

Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE *Pioneer* must be credited with a desire to bridge the gulf between the Commission and the Indian leaders whose conscience cannot allow them to co-operate with it. In a recent article on this subject it rejoices over the acceptance of Dominion Status as the immediate goal by the All-Parties Conference and the "fundamental loyalty" involved in it; it is gratified equally with the many alterations in procedure made by Sir John Simon presumably in response to Indian opinion. It believes also that the Government now recognizes that unless political opportunities are seized and developed, a more serious crisis may ensue. It thinks therefore that the time is ripe for a reconciliation by both the parties preparing themselves to meet each other in some degree. On the one side the President of the Commission must reestablish confidence in their minds by placing in the forefront of his evidence the report of the Nehru Committee and convincing its members about the practical difficulties of time and method. On the other side it thinks it is imperative that Sir John Simon should be profoundly influenced by the report and for this the Committee must be prepared to enter into open collaboration with him. The *Pioneer* sees no reason why the most valuable helpers of the Commission should not be the acute-minded politicians who produced the Nehru report. While giving praise to the *Pioneer* for promising to do its best to bring about a reconciliation, we fail to see how the objective can be realized as long as the basic facts which caused the estrangement are not altered. In the Government scheme

of procedure the Indian Legislature will be represented by a Committee the majority of the members of which have been nominated by the Viceroy; while the Provincial Committees have all been elected by a factitious majority contributed to by the official and nominated elements in the Provincial Legislatures. Under these circumstances it is too much to expect that those who refuse to co-operate with the Commission on the ground of the inherent right of Indians to participate in the making of their own constitution could be brought to waive these fundamental considerations. Mr. George Lansbury too makes a similar suggestion, which will be unacceptable to Indian opinion for similar reasons.

* * *

THE resignation of the Education Minister in U. P. as a result of the passing of a no-confidence motion against him will be significant both as proving that the representatives of the people are not willing to take lying down the promotion by Government of subservient men with an elastic conscience, and as serving to warn future Ministers that a certain standard of self-respect and decency has to be maintained by those who rely on popular suffrage, a lapse from which cannot be tolerated by popular representatives. As Mr. Chintamani declared in his speech in support of the motion against the Minister, the issue before the Council was a moral issue whether a man is entitled to use public life as a footstool upon which to rise to advance his own interests and to change his opinions whenever such a change is beneficial to himself personally. The issue was clouded by the Minister's supporters by appeals to the interest of the landlords and other extraneous matters, but the verdict of the U.P. Council made it clear that it regarded the Minister as failing to deserve the suffrage of its elected portion. Under Diarchy the Ministers were meant to represent the popular element in the Legislatures; while, as things have developed, they are in many cases seeking to defy the elected members by placating the powers that be. Nothing can be more demoralizing to the growth of a democratic polity than the growing habit of Ministers of looking up to the official element in the Legislatures for their very existence from day to day. We heartily congratulate the mover of the no-confidence motion for his intrepid courage and his masterly exposition of an evil which, if unabated, bids fair to be a great vitiator of public life.

* * *

THIS year again the Government have defied public opinion in this country by appointing a non-Indian to lead the Indian delegation to the League of Nations. But that is no reason why we should fail to appreciate their efforts to voice Indian opinion faithfully to the League in the matter of India's con-

tribution towards the League's expenses. These, as everybody knows, are going up year by year and show an increase of nearly 33 per cent. since the birth of the League in 1921. If India were contributing a fixed sum every year, the League's increasing budget would be a matter of indifference to her. But under the existing arrangements she has to find a stated proportion, viz. 55 units, which of course increases the amount of her contribution in proportion as the League's budget increases. To enable our readers to appreciate how high her contribution is, it may be stated that Japan and Italy are responsible for no more than 60 units and that India is actually paying more than any State not occupying a permanent seat on the League's Council. The present arrangement has given rise to public dissatisfaction which has off and on found expression in the central legislature and was correctly voiced by Lord Lytton when the League's budget was recently considered at Geneva. We also note from a *Reuter* cable that India voted against the budget though for the sake of unanimity she subsequently withdrew her opposition. It was at the same time made clear on behalf of India that should the League's budget for next year not show proper economies, India might have to instruct her delegates to vote against it. India's interests no less than those of the League itself demand that its budget should be kept as low as is humanly possible, for, as pointed out by His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur at one of the League meetings, it would be a matter of genuine concern if the growth of interest in the League were checked by irritation at the continued increase of India's contribution to the funds of the League. What is true of India must be true of other countries also, for we are told that five other countries, New Zealand among them, joined India in voting against the League's budget. If the League did not see its way to cut down its expenses to the lowest possible limit, the feeling, at present not very widespread in this country, would become universal that the League "was not of much value to Eastern countries and that its tendency was definitely in the direction of strengthening European interests at the expense of other countries and races." It would be fatal to the League if such a belief came to be prevalent in the East, which must be avoided by every means within its power.

* * *

AN uneventful session of the local legislature came to an end early this week. The dullness of its proceedings could be removed somewhat only by the Hindu-Muslim riots which occurred at Godhra, Surat and Nasik, resulting in some loss of life and a large number of the wounded, among them an M.L.C. from Gujerat. While the rioting at the last two places was connected with the Ganapati procession, the cause of the riot at Godhra is not so clear and a thorough inquiry into the circumstances in which it took place is demanded. This, we think, ought to be instituted by Government without loss of time and without any consideration of their prestige. The Land Revenue Bill, if it had, as originally planned, come up for consideration, would have aroused some public interest, but the Central Government's announcement that they were trying to see if some legislation could not be enacted which might apply to the whole of India gave the local Government another excuse to delay a piece of legislation about which they do not at all appear to be serious. The Bombay University Reform Act of last year underwent an unimportant amendment. The Act empowered the University to arrange for the "military" training of its students. All military matters being

within the purview of the central Government, it was clear that in asking the University to provide for military training the local legislature had exceeded its powers. But what the Legislature had really in mind was not so much the military as the physical training of its alumni and the necessary amendment so as to make its intention clearer and also to meet the Government of India's objection was carried through all its stages at one sitting. Syed Munavar's bill seeking to provide representation for Labour on the Bombay Municipality was further considered. The bill as introduced had proposed four seats to be filled by nomination; whereas the Select Committee, while retaining the number, had changed the method into one of indirect election by an electoral college composed of delegates elected by registered trade unions in the City. Another Labour member's amendment favouring direct election failed for want of support. But the Select Committee's proposal which encountered strong opposition by Government was one to reduce the total number of seats open to nomination by four. They could not reconcile themselves to this loss of patronage and were able to carry through their amendment reducing the number of nominated seats by two so that only two seats would be open to election in the manner referred to above.

* * *

THE memorandum submitted by the European Association to the Hartog Committee on European Education is as erratic and antiluvian as its political memorandum

to the Simon Commission. It lays the strongest emphasis on safeguarding the interests of Europeans in the sphere of education by making a discrimination in favour of grants in aid of European education. Already more than a proportionate amount is spent on European education and it is difficult to see how this claim can be equitably satisfied. For this purpose it recommends the transference of European education to the Central Government which in its opinion will lead to a coordination of policies. It expresses the greatest contempt for university education in India and its recommendation is that the university degree should no longer be considered as the minimum qualification for admission to the services. The Association thinks that development of character and qualities of leadership are lacking in the education of Indians, and consequently higher posts should not be opened to Indians. It regards the multiplication of new Universities with great apprehension on the ground that the foundation in secondary education is weak; granting however the truth of the contention it is difficult to make out of this alone a strong case against new Universities. In all probability the Association has no love for the alumni of the Universities who assist in demolishing the superstructure of society based on ideas of European superiority which the Association is not willing to modify even now. The only points on which the Association agrees with the main current of Indian opinion are the development of a system of primary education being the greatest need of India, and the importance of the development of commercial and technical education.

* * *

WE would draw the reader's attention to the *Kenya Kenya-India Daily Mail* Free Passage Scheme Contact. published on another page whereby the proprietors of the *Kenya Daily Mail*, the only English daily conducted by Indians in Kenya Colony and indeed in the whole of Africa, offer to publicists in this country an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the situation in Kenya

In the only hope that these publicists will on their return home apply an instructed mind to Kenya affairs and serve the cause of their countrymen by this means. Kenya after all is only a week's run from India, and yet the ignorance that prevails in this country regarding Kenya is colossal. Many would, we fancy, equip themselves with first-hand knowledge of Kenya if they had sufficient means. Now, however, the necessary means are placed at their disposal, thanks to the generosity of Mr. J. B. Pandya, we expect that the offer will be availed of by a large number of persons to whom it belongs to instruct and mould public opinion in this country. Nor have we any doubt that Kenya will attract much wider attention in India and Kenyan problems will be much better appreciated by Indians as a result of this scheme than otherwise would have been possible. The best time in the immediate future for such visits is undoubtedly the months following the publication of the report of the Hilton-Young Commission which may be expected any day. A new orientation of policy is likely to result from this Report, and Kenya would benefit most by the counsel of Indian leaders at this time. The deputation too would learn most when political discussions will be keen among all communities as they will be when the Report will be published.

* * *

AS ordinary business people understand it, the function of a Depreciation Fund is that by the time the normal life of an asset has expired in the process of earning the revenue of a concern, it should, by annual payments from earnings, accumulate a reserve equal to the original cost of the asset. It is clear that a Depreciation Fund proper is not meant to provide for cases of premature replacements occasioned by unforeseen or unforeseeable circumstances such as floods, earthquakes, accidents, obsolescence, etc. Any provision for such cases must, therefore, be sought outside a regular Depreciation Fund by means of a separate fund, say, on the imprest basis. But we now learn from no less an authority than Sir A. Lowes Dickinson—vide paragraph 281, Chapter XIII, of his report on railway Accounts—that

"The real commercial reason for providing depreciation is that it provides a fund to meet any changes and reconstruction required to meet obsolescence, and enables a property to be maintained continuously in the highest state of efficiency without too great a strain upon the revenue resources of short periods."

And on the basis of this reason the recommendation is made that, no matter what the normal life fixed by competent engineers may be, "no class of railroad property should be estimated to have a life of more than 50 years, and that in the case of electrical equipment this should be reduced to a maximum of 25 years."

Apart from the fact that the reason as given is opposed to the age-long conception in the public mind, of a Depreciation Fund, the statement is unscientific, in so far as it speaks only of obsolescence and makes no mention of deterioration of an asset caused by age and wear and tear. But the recommendation made on the basis of this statement is still more unscientific inasmuch as it seeks to provide for obsolescence by the expedient of manipulating the life period of assets as fixed by competent engineers. Earlier in the same chapter this authority has stated that "the importance of sound accounting principles cannot be overlooked" and that "expediency should not be allowed to override the principle." We say, "Quite so."

* * *

COMMISSION AND COMMUNALISTS.

WITH the departure of Sir John Simon and his colleagues, even including Mr. Heartshorn, for India and with the "completion" of the All-India Committee of the Central Legislature to sit with them, the stage is set for the Parliamentary "reconnaissance" which is to precede the revision of reforms. We can of course have no quarrel with the weakness of the persons nominated by the Viceroy to this Committee, nor of those elected by the provincial Legislatures for the discussion of provincial matters, nor with the utter feebleness of the evidence that will be tendered to it by non-official witnesses. To the extent that these defects will operate to the disadvantage of India they are of our own choice, and we have no desire to throw the blame for them upon others. We have every reason, however, to complain of two things: first, the partisan character of the speeches which the Chairman of the Commission has been making ever since he was installed in that position—speeches which he need not have made at all but which, being made, stamp the whole proceedings of the Commission in advance as unjudicial and biased; second, the pretence that the committees are truly representative of public opinion and that any decisions acceptable to these will meet with that measure of support in the country which is essential for the success of any reforms. Of the first we have furnished evidence enough before, and Sir John Simon has done nothing since then but confirms the impression previously made by him. On the second too we have dwelt whenever occasion offered, but we think our criticism must be reiterated—for the last time. If officials had abstained from voting on the question of the appointment of a Committee, Government might well have been justified in taking the Council's decision to be the consensus of opinion in the country, however defective the present composition of these bodies may be. Mere decency required such abstention. For the same reasons for which officials were excluded from participation in the actual election of the Committees, they ought to have been excluded from voting on the question whether the Legislatures desired to appoint Committees or not. As it is, Government forced upon the Councils the decision to co-operate with the Commission and left to non-officials only the minor matter of selecting the persons. Government was challenged to abide by the Council's decision on the former question in every Legislature, but in no case did it accept it, thus showing that it realizes inwardly that non-co-operation was approved by the people generally.

Government is welcome to keep up this farce of an investigation, from which a great majority of the politically-minded people, whose aims are not narrowly communal, will hold severely aloof. Even at the best very little really depends upon evidence given. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford toured the whole country in 1917 and picked the brains of all schools of thought, and the result of these "hearings" was a scheme of dyarchy, for which no one had asked. The

Donoughmore Commission had no need in Ceylon to whip up people for evidence, as the Simon Commission has in India, and yet not a scrap of evidence was given there to support the scheme of committees of the Legislature which Lord Donoughmore and his associates have recommended. Col. Wedgwood is therefore quite right in deducing from these facts the conclusion that much too little weight is given by a Commission to the evidence placed before it to make Indians worry overmuch about the Simon Commission. Practically the only men who will go before the Simon Commission will be the representatives of sectional interests, and the Commission will be much intrigued by their pleadings. We can sympathise with Sir John who will have to listen to a number of fantastic and mutually destructive claims of the spokesmen of various interests. In these circumstances he would have much welcomed the advocacy of the country as a whole by some witnesses who place country above class as an offset to communal pleas, but this help is now denied to him. Let it not be supposed, however, for that reason that Sir John will thus be driven, much against his will, into the arms of extreme communalists. The demands of the latter are such that no statesman with a reputation to lose can grant them and the best way to disillusion the communalists of the supposed solicitude of the British politicians for their interests and to draw them closer to nationalism is certainly to confront the Statutory Commission with Muslim Leaguers and others with none else to come between the two. There will be no one now to resist the claim, e. g., of Mahomedans for a fixed share of posts in the public service. If in the absence of any opposition the Commission is unable to comply with this demand, there is no reason why the communalists should in future set more store by Britishers than by their own countrymen of a different religion. An end will thus be put to the "divide and rule" policy which is now ruling rampant. On the other hand the saner section among the communalists will realize by the very disappointment they will sustain at the hands of the Commission how ready their fellow-countrymen are to remove their sense of grievance and what a generous provision they are prepared to make for the protection of all interests likely to be in jeopardy. We are sure that as a result of the inevitable failure of the Simon Commission to give satisfaction to communal demands, the suspicion at present in the mind whether of the communal-minded Hindu or Mahomedan will give place to good feeling, which will be consolidated by the work which the boycotters of the Commission have pledged themselves to do outside. While the Commission is at work, there will be plenty for the boycotters to do in this way, and we hope effective steps will be taken to popularize the Swaraj Constitution and those provisions of it in particular which relate to the representation of various communities on the Legislature. There are schemes on foot to organize *hartals* wherever the Commission goes, but we would prefer to see greater attention paid to a quiet but vigorous propaganda for the Constitution as approved at Luck-

now. Though our activities will be technically outside the cognisance of the Simon Commission, we shall thus strengthen our case for Swaraj infinitely more than those who will pour their communal grievances and tales of woes into the ears of the Commission.

LABOUR POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA.—VII* DISPLACEMENT.

THIS policy, while it raises the wages of those who were hitherto paid less, has also a tendency to displace the less efficient by the more efficient and the non-European by the European. In private bargaining wages were influenced by the race, standard of living and efficiency of the employee and the law of supply and demand. The Wage Board is estopped from taking race into consideration. Equal pay for equal work is the governing principle. They would fix the wage according to the value of the job, not according to the race that is or may be employed in that job. In his address to the South African Federated Chamber of Industries Convention in 1927. Mr. Lucas, the Chairman of the Wage Board, said.—

"The Board did not pursue its work with the idea of replacing coloured employees with whites. There was no provision in the Wage Act under which the Board could do such a thing, and in any case the Board could not subscribe to any such conception of its duties. What the Board was concerned with was the value of the job. The effect in a number of cases would undoubtedly be that whites would be substituted for coloured workers, but the latter would have a perfect right to fill the posts if they could contribute the necessary skill and efficiency." (*Social and Industrial Review*, Oct. 1927.)

All the same the Board feels compelled to take into consideration the race of the employees. For instance, the Board notes that in the Tea, Coffee and Chicory industries European females, coloured females, native male adults, and Asiatic juvenile males are employed by different firms.

"The remuneration to European females is in some cases quite satisfactory. That of the coloured females is generally lower, and that of the Asiatic male juveniles lowest of all. If the Board in making its recommendation be guided by the wage paid to Asiatic male juveniles, then, in the towns where such persons are available, they may be preferred, almost exclusively, to all other employees. If the wage paid to coloured female employees be accepted as the wage to be recommended by the Board, the European females may find it difficult, if not impossible, to accept such a wage, having regard to the cost of living."

Again with reference to the wages to be paid to men and women doing the same work, the Board is on the horns of another dilemma. In its Report on Bespoke Tailoring, the Board remark—

"This raises a very vexed question which cannot be settled by a stroke of the pen. It is not merely a matter of being engaged on the same class of work. There is the question of the same output of the same quality. Female employees themselves asked for a lower scale for females than for males because they said they feared that equal rates of pay for a particular occupation would lead to substitution of males for females... The Board approved of the principle of one rate of pay for a job, but in the face of the evidence before it, it cannot recommend for this industry the same rate for males and females."

Again, in its Report on the Sweet manufacturing industry, he Board says.—

"However unfortunate it may be, it is an existing custom to consider male employees as the actual or potential heads of families who will be dependent upon them, while

* Previous articles in this series appeared in our issues of March 22, April 17, June 9, August 2 and September 6 and 27.

female employees are looked upon as having only themselves to maintain. It cannot be doubted that this custom runs counter to the facts in numerous instances; but except where work in any occupation is, and can be, equally well performed by employees of either sex, the distinction involved in the custom referred to must, for a time, be taken into consideration."

The Board defends this attitude on the ground that the Wage Act enjoins it to take into consideration existing customs and conditions. Notwithstanding this injunction, the Board refuses to recognise the existing conditions of paying different races different wages. Even when Indian employees themselves ask for a lower wage than the European, the Board would not be a party to it.

"The Board cannot legally differentiate wages," says the Board in its Report on the Clothing industry, "on the ground of race or colour of employees, and if it could, it would be highly undesirable that it should do so."

Despite these protestations, it is difficult to believe that the Board was not influenced by racial considerations in fixing wages. We have seen already how the lowest wage suggested by the Board in most of its recommendations was a guinea or thereabouts. The wage is meant for jobs like carrying goods, cleaning and scrubbing premises, washing machines, etc. The Board cannot be ignorant of the fact that no European in South Africa would undertake such work nor accept that wage. It is a kaffir wage for kaffir work, and the Board knows it. Here of course there can be no displacement of the European by the Native. When we come to the top levels of wages, of £5 to £6 per week, the Board knew that they were white wages for white men. They were as much or as little open to Natives and other non-Europeans before the wage regulation as after. As a matter of fact there is but little competition between the European and the Native at such high levels.

It is only in the intermediate wage levels that racial competition and displacement of one by another can and does arise. And this competition is mostly between the European and the Coloured and the Indian. The number of intermediate wage levels vary with each industry. In the Sweet manufacturing industry there are four grades for male adults: £6 10s.; £6 6s.; £3 and £1 4s. Here there is a big gulf between the lowest and the next higher, as there is between it and the next higher. In the Bespoke Tailoring and the Clothing industries there are again four principal wage rates: £5 10s.; £3 15s.; £3 and £1 2s. 6d. In the Furniture industry there are about five grades ranging from £5 8s. to £1 1s.: in the Glass beveling industry there are only two: £5 and £1 2s. 6d. In the Leather industry however there are over a dozen grades ranging from £6 to £1 5s. A wage of £2 10s. to £3 a week may be considered a wage that a European can and may accept. A lower wage will be unattractive to him. In the wage ladder extending from one guinea to six guineas the European can join at the £3 stage. In order to permit European employment not only should the wage for the job be at least £3 but it must be one that a European might put his hand to: it should not be "kaffir" work. In the leather industry, for instance there are many tasks that a European will not care to do; they are very dirty work. Fixing the wage at £3 for these will not open them to the European, but will only benefit the Native and the Indian, and raise the cost of production. In that industry, therefore, there are a number of grades of wages lower than £3 per week. Obviously these are meant to be earned by non-Europeans. In the Sweet manufacturing and the Tailoring and Clothing industries, the wage next higher to the lowest is £3, a wage

that a European can accept. The tasks too are such that a European can do. It is here that competition between the white and the coloured and the Indian can occur, and that to the disadvantage of the latter. The job for which the Wage Board has fixed a wage of £3 per week may have been performed hitherto in some establishment by non-Europeans at a lower wage. By fixing it at £3 the employer is given the option of either employing Europeans or non-Europeans. The employers are mostly Europeans, and naturally incline to employ men of their own race if they cannot employ other races cheaper. The tendency of the Wage Board has been to select all those tasks that a European might do and then fix a minimum of £3 for that job.

The wage determinations in the Glass Beveling and Silvering industries is a good example of this. The wage rates are only two: £5 and £1 2s. 6d. The latter is payable to those engaged in occupations such as carrying materials, cleaning premises, etc., which is looked upon as kaffir work. All others have to be paid the higher wage. It was contended before the Board that the employees in the industry were mostly Natives, that the "average European youth had not the strength to hold large sheets of plate glass on the wheel and that the industry was unattractive to Europeans because the work was wet and dirty." It is even maintained by some that not a single European and only one coloured man is employed in this work throughout the country. The Board however observed that "the conditions to which the employers have agreed should produce suitable openings each year for a number of intelligent youths. These possibilities should be carefully explored and developed by the Juvenile Affairs Boards." The Juvenile Affairs Boards deal only with European youths, except in the Cape Province where they deal with Coloureds also to some extent. The Wage Board evidently considers this a suitable occupation for Europeans and to overcome their reluctance and induce their employment, it has fixed the wage rate as high as £5. It remains to be seen if Europeans will take up the work and displace the Natives or if the Natives will benefit by the enhanced wages, which to them will be an unexpected windfall. The fixation of a wage of £3 and over for jobs that both Europeans and non-Europeans can do will result either in enhancing the wages of or displacing the non-European.

There is some evidence of displacement in the Government Departmental Reports. The Chief Inspector of Factories in his Annual Report for 1926 says—

"Available information would appear to indicate that there was a considerable reduction in the number of male Asiatics employed in factories. This is attributed, to some extent, to the operations of industrial agreements resulting in the discharge of the less efficient persons."

These considerations show that the operations of the Wage Board have not fulfilled either of the two principles laid down by the Economic and Wage Commission: namely, that the lowest wages should have the first consideration of the Wage Board and that wage fixation should not result in displacement of existing workers.

A STUDENT.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, SEPTEMBER 13.

FROM PLATITUDES TO REALITIES.

FROM platitudes to realities would be quite a significant description of the Ninth Assembly of the

League of Nations, which has just concluded its general discussion of the work of the Secretariat and the Council. This year there is less of oratorical bombast about the excellence of internationalism and its embodiment in the League, and a far greater realisation of the realities of the situation than in previous years. It is so both in the League discussions, strictly so called, as well as in the diplomatic happenings in the outer court, which are quite as important, and to which Geneva gives the attention they call for. Such an attitude is doubtless due to the force of necessity and the maturity which some issues have attained. It may cause disappointment among those who cannot refer to the League except in rhapsodic terms, but it is probable that in the long run it would contribute far more to the proper development of what is after all an infantine political institution than the inspirational idealism which has been a source of embarrassment to the League at least as much as it has been useful.

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

One important point which arose in the course of the discussion in the Assembly was concerning the treatment of Minorities. On this question the Swiss and the Austrian delegates on the one side and the Polish delegates on the other found themselves at variance. Monsieur Motta, a former President of the Swiss Confederation, and Monseigneur Seipel, the Austrian Chancellor, warmly supported the Dutch Foreign Minister's proposal for the creation of a permanent commission on minorities analogous to the Permanent Mandates Commission, whereas Monsieur Zaleski denounced such a departure as dangerous and unauthorised by the Treaties. It is significant that, despite this opposition, the Polish delegate should have added that such a demand would be pertinent if all States were ready to sign a general convention for the protection of minorities. That, however, would be unthinkable at present if only because of Italy's hostility to any such measure. Monseigneur Seipel made a reasoned plea which will be found as relevant to Indian conditions as it is to the situation to which he addressed himself :

"The feeling of political insecurity which pervades the world", the Austrian Chancellor said, "is due to many causes. One of the most important and one of the most dangerous of these, in my opinion, is the intolerance caused by the exasperation of the national spirit, in all that this term implies, whether the word "nation" be taken to mean all the citizens of the same country or all persons of common stock and language. During the last decades we have seen in the whole world a vehement expansion of national sentiment in both these acceptations of the term. Such an expansion was indeed inevitable, not only among the peoples in a majority within a national State, but also in the minorities dispersed among such States . . . It is indispensable that the right of minorities and, indeed, the right of all peoples without exception, namely the right to retain their mother-tongue, the manners and customs of their ancestors and the various sources of their special civilisation, as well as that of declaring openly and freely their membership of their race, whether these rights are laid down in treaties or not, it is indispensable, I repeat, that these rights should be finally acknowledged by the conscience of the world and recognised by the fundamental stipulations of international law."

Referring to Europe more particularly, he went on,

"Europe is also divided by a line which separates two entirely different conceptions of the idea of "nation". On one side of that line are peoples for whom the State is everything and who understand national sentiment as a great enthusiasm for the State to which they, of their own free will or otherwise, belong. On the other side of that line of demarcation, the sentiment of "civilisation, of a

common tongue and a common origin preponderates, nor does this sentiment affect in the slightest the loyalty felt to the State. For the first, the protection of minorities is but a transitory measure born of a humanitarian idea, and intended to render less painful the assimilation of racial and linguistic minorities to the people of the State on which they depend, owing to the fact of their having settled there or to some other historical event. For the others, it is a natural right, a right which they cannot give up even if they wished to do so."

INDIA SHUT OUT FROM THE COUNCIL.

Another complaint of the smaller Powers, who did not lead such an organised attack on the Great Powers this year but were nevertheless critical, was that the principle of nationality influenced the members of the Secretariat of the League, contrary to the accepted policy. Not only are the principal places in the Secretariat reserved for those who belong to the countries represented by the Great Powers, but the recent practice in recruitment, of giving preference to those having diplomatic experience, has doubtless introduced national consciousness into the League's offices to an undesirable extent. The most difficult consideration in this regard is the claim, which however negligible it may be theoretically, is, all the same, practically effective, that Member-States should be represented in the Secretariat according to the measure of their financial contributions. Even that claim, it may be observed, finds little acceptance in India's case for example, because of the lack of political prestige to sustain it.

This last is such a small grievance for India, compared with other grievances in matters touching the League, that it seems hardly worth counting. Our delegations to the Assembly, after nine years, are still led by men who are not of our nationality, a fact, the full psychological implications of which can be adequately appreciated only in the subtleties of the Geneva atmosphere. The consequences of this and similar gestures were evident the other day, when the question of elections to the non-permanent seats of the Council was under discussion. It has now become a practice that one of these seats should be reserved for an Asiatic Member in the same manner as one is always assigned, by a tacit understanding, to a South American State. Not only was India's candidature for this place not considered, but such a possibility was deemed remote, because, as one of the local papers put it, India was "not even a Dominion." In a meeting to which the Indian Delegation to the Assembly invited the representatives of the Indian press, the First Delegate expressed his opinion that it would not be "tactful" for India to put forward her claims for a place in the Council, the reason being her present political status. At a time when Asiatic States are forging ahead and are in various ways manifesting their prestige in the international sphere, even if we remained stationary, we would be falling off from the front rank. And the nature of the Simon Commission and the designation of Lord Cushendun to sign the new Peace Treaty for India are steps which contrast so strikingly with the character of the Reforms and the place India had in the signing of the other Peace Treaty that it is impossible even to maintain the pretense of being stationary. It is all to the good that His Highness the Nawab of Palanpur should have insisted in his speech in the Assembly that the League should wake up to the necessity of creating a general conviction in the Orient that it is "in the fullest sense an association of equal peoples, with equal obligations and equal rights, affording equal opportunities to all its members, irrespective of racial origin, to work harmoniously together for the great humane objects laid down in the Covenant."

FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS.

Another realistic touch about this year's Assembly is the turn which the Franco-German relations have taken. Monsieur Briand's speech with its open avowal of dissatisfaction about German disarmament in answer to the German demands on this point, came as a great astonishment to all who had let themselves forget the politician in the prophet whose rôle he has been playing with such great success. If this year's Assembly has lost something of the magic of the talk of Franco-German amity, there is considerable compensation in the fact that its logic is on the point of being tested. Even the Paris press shows signs of the recognition that the evacuation of the Rhineland can no longer be treated as evasively as before although the French may play for time and may throw upon Germany the onus of making definite and written proposals and of bringing about a meeting of the five Powers interested in the question. Pertinax in *L'Echo de Paris* regretfully admits that the attitude taken by the French Cabinet on August 23, and expressed by Monsieur Poincaré to Herr Stresemann, of making the evacuation depend upon a complete settlement of reparations and international debts, is evidently abandoned, as the absence of the United States would make such an attitude equivalent to an entire rejection of the German demand. With equal regret he admits that the attitude of making the evacuation dependent upon guarantees of military security adopted in the Security Commission has also had to be abandoned. The effects of such a realisation in France when taken together with the constant and real anxiety with regard to security from German attack, doubtless present, may be imagined.

FRANCO-BRITISH NAVAL ACCORD.

A similar stress on realities is to be perceived in the abandonment of the vague Franco-British naval accord, which needed the approval of other Powers, principally America, to be at all effective, and which was opposed by Italy and the United States. It was offered as a valuable solution to disarmament, while the fact of the matter was that besides embittering Italy, Germany, and America, it tended to vitiate the complicated political situation on the European Continent by importing into it all the animus of the Anglo-American naval rivalry. The determined opposition of America was perhaps what dissipated this still-born accord, or, it may be, the realisation by France that England's support in her policy towards Germany was not worth purchasing at the cost of American friendship. However that may be, the spirit of the Assembly this year is characterised by realities, and difficult as political realities are, they are not so inane and intoxicating as moral rhapsodies in places which call for effective action.

OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

JOHANNESBURG, SEPTEMBER 9.

MR. SASTRI.

IT is now definitely known that Mr. Sastri has made up his mind to relinquish his office at the end of the year and sail for India early next year. This news has been received with regret generally, for opinion is unanimous that he should, if possible, be prevailed upon to stay longer in this country. In a leading article the *Cape Times* reflects the general European opinion which does not favour his impending retirement. The Indian community, particularly the South African Indian Congress, views Mr. Sastri's impending departure with grave concern, with alarm and even consternation. They believe

that a great deal of Mr. Sastri's success is personal, and they apprehend that with the withdrawal of his personality, things will slide back again. They feel that the improvement is not sufficiently consolidated to give them the confidence that the future is secure against an anti-Indian squall. They are not without misgivings regarding Mr. Sastri's successor. They have every confidence in the good intentions and solicitude of the Government of India, but are not so sure that political, communal and service considerations will not deflect the Government from selecting the right person. What will be the status of the Agent when Mr. Sastri ceases to occupy the present position? Will it be reduced to the status of the Agent in Ceylon or Malaya? Or will it be raised to the same level that Mr. Sastri's occupation of that office now gives it? Will it be attractive to a non-official in the front rank in India and will a first-rate man consent to come out to South Africa? Will the next Agent carry the same weight with the Government, the Europeans and the Indians in this country? Will he be as easily accessible to Indians as Mr. Sastri has been? These and several other doubts and misgivings trouble the minds of the Indian community. They are therefore reluctant to lose Mr. Sastri's services, and are putting great pressure on him to change his mind. The South African Indian Congress Executive decided on a public demonstration in order to persuade Mr. Sastri to continue here for some time more. But they were given to understand that Mr. Sastri's decision was final.

MR. SASTRI'S MOVEMENTS.

Mr. Sastri is going through a crowded programme both in Johannesburg and the smaller towns in the Transvaal. He has visited, and made public speeches on the Indian Agreement at Vereeniging, Krugersdorp and Heidelberg. He will soon be visiting Potchefstroom, Klersdorp, Springs and Germiston for a similar purpose. In Johannesburg itself he addressed the Coloured community, and is to speak to the National Council of Women on "Women in India"; to the Trade Union people on "Labour Movement in India"; to the University on "Indian Philosophy"; and to a City Hall meeting on the "Indian Agreement." Mr. Sastri goes to Salisbury, (Rhodesia) on the 2nd October to lay the foundation stone of an Indian school there, and pays a visit to the famous Victoria Falls. In the last week of October he is due to deliver a series of three lectures on "Indian Philosophy and Literature" to the Cape Town University.

INDIAN UNIVERSITY?

It will be remembered that in laying the foundation stone of the Training College the Administrator of Natal said that the Training College of today might—who knows!—develop one day into a university college for Indians. The *Natal Advertiser*, a friendly paper, sees in it a hint as to the policy of the present Union Government regarding Indian education, and compares it with the alleged policy of the same Government to starve European education in Natal.

"Might people not say", it avers, "that the Government's design is clear as the noonday sun; that Durban hereafter will be an Indian colony, where the arts and sciences will be at the disposal of the poorest child of the East while being denied to the children of European birth?"

It does not however agree with the people who would deny education to the Indian in order to retain European ascendancy.

"No government can withhold knowledge from those fitted to receive it without standing self-condemned in the eyes of all fair-minded men. When the Indian in South Africa is ready for higher education, he should be

given access to it . . . You do not promote the white man's welfare when, in chagrin, you hit out savagely at his competitor and deny the latter his legitimate rights. . . . Unless all are lifted up, all will in time sink deeper, some in sloth and some in sheer despair."

"Noble sentiments nobly expressed! Would that South Africa heeded them! The point that the *Natal Advertiser* makes is that Europeans in Durban should do more for themselves than they have done.

"In nine months the Durban Indians have done more for their own people than, relatively speaking, European Durban has done in as many years for the folk who belong to it."

CONDONATION.

Since my last Letter another point has been decided in favour of the South African Indian Congress. Instead of agreeing to a time line at 1908, the Department has agreed to exempt from the necessity of condonation all illegal entrants who *either before or after 1908* exchanged Peace Preservation Ordinance Permits for Registration Certificates provided the thumb impressions on both the documents were identical, notwithstanding any discrepancy in the names entered on them. In other words no person will be asked if he was lawfully entitled to the Peace Preservation Permit issued to him over his thumb impression, and subsequently exchanged by him for a Registration Certificate.

FLOWER-SELLERS AND HAWKERS IN JOHANNESBURG.

The Johannesburg Municipality has passed certain by-laws to regulate street trading and hawking and peddling, against which the Transvaal Indian Congress is carrying on an agitation. There are about 30 to 35 Indian flower-sellers, who carry on their trade in the heart of the city. Hitherto they had not to take out licenses, or to pay license fees, and they were free to station their carts along the roadside unhampered. The new bye-laws require them to take out licenses, pay a license fee of 5s. per month, prohibit them from trading in certain areas and streets, and require them to keep moving, and not stay at one place for more than 20 minutes and not revisit the same place during the same day. The new bye-laws are defended on the ground that flower-sellers obstruct traffic in busy streets with their stationary carts, and some kind of regulation is necessary. Almost all the street flower-sellers happen to be Indians, and they contend that the bye-laws are an anti-Indian measure; that the small space they take up next to the kerb is no obstruction to traffic, certainly not more so than the parking of motor-cars in the same streets; that the shifting of the trade to remoter places will kill the trade altogether, for flowers are not a vital necessity for which customers will undertake special journeys; and that similar bye-laws in Pretoria have effectively killed the Indian flower trade in that city. They further contend that their trade has not adversely affected the European florists, whose number has steadily grown; and that in Cape Town and other places street trading in flowers is not only allowed but is a striking feature, fostered and cherished.

The Municipality has also amended the hawkers and peddlers by-laws to make them effective. The existing bye-laws forbid a hawker from stopping in one place for more than 20 minutes, and from returning the same day to the same spot or "to the immediate vicinity thereof"! This last phrase being indefinite, the Municipality was unable to secure convictions. The new bye-laws define 'vicinity' as 100 ft. The Indian hawkers and peddlers complain that this will inflict a hardship on them. In these days of flats they have to wait at the same spot for more than 20

minutes if they have half a dozen customers in the flat; and the next flat may not be 100 ft. away from the first. While these bye-laws affect all races of hawkers, the Indians apprehend that the regulations would be enforced strictly against them.

The Transvaal Indian Congress made representations to the Municipal authorities, but failed to get satisfaction. They are now making representations to the Administrator who has to sanction the bye-laws.

OUR PARLIAMENTARY LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

SIMLA, SEPTEMBER 28.

THE PUBLIC SAFETY BILL.

THE session of the Assembly abruptly came to a close with the unexpected defeat of Government over the motion for the consideration of the report of the Select Committee on the Public Safety Bill. Mr. Crerar dwelt upon the improvements effected in the Bill by the Select Committee, but the Opposition remained unconvinced as to the efficacy of the new safeguards to protect personal liberty. It was pointed out that the Bill in its revised form would be even more dangerous, as Government would be in a position to say that the accused had a fair trial; under cover of the new provision in the Bill for an appeal to a tribunal which was a mere eyewash. The voting, however, resulted in a tie and the President was obliged to record his casting vote against the motion.

SEPARATION OF ASSEMBLY OFFICE.

The question of separation of the Assembly Office had its share in creating an atmosphere of bitterness and suspicion. It was this that set the ball about criticism of Mr. Patel's actions and activities rolling; but the timely intervention of H. E. the Viceroy brought about an understanding and the affairs of the Assembly began to run smoothly again. Much tension would have been relieved if Mr. Crerar had openly and unequivocally condemned the writings of the press correspondents concerned and also had assured the House and the President that he would investigate into the alleged campaign against the Chair. Government however fully made amends for this default on their part and assured the House that they were as determined to uphold the dignity and prestige of the Assembly and the Chair as any other section of the House. Mr. Crerar also added that Government would take steps to ensure that there would be no recurrence of any expression on the part of official members of views impugning the conduct of the Chair. Mr. Crerar's statement was taken by the House as a "complete vindication of the honour and dignity of the Chair and this House against the unworthy attacks and reflections, from whatever sources they might come." Pandit Motilal then moved a resolution on the Assembly Secretariat proposal on which all the parties had agreed beforehand. Government could not commit themselves to the scheme, since they had committed themselves to certain views in the despatch sent to the Secretary of State, though it was made clear that they fully accepted the principle of separation. Much would of course depend upon the view the Secretary of State would take of the Government of India's proposal.

TRADE DISPUTES BILL.

With the slow progress of the Public Safety Bill Government had to postpone other Bills to the next session. They intended at first merely to introduce the Trade Disputes Bill this time, but though Bombay commercial opinion pressed them to get this legisla-

tion passed, they found themselves unable to do so and had to make a motion that the Bill be circulated for eliciting opinions. Government held that the community must be protected against general strikes by declaring such strikes illegal, as they cause fearful dislocation of business. Mr. Joshi asked why an employer was not penalised for dismissing his employee without notice, while an employee who left a utility service in similar circumstances was to be punished. He declared that the Bill was framed more in the interests of capitalists, as the employee had been handicapped by penalties under several acts already enacted. He also questioned if sympathetic strikes were to be made illegal and labour still more fettered in its activities.

The session closed with a statement by Mr. Patel about the attacks made on him in certain newspapers regarding his provincial tours. He made it plain that he followed the precedent laid down by his predecessor, Sir Frederick Whyte and had been fortified in his decision to continue the practice by the opinion of the then Viceroy, Lord Reading.

REVIEWS.

CENTRAL BANKS.

CENTRAL BANKS. By C. H. KISCH & W. A. ELKIN. (Macmillan). 1928. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 384. 18s.

SINCE the fiat has gone forth from the International Financial Conference that in countries where there is no Central Bank of Issue one should be established, many new Central Banks have been formed and a study of their constitutions and main functions has become imperatively necessary. Such a study is attempted with success in this volume. The authors make out a good case for a Central Bank in the Introduction and they think even in countries with undeveloped credit a Central Bank would not be premature since such a Bank itself is a potent influence in the way of developing the credit system on sound lines. Discussing the relations of the State with a Central Bank, the authors cite instance after instance to show that excessive control of the state has always been disastrous; they recommend an independent Central Bank in which the State shall have no power of interference with the administration and shall be prevented from borrowing from the Bank by a specific clause. Of all the ways of subscribing to the capital of such a Bank, the authors regard private subscriptions by the general public in a Joint Stock concern as the best. So far as the claim of the Indian politicians for a state owned concern in the recent controversy over the Reserve Bank is concerned, it must be confessed that there are only two parallels, Bank of Latvia and Bank of Finland. It may be noted that the authors are in favour of withholding the right of voluntary liquidation from a Central Bank altogether. As for administration the following considerations are emphasized:—the official element should be in a minority; no particular group of shareholders should be able to establish predominant control; there must be a regular publication of returns enabling the public to gauge the monetary position. In the matter of note-issue the current practice of giving the sole monopoly to the Central Bank is endorsed. With regard to the criticisms brought against the inelastic system of reserve operating in the United Kingdom, it is maintained that the system of a fixed fiduciary system may be harmonised with the requirements of an elastic credit control by varying the ratio in the Banking Department of the Bank of

England which is not subject to statutory restriction; in the opinion of the authors the practical effect of the difference between the British System and the System adopted in U. S. is exaggerated. On the whole the authors are more inclined towards the orthodox British system of reserve in which the fiduciary issue can only be increased by a catastrophic action of the suspension of the Bank Charter Act which proclaims the seriousness of the situation.

A study of the relations between the Central Bank and the money market shows that the Central Bank alone should be responsible for the credit policy and other Commercial Banks should cooperate with it. The Central Bank ought for this purpose to be given the power to carry on open market operations directly with the public; granting this however the authors enjoin it only as a subsidiary operation. As a rule however most charters to Central Banks restrict the sphere of their operations so as to prevent them from competing with ordinary Banks. In order to maintain the gold parity of the currency a Central Bank is required to redeem its notes in a specified weight of fine gold or gold exchange which is as good as gold. As for the monopoly of the Central Bank to deal in foreign exchange and external loans which is a phase in the recent measures of stabilisation, the authors rightly recommend its abandonment as early as practicable. Apart from this monopoly however, the Central Bank should freely intervene in the exchange market in order to promote exchange stability. In view of the danger arising from the excessive issue of short term Government bills or advances the advice given by the authors to restrict the rediscounting of bills by an understanding with the State is a sound one. With regard to loan operations the authors emphasize the recent tendency in the direction of increased limitation of the collateral to be accepted and its precise definition. The practice of European Banks of allowing merchandise as collateral is condemned as a departure from the strict doctrine applicable to Central Banks. It appears that the majority of the charters include a rule prohibiting interest on deposits with a Central Bank obviously with a view to prevent the diversion of its energies to profit-earning and avoidance of risks inappropriate to a Central Bank. Again Government is prohibited in many charters from issuing token currency except through the medium of the Central Bank.

One of the most important desiderata of the future is the coordination of the policies of the various Central Banks in order to facilitate international payments with a minimum disturbance of money markets of the world. A beginning has already been made by the progressive restoration of the Gold Standard by the co-operation of Central Banks. As the authors point out, the smooth working of the gold standard and the preservation of stable prices can only be achieved by cooperation between the Central Banks. The monetary stability of the world depends on the stability of the Central Banks which have the privilege of being gold centres and these latter can only do so by the amity and goodwill of other Central Banks. The policy pursued by U. S. in maintaining stable gold prices "is an outstanding example of the services that a wise central banking policy can render in the international sphere." The authors think however that other Central Banks cannot be exonerated from taking a more definite part in creating and maintaining stable conditions for industry by adopting a rational policy with regard to the holding of gold. The usefulness of the volume is immensely increased by a summary of the laws and charters regulating the Central Banks of all the im-

portant countries of the world, given in the appendix. This excellent monograph ought to be welcome to students of finance as well as to professional bankers.

V. N. GODBOLE.

PRACTICAL MORALITY.

CHARACTER AND THE CONDUCT OF LIFE.

By WILLIAM MCDUGALL. (Putnam, New York.) 1927. 8¾×5½. pp. 394.

Dr. MCDUGALL'S is a truly remarkable book. He has described it himself as an "Essay in Practical Morals." We must needs understand the real significance of such a characterisation of his own work by the author.

The true mission of a moralist is apt to be doubly misinterpreted. Moralising on the one hand has a tendency in the hands of some of its votaries to degenerate into mere empirical platitudinizing. Such a process is almost indistinguishable from the hack-work of pre-scientific collection of facts and can at best give us a set of moral proverbs. At least it can never give us in any scientific sense a moral philosophy of life, as it lacks that 'ideal', 'synthesizing' element essential to all valid thinking about life. More than that, popular moralising almost lacks the solid basis of a sound theory of human nature. Such a process therefore presents a curious phenomenon in which the anomaly of an ethical superstructure without a psychological foundation is sought to be realised.

But in his enthusiasm for correcting this 'empirical' mistake, an 'idealist' is apt to go to the other extreme of mere *a priori* theory and abstraction. If the empiric gets too much immersed in the facts of human life to have a synthetic theory of it, the idealist is apt to stand unduly detached from it and to resort too much to speculation *ab extra* to have a valid view of the matter. The result is that an idealist is often found giving us his dry-as-dust theorising about moral life, hardly touching life at any one of its springs of action. Virtue becomes mere knowledge, and mind an equivalent for reason.

Professor McDougall evidently sees the dangers of these Scylla and Charybdis of a moralist and rightly understands his mission to steer clear of them. He is by training and profession a psychologist of the very first rank and was till recently known only as such. Having gathered his researches in this field extending over a third of a century in his two great 'Outlines', he now proceeds to the work for which few could be better qualified. He has gathered the data of the *natural* life of man and out of these he wants to build up his *moral* life. And he does this not by means of any abstract disquisitions on ethical theory, but by an admirable process of transfiguration which in his pages almost seems to remove the (often-much-too-fast) distinction between Psychology and Ethics. In this book the author brings human nature and ideal together to meet in a synthesis, and gives us a creation truly unique. It is a book of immense human interest, and is one that can without the least fear of exaggeration be called a Book of Life.

Professor McDougall begins with an introductory chapter meant to refute the alarmist denunciation of 'introspection' and to establish 'our need of self-criticism'; and then right away plunges into a psychological exposition of 'human nature'—a subject which he treats from the point of view of the psychology of moral life and occupies him throughout the next ten or twelve chapters. In the course of these, Professor McDougall has clearly and accurately, yet non-technically, expounded the raw materials of character,—the dispositions, the temperaments,

tempers, habits, tastes, interests, etc.; etc.; and it is the special merit of his exposition that it almost imperceptibly rises from the merely psychological to the ethico-psychological plane. Accordingly, he has discussed problems of 'Character and Will,' 'Character and Happiness' and so on and has explained the various processes of 'character-formation,' 'sublimation,' 'conflict,' etc., in doing which he has had occasions to expose some of the modern psycho-analytic vagaries. He has dilated on the 'qualities of conduct and of personality,' those 'of character and of intellect' and has done not a little to clear up the exact significations of several ethical terms loosely used in ordinary parlance.

Professor McDougall's expository work, the general nature of which has been indicated above, has been done with a characteristic thoroughness and is on the whole such as disarms criticism, except at one point. This relates to his theory, not indeed newly propounded by him, that the origin of moral sentiment is to be sought in a kind of 'self-regard.' Without intending to enter into a formal controversy with Dr. McDougall, I would like to point out, for what it is worth, that his contention is true only in the trivial sense in which the central contention of Psychological Hedonism is. To desire the pleasure of an object is not in any important sense to desire pleasure. Similarly, the desire for moral self-improvement is not really a case of self-regard. The elusive mystery of the intimate moral life of man consists in this: that the moral ideal is essentially a non-personal concept, though it has to be realised in and through the personal self. Professor McDougall may be aware of this and probably does not mean to deny a truth so fundamental. Any way the choice of his terminology is not the happiest and is surely capable of giving rise to a misunderstanding.

Professor McDougall's chapter on 'Some Common Faults' is a happy blend of acute psychological analysis and keen observation of some of the closer aspects of human mind and personality. In it he exposes to our view the many and subtle ramifications of egotism and insincerity; and passes on from the next chapter onwards to the more particularly hortatory part of his task, which occupies him throughout the rest of the volume. In each chapter that follows, he takes a particular relation or relations in which an individual stands connected to his family or society and addresses some words of wisdom to people bearing such relation. It is needless to add that these are weighty words and have a special value for all concerned as coming from Dr. McDougall.

There is one rather serious omission in Dr. McDougall's book. It is the treatment of perhaps the most intimate aspect of human life,—the religious, spiritual,—which, as is truly said, is the very backbone of our ordinary secular life. The author is conscious of this; but seems, perhaps rightly, to prefer reticence on this great question to mere apologetic dogmatism. It is true that in these days of science and of scepticism, one's religious belief is more of 'a venture of faith' than a reasoned or proved proposition. But even so, a psychologist that Dr. McDougall is, he would have done well to add a few words on some of the more intimate and universal aspects and values of man's religious life. An exhortation about the purely human relations should find a worthy sequel and culmination in another volume about the 'meta-human' or religious relations, i. e. man's relations with God. Especially in his last chapter addressed to 'Age', such a disquisition would have found a fitting place as it is when men 'age' that they are occupied with

what I have called the meta-human or religious relations. This would have made his treatment of human life more complete than it is.

On the whole, however, Dr. McDougall's work is a unique and remarkable performance. It is the production of a brilliant psychologist and an ardent and earnest ethicist. In it, not the sophistical 'sophist' of yore whom Plato censured, but the modern, scientific, wise and experienced sophist speaks and his audience is bound to acknowledge gratefully in him a great teacher.

D. D. VADEKAR.

SHORT NOTICES.

BHAGAVADGITA: A FRESH STUDY. By D. D. VADEKAR.

THAT the Bhagavadgita is a complex of diverse elements, philosophical, theological, metaphysical and ethical, is apparent even on the first cursory view of it. These elements in many of their details strike one as so divergent that they seem greatly to mar the unity of the teaching offered in the book. It is on this account that its central purport has come to be so differently interpreted by the most-able exponents such as Shankaracharya and Ramappacharya of the mediaeval age, and Garbe, Tilak and others of our own age, that in one treatment the book looks like a treatise on Advaitism of the Shankara type, in another treatment it looks like a manual on Upasana and Bhakti, in a third treatment it looks like a synopsis of the Sankhya metaphysics and Yoga discipline, in a fourth treatment it figures as a great teaching on the moral and religious duty of men (Karmayoga)—in what spirit of sacrifice and selflessness duty should be performed in order to purge the soul of all evil and fit it to become perfect.

So the Bhagavadgita may be characterized as eclectic in its subject-matter, bringing together as it does the best that was thought out by the different schools of thinkers and philosophers in its day. When, however, ideas, even the most catching ones, drawn from different systems of thought, are called and fused together, the fusion is bound to remain imperfect, and want of satisfactory logical connection is bound to be felt. An attempt to synthesize and give a connected and consistent account of the contents of the Bhagavadgita has been made by every one of the great interpreters referred to above, but with indifferent success. The failure has been due to the fact that the task by its very nature is an impossible one. But supposing the task was set, Mr. Vadekar in his book has certainly accomplished it with a greater measure of success than I am aware of anybody else having done it. He has attempted, so to say, a constructive survey of the heterogeneous contents of the sacred text-book and with the help of certain concepts and formulas derived from the Western philosophy he has ingeniously devised a perspective, seen through which the Bhagavadgita presents a pretty harmonious and well-arranged group of pictures. This is surely a creditable achievement. The essay is bound to interest and ought to be welcomed by every student of the Bhagavadgita, and for the matter of that, by every student of the Vedanta in general.

K. N. DRAVID.

CANNIBAL JACK. By WILLIAM DIAPEA. (Faber & Gwyer Ltd., London.) 1928. 8¼ × 5¼. pp. 241. 7s. 6d.

THIS book is supposed to be the true autobiography of a white man in the South Seas. He narrates the

story of his life in the islands of Fiji, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, etc. in the Pacific Ocean. He also visited India on one of his trips. He describes India and China as "neither savage nor civilized". All that he remembers of India is "jungles, tigers, nabobs and nautch girls", and that Indians keep themselves "warm by curries and cool by their punkahs". The book is a compilation of three copy books out of nineteen written by him. The other sixteen seem to have been lost. What a pity! Fiction in the world is the poorer by their loss. It is full of daring adventures among cannibals. He does not admit that he ever became a cannibal himself but the publisher who had seen the writer before his death says that it was generally believed that he did indulge in cannibalism. At any rate he was a confirmed polygamist. In his own words,

"I am the reputed father of 38 children and 99 grandchildren and so, that being the case, I shall in a very few years more be the great-grand-father of 990, probably 1,000 great-grand-children"

Rev. Hadfield, the publisher, tells us in the Introduction that Cannibal Jack looked very much like Mr. Bernard Shaw. I wonder if G. B. S. has read this book. We are not told how, when and where Cannibal Jack was educated. His style of writing, his Latin phrases, his long coherent sentences sometimes running into over hundred words,—these lead one to conclude that this book of thrilling adventures, in spite of what Rev. Hadfield may say of the veracity of Cannibal Jack's statement, is not a genuine one. The book is, by no stretch of imagination, the result of the brains of the man who lived with cannibals as one of them for well nigh half a century. Cannibal Jack might have lived; but I am sure he did not write an autobiography. Lovers of fiction and adventure will find this book very exciting.

S. A. WAIZ.

ANCIENT INDIA. By UPENDRA NATH BALL. (2nd Edition.) (Sudha Bindu Biswas, Calcutta.) 1928. 7½ × 5. pp. 278. Rs. 2-8.

THIS handbook is as neat a production as any in the field and is sufficient to give the student and the general reader a faithful picture of Indian history and culture in every succeeding epoch from the earliest times to the Muhammadan conquest. The special features of the work are its satisfactory arrangement and flowing style by means of which the author has successfully condensed so much valuable information from widely different sources and presented it in an attractive manner. We hope with the author that it will stimulate the curiosity of the readers to go further afield in search of the rich gems of India's past and explore unknown regions. As is inevitable in a manual dealing with such a comprehensive subject, a number of inaccuracies have crept in here and there, but they in no way detract from the merit of the book. The printing is not up to the mark and could have been improved upon.

ORIENTALIST.

THE WISDOM OF THE RISHIS By T. L. VASWANI. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.) pp. 62.

THE more an Indian comes to know the wisdom of the East and that of the West, the more does he realize that the wisdom of the Rishis of India, the culture of the ancient Aryans and the knowledge that is treasured in the Vedas are such as to make one proud of himself and his country. Except for the superficial observer or for the prejudiced

critic, India cannot but extend a new charm of her own. And an inspired thinker like Vaswani cannot but give expression to his feelings of disappointment at our modern movements in imitation of the West and to his feelings of satisfaction at the growing wisdom of the West in looking again to the East for new light and inspiration. He has done a very valuable service in attempting to give the true and modern interpretation of the ancient culture of the East. His inspired talks have great use in bringing home to the minds of many the humanistic value of our religion and the importance of service in it.

K. V. SANKARAN NAIR.

MISCELLANEOUS.

RT. HON'BLE MR. SASTRI.

Commenting upon Mr. Sastri's impending retirement from the post of the Indian Agent in South Africa, the CAPE TIMES wrote in its issue of August 29 as follows :—

The definite decision of the Right Hon. V. S. Sastri to relinquish his appointment at the beginning of next year was not unexpected. Nevertheless its announcement will be received with disappointment and regret throughout South Africa. For some little time past the Indian community has been demonstrating with systematic vigour its desire that Mr. Sastri should prolong his stay. From various European quarters he has been urged no less strongly to remain at least until the character of the political situation on the far side of next year's general elections can be visualised. If Mr. Sastri felt himself unable to yield to this pressure, it was no doubt prudent as well as courteous in him to say so at once in unequivocal terms. Nor is his decision itself open to any criticism. He came to us in the first instance for one year, in circumstances which involved considerable self-sacrifice. At the express wish of the Indian Government and in compliance with hopes common to all sections in South Africa, he agreed to an extension of his term by six months. In this, as indeed in every other way, he has been better than his original undertaking. Upon specific matters he may have had his disappointments, but in respect of the general relations between the Indian and the European communities, he has accomplished certainly more than he promised, probably more than he dared hope, possibly more than seemed humanly practicable at the time of the Cape Town Agreement. He has, therefore, every right, if he so wishes, to regard the ground as suitably prepared for his successor, and every right to follow the personal inclinations and the family attachments which naturally draw him strongly to India. He may well feel also, having regard both to his achievement here and to the present position in India, that his best service to his country is now to be rendered in India rather than in South Africa. In that case a sense of duty would reinforce those other promptings to return. South Africa, then, can have no grounds for questioning his going. It must accept his judgment that departure is for the best, and record its regret and its real sense of impending loss.

By the same token, the people of the Union cannot help feeling a certain anxiety as regards the refilling of Mr. Sastri's place among us. If his own success has been notable it has also been almost wholly personal. Lacking his charm his courtly manners, his humour, his patience, his tact, his gifts of intellect, his attainments of culture, and his statesmanship, the Agent of the Government of India would be able to point to but a fraction of Mr. Sastri's achievement in this country. The continuance of Mr. Sastri's triumph in the person of his successor depends entirely on his successor's sharing that rare combination of qualities with him. In April, 1927, when Mr. Sastri's appointment was first announced, South Africa was flattered (and, dare we add, perhaps a little sur-

prised?) that the work awaiting the Indian Agent here had seemed to the Indian Government of such vital importance that the appointment was to be given to the very best man available. The dispatch of Mr. Sastri as its emissary was considered a most significant index of the interest and concern felt by the Indian Government in the Indian question in South Africa. This country to-day appreciates the wise insight of the Indian Government better than it did, and it is grateful for it. Its hope, therefore, is very strong that the Indian Government will take the same view of the necessities of the case and show the same wisdom to-day as in 1927. Perhaps it is too much to expect even the immense resources of India to produce two Sastris. But if she cannot keep the original one, South Africa would wish for a successor as indistinguishable from him as possible.

INDIA AND EAST AFRICA.

"THE KENYA DAILY MAIL" FREE PASSAGE SCHEME.

The Kenya Daily Mail (Box No. 135, Mombasa, Kenya) desires to encourage visits by Indian gentlemen occupying posts as prominent political leaders and editors of Daily and Weekly newspapers, throughout India during 1929, with a view to studying conditions in these territories, and on their return to serve the interests of these countries whenever opportunity occurs. *The Kenya Daily Mail* will defray the cost of a certain number of passages from Bombay to Mombasa and back, first or second class according to the status of the visitors, and will place at their disposal on their arrival here its whole organisation and facilities for becoming familiar with all sections of the community and the study of East African problems.

The Kenya Daily Mail accordingly invites correspondence from those in India desirous of availing themselves of this opportunity. Correspondents should afford full details of their profession and activities, and should state clearly the degree of their association with public or political life. The selection will be in the hands of the Proprietors of the paper and will be announced in due course in its columns. Correspondence should be received here not later than December 31st, 1928, and an intimation should be given as to the most convenient time for the visit to be made and its proposed duration.

The scheme is put forward in the single and sincere desire to facilitate the growth of knowledge in India of conditions under which Indians oversea live, and the Proprietors confidently invite the co-operation of the Indian press and public in making it a success.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE IRISH FREE STATE, 1922-1927. By DENIS GWYNN. (Macmillan.) 1928. 8½ x 5½. pp. 436. 12s. 6d.
- OUTLINES OF SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY. (2nd Edition.) By J. S. MACKENZIE. (Allen & Unwin.) 1927. 8½ x 5½. pp. 284. 10s. 6d.
- THE MIXED SCHOOL. By B. A. HOWARD. (University of London Press, Ltd.) 1928. 8 x 5½. pp. 248. 6s.
- THE RUSSIAN LAND. By ALBERT RHYNS WILLIAMS. (New Republic, Inc. New York.) 1928. 7½ x 4½. pp. 293. \$1.00.
- SOVIET UNION YEAR-BOOK, 1928. Compiled and Edited by A. A. SANTALOV & LOUIS SEGAL. (Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 7½ x 5. pp. 587. 7s. 6d.
- MEMORANDUM OF THE INDIAN STATES' PEOPLE. (General Secretary, Indian States' People's Conference, Bombay.) 1928. 9½ x 6½. Rs. 10.
- PROBLEMS OF INDIAN STATES. By G. B. ABHYANKAR. (Aryabhushan Press, Poona.) 1928. 8½ x 5½. pp. 497. Rs. 5.
- HARVEY-NARIMAN LIBEL CASE. Ed. By S. M. SURVEYOR. (Taraporevala.) 1927-28. 9½ x 6½. pp. 228.
- HALF THE BATTLE. By BARCLAY BARON. (2nd Edition.) (Marshall.) 1928. 7½ x 4½. pp. 72. 1s.