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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WE ventured to remark last week that some of the outstanding differences at least between Government and the satyagrahis in regard to Bardoli must be due to an imperfect understanding of the respective positions of the two parties. We could not have looked for a better illustration of this than what is afforded in *Young India* of last week. Mahatma Gandhi's version of the Government proposals, given therein, differs widely from Government versions both as to the nature and scope of the inquiry. Mahatma Gandhi says, in regard to this, that "the inquiry proposed by the Government amounts to" nothing more than "an inquiry by a subordinate revenue official into individual cases." If this were the offer we would ourselves unhesitatingly counsel rejection. But, to our mind, the offer makes a better showing. As we explained last week, the inquiry will in all essentials be judicial, since the revenue official, though technically a participant in the inquiry, will be reduced by the conditions laid down to the position of a disputant equally with the cultivators, the judicial officer being given the sole power of decision in all disputed matters. This interpretation is now confirmed by a press communique, just issued, which says that whether the judicial officer is associated with the revenue official throughout the inquiry or in specific portions thereof, "the opinion arrived at by such judicial officer will

decide the question at issue between the revenue officer and those who do not agree" and, again, that, "his opinion on all disputed questions of facts or figures will prevail." It being left to the cultivators to object to any proceeding on the part of the revenue official and by so objecting to take the point at issue out of his hands and to entrust it to the judicial officer, they have the means, we take it, of converting the whole inquiry into what the satyagrahis themselves want, a judicial inquiry.

In regard to the scope of the enquiry too, our reading of Sir Leslie Wilson's terms is better than Mahatma Gandhi's. The inquiry will not necessarily be confined to individual cases but can be enlarged, on demand by the peasants, into an inquiry *de novo* into "the whole assessment," to use the words of the earlier official communique. It may be that we have put upon the Government offer an unwarrantably liberal interpretation; but even if it should be so, it seems clear from the explanation now given by Government that the offer must not be too narrowly interpreted and that in any case there is excellent ground for hoping that if each party makes a serious attempt to know the real mind of the other, the outstanding differences will be found much too minute to be allowed to stand in the way of an honourable compromise.

On one point Mahatma Gandhi's statement in *Navajivan* is reassuring. If Government insist upon the whole of the revised assessment being paid in, the Satyagrahis would not object, as a matter that offends their conscience, to a third party paying in the difference between the old and the new assessment. We ourselves have always been of the opinion that the Satyagrahis cannot be accused of moral turpitude if they let others pay in this difference, without prejudice to their contentions. Both Government and the Satyagrahis had made "a vital point" of what is really the least important of the points at issue, and we are therefore very glad to see that on this matter at any rate the way is now clear for a compromise, Government having already received more than one offer from men anxious to put an end to the present impasse.

The prospects of a settlement seem bright at the moment when we write. If it comes it will be most emphatically to the advantage of the people concerned, and will redound equally to the credit of Government and the Satyagrahis, and the credit will be the greater because the settlement is reached after many unsuccessful attempts therefor.

* * *

IN their memorandum submitted to the Simon Commission, the South Indian Liberal Federation Constitutionalists, which is a non-Brahman organisation, make it clear that their goal like that of other advanced political parties is Dominion Status and demand as steps lead-

Madras Non-Brahmans' Demands.

ing to it the grant of complete provincial autonomy and the introduction of an element of responsibility in the Central Government. Under their scheme, every province would have six ministers, the prime minister selecting his five colleagues. They want the Governor to be chosen from the ranks of British public men rather than from the Indian Civil Service and appointed directly by the Crown without the intervention of the Governor-General. The Governor's constitutional relations with his Ministers should be the same as those that obtain in the Australian States; and he should act only on the advice of his ministers except in matters reserved for his sole discretion. With a view to protect the Governor from interference by Whitehall, the scheme provides that the Secretary of State shall send him no instructions except about assent or reservation of bills. If a Governor fails to conform to constitutional usage, he would, under this scheme, be liable to removal from office if a two-thirds majority of both houses of the provincial legislature vote in that sense. The provincial cabinets will of course contain no executive councillors; but there would be two advisers to the Ministry, chosen from the services, who can sit both in the Cabinet and the legislature, but will have no vote. One of these will be the Financial Adviser, the other the Adviser on Law and Order. The Executive Council to advise the Governor in the government of the province will consist, besides the Ministers and the Advisers, of such persons as may be appointed by the Governor; but these will hold office during the Governor's pleasure and will receive no salary. The proposed provincial Legislative Council or the Lower House to be wholly elective will consist of twice the number of members of the present Council; while the Senate or the Upper House of one-third of the strength of the Council. As regards the franchise, the Constitution-ists do not favour universal suffrage but advocate a reduction in the property qualification so that the franchise may be more widely distributed. Separate electorates are to be retained, but only for minorities such as Muslims, Indian Christians and Europeans; while the depressed classes will have an electorate of their own based on separate electoral qualifications. We should have thought that considerations of consistency, if nothing else, would have shown the Constitution-ists the desirability of doing away with any special treatment which a majority community like the Non-Brahmans enjoyed so far in the matter of its representation in the legislature; but are surprised that the reservation of seats allowed to non-Brahmans is asked to be continued. The Commission can see from this that though the Non-Brahmans are co-operating with it, their demands do not differ materially from those of other advanced sections of political opinion which are keeping away from it.

* * *

IMPORTANT questions affecting labour were considered by the Bombay Legislative Council last week. Mr. Syed Munavar, a nominated Labour representative and a worker of the Social Service League, Bombay, brought forward a bill providing for the representation of labour in the Bombay Municipality by four of its representatives and proposing a corresponding increase in its total strength. With such a large labour population in Bombay, Mr. Munavar's demand was eminently reasonable. The provision in the bill for the nomination of these representatives by Government encountered some opposition; but it was eventually referred to Select Committee. Mr. Asavale's bill providing for the grant to women workers in factories of maternity benefits for six

weeks both before and after confinement was given a first reading. As expected, the bill was stoutly opposed by the capitalists' representatives in the Council. Their opposition was based on the ground amongst others that what was wanted was really a piece of legislation applicable to the whole country rather than one applicable to one province. Those who brought forward this argument against the bill failed to take account of the fact that when Mr. N. M. Joshi was trying to get the Legislative Assembly to enact a similar measure which would have covered the whole country, his efforts were frustrated mainly owing to the opposition of the same vested interests. It is however a source of satisfaction that by passing its first reading the Council has given its support to the principle of granting maternity benefits to women workers. This is not an inconsiderable gain and if the Council continues to be equally sympathetic towards labour, there is no reason why this bill should not be placed on the statute book before long.

* * *

The memorandum presented by the Muslim members of the U. P. Council is one of the U. P. Muslim most puzzling that has been so far penned. It advocates that the structure of the Central Government should remain intact; at the same time it wishes to abolish the India Council and to restrict the control of the Secretary of State. This means that the Central Government will recognize no responsibility except to the Assembly and we know how shadowy it is. Dominion Status is, in the opinion of the signatories, unthinkable owing to the absence of the spirit of good will and compromise amongst the various parties and communities. The Memorandum emphasises the need of special representation of Muslims in the services and local bodies and advocates the continuance of communal electorates. Unlike other Muslim bodies it fights shy of provincial autonomy, the reason probably being that in U. P. the Muslims are likely to be out-voted in the Council under a fully responsible form of Government and to have fewer representatives in the Ministry. The substance of the main suggestions thus appears to be that the Muslims in U. P. would prefer to jog along in the same way as they have been doing so far. This is Toryism in excelsis. If this is a typical specimen of Muslim thinking all over the country then we might as well despair of constitutional reform even of the smallest dimension. Unless the local Muslim excogitations are controlled by a responsible All-India body the Muslim case might present itself as a wallet of parti-coloured patches.

* * *

THE speakers at the meeting of the East India Association recently addressed by the Maharaja of Patiala included Sir Michael O'Dwyer. A wide gulf divides him and Indian politicians, so far as India's political aspirations are concerned; but in regard to the problem of Indian States which formed the subject of discussion at this meeting he gave expression to some sentiments for which the subjects of Indian States ought to be grateful to him. It is no doubt risky to base any comments on happenings in foreign lands on mere cabled summaries; but Sir Michael O'Dwyer's statements appear to be too categorical to admit of any misconception by anybody, even by Reuter. He expressed the view that it would be most unwise to give up the right of the Paramount Power to interfere in the affairs of Indian States in case of maladministration. This right of the Paramount Power which cannot be said to have been exercised too frequently or light heart-

edly in the past is the only safeguard which the subjects of Indian States have against oppression by their rulers. To ask that this right should be taken away from the Paramount Power is virtually to demand that the subjects should be handed over to the unbridled autocracy of the Indian Princes. If the control of the Paramount Power over the Indian Princes is to be removed as is demanded by them, it is only right that it should be substituted by that of their subjects. This would be a consummation devoutly to be wished; and is only a counsel of perfection at the present stage. But till this is done, why be in a hurry to remove the only safeguard which in theory at least stands between ruthless oppression and the subjects of the states? Whatever else may be the outcome of the labours of the Butler Committee, we hope it will not be misled into recommending anything which will have the effect of enabling the Princes to oppress or misrule their subjects with impunity.

* * *

IT is curious to reflect upon some of the observations made on India as affording relief to unemployment in Great Britain in various forms. In a recent article, Lord Birkenhead has dwelt on the phenomenon that the bulk of the middle class unemployed in England ceases to be a danger to the State by being drafted on to India. Here perhaps we get a clue to the persistent opposition to Indianisation of the services, by the Britishers in England as well as in India. Similarly the value of India to the unemployed in the industries in England by consuming British textiles and other exports has been commented upon by Lord Birkenhead. Similarly Mr. Philip Snowden in the recent debate on unemployment in the House of Commons suggested the tapping of the Indian source. We quote his words: "If the purchasing power of the Indian peasant were only raised by three farthings a week, there would not be a loom or a spindle idle in Lancashire." Along with this he proposes sending machinery to cultivate the land and money for manures with a view to give a stimulus to the machine trade in Great Britain. Of course there is nothing wrong about a statesman wishing to relieve unemployment in his own country. But to expect India to support Lancashire industry when her own textile industry is in dire straits is hardly altruistic. The role of India is not surely to minister to other people's comforts at the expense of her own.

* * *

Faint praise from a man of Sir Lalubhai Samaldas's temperament and character is tantamount to a condemnation of the Agricultural Commission's Report. Sir Lalubhai who delivered a lecture on the subject recently thinks that the all-important question of Land Revenue was kept out of the terms of reference of the Commission because Government were afraid to place all their cards even before a tribunal appointed by themselves. Sir Lalubhai Samaldas is surprised at the omission in the Report to gauge the effects of the 18d. ratio on agriculture, which, according to him, is a very valuable line of investigation. In his opinion the Commission's discussion of rural indebtedness has been very sketchy and haphazard. He is equally surprised at the rejection of his suggestion to appoint an Indian on the Permanent Committee of the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome. To say that the British representative can look after the general interests of India is, he says, not reassuring because it is doubtful whether he will do so according to the wishes of Indians.

* * *

MUSLIM CLAIMS.

MANY reasons can be advanced, and have been advanced, as to why in the present circumstances the only course open to self-respecting patriots is to leave the Statutory Commission severely alone. But to the Muslims, that is to say, to that fraction of them which is led by Sir Mahomed Shafi only one reason might have been sufficient, namely, that they do not command anything like the ability and the skill which are necessary in preferring their claims to the Commission. The memorandum which the so-called All-India Muslim League has submitted will be placed in C₂ category even as a school-boy essay. It contains the usual demands made on behalf of the Mahomedans without giving any reasons to support those demands, and where any faint attempt is made to indicate the reasons, the writer makes such ludicrous mistakes and shows such a colossal ignorance even of the elements of political science that no inquiring body, unless it wants to exploit communalism, can help at once putting the memorandum out of court.

It need hardly be said that the greatest stress is laid by the League on communal electorates, and keenly as we desire their elimination from the political organisation of the country, we do not mind confessing that a much stronger case can be made out for them than what is found in this memorandum. The League regards separate electorates as "the cornerstone of the Reforms" and yet it is its opinion that they "have not served to counteract monopolisation" by the Hindus. It is this creation of an "oligarchy" that the League wants to guard against. It seems to think that Hindus still continue to dominate Indian politics and secure for themselves a position of unfair advantage because they reckon for the purposes of election as one community, whereas if this community were broken up into various castes, each caste itself would be so feeble that the community as a whole would cease to be a formidable competitor to the Muslims. For this purpose the League suggests that the "depressed classes" and "other large classes or communities" should be dealt with separately in the constitution instead of as component parts of one entity, the Hindus. The League however has not the sense to understand that whatever other evils may arise from such a splitting of the Hindu community, the latter would gain thereby in political power, and not lose. For each of these fragments of the Hindus, being in a minority, would then be entitled to all the special favours which the Muslims claim for themselves, for, we are told, "the League has no objection to the non-Muslims being given the same concession in Provinces when they are in a small minority."

The Hindus would thus get a larger number of seats in the Legislature than their numbers would warrant, whereas they get now a smaller number, and this increase would naturally be at the cost of the Mahomedans, the next largest community, and therefore the Mahomedans would obtain as a result of the arrangement which the League suggests, not more but

fewer seats in the Councils. In public services also the League seeks to introduce the principle of communal representation, and it pleads that "the Muslim share in the provincial services should be at least the same as its representation in the legislative bodies and in the all-India services not less than one-third." The Hindu share in public employment, it complains, is at present larger than it should be, and the excess is justified by "the false plea of higher efficiency." If Hindu efficiency is unduly rated higher than it really is, the League would be expected to suggest the application of a true criterion like competitive examinations, but it does nothing of the kind; nor does it trouble to show how the proportion it lays down is in keeping with the test of efficiency. Hindus themselves have recommended alternative methods of advancing Moslems and other backward classes in the public services, which do not conflict with the efficiency test; but the Moslem League would have none of them. It is also to be noticed that the memorandum has nothing to say of the suggestion made by Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan, that special safeguards should be introduced in the constitution like those inserted in the constitutions of succession states in behalf of minorities. Sir Michael O'Dwyer referred to the same question recently. He said, "In the case of a small community with a great historic past confronted with the varying claims of different creeds and races pressed with great insistence, it was essential to insist that in the future provision of the better Government of India its position should be unassailable. There was nothing unusual in such a claim. It had been accepted in the case of all the reconstituted States of Europe that came into being after the Great War—Greater Serbia, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Austria, Poland and other States. In all these cases there were admirable fundamental provisions laid down in the post-war treaties to guarantee the civil and religious rights of the minorities, and provision was made that if their rights were infringed those minorities should be able to appeal to the League of Nations. If such safeguards were needed in Europe with its advanced culture, civilization and religious tolerance, how much more necessary it was to have similar guarantees for the Anglo-Indian and other minorities in the future constitution of India, with an appeal to the impartial Central Government—taking the place of the League of Nations—in the case of a minority if it complained of being oppressed by having its rights disregarded by the majority?" The principle of Cultural Autonomy enunciated above is quite a sound one and universally admitted as necessary wherever there are permanent minorities. But in the hands of the League, this unexceptionable principle takes the hideous form of a demand for guarantees for cow-slaughter and the prevention of music before mosques! This shows what a remarkable capacity the League has for perverting right principles.

Apart from communal claims, the memorandum asks for a constitutional advance, the precise extent of which it is difficult to determine, and about which,

one suspects, the writer himself had no clear idea. It would appear that the League desires the Secretary of State to withdraw his control over the Government of India from all departments except Foreign Affairs and Defence. In the remaining departments, which of course inaccurately, the League calls the departments of "internal administration" the Government of India should be supreme. On the main question of the extent to which the future Government of India is to be made amenable to popular control the memorandum is too confused to make it possible to predicate anything definite about it. The Viceroy's Cabinet is to consist of eight members, of whom at least four are to be Indians (of course "adequate representation being given to Indians"). The Legislature's power over the budget is to be increased by increasing the number of votable items, and "the decisions of the Legislative Assembly should be final. Only if all subjects are transferred should the Viceroy have the veto." Such a series of absurdities it is difficult to see packed in such few sentences. Of course the writer contemplates only non-responsible government, for even he may be presumed to know that responsible government is not consistent with provisions laying down that a certain proportion of the Cabinet shall be Indians or Mahomedans. But next we are told that the Legislative Assembly's decisions are to be final. The writer must not be assumed to desire a uni-cameral legislature, because he makes no mention here of the Council of State, but apart from this, how is the Assembly's decision to be made binding upon the Legislature, without giving the Legislature the power to turn out Ministers? The Viceroy is to be divested of the power of veto, but the power is to be restored to him if responsible government is introduced into all Departments including Defence and Foreign Affairs. It is clear that the writer has not the faintest notion of what the Governor-General's veto means. If the veto is required in full responsible government, does it stand to reason that it should be dispensed with when responsible government is only partially established? The whole memorandum is such a farrago of wild suggestions that it does not deserve even a moment's consideration at the hands of the Simon Commission. In the Provinces, the League asks for complete autonomy and for "joint responsibility of Ministers" but does not say how this principle of joint responsibility is consistent with the demand for a guarantee of a due share of posts "in the Central and Provincial cabinets."

The writer wants to look learned by making reference to Federal vs. Unitary Governments and by making suggestions as to where residuary powers should be lodged. In doing so however he only shows that he has not even an elementary knowledge of constitutional law. He wants the Central Government to "prevent the coming into existence in India of an oligarchy which would be disastrous to the vital interests of the country" and one would therefore expect that he would vest large powers in the Central Government. He has a preference however for the Federal System and residuary powers

being vested in the States. And this of course he does as if no other type of Government was even thinkable. How much better would it have been if the League had held its peace instead of parading its ignorance before the world.

INDIAN AGRICULTURE III.*

IN the present article we propose to deal with those chapters in the report of the Linlithgow Commission which treat of the conditions of the agriculturists themselves. People living in cities have very little knowledge of the actual conditions which obtain in villages and have no idea about the poverty of the agriculturists. They are in the habit of drawing or rather imagining very bright pictures of rural life. To such people the description of village life given by the Commission will be a revelation. India is a great subcontinent and has its own diversities, but there are certain social and economic conditions which are common to almost the whole of the country.

"There are very few urban areas; agriculture is by far the most important industry; the typical unit of cultivation is a holding; the financial resources of the cultivator are slender. In rural areas, a resident middle class is almost entirely absent; illiteracy is the rule and not, as in western countries, the exception;..." "Economic wastage due to disease cannot be over-exaggerated. Malaria slays its thousands and lowers the economic efficiency of hundreds of thousands;..." "Unprotected wells and tanks; unswept village streets; close pent windows excluding all ventilation: it is in such conditions that the average villager lives and yet succeeds in maintaining a remarkably high standard of personal cleanliness and tidiness"

This state of things in the rural areas is extremely bad and it is a wonder that it should exist under a civilised Government, because many of the evils can be easily remedied. The old systems of medical help have practically died out for want of encouragement and the new system is yet not within the reach of the villagers. The Commission has recommended the expansion of the Public Health department with the object of improving water supply, sanitary and conservancy arrangements in the rural areas. In connection with the expansion of medical facilities, the Commission suggests that a monthly subsidy should be given to qualified practitioners to induce them to settle in small towns or villages. Economic pressure may induce qualified medical men to go to rural areas and if they get subsidy as proposed the process may be accelerated. This is a good suggestion. It is a pity the Commission has completely lost sight of the indigenous systems of medicine. There ought to be some arrangement made to revive these and bring them along modern lines. The training of men in indigenous systems of medicine will be cheaper and medical help will be comparatively much less prohibitive to the people of the rural areas than it is at present. If a villager requires the services of the least skilled of the medical helpers a nurse for instance, he will have to pay on a scale beyond his means. Medical help must either be free or cheap enough to suit the economic condition of the villagers. The training of midwives, short courses for village women, the study of human nutrition, &c. are good suggestions. A suitable change in the diet of the people must be brought about not only to prevent diseases but also to improve the physical condition of the people. Power of hard work and endurance must be increased to make our industries economic. Without however the education of the masses very little progress can be achieved in any direc-

* Previous articles in this series appeared in our issues of July 5 and 19.

tion. The Commission recognises this fact and has made some pertinent suggestions.

The Commission is convinced of the importance to rural development of the spread of literacy both among men and women. It is found that very few students stay for four years at school in the primary stage. As it takes four years to obtain lasting literacy, the Commission considers that a very large portion of the expenditure on primary education is wasted so far as its aim is to make people literate. There are several difficulties in the way of achieving the aim and all possible attempts must be made to reach the goal.

The Commission rightly suggests that the text books in the primary and secondary schools should deal with subjects familiar to the daily life of the students and since over 73 per cent. of the population in India comes from the rural areas the text-books should give sufficient importance to rural and agricultural subjects. Agricultural lessons should be given not for imparting technical knowledge, but for mental training.

Vocational schools of the Loni type in the Bombay presidency are not considered to be suitable for the purpose for which they are meant. In the first place, there is no demand for such schools; in the second place, they are very costly and lastly the boys who attend such schools receive no instruction in the subjects required by high schools or colleges. They are practically prevented from taking higher courses. The Commission recommends the Punjab type of schools. In the Punjab elementary agriculture is included as an optional subject in the curriculum of the ordinary vernacular middle schools. "The aim is to enrich the middle school course in rural areas by the inclusion of agricultural training and thus to bring it more in keeping with the environment of the pupils;....."

It is a well known fact that Indian cultivators are not engaged in agriculture all the year round. They have from two to four months every year without any occupation. It is also a fact that the economic condition of the cultivators is unsatisfactory. It is therefore the duty of all those who aim at improving their condition, to see that the spare time of the rural population is well utilised. This can be done by bringing within the reach of the cultivators some sort of industrial work to fill up their spare time. There are two types of industries which the Commission regards as suitable; one includes industries of the ordinary factory type located in rural areas. In these the cultivator may get employment as a labourer when he has no work on his own land. Rice-hulling and oil crushing factories, sugar refineries and cotton ginneries &c. may come under this group. Under the second type may be included domestic industries such as gul-making, extraction of oil, hand-hulling of rice and the work of the village artisans. The handloom, pottery, brick-making, rope-making, poultry breeding, &c. are also very convenient industries to occupy the spare time of the cultivators. The exact industry suited to the needs of a particular locality must be determined by proper survey and investigation.

To lift up the rural population from their present condition proper leaders are a necessity. There must really be some agency that will act as a guide to those people. In the Gurgaon district of the Punjab sons of cultivators are given a special course of training in order that after the training is completed they may go out as guides to their village people. This idea of the "guide" appears to the Commission very valuable and it recommends it for the careful consideration of all those interested in village improvement. The Commission also admits that the

object aimed at may be achieved in several ways. There must be some unofficial agency that will direct the villagers where to go for advice and not give the advice himself. It is not an easy task to get suitable persons who will be the real guides but an attempt in that direction must be made by the leaders of the public. At one place the Commission says that everything which has been advocated for the material advancement of the people will merely postpone the effects of the growing pressure of the population on the soil. No lasting improvement in the standard of living of the great mass of the population can possibly be attained if every enhancement in the purchasing power of the cultivator is to be followed by a proportionate increase in the population. This is a question of great importance and deserves careful consideration at the hands of those interested in the welfare of the people.

AN AGRICULTURIST.

LABOUR POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA.-IV.*

IN the last article we saw that one line of the present Government's Labour policy was Colour Bar. The second is Wage Regulation. The principle invoked for this purpose is "equal wage for equal work", an unimpeachable doctrine, sanctified by its adoption and advocacy by the International Labour Organisation, Geneva. This policy is sought to be enforced both administratively and by legislation. For instance, the Public Works Department makes it a condition that contractors who undertake Government works shall pay not less than one shilling per hour for unskilled labour. The object of this clause is not to raise the minimum wage for all classes of unskilled labour, but for the purpose of "widening the scope of employment of civilised labour in every possible direction" (S. & I. Review, Oct. 1926). The object of fixing that wage is that the contractor would prefer to employ a white if he has perforce to pay that wage, though theoretically there is nothing said as to what class of labour should be employed.

The chief legislative measure for regulating wages is the Wage Act of 1925. The Act provides for the constitution of a Wage Board, whose duty it is to make recommendations to the Minister of Labour on the wages and other conditions of labour in any industry which is referred to it for examination. An enquiry of this kind may be initiated either by the Minister or by a registered trade union or by an employers' organisation or, where no such organisations exist, by employers or employees who satisfy the Board that they are representative of the trade concerned. It is not however open to trades where there exist registered organisations both of employers and of employees sufficiently representative of the trades to approach the Wage Board direct, but they will in the first instance have to apply to the Minister for a requisition to the Board. The idea is that where both employers and employees are organised, they should settle the terms of employment between themselves under the Industrial Conciliation Act. The Wage Act is meant more for the unorganised trades. When the Board is invoked, it proceeds on an investigation of the conditions in the trade. It is directed by the Act to take into consideration, among other things the existing conditions, the ability of the trade to pay the wages and fulfil other conditions that may be suggested by the Board, and the cost of living in the concerned area. The recommendations of the Board are submitted to the Minister, with whom rests the

*Previous articles in this series appeared in our issues of March, 22, April 19 and June 7.

final power of promulgating them. Before doing so, however, he has to publish the reports and recommendations of the Board for general information and invite criticisms within one month. If the Minister considers the criticisms worth looking into he may request the Board to reconsider their recommendations and make suitable changes, if any. While the Minister, by executive order, has the power to determine the wages and conditions and make them binding, he has no power to vary the recommendations of the Board. He must accept or reject them.

In all this there is no explicit colour bar or reference to any particular community of workers. They are, however, the inevitable consequence of the rates or wages that the Wage Board may recommend. If the rates approximate to the current standard of living of the Native or the Coloured, the European will practically be excluded; if they approximate to the European standard, the non-European will practically be excluded. It all depends on the cost of living that the Wage Board takes into consideration. In this matter the Board is given a definite direction, though it is introduced rather clumsily and as it were, surreptitiously. Sec. 3, subsection (3) requires that the Board shall not make any recommendation with regard to "the employees in any trade or section thereof" if it finds it impossible to recommend for those employees a rate of wage upon which such employees will be able to support themselves "in accordance with civilised habits of life." In such circumstances, it has to report the fact to the Minister, who may, however, request the Board to make such recommendations as it thinks feasible.

The implications of this sub-section are far-reaching from the racial point of view. One of them is that the Board is required to make recommendations in the first instance and as far as possible according to the civilised standards of life, which means according to the European standard. The minimum wage must be compatible with a white standard of living. Another is that it is presumed and admitted that it is impossible to provide for such a rate of wage for all workers. White standard wage cannot be the minimum standard for all, white, coloured or Native. Industry will not bear that charge. The inevitability of a double standard is recognised, despite all the protestations of "equal pay for equal work." The Wage Act contemplates a "primary order of wages based on European standards, and a secondary one below that standard."

A STUDENT.

SIR LESLIE SCOTT'S LATEST.

IN his letter published in the July number of the *Law Quarterly Review*, Sir Leslie Scott has laid down certain broad principles which he believes can be admitted on all hands but which cannot really find general acceptance. Sir Leslie thinks that there is no legal decision to serve as precedent in determining the relations of Indian States to the Crown; and maintains that resort must be had to first principles of Law. He thinks that this subject is a virgin field for the lawyer; whether it is really so or not, it is no doubt a virgin field for Sir Leslie Scott. Constitutional writers like Mr. Tupper and Sir William Lee-Warner have dealt with this subject at considerable length. After the publication of the works of these authors there was a discussion at the East India Association in England on this very question viz. the Sovereign Princes of India and their relations to the Empire, which was started by Sir Roper Lethbridge. The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Crambrook, formerly Secretary of State for India, was in the chair and the whole question

has since then been dealt with from every conceivable standpoint. It is no doubt true that the Indian States are divested of one important element of sovereignty viz. the power of defence; and enjoy only powers of legislation, taxation, and partially of administration in their States. Though the Indian Princes or their subjects are not subject to the laws passed by the British Indian Legislature or to the taxation imposed by the Indian Legislature, the Government of India is responsible for the welfare of the subjects of Indian States; and in the discharge of its constitutional responsibility for the civil and military government of India, adopts remedial measures to correct misrule. Sir Leslie Scott seems forgetful of this important duty of the Government of India. Thus the relations of the Government of India exercising delegated powers under the constitution towards the Indian States, though incapable of precise definition, are well understood. They are not international as some princes are fond of saying; they are akin to those subsisting between a Suzerain power and its dependent vassals.

Sir Leslie's broad propositions seem to me unwarranted and can be characterised, in the words of Pandit Motilal Nehru, as based on wrong history and bad law. The first proposition enunciated by him is that the fundamental tie between the Indian States and the Paramount Power is one of consent. This shows gross ignorance of Indian history. The tie is not based on consent but on acquiescence on the part of Indian Rulers by reason of their helpless position and is imposed upon them by the Paramount Power owing to its undoubted strength and superior diplomacy. Sir Leslie observes that the British Nation is irrevocably committed by the pronouncements of Kings and Viceroys to the scrupulous observance of all its contractual undertakings to the Indian States. In the first place, these are not contractual, but diplomatic, undertakings. And in the second place, the treaties were never concluded by any King of England in his individual capacity and the Viceroy is a term not recognised by the statute! Even prior to the Act of 1858 all treaties were concluded by the Governor-General under the direction of the Board of Directors and the Board of Control. Since 1858 though the Government is carried on in the name of the Crown and on its behalf, it is, as described by Viscount Palmerston, Government carried on by the constitutional advisers of the Crown who are responsible to Parliament and to the people of Great Britain.

The second proposition enunciated by Sir Leslie Scott is that these contracts (a term which he perversely applies to these treaties and engagements) are between sovereigns, the Princes and the Crown, not the Company or the Government of India. This is a proposition to which no student of Indian history can subscribe. Treaties and Engagements have, I repeat once again, been made by the Company and the Government of India and we would challenge Sir Leslie Scott to cite historical evidence in support of his proposition.

His third proposition is that the relationship between the States and the Paramount Power is wholly legal—a nexus of mutual rights and obligations. The relationship is diplomatic and has all the incidents which are inseparable from the relations subsisting between a high contracting party and a weak dependent principality.

His fourth proposition is that the contracts between the Princes and the Crown are personal, that is incapable of being performed by any one else. This proposition is simply astounding. The undertakings with the Indian Princes have always been performed not by the Crown but by its Agents appointed by the Crown's constitutional advisers. The Princes on their

part also are dealing with the Agents of the Crown except only in the expression of their feelings of loyalty which in theory is due to the person of the Crown and not to it in its political capacity. From this false premise Sir Leslie draws a conclusion which is fraught with utmost danger to the attainment of Indian Swaraj. He states:

"The Princes in making them (contracts) gave their confidence to the British Crown and Nation and the Crown cannot assign the contracts to any third party. The British Government as Paramount Power has undertaken the defence of all the States; and therefore to remain in India with whatever military and naval forces may be requisite to enable it to discharge that obligation. It cannot hand over those forces to any other Government—to a foreign power such as France or Japan, to a Dominion Government such as Canada or Anstralia nor even to British India."

This confirms the worst fears of British Indian politicians who have always suspected the object of the agitation of the Indian Princes inspired by the bureaucracy to be to deprive the Swaraj Government of the future of any control over the Indian Army. Sir Leslie Scott now appears in his true colour and there can be hereafter no mistaking his meaning. Under the constitution granted by the Act of 1858, the control over the Indian army vests in the Government of India. This can be exercised even by the future Government of India, no matter if its complexion is black or even if it is composed of the agents of the people instead of the agents of the Crown. The Government will all the same be in the name of the Crown as at present.

In this letter, Sir Leslie Scott puts forth the new-fangled theory of direct relations with the Crown. He observes:

"How far the Crown can delegate to the Government of British India as its agent, the discharge of its treaty obligations to the States is also a matter for consideration. The Crown can normally choose his agents; but an Agent cannot act where his interests may conflict with his duty. In all matters of common concern with the States—customs, railways, posts, the salt monopoly, etc. there is always the possibility that the interests of British India may not be identical with the interests of a particular State. The Crown's duty is or may be to safeguard the interests of the State, particularly in the case of minority administrations. Should the interests of the agent be given the chance of conflicting with the duty of the principal?"

The whole argument is entirely fallacious and thoroughly mischievous. It reveals in all its nakedness another phase of the theory of direct relations with the Crown and its dangerous consequences. We have in these columns shown how this theory of direct relations is untenable. The Secretary of State and the Governor-General in Council are the agents, not of the Crown but of Parliament. It is these very agents that have during the last seventy-five years managed these relations. The injustice done to the States by these Agents of Parliament, who are only technically called agents of the Crown is due to the lack of proper supervision of Parliament over them. The Government of India was and still is responsible to the British Parliament which exercised vigilance only when British interests were affected. The responsible Government of the future would ordinarily not act prejudicially to the interests of the Princes and their people, for after all blood is thicker than water and British Indians would never fail in their duty towards their brethren, the Indian Princes and their people, owing allegiance to the same motherland.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

REVIEW SECTION.

SOME PROHIBITION FACTS.

THE PROHIBITION MANIA. By CLARENCE DARROW and VICTOR S. DARROS. (Boni and Liveright, New York.) 1927. 8¼ × 5¾. pp. 254. \$ 2.25.

THE leading author, Mr. Clarence Darrow, has a reputation which makes one expect a more reasoned book than this from him, or at least one less palpably weak. On the eve of its publication a year ago it was rumoured that Prohibitionists were afraid of this book and that certain workers of the Anti-Saloon League thought it would likely be the most dangerous attack ever launched from the printing press upon Prohibition. If the rumour was correct some entirely unnecessary worrying was done. This book will not convince any student, trained to weigh evidence and to discard irrelevancies, that Prohibition is a mania, or a failure, or is for any reason whatever unworthy of support.

Darrow and Darros have written what purports to be a reply to Professor Irving Fisher's book "Prohibition at Its Worst." Professor Fisher is at the head of the Department of Political Economy, of Yale University. He is accused in this book of making "many unsupported assertions, gratuitous assumptions, fallacious points and flagrant omissions." If to this list there be added "gross exaggerations, shameless appeals to prejudice, quibbling and other tricks of logic and rhetoric" a fairly complete catalogue of the characteristics of this book is provided.

The first specification against Professor Fisher is that in advocating compulsory legislation for eradicating intemperance he implied that such legislation does away with the liquor traffic, whereas, the authors say,

"Prohibition does not and *cannot* do away with the speak-easy, the blind pig, the home brew or the private still and that the drinker whose control has been weakened by the use of intoxicants will seek to find illegal means of gratifying his appetite, also that the dry régime has greatly stimulated the demand for and the use of patent medicines which contain from 15 to 20 per cent. of alcohol, also that *all sorts* of alcohol, can *easily* (italics the authors' own) be manufactured in the average home."

A reference to his book shows that Professor Fisher has not claimed that Prohibition will completely do away with the liquor traffic, any more than Moses claimed that the ten commandments would do away with stealing, adultery or murder. That Prohibition will not and *cannot* do away with the speakeasy, the blind pig, the home brew or the private still is a gratuitous assumption that a wealth of facts has proved false. The Prohibitionist claims and *proves* that in many communities Prohibition has done away with an illicit traffic that flourished under the pre-Prohibition licensing policy, and has not permitted such a traffic to be established in other communities where it was not known. No proof whatever is offered for the claim that the dry régime has greatly stimulated the demand for and the use of patent medicines

which contain 15 to 25 per cent. of alcohol. The authors do not even prove that there has been a great increase of the use of such patent medicines; and do not make the slightest pretence to offer any proof that if such an increase has occurred the dry régime has had anything to do with it. On the contrary they go ahead later with an elaborate effort to prove that there has been available everywhere in America such quantities of alcoholic liquor that it has been possible to try it with entire ease at any time. In their zeal to discredit Prohibition they seize and try to use charges that effectively dispose of each other. Liquor can be bought everywhere and is in fact being bought everywhere; but because liquor cannot be bought the people are making it in their own homes and because they cannot either buy or make the regular alcoholic drinks they are buying vast quantities of patent medicines that contain from 15 to 25 per cent. of alcohol and because they cannot get that, they are buying poisoned liquor and are dying by the thousands; but there is a great decrease in the death-rate which however has nothing to do with Prohibition!

Appeals to prejudice move certain classes of readers as appeals to reason never do. This is particularly true with people who have been much addicted to drink, for alcohol tends to weaken the reasoning powers and to strengthen prejudices. An illustration is afforded in this first chapter where an obvious effort is made to exploit the prejudice of city-dwellers against farmers. The economic self-interest conflict between urban and city populations is perhaps the chief factor in causing this prejudice, but in America differences in political, social and moral ideas and to some extent in religion and in social origins have also been powerful factors. The city populations have contained a higher population of Democrats, of Roman Catholics, of foreign-born citizens and of aliens, have been more favourable to malodorous political machines like Tammany in New York, the Vare gang in Philadelphia and the Thompson-combine in Chicago, and have been less favourable to Prohibition than the rural inhabitants. Prohibition has been represented to the city-dwellers in ceaseless propaganda as a mania of fanatical, ignorant, uncouth farmers. This has deeply impressed the indicated sections of the urban population and has helped to hold them in opposition to Prohibition. It is obvious that one big aim of this book is to strengthen the hold on these classes for the support of the anti-Prohibition effort. The authors suggest that the Volstead Act has been framed at the behest of the farmers so as to deprive the city dwellers of their drink while allowing the farmer to "drink alcoholic beverages to his heart's content." This, say the authors, "has not a little to do with their fervent championship of prohibition *for others*... The farmer's belief in Prohibition would possess more significance if he evinced any disposition to practise in his own life that pretended belief."

This is a libel on the American farmer. He is even drier in his personal habits than he is in politics. No evidence whatever has been adduced to prove that the farmers who support the Prohibition law, or any large proportion of them, are personally addicted to drinking habits.

The references are typical of the book as a whole.

J. W. PICKETT.

THE FUTURE OF THE NEW WORLD.

AMERICA. By HENDRIK VAN LOON. (Bonif & Liveright Inc., New York.) 1927. 9½ × 6¼. pp. 470.

To one who has read and enjoyed "The Story of Mankind", the reading of "America" is a pleasure. One feels at home, for here is the same easy interesting style, here is the same type of illustration, for the most part clever and suggestive like that for the palisades or the Louisiana Purchase; here too is the same wide grasp and breadth of vision carrying over long sweeps of time that characterize all of Mr. Van Loon's writing. He quotes an old French recipe for the writing of History. "Let us compile, my friends, let us compile, and out of seven hundred and eighty-four other books let us make a hundred and seventy-fifth." Of course Mr. Van Loon does not compile, he draws on his own great fund of knowledge and experience, but the reader feels that here indeed is a seven hundred and eighty-fifth book, one new and different and refreshing in its scope and attitude from many others that have gone before.

He gives in one volume a remarkably unified picture of the contributing causes and significant factors that have gone into the development of the American nation from the very beginning, disregarding traditional ideas and going to the heart of the matter. He emphasizes the continued importance of world economic needs and pressures, an emphasis too long neglected. He points out the influence and interaction of different racial groups and the reasons within the nations and races themselves for their success or failure in the new world. He reminds us of the familiar religious and political motives that we have always been taught about. His point of view in regard to the Revolution is as refreshing as that in regard to the early colonizations, and he shows us the flaws in American statesmanship and military leadership as well as virtues in England of that day. He shows too other forces than the desire for "Taxation with Representation" at work, and makes us feel the inevitability of the Revolution and its results. He is brief in his survey of the development of the country before and after the Civil War and up to the present, but uncanny in his ability to point out real influences and active forces and to separate the chaff from the wheat in popular ideas. Best of all he makes America, past and present, vivid and absorbingly interesting and a challenge to the mind and heart. He neither spares criticism nor heaps laurels; one feels he tells the truth and one is at once discouraged and hopeful.

There is one warning for the reader of this book. Mr. Van Loon generalizes in a way so delightful as to make one forget its dangers. In works of the kind he likes, where he has to cover great periods of time in a short space, this particular habit is almost impossible to avoid, and if one remembers to add just a grain of salt here and there, one's enjoyment is not in the least dimmed. For example he says:

"Tobacco played an immediate and most important rôle. It saved the northern part of the American continent for the cause of Protestantism."

Or again,

"The Hollanders, like all people who live in countries where it rains for the greater part of the year, became enthusiastic partisans of the ideas propounded by Luther and Calvin."

One smiles as one reads these statements, and drawing upon one's stock of information interprets their meaning to one's satisfaction. This knack of generalizing, and the rapid comprehensive scope of the book, make it important to read other books on the subject, for a great deal of general knowledge of world events is presupposed. This fact recognized, there is pure joy in the reading of "America."

The book ends with a challenge to all thinking Americans and to all friends of America.

"We are in the midst of a revolution, the greatest revolution the world has seen since the invention of the written word. But we are so utterly in the midst of it that we cannot possibly know what is happening or what the outcome will be."

But Mr. Van Loon, with insight born of a wide and deep knowledge of the world's story since the beginning, hazards a guess as to the outcome of this revolution which is as yet in its early stages, and which has thrown America without her own seeking into the position of greatest responsibility in the modern world.

"What of the future?"

What of the most uncomfortable duty which the fate of war has suddenly placed in the bewildered hands of the younger generation? Will our children be able and willing to assume a responsibility which has proved too heavy for the most courageous and experienced of their fathers?

Will they?

If they refuse they shall be rich and prosperous and snug and dull and our history shall remain what it is today, a fairly interesting episode in the history of the world, and no more.

If they accept they shall be called upon to make every sort of personal sacrifice to indulge in every form of hard, physical and mental labor, but they shall gain such fame as never yet has been achieved by any other race of mortal men.

And may heaven have mercy upon them if they make the wrong choice."

C. L. INGHAM.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION. By CECIL CLARE NORTH. (The University of North Carolina Press.) 1926. 9¼ × 6¼. pp. 343. \$ 2-50.

AS is natural in a textbook, much of this book is rather obvious and very dull. "The Nature and Kinds of Social Differences" occupy the first part and are lucidly stated; then follows a consideration of the "Biological Factors", age, sex and race. As befits a member of a young people, Prof. North pours scorn upon the veneration for the aged, though she is prepared to admit that a more stable state of society may be coming, in which case the experience of old age will regain its value. But are openmindedness and energy, the qualities that are associated with youth (though it is questionable whether youth is more openminded than old age) so exclusively important to society? Are not gentleness and peaceableness, qualities of age, valuable? We believe that Society loses much when age ceases to confer respect.

With regard to sex, Prof. North is prepared to admit that there is a biological difference between the sexes; but she insists that the evident differences of mentality are due to social and not biological causes.

With regard to the differences she instances the superior sexual and inferior business morality, and so on. This may fairly be admitted, but when we get down to what we believe is the fundamental difference of mentality, the tendency of woman to make all her judgments personal, it may fairly be doubted. And if this is a genuine biological trait, it is obvious that it is bound to affect woman's position, for example, in business or in the administration of justice.

But, as the title suggests, the book is chiefly taken up with differences of rank and economic status. Historically, Prof. North is perfectly correct in saying that such differences have generally arisen owing to conquest; that they have served humanity well at certain stages, even in the case of slavery; and that they tend to survive when their usefulness is past. At the same time, there are things to be said in favour of the system of classes which are not said.

In the first place, there is the safeguarding of culture achieved by exclusiveness. This is recognised, and to a certain extent refuted; we are told that it is not true that men of eminence arise more under an aristocratic régime than under a democratic one. But it remains true that America, where social distinctions are least regarded, contributes hardly anything to art or literature; and the young school of novelists that is beginning to do so are the most bitter critics of American society.

Secondly, a class system leads to very friendly relations between the classes as long as equality is not claimed. A man may play cricket with his footman, and talk to him with an intimacy which he could not use to the "pusher" who would expect an invitation to dinner. If Prof. North is correct in regarding Caste as an extreme form of Class (which we incline to doubt), the Caste system affords an excellent example of this. It has, of course, its weakness: as soon as the difference is challenged in any way, or there arises conscious patronage on the one hand or "flunkeyism" on the other, the whole thing collapses.

The last part of the book, which deals with "Social Differentiation and Social Welfare" is by no means dull; but it is written under the influence of certain democratic dogmas which are not examined. It would be interesting to know more details about certain examples given from America. For instance, we are told that in the United States everybody attends the same schools, rich and poor, high and low. We wonder whether the little Negroes and Chinese and Armenians also attend them and whether they are treated with equal care by their teacher and not ostracised or bullied by their "White" associates. If this is so, then it is very fine; but if it is not so, then the system is far more illiberal than the English one, in which all children, including those of aliens, must go to the Board school if not being educated elsewhere, but in which parents may send their children to other schools if they prefer to pay; and in which the son of a parvenu coming to a public school, though no doubt bullied and ragged at first, will ultimately be judged according to his real worth.

Modern India provides us with the spectacle of a class system, not depending on conquest, in process of formation. As the caste system is breaking down, we see the formation of a governing class, the possessors of University degrees, bearing this essential hallmark of a privileged class that they consider themselves entitled to a higher standard of living. If class distinctions are not a permanent element in human life, how is it that, with no tradition behind him, a man who has passed some disgracefully easy examinations, generally by method he reverse of intelligent or educational, can claim

a higher standard of living than, say, a cultivator with quite as much genuine culture and a great deal more usefulness to the country? And why should the claim be admitted by the "uneducated"? There must be something in it.

WALTER O. FITCH

POST-WAR EUROPEAN ECONOMICS.

THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE LEAGUE. (Europa Publishing Co., Ltd., London.) 1927. 9¾ x 5½. pp. 235. 12s. 6d.

ONE of the most important achievements in the history of the League of Nations was the successful organisation of the first International Economic Conference which was held from 4th to 23rd May 1927. The Conference was convened in pursuance of the Assembly's decision of September 24th, 1925. The idea originated with Mr. Loucheur, the head of the French delegation. The ground was admirably prepared by a Preparatory Committee of thirty-five members which worked in collaboration with the Economic Section of the League and placed at the service of the Conference some sixty memoranda carefully prepared by experts on various aspects of finance, commerce, industry and agriculture. The Conference was attended by 194 delegates from fifty countries including Russia and the United States though they are not members of the League. It was a most representative gathering of experts and experienced men including merchants, financiers, industrialists, economists agriculturists and representatives of workers' and consumers' organisations.

The Conference adopted a very comprehensive report clarifying the economic condition of the world, and particularly of Europe, as affected by the Great War, analysing the causes of the present depression and suggesting specific remedies under the separate headings of commerce, industry and agriculture. The foremost place was naturally given to the problems of international commerce and the Conference declared that "the time has come to put an end to the increase in tariffs and to move in the opposite direction." The book under review seems chiefly to have been prepared to canvass public opinion in favour of that proposition by means of articles written by delegates of various nationalities who took part in the Conference. The report of the Conference, the report of the Council of the League on the work of the Conference, the report and resolutions passed by the Assembly of the League are all relegated to appendices in very small type. It is also amusing to note that while non-official bodies in Britain like the present one are busy sermonising the whole world on the need for pulling down tariff barriers, officially Britain has been busy since 1925 creating tariff barriers on watches and clocks, automobiles and motor-cycles, musical instruments, cinema films, lace and embroidery, silk and artificial silk, electric bulbs, some 5000 so-called "key chemicals" etc. and guaranteeing those barriers for five years and ten.

The editor cannot be complimented on the title he has chosen for the book. He intends it obviously to be complimentary to the League but the phrase has associations in the mind of the world of exactly the opposite character. Mr. Keynes' brilliant book "The Economic Consequences of the Peace" pointed out the disastrous consequences which were bound to ensue from the enforcement of the economic clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. The League has not so far perpetrated anything so disastrous. On the contrary it has been credited with the unfolding of a new era in international economic relations.

through the Conference convened under its auspices last year. Why then adopt a title with such bad associations for a book commending that work?

R. M. JOSHI.

BENJAMIN DISRAELI.

DISRAELI, A PICTURE OF THE VICTORIAN AGE. By ANDRE MAUROIS. (John Lane, the Bodley Head Ltd., London.) 1927. 9 x 5 3/4. pp. 324. 12s. 6d.

DISRAELI'S life, which was a romance, is a fascinating subject for study and M. Maurois has written a fascinating book on the subject. Few statesmen have started on their career with greater disadvantages than Disraeli and yet by sheer force of genius, backed up by indomitable will, he overcame all obstacles and became the recognized chief of one of the proudest aristocracies in the world. The modern Conservative party, having for its political creed the maintenance of the fundamental institutions of the country in so far, and so far only, as they promote the happiness and welfare of the common people is his creation. He educated his party to come to terms with the modern democratic movement. Long before the 'condition of the people' question came to be discussed in the House of Commons, Disraeli drew attention to the fact that while wealth was increasing by leaps and bounds and Great Britain was cited as the most prosperous nation throughout Europe, the working classes were steeped in misery and poverty, and that an impassable barrier separated them from the richer classes. In 1867 he persuaded his party to give the franchise to the working classes, and thus gave them the means of securing their own political salvation. When he became Prime Minister in 1874 he and his colleagues carried out in Parliament a series of measures which provided the working classes with sanitary and commodious homes, reduced the hours of work and made them equal before law with their employers as regards labour contracts.

Disraeli, however, holds his place in the history of England, not merely because he taught his party to accept democratic conditions, or because he inspired legislation for the amelioration of the working classes, but because he stimulated the potent idea of the British Empire among the English people. M. Maurois commits himself to an inaccurate statement when he says that Disraeli cherished this idea from his youth upwards. As a matter of fact, Disraeli wrote in 1852 to Lord Malmesbury: "these wretched colonies...are a millstone round our necks". And again in 1866 he wrote to Lord Derby: "What is the use of these colonial dead-weights which we do not govern?" He, however, changed his mind, and in 1852 he had arrived at the conclusion that "no minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of reconstructing as much as possible our colonial empire." The conception of British Empire, though based on sentiment, is not incapable of reasoned justification.

"Imperialism is to all who share it a form of passionate feeling; it is a political religion, for it is public spirit touched with emotion. No sane Imperialist should care to deny that this is so. He may well admit the dangers while vindicating the essential reasonableness of a policy founded in part on feeling. He will, however, unhesitatingly contend that enthusiasm for the maintenance of the British Empire is a form of patriotism which has a high absolute worth of its own, and is both excited and justified by the lessons of history." (Dicey.)

Above all, this Imperial idea prepared the way for the nobler conception of the Empire as consisting of "autonomous communities equal in status,

in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

It is impossible to think of Disraeli's career without recalling that of his great rival, Gladstone.

"They were in their different ways," says Lord Oxford, "two of the greatest Parliamentarians in English History and that when they became, as each did in turn, the idol of the nation, it was not by reason of their ascendancy in the House of Commons, but through their capacity to touch and capture, the one the imagination, the other the conscience, of their countrymen outside."

It is impossible to improve on this admirable estimate.

N. NARASIMHA MOORTHY.

POLITICS AND LABOUR.

WHERE IS LABOUR GOING? By L. HADEN GUEST. (Jonathan Cape, London.) 8 x 5. pp. 156. 5s.

THIS is a challenging book, especially to Labourites and Socialists. Dr. Haden Guest does not in so many words answer his own query by saying that Labour is going to the dogs, but it amounts to that, unless indeed it can be brought into line with "realities." But his complaint is not so much against the movement as against its leaders, not so much against Trade Unionism as against the Labour Party. He recognises that the achievements of the former lie for the most part in the fields of industrial and co-operative organization, with only quite a secondary influence on legislation. It is about the political arm of the movement, and the leaders of that arm, that he has some hard things to say. For example, on page 33 we find the following serious charge laid at their door:—

"The present leaders of Labour are allowing the vast movement to be misled so that its forces can be used for purposes of social disruption, both in this country, and as a matter of world policy. The active class-war policy has been adopted by a large number of leading persons in the I.L.P. and the Labour Party generally. The strength of the Labour movement is therefore being set against the interests of the British Empire and against the interests of world peace. For class-war means civil war in one part of the world or another, with its inevitable resulting dictatorship of reaction or revolution.

"The way out for Labour is plain. It must abandon theories, phrases and slogans and base itself upon the realities of life in this country and in the Empire. What Labour needs is a realist 'New Economic Policy': and the penalty for refusing to face the facts will be that another party will step in and reap the harvest of Labour organization and Labour propaganda."

Dr. Guest visualises society and the world as in a state of evolution which is quite separate from and independent of any party or of any party labels, theories or slogans. The latter are merely the passing outcome of the former and only owe their existence and the life to the nearness to which they correspond to and keep in living touch with the facts of this growth. He reminds us that factory legislation to regulate the conditions of factory employment came into existence before any Socialist doctrine had been formulated. All this is no doubt true. But the fact remains that in this great social renaissance the Labour movement has been and still is its foremost advocate and embodiment and the Socialists its most effective champions and interpreters. And why should not that state of things

continue? Why should it not be presumed that Labour, with all its ingredients, will adapt itself to the upward urge in the social and national life? Why should it be supposed that it will allow itself to get fossilised and become a back number? Is it not already putting up a strenuous and on the whole successful fight against the narrow Moscow thesis of class hatred and class warfare? And are not its ranks being constantly augmented by some of the finest and most progressive thinkers of the day? We agree, however, with Dr. Guest that there is a danger of Labour, when it steps into power, of thinking and acting in terms of certain theories and slogans of Trade Union democracy instead of in terms of the best available economic and scientific knowledge of the age, to be used for the population as a whole and not for any particular part thereof. We agree also that the danger of the movement falling into the hands of extremists with clear-cut revolutionary ideas is a very real one, and the warning (supported with illustrations) given in the book on this head alone cannot but serve an extremely useful purpose.

In the author's mind the whole question as to whether the Labour Party can become a real national party in the same sense as are the Conservatives and Liberals, depends entirely on whether it can free itself from the control of Extremists. This he thinks will be put to the test and decided during the next five years.

In the Chapter, "Labour and Russia," Dr. Guest describes the visit to Russia of the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party delegation, and as he accompanied the delegation in the dual capacity of Secretary and physician this Chapter in itself is extremely interesting and informative. But the whole book, which is written from inside knowledge of the Labour movement of thirty years' standing, deserves to be read and studied by all who are interested in the subject of labour and politics.

E. KIRK.

AMERICAN CIVILISATION.

THE RISE OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION. By CHARLES A. BEARD and MARY BEARD. (The Macmillan Company, New York.) Vols. 2. 1927. 9 x 6. pp. 824, 828.

IN these two volumes synthesizing and interpreting the heterogeneous elements and complex forces of American Civilization from the colonization to the present day and presenting them as a magnificent panorama of lights and shades, the authors, Dr. and Mrs. Beard, have achieved a mighty task indeed. The growth of agriculture and industry, territorial expansion, the elevation and depression of different classes, scientific inventions and discoveries silently affecting the social and economic life of the people, the shiftings of policy in respect of tariff, currency and banking, the influence of vested interests and money-power on politics, the development of social legislation, and above all, the inner thought-currents of the nation finding expression in art, literature and religion—all these are here fused with knowledge and insight and made to run in an urgent stream of eloquence. The volumes deal with the hidden machinery in the life of the people, in response to which laws and statesmen are said to move like the hands of a watch. It is not history of the "drum-and-trumpet kind" that we have here, wars and battles being slurred over, if not actually omitted; nor are we let into the arcana of diplomatic mysteries by the assiduous ferreting of musty archives. We get here, on the other hand, expertly traced, great movements, which, beginning, as Lecky would say, silently and imper-

ceptibly like whispers at dead of night, radically transform the life of the people.

The authors' singularly unbiassed and scholarly temper is seen most in their treatment of the American Revolution. They dismiss the ludicrous idea of its being a quarrel between a stubborn king and obsequious ministers, and depict it as the culmination of more than a century of economic tug and pull between two countries, the one trying to tighten its grip over the finance, currency, debts, trade and prosperity of the other rebelling against it.

"In the thousands of complaints, appeals, petitions, memorials, rulings, vetoes, decisions and instructions recorded in the papers of the Crown agencies for controlling American trade and industry disclosed the continuous conflict of English and American forces which hammered and welded thirteen jealous colonies into a society ready for revolution."

The vital chord of American politics is proved in the sentence:

"The American revolution was merely one phase of the social process that began long before the founding of Jamestown and is not yet finished."

For no sooner were the states free from the galling yoke of Great Britain than the struggle began between the independent states demanding full fiscal and financial autonomy against Federal control—a struggle which ended in the establishment, under the aegis of the Constitution, of agencies of control and economic policies akin to those formerly employed by Great Britain. The pulling of economic wires by London merchants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in respect of the American Colonies reads like a curious, but faint and pale, replica of British fiscal and currency policy in India during the last two hundred years down to our own day. And strangely enough, the same problem that the emancipated states had to solve, that of securing the advantages of a unitary government to federated states, awaits to be solved by the India of the future.

The first volume is fittingly devoted to the "Agricultural Era", the second to the "Industrial Era", which may be said to have begun in full tide with the advent of Lincoln to the White House. The Civil War, aptly described by Dr. Beard as the second American Revolution, may be regarded as the fulcrum between the two eras.

"It is the culmination of the deep-running transformation that shifted the centre of gravity in American society between the inauguration of Jackson and the election of Lincoln."

Just as in the Revolution the friction between the Tory ministers and the red-hot patriots was not the cause but only the occasion of the conflict, so in the Civil War, abolition and slavery were but strands in a complex issue between the free-trade planting and agricultural interests of the South and the Protectionist interests of the North. The Civil War was a social cataclysm which routed from power in the National Government the planting aristocracy, of the South, installing in their place the capitalists, labourers, and farmers of the North and West. The balance which reigned between the planting and commercial states before 1828, begins to sway after that year and gets completely tilted after 1860. The Beards put it trenchantly:

"The South was fighting against the census returns—census returns that told of accumulating industrial capital, multiplying captains of industry, expanding railway systems, widening acres tilled by free farmers."

In a brilliant chapter pitched in sub-ironic vein, the authors depict the effect of huge fortunes on the outlook and aspirations of plutocrats who sprang up like golden mushrooms after the Civil War.

Here is a little *morceau* that sketches the pranks of the children of Croesus:

"At a dinner given on horseback the favourite steed was fed flowers and champagne; to a small black and tan dog wearing a diamond collar worth \$15000 a lavish banquet was tendered; at one function, the cigarettes were wrapped in hundred dollar bills; at another fine black pearls were given to the diners in the oysters... Then weary of such limited diversions, the plutocracy contrived more freakish occasions—with monkeys seated between the guests, human gold-fish swimming about in pools or chorus-girls hopping out of pies."

The doings of Dives are much of a muchness, whether in the East or in the West. This grotesquerie of barbaric extravagance may be paralleled from Feudatory India.

For us in India, to read of the wealth of Modern America is something like reading the Utopias of H. G. Wells. America is not only our geographical but also our economic antipodes. Reckoning as millionaires all with an income of 30,000 dollars or more—a figure which excludes tax exemptions, stock dividends and other technicalities—there were 42,554 millionaires in the U. S. A. at the end of the World-war; and the number of persons returning taxable incomes ranging from \$2000 to \$10,000 was 3,189,080. A nation of 25 million families owns 20 million motor cars, 15 million telephones and 3 million radio sets. Thanks to accumulations of the middle classes, schemes of insurance, and the laws of inheritance, thousands of women are released from the daily grind for livelihood.

"These factors coupled with the introduction of labour-saving tools and the growth of cooperative living in apartment houses with their central heating, lighting and cleaning systems—if not in every case with a common dining service—has given to American women an amount of economic power and leisure that was the envy of their sisters in every other land."

No wonder, that the General Federation of Women's Clubs in America which has a membership of about three millions and controls eight departments (American citizenship, the American home, applied education, fine arts, international relations, legislation, press, and publicity) is the largest organization of women in the world.

More interesting than the pages dealing with America's *nouveaux riches* are those which trace the progress of social legislation. In a magisterial sentence the authors sum up the attitude of industrial magnates to political control after 1860.

"Government intervention was an evil, a violation of the inexorable laws of nature, save when practised to preserve order, grant subsidies to railway promoters or afford protection and bounties to manufacturers. With these subtle exceptions, the solemn duty of the State was to keep its hands off private affairs"

How admirably does this hit off the theory of Government held by the European commercial community in India! The virtual abolition of the spoils system, the regulation of railway-rates, employer's liability, the Industrial Rehabilitation Act to restore labourers to civil employment, the Anti-Trust Clayton Act, the graduated inheritance tax, the income-tax, the eight-hour day, women-suffrage—not one of them found its way into the Federal Statute Book without the champions of monopoly and privilege fighting every inch of their ground. We see how in the case of each onslaught against *laissez faire* the propaganda was started by petty minorities—Greenbackers, Populists, Socialists, and other varieties of restive agitators. The upshot of it all was that the Democrats could, in 1916, justly say of themselves and President Wilson:

"We found our country hampered by social privilege, a vicious tariff, obsolete banking laws and an inelastic currency. Our foreign affairs were dominated by commercial interests for their selfish ends... Under our administration under a leadership that has never faltered, these abuses have been corrected and our people freed therefrom."

When shall we be able to say the same thing of India?

The authors forget their dispassionate tone and are rightly moved to contempt at the Fascist methods adopted during the War under the Espionage and Sedition Acts, whereby persons suspected of over-emphasizing the Sermon on the Mount were bundled away summarily to prison, and Professors expelled from colleges on evidence "that would not convict a notorious out-purse in normal times." You saw the not very civilized spectacle of "a swivel-chair chauvinist thrown up from obscurity for an hour and drawing a dollar a year for his services, giving to the press under the colour of dubious official authority a long list of citizens branded as traitors." And these inquisitorial activities dictated by a delirious dread of Bolshevism were not justified even by a single German spy or revolutionary workman being caught and convicted of an overt act designed to give direct aid or comfort to the enemy. For once, nervous conservatives got the sovereign moment to blacken the character of persons whose opinions they feared and hated.

The authors command a language, racy and full-blooded, if in places a shade too tropical where a little classical pruning would have redounded to welcome compactness. To attempt anything beyond suggesting the character of these two volumes would not be less extravagant than trying to bale out the Atlantic with a ladle. This prose-saga of American Civilization constitutes a monument of historical research and presentation, and is no mean votive offering at the temple of *Clio* as we envisage her now.

R. SADASIYA AIYAR.

AGRICULTURE IN INDIA.

REVIEW OF AGRICULTURAL OPERATIONS IN INDIA, 1926-27. By D. CLOUSTON. 1928.

9¾ x 7. pp. 158. Rs. 2.

THIS annual review of agriculture in India published by the Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India covers a vast area, and is necessarily sketchy, but gives one the salient points of the work done in British India. With regard to the economic work on crops, the first work towards the increase of production was to supply pure seeds in place of the mixtures commonly available. Next came the selection of seed and the supply of better strains of seed.

"Though the percentage of the total cropped area sown with improved varieties is still small, the fact remains that it is already considerable and is increasing every year. The varietal work on crops has prepared the way for improvements in cultivation and manuring"

The different crops are discussed at length, and the work of the Indian Central Cotton Committee as well as that of the Indore Institute of Plant Industry has been outlined. Attention is drawn to the fodder problem, to the possible utilization of grasses grown in the waste lands by converting it into hay at the proper time, and to the existence of the large number of scrub animals.

The results obtained from research and investigation in the laboratories is dealt with in a separate chapter.

"Although much light has already been thrown on the problems under investigation, it is yet too early to base definite recommendations on the data collected."

The investigations with the cultivation of black soils in arid regions ought to give interesting results. Discussing the question of the export of oil seeds and oil seed cake, the prohibition of their exports is not recommended as that would reduce the area under oil seeds considerably. The use of manures on a large scale is recommended. This is said to be possible now with the fall in the price of artificial manures, the establishment of depots for their sale in all parts of the country, and the investigations into the manufacture of artificial farmyard manure or vegetable compost. The work on animal nutrition has given some valuable results about the value of different kinds of fodder. With regard to the use of tractors and power machinery for agricultural purposes,

"There is much scope in India for the use of mechanical power in cultivation but progress in this direction will be slow until and unless repair shops, fully stocked with spare parts, are organised and qualified drivers and mechanics trained to repair and handle both the tractor and the implements worked by it are available."

Agricultural education has a chapter to itself:—

"To the provincial agricultural colleges is assigned a dual role. They train men for employment in the department and they provide education in scientific agriculture for those who are desirous of turning their instruction to practical account in private farming or estate management. Though ostensibly intended to perform these two functions, a very large percentage of students who seek admission to these institutions do so with the deliberate intention of obtaining appointments in the department."

In addition to the courses given at the colleges at Poona, Coimbatore, Lyallpur, Nagpur, Cawnpore and Mandalay, a two years' post-graduate course is being given at Pusa.

"The agricultural middle schools which aim at giving a vocational training which will fit the sons of the tenant and small zamindar for their station in life have not as yet appealed to the people for whom they are intended."

Discussing the receipts and expenditure of the agricultural departments, it is shown that it works out at 9 pies per acre of cultivated area, and 8 pies per head of British India, taking the Imperial and Provincial departments together.

"In the United States of America where only 30% of the population is engaged on the land as against 70% in British India, the amount spent on its agricultural department works out to 6 annas per acre of land under cultivation."

Other figures are also quoted to make out a case for more money being spent on the agricultural departments. To get a proper perspective, more figures are required especially with regard to the earning capacity of man and the yielding capacity per acre in the countries mentioned. One has also to take into account the methods of cultivation and various other things when making comparisons. It would also be useful to ascertain the different kinds of burden in the form of expenses for other departments that is borne by the tax-payer. If an increased grant for agriculture would mean a corresponding decrease of other kinds of expenditure, then nobody need grumble at the increase. But if all arguments lead merely to the increase of the total burden on the taxpayer, then the argument for the increased grants will have to be examined a little more closely. It is rather curious to find a lament that the number of research workers is not adequate to the needs of India and in the same breath the statement that the demand for such men is very small. A plea is entered for the co-ordination of research work throughout India and to provide facilities at Central research institutions for training research workers. On the whole the book is very instructive and will give the reader

a very good idea of the work being done in the field of agriculture in India.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

SHORT NOTICES.

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT OF JAPAN AND CHINA. By KYOSON TSUCHIDA. (Williams & Norgate, Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ × 5 pp. 239. 5s.

THE book is of intense interest to students of philosophy in India. Though somewhat crammed with avoidable technical terms, and occasionally uncouth in language, it enables us to realize how living abstract thought has been in Japan since the Meiji era. Japanese thinkers, who have gone more to Germany than to England for inspiration, have not been content with merely assimilating the critical methods of Western philosophy; they have striven to transmute it into something indigenous, something that may be said to bloom on the hardy Japanese stock. Among the philosophers of Dai Nippon there is such active ferment of thought that they have been impelled to enlist themselves with gusto in pitched battles either, say, in behalf of "the epistemological method or the metaphysical method." Though in places the book is needlessly nebulous, it is an excellent introduction from a Japanese thinker to his fellow-thinkers in modern Japan.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.

FORGOTTEN TALES OF ANCIENT CHINA. By VERNE DYSON. (The Commercial Press Ltd., Shanghai.) 1928. 8¼ × 5½ pp. 384. \$4.00.

THE early history of all nations begins with legendary tales. China is no exception. The legends of ancient China are so rich and so beautiful that they give us an insight into the early genius of the people. In fact the life of the ancient Chinese is mirrored in these legends. Verne Dyson has compiled the tales of ancient China and has written them in a lucid style for the benefit of English readers. The book contains the legendary traditions of the Chinese people through five thousand years. We need hardly say therefore that the book will be found useful by those interested in ancient China.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

INTERNATIONAL CIVICS. By PITMAN B. POTTER and ROSCOE L. WEST. (The Macmillan Company, New York.) 1927. 7¾ × 5. pp. 315. 7s.

IN producing this text-book, the authors have done a distinct public service to the cause of the education of our future citizens. If international life is at any time to become a reality our young men and women must learn something of the duties and responsibilities of international citizenship. The seed must be sown at an early stage and one must be taken not to depend too much on sentimental idealism.

The book methodically proceeds to deal with the topics in their proper order—the units of international society, their varying qualities, the nature of international intercourse, of international politics and law, of diplomacy and treaties, of courts, commissions and conferences and their procedure, of alliances and concerts and above all the very difficult problem of the enforcement of international authority. Then follows a clear and crisp account of the origins and activities of the League of Nations and a discussion of the central problems of peace and

disarmament and the outlawry of war. Lastly, the authors discuss the ways in which the citizen of the U. S. A. should help by speech and vote, especially in view of the general agreement of policy between the national and international interest of that country. One devoutly wishes that a similar attempt will be made in this country so that the aims and achievement of the League are better understood and the Indian citizen takes an active interest in India's international relations.

R. H. KELKAR.

MY SOJOURN IN ENGLAND. By B. D. BASU (R. Chatterji, Calcutta.) 1927. 7 x 4¾. pp. 184.

THIS book is not what its title would lead us to imagine: it is not a description of the life of the author when he was in England. But it "embodies the author's impressions of England when he resided there as a student in the last eighties of the last century." Many of the chapters appeared in the *Tribune* of Lahore and in the *Modern Review* some thirty years ago, but none of them has been revised in the light of the author's growing knowledge and experience, on account of his failing eye-sight. As a result, the book contains his opinions of English life and manners formed when he was a youth, presumably in his early twenties and not the mature estimate of an elderly person. Even so, however, it is of some value and of great interest because it shows how an alien culture struck an average sympathetic Indian during the closing decades of the last century. Some chapters may be said to be of immediate importance even today: for instance, those headed "The Indians in England" "Anglo-Indians in England," and "Should English Women marry Indians?"

S. P. SARMA.

THE INTERNATIONAL HAND-BOOK OF CHILD CARE AND PROTECTION. Compiled by EDWARD FULLER. (Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., London.) 1928. 9½ x 5. pp. 646. 10s. 6d.

THIS is the third edition of a reference book whose value to social workers and publicists generally it is impossible to exaggerate. Child welfare has recently been coming into its own, mainly as a result of the attention it has received at the hands of the League of Nations; and a book giving the information which this one gives was a great desideratum. As an indication of the labour expended in its preparation, it may be stated that the information comprised in the book had to be collected from more than 300 countries or political units very often after much protracted correspondence. That, however, is not to say that there is no scope for improvement either in putting together or in the manner of presenting information about what is being done in different countries about the care of the child. We think that with a little more effort it would have been possible to give fuller information about the agencies, official and nonofficial, at work in this country in that field. But apparently none can be more conscious of the deficiencies of the publication than the compiler himself who may be trusted to remove them as much as possible from its future editions. The information about laws relating to marriage, divorce, juvenile employment, etc. in force in the various countries of the world which is given in the book adds considerably to its utility. Information about the position of birth control, which has such an important bearing on child welfare, rightly finds place in the book. It is clear from this that its importance is being increasingly appreciated everywhere. The

supra-national section giving among other things the well-known Declaration of Geneva and information about world organisations working for child welfare is invaluable. The "Save the Children" Fund of London on whose behalf the Handbook is published deserves congratulations upon bringing out such a very useful publication.

C. C. W.

THE SWEDEN YEAR BOOK, 1928. (Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri A. B. Stockholm.) 1928. 7¼ x 5¼. pp. 283.

A BOOK ABOUT SWEDEN. By GUATAV ASBRINK (C. E. Fritze, Stockholm) 1928. 8¼ x 5½. pp. 233.

To judge from some writings in the British press, the beauties of the land of the Midnight Sun are not very widely known even in England and other European countries. These books will go some way in making them better appreciated, not only in those but in other countries. They give full information about the country, its people, etc. so much desired by tourists; but what is more, a short history of the country and an outline of its constitution. The first book is an official publication; while the second one seems to be meant for intending visitors to Sweden. It speaks much for the popularity of this publication that within six years of its appearance it has run into three editions of a total of 50,000 copies. The numerous illustrations in the books add considerably to their attractiveness.

S. P.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE ESSENTIALS OF INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC LAW AND ORGANIZATION. By AMOS S. HERSHEY. (Revised Edition.) (The Macmillan Co., New York.) 1927. 8½ x 5½. pp. 784.

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE WAGE EARNER IN NEW YORK AND OTHER STATES. (National Industrial Conference Board, Inc. New York.) 1928. 9½ x 6½. pp. 125. \$2.50.

CHINA AND ENGLAND. By W. E. SCOTHILL. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1928. 9 x 5½. pp. 228. 7s. 6d.

EMPIRE GOVERNMENT. An Outline of the System Prevailing in the British Commonwealth of Nations. By MANFRED NATHAN. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.) 1928. 8½ x 5½. pp. 256. 10s.

BYNDMAN: PROPHET OF SOCIALISM. (1842-1921.) By FREDERICK J. GOULD. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.) 1928. 8½ x 5½. pp. 308. 10s. 6d.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY. Edited by JEROME DAVIS and HARRY ELMER BARNES. (Social Relations Series. (D. C. Heath and Co., New York.) 1927. 9 x 6. pp. 926. \$4.48.

ASOKA. (Gaekwad Lectures.) By RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London.) 1928. 8½ x 5½. pp. 273. 21s.

THE CHINESE PUZZLE. By ARTHUR RANSOME. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ x 5. pp. 189. 5s.

HERR UEBER ASIEN. By VON. ALPHONS NOBEL. (Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, Hamburg-Berlin-Leipzig.) 1928. 9 x 6½. pp. 169.

CHINESE REALITIES. By JOHN FOSTER. (Edinburgh House Press, London.) 1928. 7½ x 5. pp. 240. 2s. 6d.

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