, they shall not be admitted. The Congress desired that the exception should be waived.

On the 22nd March, a month after the interview in Cape Town, the Condonation Committee of the SAIC in reply to a communication from the Department giving the final terms of condonation, re-opened the settlement and desired the Minister's decision on the representation contained in the Memorandum which they had presented to the Minister at Cape Town and which was not then pressed, that all those who have been once condoned in the past should not again be required to obtain fresh condonation. The SAIC contended that, as far as the Transvaal was concerned, the Gandhi-Smuts settlement of 1914 secured for the then resident population the right to permanent domicile. The question of illicit entry into that Province should therefore only arise after that period. The Transvaal leaders of the Congress professed that there was something like a general condonation in 1914.

The Department of the Interior readily granted the plea that those once condoned need not come up again for condonation, but denied that there was anything like a general condonation in 1914. As a matter of fact, it was in 1915 that Government offered condonation to all those who proved to the satisfaction of the Department that they had entered the Transvaal prior to 1st August 1910 three years before the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913 was passed. This concession was withdrawn in October 1916. In spite of the efforts of Mr. Polak and several others at the time, it is understood that only about 500 Indians in the whole Union took advantage of the condonation.

These facts were subsequently admitted, though reluctantly, by the Transvaal Congressmen, but they deliberately allowed the impression to go abroad that there was a general condonation in 1914. They have now threatened to denounce the condonation settlement if the line is not drawn at 1914.

The reasons for this insistence are various. It is humiliating to the heroes of the passive resistance movement and those for whom the heroes suffered so bravely to go again to the authorities and confess to having been illicit entrants and seek protection certificates. Against this must be set down the fact that there was no general condonation as a result of the Smuts-Gandhi settlement in 1914. Very few of the heroes and their admirers availed themselves of the

individual condonation offered to them in 1915. The rest remained uncondoned to this day.

Perhaps the principal reason is the question of the admission of minor boys. The present condonation scheme bars the admission of wives and minor children who are not already in the Union. This is a disability which, it is presumed, does not and should not attach to illicit entrants before 1914. Hence the desire to draw the line at 1914. The presumption, however, does not seem to be well founded. Even those who have been individually condoned have only a letter from the Minister without any reference to any statutory authority for the Minister to condone. All that that letter gives is the assurance that the Government will not proceed against them and deport them. The letter does not specifically refer to the right to introduce wives and minor children; it only allows the person concerned to continue to remain in the Transvaal. It is, therefore, arguable that these letter-holders were not promised the right to introduce their wives and minor children.

Granting, however, that the persons previously condoned are entitled to bring in their wives and minor children, it is not clear why the illegal entrants prior to 1914 should be allowed a privilege which is denied to those who entered subsequently. It is more probable that those of them who entered as long ago as 1914 and earlier would have introduced their wives and minor children, if they really wished to, long before this. It is most likely that there is a larger percentage of illicit entrants since 1914 who have not introduced their wives and minor children and who wish to do so now.

Some of those who insist on the line being drawn at 1914 do not really wish to discriminate against the illicit entrants since 1914 for this purpose. They hope that if they can show the Minister at the end of the condonation period, in October next, that the number of condoned entrants who have yet to bring in their wives and minor children is comparatively small, the Minister might be induced to relent and let them do so. For this purpose it is necessary to bring under the present condonation scheme as few persons as possible. If the number of such illicit entrants since 1914 alone is taken, they expect it will be small enough to admit of the hope.

As against these arguments the Government may argue that no justification has been offered to draw the line at 1914; that if the line were drawn, every illegal entrant, particularly in Natal and the Cape, where no system of registration certificates exists, will be tempted to plead that he entered prior to 1914 and it would be well-nigh impossible for the Department to prove to the contrary; and in so far as the request is meant to reduce the number of condoned illicit entrants who have yet to introduce their wives and minor children in the hope of inducing the Minister to admit them, it is a clumsy device to defeat the Minister's policy of limiting and reducing the Indian population in the Union.

The delaying tactics of the Transvaal Indians are partly due to a case now pending before the Transvaal Supreme Court in which one of the issues is whether Sec. 5 of the new Act can have retrospective effect. Should the Court decide in the negative, they hope the condonation scheme will automatically fall through. But it is a dangerous illusion. For the Minister might amend the Act in no time and without any difficulty. It will then be but a Pyrrhic victory and more dangerous in the event. It is far better to persuade the Minister to change his policy.

Another difficulty has cropped up in this connection. The Immigration Act of 1913 contains no section under which the Minister can condone an illicit entrant, give him permanent domicile and other

rights of a legal entrant and yet forbid him to bring in his wife and minor children. Under Sec. 25 (1) of that Act the Minister can admit anybody he likes permanently but not impose limitations, but the domicile can then only be temporary. The problem is how, without taking the risk of amending the Act, to combine the permanency of the one and the limitation of the other alternative.

LEGITIMISM.

DR. TISCHLEDER in a new work of his, reviewed on another page, declares that all "Civil Authority is founded upon and needed for the common weal, which is the supreme end of all human combination as a polity." (p. 213.). In his *Diuturnum Illud* Leo XIII had already explained that no State, no "Society can exist without an authority ruling it, and thus directing the activity of the individuals, so as to make of the multitude a unity and guiding by law and order the Many, to achieve their common weal" (p. 48) Mausbach (quoted p. 70) adds illuminatingly—so as "to transmute the mechanical juxtaposition of the Masses into the organic unity of a People and a State." This "transmutation" is something enigmatic, just as is the power of "life" which transmutes the inanimate constituent parts of a plant or animal into a "living" organism: but as real and undeniable too. But whilst the plant is composed of in the last instance inanimate constituents, the State consists of men, of free-will beings, and therefore their organization as State results in "a moral organism, which by its very nature has the faculty to will—which will—power is called civil authority," as the deputy Grober said in what has almost become a *locus classicus* when speaking before the Reichstag in 1919 on the new German Constitution. (p. 134)

Now this theory of the supremacy of the common weal of course is nothing really new, but goes back to St. Thomas Aquinas and was in fact for centuries the accepted Scholastic teaching, until J. J. Rousseau scared Catholic theologians by his "Sovereignty of the People." St Thomas based all the legitimacy of civil authority on this principle of the "common weal" and made it the norm and criterion of all its actions. This common weal therefore "is an inalienable right," as Leo XIII in so many words says (p. 226) and therefore one can speak of a Catholic doctrine of the sovereignty of the people (p. 13). Wherefore also the Belgian and German Constitutions, which contain a fundamental clause about the "sovereignty of the people" are declared to be quite in accordance with Catholic teaching, if the words are not misinterpreted in the sense of a Rousseau, according to whom it is the people who by agreeing amongst themselves to that effect (*contract social*) create civil authority. This of course is quite false and has been explicitly condemned by the Church. All authority is from God, as St. Paul already says, because it is part and parcel of the divine design underlying human nature and human activities. God, by creating man and designing his nature to be what it is, created the necessity for a civil authority, if ever a rabble is to become a polity. The people do not create the authority: but authority only exists on account of the people and it ceases to be lawful authority, the moment the persons invested with that authority do not exercise it for the only God-intended purpose, the common weal (*bonum commune*) but for their own personal interests. And this *bonum commune* is always in charge of the community which as such has to watch over it and prevent its frustration. Hence from the beginning has all civil authority always depended on the "consent of the people"—not as if the people could not unlawfully withdraw their consent, but in the sense that

the limits set to an unlawful ruler are in the nature of things the withdrawal of the consent of the people from their being rulers any longer in a manner which technically is known as "tyrannical". This right (which is merely the right of self-preservation of the Commonwealth) is inalienably vested in the Commonwealth and has been exercised, lawfully exercised, in hereditary monarchies and autocracies as much as in republics and democracies. This right is not the people's right to rule, but the people's duty to prevent misrule. The trouble in autocracies is that no peaceful and orderly machinery exists for this withdrawal of consent and therefore the ancient method of deposing a tyrant has always been tyrannicide—an extremely crude, if lawful, way to deal with the situation and one which obviously lends itself easily to the gravest abuse. If therefore in modern democracies the parliamentary method has been introduced, the method may be new, but it is not right to compare it with the monarchical or aristocratic State form: it is a method, just as tyrannicide used to be another method, of preventing rulers from ruling for the private interests of themselves, instead of for the common interests of the State.

The old Holy Roman Empire, in fact all State forms throughout the Christian Ages, were unanimously admitted to be based on 'the consent of the people' with the proviso that this consent could not lawfully be withdrawn, as long as the ruler—be he monarch or doge—ruled in the interests of the Commonwealth: *dum bene se gesserit*. The holy Pope Zacharias for instance, who was called in to arbitrate between the claims of the Frankish Kings and of those of their major domos, decided against the "legitimist" king and in favour of his nominal servant, because the latter exercised authority and the former did not: a very striking example, as here there is not even any question of misrule but only of non-rule. And this in the 8th century! (p. 170). Indeed all that "legitimist principle" of the XIX century is something quite new—new that is, in comparison with the old accepted Catholic doctrine of rulers being the stewards of the common weal. It really all started with the Reformation, when the various Protestant Princes tried within their own realms to substitute themselves for the Pope. It is then that the doctrine of the "divine right of kings" gained currency and the divine authority of Pope and Church began to be confounded and identified with the authority of Prince and civil authority. This confusion was fatal: for whilst membership in the Church means incorporation into Christ and assimilation by Him and therefore implies an authority which in nothing depends upon the individuals incorporated, citizenship by its nature implies a *custodia custodum*. This Protestant claim of kings to rule by "divine right" was naturally met at once by Catholic theologians and it was particularly the Jesuits who showed up the fallacy of this claim. Bellarmine and Suarez are the names readily occurring to one's mind in this connection, just as King James I will go down to history as the protagonist of "Kingship by divine right." What our Catholic theologians said was, that, though the authority itself was divine, it was not granted as a private gift intended for a private person for a private purpose, but was granted and intended for and limited by the common good of the community as a whole. As centuries later that great bishop of Mayence, Ketteler, the founder of Catholic social action, said in 1866:

"Besides the rights of the Habsburgs, the Hohenzollerns, the Wittelsbachs &c. the German Nation as such also possesses a right in the constitution of a German Commonwealth and on this right we must take our stand." (p. 181).

The "common weal" is the criterion, the only cri-

terion, not the 'legitimacy' of a former ruler's claims. Not as if rulers were the servants of the people, appointed by them and liable to be dismissed at the people's caprice. That was Rousseau's error. Rulers are stewards exercising a stewardship given to them by God, but that stewardship is forfeitable when the purpose of the stewardship, the *bonum commune*, demands it. Civil authority in itself is unchangeable and demands unchangeable obedience, but the political form in which it is expressed changes and, as Pope Leo XIII very definitely and clearly formulates it in his *Au Milieu* (p. 212), "can never be considered final, so as for ever to remain unchanged, even if such had been the intention of those who originally fixed the form." "For human institutions, on however good a right they may rest and for however salutary purposes they may have been founded—viz. that the life of the community may as firmly as possible be secured and as fruitfully as possible fostered—cannot for all time live, just because they are created by human wisdom and by its necessarily short-sighted and limited providence." Hence changes are bound to occur, and "even if in the beginning they are not always lawfully made, the supreme criterion of the common weal and public order demands the recognition of new governments which have been substituted for others which no longer exist." (p. 225—the latter quotation is from Leo XIII's *Notre Solace*.) Indeed "legitimism" would make all excesses of tyrannical rule permanent and justify them, since no change of ruler would be lawful: which on the face of it is absurd. No, not the duration of a rule, but its promotion of the common weal makes it a lawful one. Even, as Mgr. Breton says (p. 169),

"did governments exist for centuries, once they are not ordered towards the end for which they are instituted, they cease to be suitable for the people which they keep in subjection":

whence also Leo XIII has definitely declared (p. 63) that

"The Church does not condemn it that its members do not want to be subject to a foreigner and an (overbearing) master, provided this is possible without violating justice; nor does she blame those whose endeavour it is to render their countries autonomous and to give utmost scope to the citizens to safeguard their (common) interests."

Whilst this seems all perfectly clear, it must be admitted that unfortunately the scare of the false and revolutionary teaching of Rousseau has been responsible for a Catholic tutiorism which for a century was very popular in Catholic circles, but which in the end has neither proved effective nor true, though it has never been officially condemned: I mean the so-called "Designation Theory." Rousseau had said that the atomizing and individualistic will of the multitude created the State by a *contrat social* and that therefore all civil authority was inalienably vested in the multitude, which could dismiss its servant, the Prince, at will—thus making revolution the inner core and guiding principle of all political life. To safeguard and mark the essential difference of Catholic teaching from this hateful, anarchical, philosophy of rebelliousness, Catholic theologians maintained that, though civil authority does come only indirectly from God through the people, (as against the Protestant Absolutists who claimed that the Prince received it directly from God, e. g. "by the grace of God," by "divine right"), the people's only function is to "designate" God's chosen: thus once more confounding Church and State, the "designation" of a Pope by the Cardinals, with the consent of the people given to their ruler to rule over them in the interests of the common weal. (p. 98). Suarez in a similar way had imagined that the power of the people was transferred to their ruler, and once transferred, could not be recalled by the people who had

deprived themselves of it. That indeed would be to fall into Rousseau's error. What they possess, they cannot deprive themselves of: to wit, the ultimate guardianship of the common weal. The common weal demands that there should be a civil authority to rule; hence they give their consent to be so ruled and thus make that rule even materially possible; hence also they can likewise lawfully unmake that or any rule, if the common weal demands it. Moreover as Mgr. Germain Breton (p. 183) finely argues,

"The right to command, civil authority, persists, even after the Prince who was lawfully invested with it and lawfully exercised it has been unlawfully deposed. This right cannot be allowed to perish; it is necessary, because the very existence of the nation is dependent upon it; it can therefore not lapse nor be condemned to inactivity and impotence in the hands of a deposed ruler. This right must regain its whole power, must resume its activity which the life of the nation simply cannot renounce: and therefore the fallen government must rise again or another one must be substituted for it"

This is plain and commonsense surely and makes it, as Cardinal Billot so trenchantly puts it, "quite unnecessary to invent this mythical abdication on the part of the people." (p. 146.) Cardinal Billot indeed in his *Tractatus*, in which he so clearly shows the essential difference between ecclesiastical and political authority, to our mind has in the best possible manner demonstrated the truth of the old Scholastic doctrine of the commonweal and also dealt in the most convincing way with those timorous souls who fear for the abuse which the doctrine can be put to. That, he says, should not scare us (p. 154); for indeed

"any doctrine which emphasizes the duty of obedience to existing authority, deprives revolution of all justification. For the fact, that the consent of the people is the proximate principle of investing Princes with their authority, is not a reason for one government being capriciously overturned by the people and another one substituted. For here what is essential is not the mere will (of the people) in itself; not a will independent of all norm and rule, but a will subject to all those conditions which a true law requires. No arbitrary will has creative, legislative power and, if not in accordance with the rule of reason, has and never can have the binding power of law." (p. 155).

And finally,

"Let us not forget that changes in government, whether lawful or unlawful, are after all a consequence of the mutability of things sublunar which no power and no theory can prevent. Those, therefore, who are out so to arrange human affairs, as to leave them without any drawback whatsoever, are dreaming as if already we lived in heaven amidst the angels. Those on the contrary who take the hard reality of our present state into full account, can easily see which doctrine tends in a higher measure to the peace and happiness of the nation; the one which I (Card. Billot) have expounded or that other one, which bases itself on the rather late idea of "legitimacy" and seems to accord to royal dynasties the same imperishable and irrefragable right which belongs to the successors in the Chair of St. Peter. (p. 156).

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

PIETERMARITZBURG, April 21.

INDIAN EDUCATION ENQUIRY COMMITTEE.

THE Committee concluded taking evidence on the 19th inst. It was inundated with Indian witnesses from all parts of Natal representing

diverse political and economic interests. While the Natal Indian Congress and the South African Indian Federation dwelt on the general principles with particular reference to educational policy and finance, and the Natal Indian Teachers' Association spoke from the professional expert point of view, representatives from various localities, rural and urban, described the local situations and needs. Several European grantees or managers of Indian schools also appeared before the Committee and gave valuable evidence. In this respect this Committee has a record quite different from another Natal Education Committee appointed in 1921 to enquire into the whole question of education in Natal, which bitterly complained that very few witnesses even from educational institutions appeared before it when specially invited to do so. Some papers published paragraphs expressing alarm that the European point of view was going by default. Perhaps in response to it, two European witnesses, unconnected with education, appeared before the Committee and contended that no more educational facilities should be afforded to Indians. One of them was the notorious Mr. S Oellerman, who about a year ago invented the story that the Habibullah Delegation exchanged £100,000 for the Capetown Agreement! No serious attention was paid to his evidence as to that of the other European witnesses. As a matter of fact, the Committee created the impression that they had abandoned the old idea that Natal should do nothing for Indian education and evinced a sincere desire to do the right and fair thing by it hereafter. The Chairman repeatedly mentioned that the Agreement and the advent of Mr. Sastri have brought a complete change in the South African angle of vision. The examination of the Indian witnesses was on the whole friendly and cordial. The Chairman set the best example of this.

On the question of the purpose of the Union subsidy there was sharp difference of opinion between the Committee and the witnesses. The former, relying on the letter of the law, denied that it was meant for education; the latter, relying on Mr. Havenga's speech, contended it was. Mr. Hollander specialised in questions regarding the moneys required to improve Indian education and where to find it. He was also curious to know how things compared in India. Mr. Acutt enquired if education of Indians would not increase the competition between Europeans and Indians, exacerbate racial bitterness and create a vast body of educated Indians without suitable occupations. He would like to know if Indians would consent to special taxation for their education, and whether in view of the low economic level of the majority of Indians, they would not resent compulsory education. He further enquired if a site of ten acres outside the Durban Borough, in Cato Manor, would not be more suitable for Mr. Sastri's Training College as it would leave room for expansion. To which he got the reply that the site chosen by Mr. Sastri was necessary on educational grounds, and that the Cato Manor site was not desirable on account of the distance and the implied segregation of Indians, which would be resisted.

On the whole, however, it has been conclusively proved and freely admitted that the condition of Indian education is deplorable and that great improvements are necessary. The only question is one of finance. From the trend of the proceedings it can be gathered that the Committee do not propose to recommend increase in Provincial taxation; special taxation of Indians will be resisted by them. The only other alternative is to seek additional subsidy from the Union Government. Mr. Dyson announced that the Union Government had refused to increase its subsidy. And well it may, considering that in the past two years the full Indian share of the subsidy was not spent on Indian education. It is not unreasonable to hope that if the Natal Administration does the right thing with the present subsidy in respect of Indian scholars and then makes out a strong case for an increase in the subsidy, the Union Government would be inclined to consider the request more favourably, because, according to Mr. Havenga's speech, the Union Government have assumed responsibility for the financing of primary and secondary education up to a reasonable limit. The proper thing for the Committee to do is to base their recommendations on the evidence placed before them, and then try to persuade the Union Government to assist in carrying them out. It is however doubtful if the Committee, which consists of the Executive and members of the Provincial Council will be able to detach themselves from these associations, and take decisions, which an independent commission or one which contained some members independent of the Provincial council would have taken.

The Natal Indian Congress gave by far the most important and responsible and constructive evidence. The South African Indian Federation, Natal Branch, by its irresponsible criticism and truculent tone, discredited itself and was justly trounced by the *Natal Witness*. There were a set of Indian witnesses, who said that they represented nobody but themselves, and who opposed compulsory education on economic grounds, and asserted that compulsory education was a failure in India and quoted Miss Mayo as the authority for the statement!

LICENSES IN THE TRANSVAAL.

The apprehended has happened. A Mr. Schonk has given notice of an amendment to the General Dealers (Control) Ordinance (12 of 1926) to the effect that "every local authority or board shall within its area of jurisdiction have a discretion to refuse a certificate." This is intended to oust the jurisdiction of the law courts in the matter of trading licenses. The draft ordinance will come up for discussion in the Transvaal Provincial Council in June next, which leaves some breathing time for representations to be made. In this connection it is gratifying to note the attitude of the two important English dailies of Johannesburg, *The Star* said:

"The right of appeal from a decision of the licensing authority to the Supreme Court is a necessary safeguard which, we hope, will always be preserved."

The Rand Daily Mail took up even a more emphatic attitude:

"In other words, Mr. Law Palmer would deprive citizens of their right of access to the Courts, although an injustice might be done to them and their very livelihood be seriously affected. Obviously, such a power as this cannot be conferred upon the members of the Town Council, notwithstanding all the excellent and unpaid services which they may render. Members of the Licensing Committee may strive to decide fairly and justly upon applications brought before them: it would be intolerable if they acted otherwise. Nevertheless, Indians and other non-European communities cannot be robbed of their inalienable right to appeal to the judges of the land and to seek protection."

HOUSING OF INDIAN EMPLOYEES IN DURBAN.

The Indian Social Service Committee of Durban submitted a report to the Town Council drawing attention to the unsatisfactory condition of barracks provided by the Municipality for its Indian employees. The Committee have been working in close co-operation with the Public Health Department of the Corporation and gratefully acknowledge the advice and assistance of the Medical Officer of Health. The Town Council have directed the Town Clerk and the Medical Officer to report on the question of proper housing of its Indian employees. The Committee has also drawn the attention of the Railway Administration to the equally unsatisfactory condition of housing of its Indian employees.

JOHANNESBURG TRAM BYE-LAW.

When Mr. Sastri recently visited Johannesburg and Pretoria he had conversations with the Deputy Mayor of Johannesburg and the Administrator of the Transvaal on the bye-laws. Since then a deputation of Coloured peoples waited on the Tramway Committee. As a result, the notices reserving the front balconies for Coloured peoples have now been withdrawn.

MINES AND WORKS ACT REGULATIONS.

It is authoritatively understood that the new Regulations under the Mines and Works Act of 1926 will not prejudicially affect Indians. It is said that the position of the Coloured people will be improved.

STATUS OF COLOURED PEOPLES.

The following extracts from recent speeches of Gen. Smuts and Gen. Hertzog are significant. Speaking at the African People's Organization, of which Dr. Abdurahman, who headed the South African Indian Delegation to India in 1926, is President, Gen. Smuts observed:—

"I will be quite frank with you. I do not take up the position of equal rights for everybody. I can quite well understand that there are members of the Coloured people in this country who have such a low status either by way of education or otherwise that you cannot give them franchise rights. I am not for the principle of equality right through for everybody, because you would then be on unsafe ground, but I say, take your stand on Rhodes' principle. If a coloured man is civilised, if he can pass the ordinary tests, if he lives a decent civilised life and if he has a certain amount of education, then treat him on an equal political basis with the rest of the community. As long as you stick to that you will have very strong support, you will find that there will be vast mass of public opinion in South Africa among Europeans and others supporting you right through."

Replying to a deputation for the same Organisation Gen. Hertzog is reported to have said that he proposed to consult the Coloured community before a Bill

was placed before Parliament, and he hoped that some kind of round table conference might be arranged not only with them, but with other coloured people as well."

The implications of these two speeches seem to be too good to be true. Let us, however, hope for the best.

OUR U. P. LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

ALLAHABAD, May 11.

THE GOVERNOR AND THE MINISTERS.

THE Governor reached Naini Tal at the end of last month after an extensive tour of the plains and Shikar in the foothills of the Himalayas. As soon as His Excellency could detach himself from the formalities of his first visit as the head of the province, to the summer headquarters of the Government, he essayed the other task, thus goes the report, of dealing with the two delinquent Ministers who did not take his hints and had the temerity of exercising their discretion in remaining neutral on the resolution against the Simon Commission, which was carried by the Council by a majority of one vote only. If these Hindu Ministers had acted like their Muslim colleague and instead of making a fetish of their "discretion" had heeded the Governor's significant queries, the Government would certainly have won the day. This, in the eyes of super-bureaucrats, makes their offence all the more serious. However, coming as Sir Alexander Muddiman does from the leadership of the Assembly, he desires at first to try the art of winning by smiles. Both the Ministers concerned are substantial taluqdars and no clever Governor of the provinces would ever think of exasperating their order if he could avoid it by any means. Moreover when the movement for the boycott of the Simon Commission was launched some high placed Britishers in India were horrified to see the spectacle of prominent taluqdars joining hands with the nationalists. Sir William Marris, our late Governor, had to shoulder the blame for having lost their loyal support by his policeman-like methods of dealing with everyone, high or low, and Sir Alexander is said to have been specially commissioned to win them over again to the *sircar*. The dismissal of the two Ministers will mean that when the Government moves the Council for the appointment of a committee of seven to co-operate with the Commission, they will have to reckon with their active opposition. However, Dame Rumour is responsible for the report that correspondence is now in progress between the Governor and the Ministers on the subject of their attitude towards the Commission and threats and cajolery are being used in turn to make the two Hindu Ministers give up the bold stand that they have taken. It is to be hoped that they will not succumb to gubernatorial frowns, backed though they may be by threats and ultimatums.

COMMISSION BOYCOTT AGITATION.

The annual conference of the United Provinces Kshatriya Association held at Patti (Partabgarh) passed a resolution favouring boycott of the Simon Commission. It was presided over by Raja Harpal Singh of Singraman and the resolution for boycott of the Commission was moved by Raja Awadhesh Singh of Kalakankar and supported by Kumar Rananjai Singh of Amethi raj. This shows that our landed magnates have not been left altogether untouched by the time spirit. It would be no exaggeration to say that by far the large majority of them are with the nationalists in their struggle for the freedom of the country, but they are not strong enough to resist the pressure from the high-placed. One factor which accounts for their weakness is that many of them are

not above reproach in their treatment of the tenants and hence cannot afford to displease the bureaucracy which is too Machiavellian not to take advantage of such a situation for consolidating its own position, though they may have to sacrifice the interests of the weaker party—the peasantry. Threats of prosecutions and consequent rigorous imprisonments held out by the man on the spot cannot go unheeded by those who are in the habit of playing the tyrant with their *riyaya*, if they want to save their own skin. This accounted for the loss of some votes to the Opposition in the Council when the Commission boycott resolution was passed only by a narrow majority. It is, therefore, very creditable for the Rajas who have boldly come out with their views on this question.

The U. P. Sanatan Dharma Sammelan, held at Lucknow, has also called upon the Sanatan Dharma public to boycott the Commission, at all its stages. Even otherwise the boycott propaganda is going apace. A conference of several hill patties of Garhwal held during Chametha Dhauntyal fair, where several thousand people had assembled, discussed at length a resolution favouring boycott of the Commis-

sion and passed it unanimously. The Benares district has already held its political conference at Syed Raja, which has urged tahsil Congress committees to push on the boycott campaign; and now Agra is organizing its district political conference at Ferozabad.

SHUDDHI ACTIVITY.

Private advices from Meerut indicate that two big Muslim landlords of the district have been recently re-converted to Hinduism by Shuddhi workers. They belong to the Jat community which is the predominant agricultural class both in Western United Provinces and the whole of the Punjab. Large sections of the community embraced Islam during Muslim rule, but their way of living is the same as that of Hindu Jats, and many of them bear names just like those of Hindus, keep *shikha* and perform *shradh*. After the shuddhi ceremony marriages of the sons and daughters of the converts were settled with Hindu families of their neighbourhood and original Hindus enjoyed dinner and *hugga* with the converts. This has opened an unexplored field for the activities of shuddhi enthusiasts.

REVIEW SECTION.

CIVIL AUTHORITY AND CATHOLIC CONSCIENCE.

STAATSGEWALT UND KATHOLISCHES GEWISSEN. By Dr. PETER TISCHLEDER. (Carolus Druckerei, Frankfurt.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 239. Mk 5.—

IT is two years ago, that in the *Servant of India* I first invited the Indian public to pay due attention to this author who is one of the foremost younger exponents in Germany of political science from the Catholic point of view. His "Doctrine of the State according to Leo XIII" is a brilliant piece of work and as such I commended it earnestly there and do so again. But in Germany (as elsewhere) there are people who still live in the Victorian Age and fiercely resent any ideas calculated to make their own look out of date. For, as a reviewer in the *Literarischer Handweiser* for April (Herder and Co., Freiburg) with such fine irony puts it:

Too long has a Moral Theology of the recent past restricted itself to exhort "subjects" to submit with assent and obedience to every existing *regime*. The difficult questions, as to what moral duty demands when the said *regime* is a failure, were never touched upon, because "dangerous". The Catholic was expected, patiently to wait, until a new *regime* was introduced from some other side; and after that, as a good Legitimist, to shed a tear for that which was past and gone.

One specimen of this *genus* survives apparently in Bavaria, where a Rev. Dr. Domdekan Kiefl has savagely—more *Bajavarico*—attacked our Munster professor for his book and thus provoked a reply, the present volume, "State Authority and Catholic Conscience". In our review I need not refer to the first part which is mostly a refutation of the attack but as we have our Kiefl's in India also, a general outline of the rest of the book seems indicated.

The two main sections of Dr. Tischleder's latest book are entitled "The moral justification of Demo-

cracy from the Catholic point of view" and "The principle of Legitimacy and its moral import." As an appendix (covering 100 pages) there follows a German translation of (1) Qu. 12 of Cardinal Billot's "Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi"; (2) Mgr. G. Breton's "Divine Right of Civil Authority" and (3) the famous "An Milien de nos Sollicitudes" and "Notre Solace" pronouncements of Pope Leo XIII.

Dr. Tischleder of course adopts the "commonweal" theory which in Leo XIII's words is "the creative principle, the fundamental preserving power of human society" (p. 224). The whole matter however is too important, to be treated merely in a review, and the authoritative sources, made generally available in this book, are too tempting not to be utilized for an exposition of our own. I therefore propose to say nothing more about the volume before us on this occasion, but to refer my readers to an article on "Legitimism" which they will find elsewhere in this issue largely based on this latest work of Rev. Dr. Tischleder, to whom indeed I would once more earnestly direct the attention of all our readers.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

HUMAN BACKGROUNDS.

THE HUMAN HABITAT. By ELLSWORTH HUNTINGDON. (Library of Modern Sciences.) (Chapman & Hall, Ltd., London.) 1928. 8½ × 5¾. pp. 293. 15s.

IMMIGRANT BACKGROUNDS. Ed. by H. P. FAIRCHILD. (John Wiley & Sons, Inc, New York.) 1927. 8¼ × 5½. pp. 269. 13s. 6d.

ULTIMATELY, Culture must depend upon Climate. There are lands too dry and too high for cultivation, as well as tropical forests where cultivation is hardly possible. All this is interestingly and accurately described in Dr. Huntingdon's book. In India, of special interest is his account of the rice-growing type of civilization, supporting an immense number of people to the square mile, and associated

with a high type of civilization, but apparently unable to provide good conditions for the masses, and limited in other directions.

This much no-one is concerned to deny. What seems more doubtful is the association of the industrial type of civilization with wheat culture. *Post hoc or propter hoc?* His claim is that the climate that is good for wheat being good for man's brain too, and this crop requiring care and foresight, and being the most easily stored and so the most easily capitalized, the industrial developments could only come and were bound to come in the wheat areas. But they took their time about it.

The question of Climate and Progress however is one that deserves attention and is well worked out with interesting charts. The conclusion, supported by laboratory tests, that the peoples of hot climates are not really acclimatized and could do better work under cooler condition is a claim easily verifiable; and when used as a reason for anticipating a permanent European supervision of Oriental plantations etc. is dangerous, for to a certain extent modern man can carry his climate about with him. (It is, however, a curious fact that as the services are becoming Indianized there is an increasing demand for European foremen, etc. from Indian firms.)

A noteworthy part of the book is the use of American instances of cultural differences and differences in the degree of progress achieved in different States; for example, it came as news to the reviewer to learn that the American Civil War was resolvable in terms of Geography, plantation cultivation being a paying concern in the hot South but not in the colder North where "white" labour could be utilised. So the Northern States, not requiring the institution, were able to use it as political propaganda.

The broad lesson of Dr. Huntingdon's book, that Geography (which includes Climate) is the main determining factor in Culture needs no elaboration; at the same time, we are apt to ignore it. More doubtful is his stress on the effect of Selection, which however is not prominent in this book.

Mr. Fairchild's book deals with Culture as a matured thing, the actual provenance from which come the many races that flood into America. These are treated by different specialists, and always sympathetically and continually the lesson is brought before the reader that these people have something to contribute to the national life. The Italian, on saving some money, will buy a piano, and see that his daughter is taught to play it, instead of relying on cinema and sensation for his relaxation; the Irishman loses his poetry and his gentleness when he becomes Americanized; and so on. This is most encouraging candour. At present America with her money and her energy is filling the world with vulgarity, and 100% Americanism. He expressly deprecates the introduction of any alien elements that cannot be "assimilated", i. e. anyone to qualify for the Land of the Free must give up all he knows of Art and Beauty and calm Joy and take to cheap tunes and cheap clothes and cheap ideals. Now all great cultures have borrowed—India from China and Persia; England from France, Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, India—where not? If there is any truth at all in man's immemorial belief that Beauty is on a par with Truth and Goodness, America at present must be doing incredible harm to the world, a harm quite outdoing the undoubted good achieved by the provision of cheap commodities and (we speak without sarcasm) the dissemination of lofty moral precepts. If she can learn from her immigrants, she will turn that harm into good.

WALTER O. FITCH.

A MARTYR OF DEMOCRACY.

THOMAS PAINE—PROPHET AND MARTYR OF DEMOCRACY. By MARY AGNES BEST.

(George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1927. 9 x 5¾. pp. 413. 16s.

THIS able and interesting work is in many respects a successful vindication of the character and achievements of a remarkable man who has received hard measure from eminent critics and historians. A man of vast ignorance, but possessed of mother wit and shrewdness, says Leslie Stephen. Lecky is still more severe and characterizes most of his writings as shallow, violent and scurrilous. Speaking of his *Common Sense* which exercised considerable influence in preparing the minds of men for the Declaration of American Independence, the same historian remarks that its success was mainly due to extraneous circumstances. It is certainly true that Paine's pamphlet fell in with the prevailing tendency of the time and gave an expression to sentiments which were agitating countless minds. But it is difficult to believe that the work would have produced the effect it did if it had been entirely lacking in solid merit.

In the world of thought, Paine's name is associated with two great movements, radicalism in religion and radicalism in politics. His *Age of Reason* was a defence of natural religion as against religion based on miracles, and the work, though defective in point of scholarship, was immensely popular because it appealed to genuine moral instincts. There are matters in the Bible, he observes, said to be done by the express command of God, that are as shocking to humanity and to every idea of moral justice, as anything done by Robespierre in France and by the English Government in the East Indies. The *Age of Reason*, is an attempt to vindicate the moral justice of God from the imputations of believers in literal inspiration and in dogmatic theology. The work shows a sad deficiency in historic spirit, but, as far as it goes, and as against the superstitious notions then current, Paine's attempt must be pronounced successful, and as Benn has well pointed out, Coleridge's theological position betrays marked affinities with the rationalism of Paine.

Paine, again, is the most conspicuous representative in England of the doctrines of the French Revolutionists. His *Rights of Man*, which is an answer to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, gave a powerful impetus to the progress of the democratic movement in England. Its main thesis is that all government is ultimately power derived from the people and that it must be exercised for the benefit of the people, through a popular elected legislature. When in 1864 Gladstone declared that every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness or political danger, is morally entitled to come within the pale of the constitution, he expressed the essence of Paine's political philosophy and it is no wonder that Disraeli taunted his rival "with reviving the doctrine of Tom Paine." By a curious irony of fate, Disraeli himself was destined to pass the 'doctrine of Tom Paine' into law. Paine's retort on Burke's eloquent outburst on Marie Antoinette's sufferings is well known:

"Nature has been kinder to Mr. Burke than he is to her. He is not affected by the reality of distress touching his heart, but by the showy resemblance of it striking his imagination. He pities the plumage, but forgets the dying bird."

It is undeniable that Paine has a genuine feeling for the people. It is however strange that he should have overlooked the fact that Burke devoted fifteen years of his life to the ungrateful task of drawing

attention to the sufferings of those who could not protect themselves in 'trampled Hindustan.'

Paine's remarks on National honour are as pertinent at the present day as when they were uttered more than a hundred years ago :

"There is such an idea existing in the world, as that of national honour, and this falsely understood, is oftentimes the cause of war. In a Christian and philosophical sense, mankind seems to have stood still at individual civilization, and to retain as nation all the original rudeness of nature. Peace by treaty is only a concession of violence from a reformation of sentiment. It is a substitute for a principle that is wanting, and ever will be wanting, till the idea of national honour be rightly understood. As individuals we profess ourselves [Christians, but as nations we are heathens, Romans and what not . . . It is I think exceedingly easy to define what ought to be understood by national honour ; for that which is the best character for an individual is the best character for a nation, and wherever the latter exceeds or falls beneath the former there is a departure from true greatness."

N. NARASIMHA MOORTY.

A MODERN JEREMIAH.

OUTSPOKEN ESSAYS. (First & second series.)

By W. R. INGE. (Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., London.) 1927. 7¾ x 5. pp. 281 ; 275. 3s. 6d. each

THE writings of Dean Inge always put us in mind of Dr. Johnson's remark that public affairs vexed no man and that he himself, for all the turbulence of King George's reign, never slept an hour less, nor ate an ounce of meat less. The Dean is the reverse of Dr. Johnson ; he is one of that species, not rare in our age, whom neither poppy nor mandragora can medicine back to that sweet sleep murdered by thoughts of a world out of joint. He is a born dissident who made up his mind long ago not only to think for himself but also to speak out the unpleasant truth : the sworn enemy of shallow-pated optimism, with quite a genius for disturbing men's satisfaction with themselves. There are sentences in these Essays so salutary in their candour that one wonders how believers in the essential superiority and glorious destiny of the White Man could allow them to be published. Take for specimen :

"The chief danger to the white man arises from his arrogant contempt which in some lands is mixed with fear and hatred, and which has provoked fear and hatred in return. Europeans have recently enjoyed an unfair advantage over their rivals, which they have abused without the slightest regard for justice and fair play."

Another passage ruthlessly tears off the mask from the face of racial self-idolatry :

"A Frenchman has described the arrival of the first batch of tall Russian prisoners at a Japanese port. The white men present consisted of French, Germans, English, and Americans ; but at the sight of Europeans in the custody of Asiatics they forgot their rivalries ; a feeling of horror went through them all, and they huddled together as if they realised that something uncanny was happening which threatened them all alike."

The reflections that follow must be profoundly disquieting to our Imperial rulers :

"This was the momentous lesson of the war (the Russo-Japanese). An Asiatic army, with equally good weapons and training, is a match for the same number of Europeans ; and there is no part of European military or naval science which the Asiatic cannot readily master. In these facts an observer might well recognize the fate of white ascendancy in Asia."

No wonder if to many the Dean appears as a modern Jeremiah—one with a flair for spectacular pessimism

—for his gloomy truths make egoism feel uncomfortable.

Though in their particular combination the views of the Dean bear the marks and add to the interest of a unique personality, none of them is new or original. His condemnation of the evils of industrialism is only a faint echo of Ruskin. Eugenics and birth-control—the two bees on his bonnet—are also in several others' bonnets. His indictment of democracy is anything but novel. In denouncing socialism, the Dean's *bête noir*, many a capitalist will beat him hollow. Nor is he first in the field to train his logic at the superstition that progress is the law of the world. Samuel Butler anticipated him in his view of progress as a vicious circle : "Men eat birds, birds eat worms, worms eat men again." When Dean Inge condemns war he can only remotely approach that militant pacifist, G. B. S., who erects a statue to Falstaff in his *Back to Methuselah*, for he ran away fastest from battle. And lastly, when the Dean holds up the ideal of internationalism and speaks of militarism as having dug its own grave, he speaks but as one among the best voices of the modern age.

But it is not the views—the destinations at which they arrive—that should invite us to these lectures and essays, but the scenery on the road, the lochs and valleys, forests and mountains on both sides of us as we travel. The riches of a mind that has ransacked its treasures from authors, ancient and modern, are here lavishly spread around us, while science, philosophy, history and sociology have not been safe from the pillage. The quotations from miscellaneous sources are not so much embedded in the argument like *laminæ* as metabolised into the writer's own thought. It is not that he has merely ranged widely in the domain of philosophy and made inroads into science. Disciplined thinking and a severely critical temper, wherein philosophy and science correct and supplement each other, have become a quality of his mind. He has allowed science free play in dissolving the irrational alloy in his own faith and wants Religion to come to terms with Science. They are incommensurable of course, but beliefs ought not to run counter to Reason, though they may reach out beyond her. The Dean's attitude to miracles, the Church, and Institutional Christianity, surpasses that of any heretic burned and subsequently canonised by the Mediæval Church. The most deadly explosive in his magazine of argument is not rhetoric but statistics. The manner is not infrequently pugilistic—and the spice of life is battle ! Over these solid elements is the delightful vesture of style with its sparkle of illuminating phrase. To use Jeremy Taylor's words, the essays are marked by "variety and load, cost and curiosity."

Inge's organization shows a strange blend of things, Victorian and Georgian—a Tory Victorian in his attitude to democracy and socialism, a Georgian in his attitude to war and eugenics—a Gemini personality ! He is now sixty-eight, and let us hope that he will live long enough for the 20th century to have greater claim on him than the 19th, which now owns the best part of his years and his warmest sympathies. It is sad that he should bemoan so often the prospect of England becoming a working-man's Paradise. Whose Paradise, we may ask, if not the sweating toiler's, does he want England to become ? That one-third of the national income should go into the pockets of one-thirtieth of the population does not rouse his indignation so much as the presumption of the *canaille*. Yes, his prejudices make the Dean one-eyed—but which giant is not ?

Though some of his truculent phrases are aimed at the wastrels and morons who fill up a good section of the population, he is like Hardy and Shaw in his

infinite pity for suffering creatures, including "our furred and feathered cousins." He has perhaps killed nothing bigger than a wasp. To understand his hidden inspirations one must know that he is a Christian mystic saturated with Plato and Plotinus. The sage, says the Gita, is awake when the rest of the world is asleep. The Dean is always awake to Eternal values and the Everlasting Aye. "Heaven is nearer to our souls than the earth is to our bodies." "Love directed towards the eternal and infinite fills the mind with pure joy, and is free from all sadness. Wherefore, it is greatly to be desired, and sought after with our whole might," says Spinoza. It is thoughts like these that feed the flame of the Dean's soul. They explain the unseen foundations of his strength more than his scholarship and his gift of tongues.

R. SADASIWA AIYAR.

JEWIS AND AGRICULTURE.

THE AGRICULTURAL COLONISATION OF THE ZIONIST ORGANISATION IN PALESTINE. By ARTHUR RUPPIN. (Martin, Hopkinson & Co. Ltd., London.) 1926. 8¾ x 5½. pp. 209. 10s. 6d.

THIS book describes in some detail the efforts made for the colonization of Palestine in connection with the Zionist movement. The author claims to have made no attempt to conceal the difficulties with which this task has been beset, and has tried to demonstrate that without agricultural colonization, the construction of a Jewish National Home in Palestine was an impossibility. One of the chief difficulties with which this agricultural colonization has had to struggle has been the fact that the Jews wish to maintain in Palestine a European standard of civilisation and must yet compete economically with a majority not accustomed to such a standard.

The first two periods of colonization from 1900-1907 were periods of groping about for the right line of advance. The path followed was necessarily a circuitous one, but it did lead the organisers some distance towards their goal. During this period it was common for the Jewish settler to farm out his lands. The next period saw a change in the methods followed. In 1908 farms were taken over by men who would work the farms themselves without any external aid. This fact, viz. that agricultural settlements were being founded in which all the work was being performed by Jewish labourers gave a mighty impulse to the whole national movement. These new settlements were not all of the same type, yet they had in common the following general principles: (1) The *self-provisioning* of the settlers from their own produce precedes the sale to outsiders. Thus, diversified or mixed farming was followed. (2) The principle that all necessary work should be performed by the settler and his family was universally adopted. (3) As regards the relation of the individual settler towards the colonization companies, the principle of equal rights of either party was established. (4) The settlers have full autonomy to choose their own social system, whether it be individual or collective, unless the system chosen possesses recognisable economic drawbacks. (5) It was realised that young immigrants should receive their training not in Agricultural Schools, but through *practical experience on the land itself*. (6) Increased attention was given to constructing a whole settlement on a general plan. The most important ameliorations, drainage, water supply, roadways, were made either before or immediately after the founding of a new settlement.

The system of mixed farming has been chosen as the agricultural system of these settlements. Its many different branches provide the settler with work at all times of the year, and he can arrange his farm in such a way as to manage altogether, or very nearly, without paid labour. Mixed farming, which furnishes the settler with grain, food for his animals, milk and milk products, vegetables, poultry, eggs, honey, and fuel, thus provides him with almost everything necessary for life. He is consequently much more independent of the market price. The whole atmosphere of mixed farming is to a much greater degree agricultural than that of plantations. The children growing up in the system of mixed farming acquire immediately more agricultural knowledge than is possible in the other systems. The many different branches of mixed farming enable the settler to counterbalance bad results in one branch by good results in another. Thus the risk of failure is diminished and a greater equality of income assured. The products which the producer consumes himself are worth far more to him than if he grows them for sale, for they have greater value than the money which he will obtain for them. The farmer must of course produce a certain surplus for the market since he will always require ready money to pay for essentials of life which he cannot provide himself.

In Palestine, there is no powerful fixed social system which can inspire the Jewish immigrant with awe. He will therefore either be inclined to continue to live in the same way as he lived in his old country, or if he finds this too difficult he will attempt to create new social forms. In the agricultural settlements, where the conditions were essentially different from those of the old countries, the Jewish immigrants were obliged to choose the second alternative, viz. that of breaking with the past and creating new social and economic forms of life. Thus they became producers and lost all the characteristics of a trading population. As a result of the realisation of the weakness which comes from isolation, a communal life soon took shape in these isolated country settlements. A committee selected by the settlers undertook the most important duties of control. Later there arose co-operative unions for special economic purposes. In the Zionist settlements this tendency towards a co-operative life was intensified and gradually two new social systems were worked out: one that of a collective cultivation of the land, of common ownership of land and buildings, and of equality of wages, and the other that of individual ownership tempered by co-operation in the cultivation of the land. In reality, the success or failure of our colonisation depends much less on the finding of a suitable system of society for our settlements, than on the finding of a system of agriculture which appeals to the mentality of the Jewish immigrant, which will be desirable from a national point of view and lastly, which will pay.

As a rule, the land for Jewish colonization is bought by the Jewish National Fund, and becomes the inalienable property of the Jewish nation. The land is allotted to the settlers on 48 years' lease; 2 per cent. of the value of the property, which is newly assessed every 10 or 25 years, is paid as ground rent. This system bars the door to land speculation. The increase in the value of the land due to the gradual development of the country enures to the benefit of J. N. F. as representative of the Jewish people. If a settler wishes to own land as his private property he can do so through the several organisations which exist for that purpose.

Loans are given to the settler by various organisations for the purpose of putting up buildings, buying

equipment and the like. The most important terms of the contract between the settler and the colonisation department are :—(i) After 5 or 7 years of grace, the settler must commence his payments of interest and of the amortisation of the loan, which is to be redeemed within 33 years. The years of grace are necessary, as during that period the settler will be occupied in the development of his farm, and while he is improving his land and acquiring local experience, he will reap only small returns. (ii) For the first 10 years the settler pays, in addition to 3% interest, only 1% of amortisation and (iii) During the next 10 years he pays 2% and after that 3%.

The case for and against the co-operative system of farming has been argued at great length and for the present this system has been accepted as most suitable from all points of view. The hope that this offers a better social system, that it avoids many of the failings of capitalist and individualist agriculture, that it is another step in the social progress of men, has imbued the settlers, especially those who have come from countries of Eastern Europe, which are at present in a state of ferment, with such great energy that they were able to overcome difficulties to which they might otherwise have succumbed.

Prof. Elwood Mead of California was invited to visit the settlements. Among the points raised in his report are :—(1) That the settler should receive the land after it has been completely ameliorated, i.e. after the ground has been drained, water supply established, roads constructed, etc. He even goes as far as to say that, wherever possible, the land should be transferred to the settler after the first harvest. He believes strictly in the principle of full equipment, i.e. that the settler should be provided with the complete building, tools, and livestock before commencing the actual work. Prof. Mead believes that agriculture is in itself sufficiently difficult to render the settlers' life a hard struggle for existence, and if the original difficulties are, during the first years, aggravated by the lack of a complete agricultural equipment, the chances are that the settler will not be successful. (2) Prof. Mead believes in individualist colonisation modified by co-operation in special branches, and opposes the guild system of collective work. (3) Prof. Mead deems it necessary that each settlement should include a superintendent or farm adviser who should aid the settlers by advice and example.

Other occupations than agriculture for immigrants into Palestine are discussed and it has been conclusively shown that at least one-third of the immigrants must take up agriculture if the Jewish colonisation is to be a success. A mass of very valuable data about the prospects of farming is given. The book is altogether interesting reading and affords a good deal of first-hand information for those who are interested in the subject of agricultural colonization.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

WESTERN PHILOSOPHY.

THE REALM OF ESSENCE. By GEORGE SANTAYANA. (Constable & Co., Ltd., London.) pp. xxiv + 183.

MR. SANTAYANA is long known to the students of Western Philosophy as the author of many books among which his *Scepticism and Animal Faith* needs a special mention as the philosophical predecessor of the present book. In this of his as well as in his other previous writings, he has definitely sided with the modern impressive and influential Neo-Realistic movement in Western Metaphysics. His *Scepticism* is an "Introduction to a system of Philo-

sophy" with such leanings. It now appears that he has planned to write on the *Realms of Being* of which series the present volume on the *Realm of Essence* is the first book.

The term "Essence" is used by Mr. Santayana as almost an equivalent of Plato's "Idea" or Aristotle's "Form"; but he prefers his own term to others in order to exclude the possibility of his otherwise being understood to mean a mere subjective psychological fact or appearance. He devotes this volume to an exhaustive discussion of "the being proper to Essences". He begins his treatise with a terse exposition of the "various approaches to Essence". In the succeeding chapters, he discusses on the intrinsic nature of these Essences and their relations to and implications of each other. Mr. Santayana however is a heavy writer and almost throughout the volume he by no means seems anxious to couch his abstract reflections in terms of the intimate and living issues of human life,—a thing which a philosopher wanting to avoid a sterile pedantry or the proverbial metaphysical aridity must necessarily do. This is probably one of the features of Mr. Santayana's writings that account for the amazingly little influence that he (as an individual writer of a considerable school) has been able to exercise over the contemporary thought currents of the philosophical West. Indeed one finds it very hard, at least while perusing this volume, to endorse the tributes that Mr. Priestley in his *Figures in Modern Literature* has paid to Mr. Santayana for the literary beauties of his writings.

In the concluding chapter, Mr. Santayana has given us instructive comparisons of his own doctrine with "some kindred doctrines" in the philosophical history of the West; and in his Postscript, he has also added similar approving references to the views of three living philosophers—Whitehead, Husserl and Guénon, with whom Mr. Santayana finds that he largely agrees. The Epilogue and the Postscript together really go a long way in the exposition and the precise marking out of Mr. Santayana's views in their proper perspective. He is largely a Platonist Realist and he admits that "my doctrine was neither new nor extinct."

It is interesting to note that Mr. Santayana makes some references to Indian Philosophy.

D. D. VADEKAR.

BEEORE SCOTLAND YARD.

BEFORE SCOTLAND YARD. By PATER HAWORTH. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford.) 1927. 7¾ × 5, pp. 303. 7s. 6d.

THE selections are made with discrimination and care and are more than sufficient to show how worldly wisdom and stout commonsense can easily overcome the arch villainy of the worst criminals. They cannot be said to be real detective stories. There is no agency like the police of the present day at work, no getting information, following up clues and tracking criminals. But nonetheless, the criminals are found out and booked with the help of that great and rare commodity, viz. vast experience and knowledge of men and things. The tales are more or less in the Arabian Nights vein. Similar tales are found in abundance in the Indian literature of South India, particularly the Tales of Mariada Raman, Tennali Raman, Rayar Appaji and others, not to speak of those in North India.

Coming to the stories themselves, the tale "A Burglary and its Sequel," though of Elizabethan period, is on the same lines as the tale of the "Treasure House of King Khampsiniters," written by the great

Greek historian (484—425. B. C.) but considerably improved. These two tales have several points of contact with the well-known story of Ali Baba and forty thieves. The tale "The Wife accused of Wantonness" which is from the pen of that great Italian author (Boccaccio) who has often been called the father of Novel writing, is a typical one showing how virtue, notwithstanding all the obstacles thrown in its way, eventually triumphs, and under this head may be brought the tale "The History of Susanna." The plots of "A King and Three Imposters" and that of "The 28th Adventure of Tyll Owlylass" are almost identical.

The second half of the book makes more interesting reading than the first one. The tale "Life and Adventures of Jonathan Wild," though of a comparatively early period, gives a very good idea how the trade of receiving stolen property thrived in those days, in spite of the stringent Act in force. What Jonathan Wild did in the matter of receiving stolen goods and returning them to the owners thereof may well be compared to a well-known system very prevalent in some of the Southern districts of the Madras Presidency, called Tuppu Cooly system, under which a man gets wages for giving information ("Tuppu" means information and "Cooly" means wages). In this system the man who gives the information need not be the thief himself. Jonathan Wild was not a thief but he was a thief-maker and master of thieves. He was an expert in the matter of returning stolen goods to and obtaining rewards from the owners of goods in utter defiance of law said to have been specially enacted for him. He carried on for a long time a flourishing business in this trade but in the end paid dearly with his life. This tale is worth reading as also "The Murders in Ratcliffe Highway" which shows how necessary it is for a successful investigator to note carefully and minutely everything connected with crime.

T. VENKOBÄ RAO.

SHORT NOTICES.

MC CRINDLE'S ANCIENT INDIA. By S. M. SASTRI. (Chuckervertty, Chatterjee & Co., Calcutta.) 1927. 8¾ x 5½. pp. 431. Rs. 10.

MC CRINDLE'S Ancient India as described by Ptolemy has long been out of print and was available, if at all, only from second-hand booksellers, even so rather rarely. This reprint of it is therefore to be sincerely welcomed. The original work of Ptolemy's Geography is so well-known, as also McCrindle's annotated translation of it, that it requires but few words of commendation. The work is of the first importance for the study of the geography of India as well as of its commercial activities in the early centuries of the Christian era. The chief merit of it lay in its value as confirming what may to a large extent be derivable from Tamil literature for South India and the odds and ends of details that one gets out of the Puranas for the rest of the country.

McCrindle's edition left little to be desired, although in certain points considerable advance has been made since his days. But even so, the edition before us is not without its own particular merits. The editor, Mr. Surendranath Majumdar Sastri, who has already done valuable work by his edition of Cunningham's Ancient Geography and Ancient India as described by Megasthenes, has added to his services distinctly by bringing out a new edition of this. His contribution to the subject consists in the writing of an introduction giving the history of the work itself and what is perhaps more important in supplementary notes in which he incorporates the valuable material since made available by scholars

who have been working on this subject. More systematic work is desirable on the subject both from the inside and from outside. But such work would not be possible unless the work is made available in a handy form to those who may be directly interested in it. Mr. Sastri's edition serves the purpose admirably, and the price does not altogether put it beyond the reach of even ordinary means. It is to be hoped that this new edition would stimulate that study and make it possible to exploit to a far fuller extent the material contained in Ptolemy's work for the purpose of historical and geographical research.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

MEDICAL ASPECTS OF CONTRACEPTION.

By CHARLES GIBBS. (Martin Hopkinson & Co., Ltd., London.) 1927. pp. 183. 10s. 6d.

It is a report by the Medical Committee appointed by the National Board of Public Morals in connection with the investigation of the National Birth Rate Committee. The Report is, as the Committee say in the Preface, "not suited, nor is it intended, for general reading, but for those medical men and women upon whom the responsibility lies for giving advice on this most difficult subject". It is admitted by the Committee and those who gave evidence before it that the medical reasons for birth control cannot be completely separate from the social and economic aspects of the question. The investigation includes the reasons, the means and the effects of contraception from the medical point of view. The report itself is a very good summary of the evidence and the résumé of evidence given is very valuable and instructive. The evidence of Lord Lawson is as concise as it is valuable and makes out a good case for contraception. Others have given equally valuable evidence and all are intent upon a scientific investigation of the problem, though a few are decidedly partisan witnesses who are intent on advocating their own particular point of view. The report is a very valuable addition to the medical literature on the problem and is indispensable to every medical man interested in it.

A. R. SANE.

WESTERN WORLD TRAVELS. By L. N. KARNA. (Author, Larkana) 1927. 7 x 5. pp. 120, xxxv. Rs. 1.

THIS is a description of the scenes and places observed by Mr. Karna during his extensive travels in Europe and America during which he must have seen much of the daily life of the westerners. We regret to find however that the author gives us very few reflections on Western institutions and their working except in two letters contributed by him to the press which he reproduces as appendices. For example, the reader would like to know how the Colleges and Universities in U. S. are working but his curiosity is not satisfied. Apart from this, the pamphlet makes delightful reading on account of its being a regular diary of the author's itinerary. In the appendices Mr. Karna expresses his firm conviction about the need of foreign propaganda to prevent India being misunderstood. He also describes various incidents which brought home to him the utter indifference of even politically advanced Britishers to political conditions in India. The majority of them, he says, stick to the slogan that India is not a nation. Even Irishmen, he says, get only coloured accounts about India because "their information bureau is English." The remedy, according to him, is to send Indian newspapers to all the libraries in every nook and corner of Europe and America flooding them with a real public opinion about India.

Mr. Karna bewails in this connection the extinction of *India*, the organ of the Indian National Congress.
G.

COMMISSION AND AFTER. By A. LIBERAL.
(D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.)
1928. pp. 116. Rs. 3.

A VERY thin pamphlet this, thin in very respect except its price. We are told that, originally, it consisted, in part, of newspaper articles. The pamphlet in its present form has not gained much in compactness by the new material that may have been added or by the manner of piecing together the loose stuff. It lacks purpose and is no better than a journalistic hotchpotch. There is no danger of the writer who calls himself a Liberal being regarded as an authoritative exponent of Liberal opinion.

A. B.

THE CO-OPERATIVE ORGANIZATION IN BRITISH INDIA. By B. G. BHATNAGAR.
(Ram Narayan Lal, Allahabad) 1927. 7¼ × 5.
pp. 321.

MR. BHATNAGAR has no doubt produced a fairly readable account of the organisation of the main types of co-operative societies. But the student of co-operation will not find him much of a help for understanding the achievements and difficulties of the different kinds of societies. He does not appear to possess a first-hand knowledge of the co-operative movement but seems to have contented himself with the study of one or two administration reports of the Registrars of the more important provinces. While several interesting types are dealt with, the treatment of none of them could be said to be full or satisfactory, e.g., the anti-malaria societies of Bengal, the arbitration and education societies of the Punjab, the Model Town Society of Lahore, etc. Even the rural and urban credit societies are but meagrely described. The Triplicane Urban Co-operative Society of Madras, the largest and the most successful store society in India, and Navgoan Ganja Producers' Society of Bengal, a very remarkable organisation, are not even mentioned.

V. V. S.

HANDBOOK TO BRITISH MALAYA, 1927.

Compiled by R. L. GERMAN. (British Malay Government.) 1927. 8½ × 6½. pp. 191.

Seeing that Indian labourers form 69.3 per cent. of the total estate population in Malaya, there can be no question that this handbook is of special interest to the people of this country. It gives much valuable information about British Malaya which a book of this nature alone can give and which otherwise would have to be hunted up at the cost of much labour and expense. It is a reference book which, in our opinion, is more or less indispensable to all who are interested in the F. M. S.

CIVIC HEALTH AND WELFARE. By ANNIE R. CATON and M. BERRY. (P. S. King & Son, London.) 1927. pp. 138. 2s. 6d.

SOCIAL INSURANCE. By E. MARTELLI. (P. S. King & Son, London.) 1927. pp. 67. 2s. 6d.

THESE are the first two hand-books in the Signpost Series initiated by the National Union of Societies

for Equal Citizenship whose object it is "to promote all such reforms as are necessary to bring about a real equality of status, liberties and opportunities between men and women, and also such reforms as are necessary to enable women adequately to discharge their functions as citizens". These manuals are therefore written by women and largely from the woman's point of view, though they are not intended only for women readers. In fact these are something more than manuals, for they do not merely summarize the facts relating to the various social institutions with which they deal, but point out defects and make constructive suggestions for reform.

The first of these treats of such subjects as Maternity and Child Welfare, Health Services of the Schools, Milk, Housing, Domestic Sanitation, Smoke, Libraries, Parks, etc. and consists of detailed studies of public health conditions in towns and boroughs like Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Bradford, Cardiff, Shrewsbury, Kensington, Bermondsey, etc. and the second treats of National Health Insurance, Unemployment Insurance (as before the introduction of Government's new measure), Workmen's Compensation, etc. Both the handbooks contain very good bibliographies and have the privilege of a useful introduction by Miss Rathbone. This is a most admirable series.

P. T.

ADVENTURES IN ADMINISTRATION. By RICHARD HAYES CROFTON. (Leonard Parsons, Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 311. 7s. 6d.

THIS book consists of fourteen essays by Mr. Crofton whom the reviewer knew at one time as the Colonial Secretary of Zanzibar, on such entirely disparate subjects as Central Banking, Town Planning, and Public Health. Indeed the author regards these three as the most important of them and they are without a doubt ably treated. The chapter on Central Banks appears perhaps a bit too elementary; still how much better would have been the equipment of our M.L.A.'s for dealing with the Reserve Bank Bill if they had previously read the 25 pages devoted in this book to it! The chapter on "Health Problems of the Empire" strikes us as the most useful, giving information not too easy to obtain elsewhere. There is a chapter in the book dealing with modern office equipment in which the use of vertical filing, card indexing and such other devices is urgently recommended. The apparatus of card-index cabinets, vertical units, addressographs and other things has still little vogue in India and this chapter, like many others, should prove of great use and interest in this country.

P. S.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

CHARACTER AND THE CONDUCT OF LIFE. By WILLIAM MCDUGALL. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 394.

LIFE AND TIMES OF C. R. DAS. By PRITHWIS CHANDRA RAY. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 313. Rs. 6.

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1925. Vol. II. By C. A. MACARTNEY and Others. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1928. 9¼ × 6½. pp. 486. 25s.

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1925. Supplement: Chronology of Events and Treaties, 1920 to 1925. Compiled by V. M. BOULTER. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1928. 9¼ × 6½. pp. 235.