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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Simon Commission is at work, examining witnesses, though the experience of last week seems to show that it has made up its mind to work for only four days every week. As expected, its work has not excited much public interest, nor does it seem to be particularly anxious that it should do so. For admission to the rooms of the "Joint Free Conference" is not allowed to the public except of course to press reporters. The whole of last week was spent by the Commission in examining official witnesses, not on the important point of the Bombay Government's recommendations as regards the political future of this presidency but on comparatively minor matters. In the absence of the memoranda officially supplied to the Commission which are studiously withheld from the public, considerable difficulty is experienced in following the evidence tendered before it.

The review of the initial working of the Joint Free Conference makes many revelations and some of them rather disconcerting. So far as the procedure is concerned, the decision to treat documents as confidential and to sanction evidence *in camera* is hardly consistent with the essentials of a free and open inquiry by what purports to be almost a Royal Com-

mission. The gentle hint dropped by the President that members of the Central Committee and the Provincial Committees need not cross-examine except to elucidate what is already raised is calculated to cool the enthusiasm of members wishing to elicit the typically Indian views on every issue. Unfortunately however, members like Mr. Bhutto and Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan whose rank communalism can hardly be disputed are helping to bring out the communal point of view even from witnesses who would resist their blandishments. The general trend of the European witnesses so far seems to be to prove that Indianisation is tantamount to deterioration of the standard of efficiency. It is clear from Mr. Griffith's replies that his scheme for the recruitment of an equal number of Indian and European officers in the Bombay police, although recommended by the Bombay Government, was negatived by the Government of India. This hardly augurs well for the progress of Indianisation. Similarly Mr. Newman replied in unambiguous terms that in no case should Indians exceed fifty per cent. in the Forest Department. Mr. Griffith definitely set his face against the transfer of law and order to popular control. To that extent the official pose is inclined to resist the demand for complete provincial autonomy. We wonder whether these officers have aired their own views or they are representing the views of the Bombay Government.

But the Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government, Mr. Turner, who seems to have mainly confined himself to the working of local bodies, frankly spoke against communalism and attributed the deterioration in the efficiency of municipal and local board administration to its evil influence. Sir Ghulam Hussain, who as minister for Local Self-Government was responsible for the introduction of separate electorates for Mahomedans even in local bodies, was examined *in camera* and presumably has done his best to wipe out the impression against communalism which Mr. Turner had produced on the Commission.

THE plain-speaking of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad about the Central and Provincial Committees is not simply taking outburst but is an expression of what he personally thinks of the Committees. As such it deserved a courteous rejoinder instead of the vulgar and

personal attack in which Sir H. S. Gour indulges. He appears to be offended *par excellence* by Sir Chimanlal's description of Sir Sankaran Nair as the only oasis in the desert. He describes himself as an elected representative of the people in contrast to Sir C. Setalvad who "was a nominated member in the second Assembly" and "a disgruntled politician". Sir H. S. Gour is quite confident about the Committees acquitting themselves in the difficult situation in which they are placed; luckily he admits that there is time to decry them if his fellow-countrymen are dissatisfied. As for Sir Chimanlal being a nominated member he has been compelled to state recently that for twenty years he was an elected member of the Bombay Legislature and was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council by the Bombay Council. The *coup de main* of Sir Chimanlal's recent interview however is his reminder to Sir H. S. Gour that he has himself been 'nominated' by the very tin-gods whom he hates against the wishes of an overwhelming majority of the elected members. In any case it is clear that whatever Sir H. S. Gour may think of himself as a tribune of the people, Sir Chimanlal has not made as many *voltes face* as stand to the credit of the redoubtable tribune. We feel ourselves unable to understand along with Sir Chimanlal how politicians like Sir Sankaran Nair cannot see through the unreal nature of the proceedings of the Conference. As for Sir Hari Singh Gour's statement that Sir Chimanlal cannot appreciate the work of public men working for the people it is simply ludicrous; Sir Chimanlal's public life in the province and elsewhere judged by the severest standard has been sufficiently endorsed by the Indian public to enable him to appreciate a high standard of public duty in others. We wish that in future the members of the Committees would cease to make invective do duty for argument.

THE relinquishing of the India Office portfolio by the Lord Birkenhead's Earl of Birkenhead will be regretted *Adieu to Politics* by very few Indians. Nobody for a moment intends to deny "the marvellous brain, extremely logical mind and very sound judgment", gifts possessed by his Lordship to which Mr. Bridgeman has just paid a tribute. What is surprising to Indians is that with such wonderful powers of mind as he has possessed he has done precious little good to India. Not only that but he has done a great disservice to India by appointing the Statutory Commission in a manner calculated to alienate the good will of Indians at a critical time when the vital question of the grant of responsible government to India in fulfilment of the announcement of August 1917 is on the anvil. Instead of allaying discord and ill-feeling and soothing delicate susceptibilities as a statesman would have done, he has perversely enough roused passions, goaded sensible and even moderate-minded leaders of public opinion in India to inveterate opposition and helped to generate an atmosphere full of distrust, suspicion and antagonism in which the *bona fides* of each party—British and Indian—are seriously questioned by the other. Very few can have forgotten the bellicose and needlessly provocative speech with which he followed up the appointment of the Commission, all with the intent of making out a case for a purely Parliamentary and all-British Commission, a case which with all his

resources of eloquence was hardly made out. In his correspondence with the Premier, Lord Birkenhead says that he does not believe that the last four years will be pronounced the most unfruitful years of his life when the Indian papers of these years will be published. We shall of course await the publication of these papers but judging by what we know so far we must say that Lord Birkenhead's tenure of India Office has been one of the most reactionary periods of British Tory regime. Lord Birkenhead had as splendid an opportunity as the late Lord Morley had, to take a memorable part in the constitutional development of India but he has let it slip. If his solicitude for India were at all genuine Lord Birkenhead should have remained at his post and seen through the new reforms. It is not surprising therefore that the impression has been strengthened in India that he has so far taken his duties in the spirit of *non chalance* and has not given the best in him to the cause of India. The plea that politics has ceased to be a remunerative career is hardly pertinent in England where the high claims of public service have never been weighed in the balance against utilitarian considerations in deciding on the final choice by men of first-rate ability. It is quite in the fitness of things therefore that one who has no heart in the work should leave the helm of affairs to others. At the same time we do not know that there is much to choose between Lord Birkenhead and Viscount Peel, our new Secretary.

ON the 19th inst. His Excellency the Governor laid the foundation stone of a building which the Poona Seva Sadan Society intends to build so as to afford proper accommodation for their Nurses, Midwives and Medical Students. Situated as the building will be near the Sassoon Hospital, where the inmates of the proposed home have to work at all hours of day and night, the building, when completed, will, we have no doubt, admirably serve the purpose for which it is intended. The building is to bear the names of Sir Leslie and Lady Wilson who have been such good friends of the institution and its estimated cost is about Rs. 1¼ lakhs, over a third of which has either been promised or collected. Their Highnesses the Chiefsahab and Ranisahab of Sangli who is the present president of the institution have since promised a donation of Rs. 5000 and the Dowager Ranisahab of Jamkhandi Rs. 1000, for which both of them deserve the heart-felt thanks of everybody. It is to be hoped that with the requisite public support the building will be an accomplished fact before long. His Excellency the Governor and Lady Wilson must have observed during their visits to the institution how they are cramped for space at the headquarters. Accommodation for the inmates at the headquarters is an urgent necessity which would be satisfied if the adjoining Vishrambag Wada now occupied by the Civil Courts were made available to it. For this the Institution has been asking for years past and we hope that before Sir Leslie Wilson leaves Indian shores, he will see that it is given over to the Seva Sadan. The opportunity for putting in a word on behalf of the Seva Sadan will occur when, as they will shortly do, the Civil Courts move into the new buildings intended for them.

WE are glad that an attempt is being made to bring out a really good Marathi lexicon. To this end a joint stock company with a capital of Rs. 25,000 divided into 1000 shares of Rs. 25 each has already been formed and there is every reason

to hope that the required capital will soon be subscribed. It is not as if this will be the first attempt of its kind, but it will certainly be the first one to be made on this scale. The editorial board consists of men who are known for their deep study of the Marathi language and the fact that most of them actively collaborated in the preparation of that monumental work—the Marathi encyclopaedia—bears testimony to their determination not to leave tasks to which they set their hands half finished. They will moreover be assisted by well-known Marathi scholars in touch with the daily growing Marathi literature which guarantees the work being brought up-to-date. It cannot of course be pretended that the task is an easy one; but those who have undertaken it have every hope of accomplishing it successfully, provided the required help, both literary and financial, is forthcoming in proper measure. It is up to those who feel that such a lexicon is a real necessity to see that the undertaking does not suffer for want of the necessary help.

A LARGELY attended public meeting in Hyderabad

(Deccan) recently passed a resolution urging the Nizam's Government to remove existing restrictions on the holding of meetings to discuss even educational and social affairs. It must be mentioned that H. E. H. The Nizam, in his great zeal to save his subjects from the evil effects of political education, has issued a firman empowering his district officers to prohibit meetings from which political consequences may arise. Now, these district officers are, if possible, more zealous than their ruler, to save the people from themselves. They therefore not only prohibit political meetings but also insist on previous permission being obtained from the authorities even for holding meetings distinctly non-political. The High Court of Hyderabad once decided that such insistence was ultra vires but the vicious practice still continues. It was resolved at the same meeting, that an influential deputation should wait on Maharaja Sir Kishan Pershad, President of the Executive Council, to ask for the grant of the right of public speech in regard to non-political matters. But for our part we feel absolutely sure that the heavens will not come down with a crash on innocent Hyderabad even if political meetings are freely allowed.

THE Report on the operations of the Iron Works at

Bhadravati in Mysore during the year 1927-28 makes encouraging reading. The amount of capital invested in the concern, since its commencement in January 1923 comes to more than Rs. 2 crores while the losses amount to nearly Rs. 23 lakhs bearing as high a proportion as $\frac{1}{3}$ to the capital invested. No wonder then there was pessimism in some quarters. But the works have begun to pay of late. In the year under report there was a profit of Rs. 1,10,444 which very properly was made the nucleus of a Depreciation fund. The output of pig-iron was lower than in the previous year, being only, 17,169 tons whereas it was 20,055 tons in 1926-27. The unit cost of pig-iron however remained at the last year's level in spite of the decrease of output, because the yield of by-products viz., acetate, alcohol and tar showed a considerable increase and was indeed the highest on record. Further, improvements are in contemplation by the Board of Management which have obtained the approval of the Government of Mysore for them. Particularly it is intended to instal an experimental Steel Plant to explore the possibilities of making steel with Bhadra-

vati iron. The depression in the iron, steel, and other engineering industries is continuing even to-day but we feel sure that with Government and private encouragement the Bhadravati Iron Works will not only keep up but also hasten the pace along the line of progress.

THE necessity for adequate representation of India by Indians themselves at Geneva and for the cessation of the present practice of the British lead of the Indian delegations to the Assembly has been previously referred to in

this column. Another very convincing argument for it has arisen in the course of the eleventh-hour discussions of the last Assembly. The following, which speaks for itself, is from the *Journal de Geneva*, a responsible newspaper, never liable to be mistaken for any other than conservative in policy :

"If Lord Lytton, speaking in the name of India, criticised the budget of the League of Nations and of the Labour Office, and proposed to reduce it, it is because the Indian Legislative Assembly rejected last year the credits relative to the League. The Viceroy had to reestablish them in the budget by virtue of his discretionary powers.

"But to appreciate the humour of the situation, it would be necessary to know that the vote of the Legislative Assembly had a precise significance. The Hindus do not consider British officials competent to represent India rightfully, nor to speak in the name of India.

"And it is Lord Lytton who at the tribune put such an indirect interpretation on their ideas!"

It is hardly necessary to add that the League authorities would only be too glad to see that the wishes of Indians in this regard are fulfilled.

THE report of the Agricultural Commission has served to rouse the mind of educated India to the urgent need for uplifting the rural population. Even before, it used, no doubt, to be said that India

was largely an agricultural country but we doubt whether the full significance of that statement was adequately realised by the people at large. Now however things are different and the problem of rural reconstruction rightly absorbs the serious attention of many of our public men. The 1928 Anniversary number of the *Searchlight* of Patna contains some illuminating articles on the point. Mr. Ramdas Pantulu points out that the cooperative movement is by far the most powerful agency in obtaining for our rural population, the means of "Better farming, Better Business and Better Living." He also shows that "the modern conception of cooperation has much in common with the ancient ideal of India's communal village life, and rightly deplores the decay of the old self-sufficient village. Mr. N. K. Ray, Dy. Director of Cooperative Societies, Orissa, points out how the cooperative movement can be made more useful in resuscitating village life. After criticising the movement as meaning today too much credit and too little cooperation, he says that the existing societies and the new ones to be constituted should all be modelled on a broader basis with a larger scope of usefulness. A cooperative society, according to him, must be a moral and educational agency: it must aim at organising the whole village in its economic and educational aspect. Indeed, no agency has such potential strength in bettering rural conditions as the cooperative movement.

MESTON SETTLEMENT.

MR. WILES on behalf of the Government of Bombay has made a strong and incontrovertible case for the revision of the Meston Settlement. The province of Bombay contributes nearly a third of the total income-tax revenue of India and the province is deprived of this large revenue since income-tax has become a central head of revenue. A *quid pro quo* for this centralization of income-tax was provided by the direct contribution from Bombay having been fixed at a lower figure than what would have been equitable otherwise. As long as the provincial contributions were intact there was a sort of rough justice as between province and province, those yielding less in income-tax paying more as direct contribution. Since however the provincial contributions have been abolished—thanks to Sir Basil Blackett's persistent attempts to ensure a surplus and to certain windfalls—the balance has been disturbed as between agricultural provinces and industrial provinces. The exemption from provincial contributions has left large resources available to the former while the latter have benefitted only to a small extent. The second contention of the representative of the Bombay Government was that the calculation of Bombay revenues made by the Meston Committee has been falsified by later happenings. In justice to the Committee it must be said that they made the best of the figures available at that time and we do not think the Committee can be blamed for not anticipating the future course of events. It is good that Mr. Wiles admitted as much when he said that their quarrel was not with the Meston Committee but with the Meston Settlement.

It is further clear from the evidence tendered by Mr. Wiles that the Bombay Government has no desire to benefit by lessening the present resources of the Central Government. The increased share which Bombay demands therefore will have to come from the surpluses of the Central Government. It was thus incumbent on the Bombay Government to suggest ways of augmenting the Central revenue by additional sources of taxation. It appears that the Bombay Government recommend an excise duty on tobacco, a succession duty and increase of customs duty. The suggestion contained in some of the questions put by members of the other Committees that the Bombay Government was going out of its way to propose new taxation is thus seen to be misleading. With regard to the increase in the scale of the Customs duty Sir Arthur Froom rightly warned the witness that some readjustments to which the Government of India were already committed would not make possible a larger revenue under that head. In any case we do not feel so optimistic about the augmentation of the Central revenues as the Bombay Government seems to be. The idea underlying the whole evidence of Mr. Wiles that the expenditure of the Central Government is stationary while provinces required expanding sources of revenue for nation-building departments is in our opinion erroneous. It is yet premature to suppose that so far as the budget of the

Government of India is concerned we are out of the wood. It is not right therefore to indulge in vain hopes of huge surpluses which can enable the Central Government to abjure existing sources of revenue without seeking compensation by a rehabilitation of provincial contributions. The whole crux of the Bombay case is the future assured surpluses of the Central Government, and the competence of the new proposed taxes to guarantee these surpluses will have to be carefully examined before income-tax is made a divided head again, the Central Government contenting itself with half the proceeds of the tax.

Although we agree with the Bombay Government that the deprivation of the income-tax revenue has brought in a period of arrested progress all round and sympathize with their demand for at least a partial restitution of the revenue we cannot but remind the Bombay Government that much of their expenditure was due to unprofitable ventures and schemes started without a proper assessment of future gains and losses. Sir H. S. Gour was perfectly justified in drawing attention to the note of the Government of India which points out that but for the interest charges of Rs. 63 lakhs on the Development Scheme the Bombay budget of 1923 would have shown a surplus. It is also worth noting that the slow progress of beneficent services in Bombay has been equally due to the top-heavy administration against which Indian publicists have been carrying on an unending warfare all these years. We fail to see why the inquiry was not proceeded with especially as we cannot bring ourselves to endorse the opinion of the President of the Commission that this question of the Development charges has nothing to do with the inquiry of the Commission. Provincial adjustments of revenue cannot be made to hinge upon expenditures of particular Governments irrespective of the fact whether they are justifiable or not. It would be sheer pity if on the strength of unscrutinized expenditure figures, Provincial Governments are allowed to demand an indefinite increase in the number and the yield of the taxes. The success of the Reforms financially can only be judged by examining the proper balance of revenue and expenditure in the Indian budget as well as the budgets of Provincial Governments. And it is well to remember that budgets can be upset by a shortage of revenue as well as by a bloated expenditure and both have to be trimmed into shape.

The question of the financial adjustments between Provincial Governments and the Central Government must be settled on equitable lines because provincial autonomy with such recurring causes of conflict can only be shadowy. The Bombay Government have hit the right nail on the head when they say that the new reform scheme is not worth having unless the finances of the province were put on a sure basis. It is just probable that a fresh scheme of the division of the revenue between the Federal Government and the Local Governments will be found to be more suitable than the existing one which separates sources of revenue into water-tight compartments. Even in that case it would not do to have

various divided heads of revenue and bring back the old system which has been found to be fatal to amity and good relations between the several Local Governments.

It is understood that the Bombay Government have urged on the Commission that any new scheme which would reduce the revenues at present enjoyed by the Provinces would be unacceptable to them. Such a reduction would lead to a set-back in all the beneficial activities that have come to be a normal feature of the life in various provinces. If the new Reforms Scheme starts with a discontented and sullen phalanx of Local Governments, it would hardly have a prosperous career. To reduce the revenues of Local Governments would be like giving them a stone when they were asking for bread. In order not to embarrass the Government of India financially when and if income-tax is divided, the Bombay Government are prepared, apart from suggestions made by them about the new duty on tobacco and succession duty, to hand over to the Central Government the income from non-judicial stamps.

The lacuna pointed out by Sir John Simon in the Nehru Report is probably a casual remark or it may have been meant as a rebuff. But in any case it is beside the mark. The Nehru Committee was primarily directed to prepare a constitution and it naturally gave immediate attention to the general outlines of a political constitution without giving any thought to technical matters which required the assistance of financial experts. Unless the political constitution is agreed upon it is hardly of any use to waste energy over the details of financial adjustments which can certainly afford to stand over. We do not think that the failure to consider the Meston award is any reproach to the Nehru Committee.

LABOUR POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA.—VIII* THE CASE FOR WHITE LABOUR POLICY.

FROM the foregoing study it is fairly clear that the Wage Board has not been a conspicuous success either in raising the level of the lowest wage rates or in reducing the gulf that separates the skilled wage from the unskilled, though the Economic and Wage Commission was emphatically of opinion "that the first and chief object of public wage regulation in the Union should be, not the raising of the higher rates of wages still higher, but the raising of the lowest levels of wages, so that the gap between the levels of skilled and unskilled labour is narrowed." What the Wage Board succeeded in doing is the standardisation of wages. But in so doing the Board, in spite of ideals and intentions to the contrary, has had to take into consideration race, sex, and the nature of the job, white or kaffir, in fixing wages and not merely the value of the job. In other words, the Board has tended to become an instrument of the present Government's white labour policy.

White labour in South Africa is indeed in a very

* Previous articles in this series appeared in our issues of March 22, April 17, June 9, August 2, September 6 and 27, and October 4.

difficult position. There is a big gulf between the standard of living of the white and of the non-European. Colour is no isolated accident. It happens that variations of colour correspond with variations of standard of living, culture, social and political traditions and ambitions, and so on. As long as the Native was the unskilled worker and the white the skilled worker, their respective wages fitted in with their standards of living, their ideas of suitable work, and the interests of the trade as a whole. But when the Native trained himself for skilled work, he did not *pari passu* elevate his standard of living so as to be unable to do with less than the European wage. He could do the same work as the European and yet live better than he was wont to on a wage less than the European. The European when he was driven to undertake unskilled work, could not *pari passu* lower his standard of living and accept the Native wage. It is not in the interest of the employer to employ a European and pay a higher wage when he can get the same work done by a Native on a lower wage. As a matter of fact, a Native can maintain a higher standard of personal efficiency for a wage on which the European will simply go under. For instance, a wage of £2 a week will enable a Native to maintain a standard of personal efficiency higher than the standard that a European can maintain on a wage of even £4 a week. The European is thereby greatly handicapped in his competition with the skilled Native. At the present moment the number of Natives, trained to skilled work is so small that the European has not yet felt the competition. But if adequate facilities for training are provided the Native is very likely to displace the European.

The prospects before an unskilled European are dark indeed. The Native more or less monopolises the unskilled occupations and the wage for such occupations has by convention been fixed on the Native scale. The European is unable to accept that wage and compete with the Native successfully. The unskilled European forms, therefore, the unemployed problem. There is plenty of unskilled work available on the farms and in the mines for which thousands of Natives are recruited not only from within the Union but imported from Portuguese East Africa. But the nature of the work is such that a European would not think of doing it. If the unemployed Europeans have to be found work, it must be of a type that they could accept without loss of dignity, which means the displacement of some Natives from their present employment or excluding them hereafter from jobs that Europeans could accept and reserving them for Europeans.

The problem is not peculiar to South Africa. India is no stranger to it. The standard of life of the high caste Brahman or Kayastha is higher than that of the Sudra or the Panchama. Also there are tasks that the Brahman or the Kayastha will not under any circumstances undertake, such as coolie work in the fields or menial domestic work. He will want a clerical job. However hard pressed he may be, he will rarely go out as a labourer to Malaya or Ceylon. It is the same in South Africa; here the white man

is the Brahman. There is however this one big difference between India and South Africa. The State does not sympathise and support it in India, while in South Africa it does.

The displacement of non-Europeans in order to find employment for the unemployed Europeans must create unemployment among the non-Europeans. But in South Africa there is such scarcity of Native labour that such a contingency is not likely to arise. The displaced Natives, complacently argued Mr. Havenga, the Minister of Finance in Parliament (12th March) can be easily absorbed on mines and on the farms. Since there is scarcity of work that Europeans can do, every effort must be made to reserve the whole of it for Europeans and if non-Europeans are employed in such work, they must make way for the Europeans. Since there is scarcity of labour for work that Natives may do, the displaced Natives will easily be accommodated and no real hardship will result. All will find work, each according to his status. Any other course would mean unemployment among Europeans and a severe scarcity of Native labour.

This policy involves an injustice to the non-European inasmuch as it means virtually a colour bar, barring the progress of the non-European in the industrial scale. The only real and permanent alternative to this is to raise the standard of living of the non-European to that of the European. But this is a long and tedious process, involving much work of uplift. With the best of goodwill and unlimited resources in men and money, it may take decades and generations to accomplish. It will involve immense sacrifices on the part of the million and a half white people to bring up the five and a half millions of Natives after overcoming the latter's inertia. It may be the big view, the long view and the true view, but in the meanwhile what is to happen? Will the white population survive the competition of the Native or be equal to the sacrifices involved in his uplift? As long as wide differences of standard of life persist, some kind of colour bar is inevitable. When the standards of the Native approximate to those of the European, it may be dropped.

A STUDENT.

REVIEWS.

RELIGION AND POLITICS.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE STATE. By WILLIAM TEMPLE. (Macmillan.) 1928. 7½ x 5. pp. 198. 4s. 6d.

BISHOP TEMPLE, the Archbishop-Elect of York, is known not only as the author of profoundly original and creative works on Christian philosophy, but also as a leader in the movement which attempts to apply the principles of Christ to all the complex problems of the modern world. The great Conference, now famous under the initials COPEO, in which the relationship of Christianity to industry, war, economics, sex, the treatment of leisure, the punishment of crime, etc., was considered, was largely inspired by him. In the present book, we have the Bishop's considered judgment on a larger question which em-

braces all these, the nature of the state and its relation to the community, and the bearing of religion on the economic structure of society.

The Bishop begins by making it clear that Christian Sociology is a matter of *principles* rather than of *ideals*. That is to say, there is no such thing as a pattern constitution deducible from the Christian Gospel. Christianity offers something far more practical, far more universally applicable than an ideal; it offers principles, by which men of diverse outlook, race and temperament, and under conditions as various as human history, can act. And "Christianity offers also the power by which men may act on those principles." What are these social principles of Christianity in relation to the economic ordering of human life? There are, first, the "utterly fundamental realities," belief in God and Immortality. The secondary principles may be epitomised as the sanctity of Personality, the fact of Fellowship, the duty of Service and the power of Sacrifice.

The effect of a belief in immortality on sociology may be seen by comparing Plato and Aristotle. Aristotle would find no clear relation between ethics and politics because he omitted any reference to immortality. Plato, because he believed in it, was able to give us the right perspective, setting his state on an ethical basis and in an eternal context. "The City after all is for Plato in the last resort a school, educating us for the life to which we pass when school-days are over, and to which the entrance is death." Man is thus a denizen of Eternity as well as a citizen of the state, and for any Christian Sociology this conviction will be pre-potent. As Keats once said, this world must be regarded not as "a vale of tears," but as a "vale of soul-making."

A belief in the Being of God was more cogent for Politics in the Middle Ages than it is now. At that time, philosophers had achieved a systematic unity of the whole of existing knowledge, under the reign of theology. The state was the police department of the Church. Divinity was a branch of politics. This grand system, partly because of its own inelasticity, broke down, Machiavelli being the first to express in clear-cut form the emancipation of politics from the control of religion. After him, political thought moved, under the influence of Hobbes and Locke and Rousseau, first to the total secularisation of politics, then to the deification of the State by Hegel and his school.

This was by no means a wholly false movement of thought, although it cannot be a final one. The secularisation of life involves the sacrifice of much that makes life worth living. The philosopher who exhibits, in his temper and method of approach, the way back to a truer estimate of things, is Spinoza. His system is noteworthy for the manner in which it unites politics with metaphysics, representing the state as grounded in what is deepest in human nature. His principles lead to the conclusion that between ruler and subjects there is an inviolable reciprocity.

"The ruler will only retain his authority, broadly speaking, so long as he deserves it; and the subjects owe him reverence so long as he can earn it. Thus ruler and subjects become implicated in a common effort to establish and maintain an ordered liberty. Thus liberty is the end of government; but the essence of man is to live according to Reason; and to live so is to reach after that intellectual love of God, which is the love wherewith God loves Himself, and, in Himself, mankind."

We must, therefore, endeavour to see the State against the background of the Divine Nature in its fulness, and that Nature is defined by Dr. Temple as "creative and all-controlling Power acting in accordance with perfect wisdom to the accomplishment of the purpose of Holy Love." We must not, by

introducing the thought of God into political philosophy, concentrate on the conception of him as monarch of the universe. For then He will simply be the apex of the feudal triangle, with its broad basis in the common folk, and its gradually narrowing hierarchy. A religious political philosophy will pay more attention to the immanent aspects of Deity, seeking His Divine operation mainly in that irresistible logic which appears in the development and history of states, attaching success to some methods and failure to others, stability and prosperity to some aspirations and calamity to others. To do that is to have acquired the historical point of view, which more than anything else is the real distinction of the modern mind.

The real father of modern politics is Althusius who was stimulated by the growth of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic to express his theory of the State in contractual terms, although this contract as with Rousseau, is fundamentally the agreement to live in society. What is chiefly important in Althusius is his emphasis on the federal principle. For him the component parts of the State are not individual citizens but subordinate communities, the family, the town, the province, and each of these has rights of its own anterior to the state. And so here we have what was once put forward on behalf of the Church and now advanced on behalf of many different types of association, great economic and industrial aggregations and international associations which are breaking down all the old territorial delimitations. Now the state may be defined as "that one of our social cohesions which has drawn to itself the exercise of final authority, and which can support that authority if need be with the sanction of physical force." And society is defined as "all the rest of our social cohesions—family, trade union, church, and the rest," human liberty and progress consisting in the multiplication of such cohesions, and the free enjoyment of the privileges they give. Society is thus simply a fellowship of persons. By God's appointment we are free spirits; by his appointment also we are members one of another. The whole art of statesmanship may be reduced to the problem of doing full justice to both these principles without the sacrifice of either. This society is moreover a sphere of the divine activity, for it is the arena wherein the moral and spiritual destiny of mankind is wrought out.

Bishop Temple, however, is unwilling to allow that force should be the differentia of the universal authority of the State. The distinguishing mark of the state is not its possession of force, but its self-expression through Law, whose Majesty is the foundation of a secure and progressive civilization. And only if this Law is just, stable and reliable, is there freedom for spiritual, intellectual or commercial enterprise. The state with its Law supplies the firm foundation on which man can build the spiritual edifice of a corporate life transcending earthly limitations. It can have no higher function than that of supplying man with the external conditions which make possible a spiritual development for ever beyond its ken.

For the state is the servant of mankind. There is no higher sovereignty than that. The archetypal sovereignty is that of God; and when God was incarnate among men He said, "I am among you as he that serveth." Service is the only true dignity. To obey is as noble as to command, to command as noble as to obey if each is done as an act of service in the allotted sphere: otherwise there is no true dignity either. The Christian can be as true a patriot as any other; only the foremost place which he will desire for his country is the place of foremost service to God and His

Kingdom. For such a state there is reserved the highest of earthly dignities; it is an indispensable servant of the common life of men. Its form of service is to rule, but it should rule only that it may serve.

It is impossible in a review to summarise Bishop Temple's close-packed argument. The book, which is not long, must be read and every sentence pondered. Students of political theory will find the chapter on "Historic Theories of the State" of great value. All those interested in the relation of Religion as such (not simply Christianity) with Politics will find much information here. And they will also find that inspiration without which knowledge is a dull and lifeless thing.

H. V. ELWIN.

HUMANIZATION OF EDUCATION. 1919
HUMANIZING EDUCATION. By SAMUEL D. SCHMALHAUSEN. (The New Education Publishing Company, New York.) 1926. 8½ × 5¼. pp. 343.

"Those who are habitually employed in finding and displaying faults are unqualified for the work of reformation."

—BURKE.

EDUCATION, when not confused with mere literacy, is inseparable from life. Mr. Schmalhausen at any rate would not countenance the separation,—not even in his book. Life, however, is a complex and multi-dimensional manifold. So must then education be treated in its several aspects. Thus on philosophy, on sex, on child-psychology, on civilization, on war, on morals, on ethics, on class-struggles, on vested interests, on human nature, on literature and art in life,—in fact on every conceivable topic under the sun, the author has delivered himself of his thoughts. We mention this not by way of criticism, but only of description. One may feel doubtful as to the wisdom of crowding in the space of a single volume so much material, and so diverse a collection. But it must be conceded that these stray thoughts and fragments,—for you could hardly call the book anything else,—are admirably presented. Brief and incisive as are the reflections, every sentence springs a surprise on the reader. There is a touch of novelty, of unconventionality about the expression as also about the ideas conveyed. Every page bristles with statements, any of which would well serve as a motto to head a topical article.

To review a book of this nature is like trying to review the collected works of an author, or say Bacon's Essays. The only useful and effective review is to persuade the reader to take up the book and read it for himself! In the present case, this is not an easy task. For, whatever the pleasure of being surprised, or the interest created by a novel way of putting things, it soon begins to flag, and only a sense of duty could carry us through to the end of the book. A tip which might be usefully given is that the last chapter "A Psycho-Biography" may be read first. That gives us, among many other things, a genesis of the book, the origin of its subject matter, and a history of the many difficulties the author had to encounter before getting it into print. Mr. Schmalhausen was one of the "conscientious objectors", when in 1917 Woodrow Wilson "declared war against the German Government and straightway converted America into a mad house." The conscientious objectors denounced America's participation in "the great madness," and as a result "in the Intellectual Reign of Terror." Our author "had the honour of being dismissed by the panic-stricken Board of Education of the City of New York." That was not going to cure the pacifists. More articles were written condemning the civilization, the

system of education, and the code of public ethics all which made the idiotic outburst of nations possible. "Appreciation and critical commentary" of these writings of an author, "from many distinguished sources made me aware that even in their plucked and fragmentary state, these analyses were endowed with a vitality and lucidity that made them worth while, suggestive and stimulative to the critical-minded youth who loved to think of themselves as iconoclasts, true disciples of Ibsen, Strindberg and Nietzsche and Shaw—to mention only the most mercilessly intelligent and bitterly exhilarating of the philosophers of disillusion, whose dark wisdom is the inspiration of modernity." Why not then publish them in a collected form? So in 1919 "I did go to a publisher with a precious handful of fragments." But one publisher after another refused. "Finally, the economic interpretation permitting, I have decided to take a madman's risk on my own immortal soul and send forth my book *without benefit of a publisher!* The New Education Publishing Company is the humble author."

Now just to give some idea of what scared away the publishers, we shall quote a few passages chosen at random:—

"Education, that subtle hypocrite, that teacher of guile, has spent its best energies for generations inflaming youth's vanity and sickly imagination with dreams of the fatherland, my glorious country, the superiority of the white race the noble utility of wars, the right of expansion, the legitimacy of force and fraud, the valour of conquest, the Christian duty of ministering to the backward peoples, the survival of the fittest,—the cowardice of peace!" (p. 313, 14).

Contempt is a marvelous spiritualizing force. Contempt for ignorance creates universal education. Contempt for economic waste creates scientific socialism. Contempt for moral waste creates feminism. Contempt for hypocrisy creates free thinking. Contempt of tyranny creates democracy. Contempt for death creates pride. Contempt is the great consolidator of the virile virtues." (p. 93.)

"Cynicism is usually an adorned statement of fact anent a sacred ideal. If a thinker were to assert that childhood is an age of irresponsible cruelty, he would be branded a cynic. Yet, is it not misleading to speak of childhood as the age of innocence, the golden age?"

Children are selfish—pardonably so. Children are liars—irresponsibly so. Children are nuisances—naturally so. Children are perverse—childishly so. Children are immodest—healthily so. Children are anarchists—disconcertingly so. If these judgments are essentially true—and they will sound more true if we apply them to our neighbour's children rather than to our own—teachers and parents have an infinite deal to learn as to the inadequacy of rigid adult ethics which in their sentimental folly, they apply to their young charges" (p. 103).

"The sex life, at best, is a series of experiments in trials and errors (trials and terrors?). Errors there must be. Those errors bring pain and bewilderment which the afflicted one is eager to minimize or to eradicate. If we insist upon calling mistakes immoralities we hopelessly befuddle ourselves and make understanding as between human fellows an utterly hopeless thing" (p. 143).

"The spiritual bankruptcy of our school system is the appalling—the deeply disheartening—fact of our day and generation. The great war has revealed our educational system as a vast prussianized enterprise quantitatively impressive, qualitatively moribund" (p. 23).

"The educational pyramid is aflame with discontent. The teacher as a living personality is simply ruled out of existence by the repressive mandate of officialdom. The pupil as a creative spark is prematurely smothered by reams of red tape which an unimaginative bureaucracy

orders wrapped about his brightly original intelligence" (p. 24).

We must forbear from reproducing the book. The above instances are sufficient to indicate the style and the general tone of the book. No one can doubt the general justice of the observations offered. And yet—and yet what is the feeling, what is the impression left on the mind after finishing the book? It is at once a sense of relief, and "we-knew-all-that-before." The fact is that we have had by now too much of destructive criticism. And we generally like to be on guard against a writer who does not find a single aspect not worth his condemnation. Whatever Mr Schalhausen may say, we are convinced, and reflectively convinced, that more good can come out of accepting the present conditions and trying our level best than condemning everything and trying to build up everything anew. We are conscious that our educational system is not perhaps as we would like it to be. But it is certainly much better than the state of things which would result if we followed him. We want our faults to be shown. But detractors cannot be leaders, nor do they assume the difficult responsibility of reformers. This at any rate was *our* feeling as we closed the book, and we were naturally reminded of the quotation from Burke given at the top.

G. S. MAHAJANI.

JAPAN'S RELIGION.

A STUDY OF SHINTO, THE RELIGION, OF THE JAPANESE NATION. By GHENCHI KATO. (Meiji Japan Society, Tokyo.) 1926. 9 x 6. pp. 225. 9s.

PROF. KATO has laid the religious world under a deep debt of gratitude by bringing out this book. It deals with Shinto not as a fixed and static system of religious belief but as a developing religion. A student of Comparative Religion will find much food for thought in this book. It is a matter of deep regret that the science of Comparative Religion has not paid as much attention to Shinto as it deserves. In India study of religion occupies an important place in general culture but very few Indians know anything about Shinto. We do not know if it is a philosophy or an ethical system or some sort of religious organisation. So vast is our ignorance of the subject that Dr. Kato's book will be received by many as an astonishing revelation of a hitherto unknown religion. A very cursory perusal of his book will point out many a point of contact between Shinto and Hinduism. It includes, like Hinduism, the grossest form of image worship along with the loftiest ethico-intellectual speculation.

Shinto began with the worship of the elements such as wind, fire, water, etc. but it very quickly descended into image worship and fetish worship. It is difficult to enumerate the gods and the goddesses that the Japanese worshipped; there were the guardian deities of a particular locality: there were the deities presiding over the destinies of the royal family and there were the great national deities. From the early beginnings, the Japanese had and perhaps still have the notion that they are, like the Israelites, the chosen of the gods, and that their country is under special divine protection. This inevitably led to the identification of politics with religion and patriotism and loyalty to the Emperor. At present there is the state Shinto which was declared non-religious by the Emperor Meiji in 1888, and the sectarian Shinto. In the sectarian Shinto there are about 13 important sects and all the varied developments in the direction of liberalising and universalising religion are to be traced within the sectarian Shinto.

As I have already remarked, there are innumerable gods and goddesses in Shinto and there is an elaborate code of ritual connected with the worship of each. There was a period in the earlier stages of Shinto when animal and even human sacrifices were offered to the deities, but when Shinto came into contact with Buddhist and Confucian ethical teaching, the idea of sacrifice became more spiritual and the Japanese began to perceive that these deities loved justice and mercy more than animal sacrifices. Another most important result of the Buddhist influence was that Shinto began to recognise a fixed moral order in the universe to which even these deities had to submit. Along with this recognition came the necessity of interpreting the Shinto myths in a rational manner, that is, taking them as allegorical rather than literal representations of religious truths. When once this rationalist method was adopted, it began to be uniformly applied to every aspect of Shinto; thus was brought about the fusion of several deities into one and the number of Shinto deities was gradually reduced. Some of the Shinto writers went so far as to proclaim the existence of one god pervading the universe and a fixed moral order which was the expression of this nature. Some of the grandest thoughts of the Shinto writers could be favourably compared with the utterances of the Jewish prophets and the Sufi and Hindu saints. The Emperor Meiji (1852-1912), himself a religious poet of a very high order, has made a considerable contribution towards the development of Shinto into a universal religion. Note, for instance, the following religious sentiment expressed by His Majesty:—

"With the unseen God,
Who seeth all secret things,
In the silence—
Communes from the earth below,
The heart of the man sincere."

(Dr. Kato's translation.)

I have not dealt in this brief review with other aspects of Shinto religion; but they could be profitably studied in Dr. Kato's brilliant book. The idea of sin, for instance, which was no doubt present in early Shinto was purely physical; later on however it became primarily ethical and when thus the conception of sin was transformed into something ethical and spiritual Shinto began that onward ascent towards religious universalism and although the process of ascending is not yet complete, I have no doubt whatever that in the near future Shinto will become one of the vitalising religious forces not only for Japan but for the whole world; and it is the world significance of Shinto which will attract the attention of all students of Comparative Religion and they cannot do better than begin their study of Shinto with Dr. Kato's book.

G. Y. CHITNIS.

THEORY OF WAGES.

WAGES AND LABOUR COSTS. By EDMUND DANE. (Macmillan.) 1927. 7½ × 4¾. pp. 194. 4s. 6d.

MR. DANE has proposed in this book to supply a theory of wages which, instead of being a priori, is based on the facts of history and experience and is therefore expected to carry conviction. As opposed to the orthodox school believing in an abstract and hypothetical economic science he allowed for the interaction of economic and political causes. There is no doubt that he has succeeded to a large extent although not as much as he wished to, for the simple reason that a wholly concrete treatment in a complex science is a logical impossibility, a truth which Mr. Keynes brought home to us long ago. After describ-

ing the evolution of the modern wage system, the author discusses the economic source of wages. The source is the creation of new values which in modern societies are money values; consequently the greater the values labour creates the larger is the recompense of other factors like interest, taxation remaining the same, the important contributory to this being the development of demand. The fact that with the rise of mechanical power there is a saving in human labour in ratio with the given unit of production, as well as a saving in time the author dignifies with the name of "law"; on which our comment is that the phrase "law" need hardly be made so cheap. Mr. Dane admits that science and invention have created the major portion of skilled labour of to-day and so they deserve a reward along with manual labour. Clearly Mr. Dane is not a rabid socialist. He also admits that capital so far as it means higher skill also deserves a reward. Further by a careful analysis he shows how highest wages result in the lowest labour cost because they act as incentives to diligence and skill. Owing to lower costs, there is an increase of production and lower prices which latter improve the buying power of the earnings of labour. It is an integral part of the author's theory that saving in costs is distributed all over the line to all consumers as well as to all producers, thus stimulating the demand everywhere. One important deduction from the theory is that wages cannot be raised or depressed beyond a certain point in defiance of economic tendency and nothing is gained by pushing demands to an extreme. The author's treatment of the relation between prices and wages is novel and refreshing. With regard to the effects of taxation on wages the author believes that the effect of an impost like an income-tax has a very serious effect in slowing down the pace of industrial development. In his opinion the unemployment in Great Britain after 1921 was principally due to a heavy taxation of mechanical power in industries; so also was the depression of basic industries in that country. As a result skilled labour as well as manual labour receives smaller earnings and there is loss of regularity of employment and likely rise of prices. This tendency has been latterly emphasized by the teaching of socialists who according to the author confuse the labour of ability with 'Capitalism.' From the point of view of wages even indirect taxation is deprecated by the author as reacting unfavourably on all salaries and wages. The chapter on the future of the wage system is full of subtle analysis and we agree with the author's conclusion that the real and lasting solution of the wages problem lies in translating the labourer into an acknowledged co-proprietor by first translating the unskilled into skilled labour. Reviewing the current doctrines of socialism the author predicts for state-capitalism a certain failure on account of its producing less at an increased cost, nor does he believe that under it there will be a more equal distribution of wealth. In fact he says that it is likely that state-capitalism would throw back society into the bondage of status. While discarding effects of public policy on wages Mr. Dane gives two warnings which we think are opportune to-day: the first is that protected industries do not prosper if they rely upon the protection to neglect labour costs and slack off in enterprise, the second is that the policy of public subsidies in aid of wages by methods like state-aided insurance schemes, fixation of a legal minimum wage etc., tends to arrest development in the quality of labour. The whole burden of his song is 'beware of socialism'; and therefore he declares that the sound public policy is to favour enterprise and increase of production and to render capital abundant and cheap by care for the public credit. As a necessary condition of this policy, he postulates

economic freedom. In the end the author appeals for cooperation between the employers and employed by avoiding hostility, political intranquillity due to confiscation. True political equality and industrial peace rest on common respect for rights. The book sets forth very attractively what may be called the "Ford theory" of wages which would solve the wage problem by a reconstruction of the capitalistic system instead of by its abolition or its conversion into State-capitalism. It will serve as a powerful antidote to the extreme theories of socialism and communism.

V. N. GODBOLE.

CHINESE POLITICS.

THE CHINESE PUZZLE. By ARTHUR RANSOME-
(Allen & Unwin.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 189. 5s.

To give a comprehensive review of the complicated Chinese situation within the compass of a small book would seem to be a formidable task, but this has been successfully attempted in the book before us. The author is well-known. About his erudition, judgment, power of shrewd observation and forcible style, there can be no two opinions. The book is the result of a journey to China which he undertook at the request of the Editors and Proprietors of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Baltimore Sun*.

A better title could not have been chosen for the book which deals with the complicated politics of China. To ordinary persons the Chinese situation is a puzzle, but Mr. Ransome has explained the puzzle with a felicity of expression all his own. The book reads like a novel; so interesting is the author's treatment of the subject.

We agree with the author that the Chinese Revolution is aimed against feudalism and imperialism. In other words, the Chinese Revolutionaries are revolting against the domination by war lords and against Imperialism which impedes their own economic development. The author thus gives the lie direct to the misconceptions or partial views about the Chinese Revolution, and he believes that those views are honestly held by some people and are exploited by others to justify policies of their own. He explodes the generally accepted theory in England that Communism is at work in China.

"Communism at this point of Chinese history," says the author, "is a wholly irrelevant slogan. The China in which that slogan might have a real meaning does not yet exist and consequently Chinese Communists, the moment we examine them at all critically, turn out not to be Communists."

The author then cites the new law of inheritance promulgated by the Revolution. The old law was that when a man died all his relations shared in his inheritance. But according to the law promulgated by the Revolution, inheritance is in the direct male line only, unless a man draws up a specific will to dispose of his property. If a man dies intestate and has no descendants in the male line his property passes to the State to be used for educational purposes. About this law the author says,

"The essential change is that whereas the old law prevented the accumulation of capital, the new one facilitates it. It is the innovation of a bourgeois and not a Communist revolution."

Thus the author thinks that it is with a view to discredit the Chinese Revolution that all imperially-minded writers raise the bogey of Communism.

But the author is not ignorant of the part played by Russia in recent Chinese history. Speaking about the aims of Russia in China, the author says,

"The Russians see in the development of national consciousness in the East the growth of a wedge which will

in time split the British nation along the cracks already indicated by internal economic discord. This motive dictates precisely the same foreign policy in the East as that which is dictated by Russia's needs as a nation."

The author then goes on to enumerate the contribution of Russia to the Chinese Revolution. Russia did not contribute money, for she had not much to give. She supplied arms and ammunition. But Russia's contribution has been in the main one of ideas and methods. The Russians helped the Chinese Revolutionaries to organise their army. They helped them to organise their party. They taught Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen to rely on classes rather than on individuals.

The conclusion of the author is obvious. Russia through Borodin helped the Chinese Nationalists a great deal, but from that it does not follow that the Nationalists are Bolsheviki. The author quotes Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen to prove that China in its present state is not a field for Bolshevism.

"Until industries are developed in China," said Dr. Sun, "the marxian theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship cannot be applied."

We hope all Englishmen appreciate the position of England in China in the manner of Mr. Ransome. The learned author thinks that Englishmen settled in the Treaty ports are averse to any review of the present position of England in China and carry on propaganda through their press against China. We wish there were more men of Mr. Ransome's type to present the Chinese situation in a true light and thus restore amity between England and China.

The book contains a foreword by Mr. Lloyd George and the full text of the programme of the Kuomintang. The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired. We heartily recommend the book to all those who wish to understand the complicated politics of China.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

ENGLISH MIGRATION TO THE DOMINIONS.

EMPIRE SETTLEMENT. By JOHN A. R. MARRIOTT. (Oxford University Press.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 136. 2s. 6d.

IN this small book Sir John Marriott suggests a very good remedy for over-population in England and gives the details of its working, the remedy being a systematic emigration to the 'outer Empire,' the vast field still open for the reception of English folk. Before describing the organization of such emigration, the author has given a brief sketch of the past history of English migration to the Dominions. As regards the government of the Dominions, the author emphasizes the feature of having constitutions directly modelled on that which the emigrants will leave at home and having laws and traditions familiar to them from childhood. The period of the last fifty years the author characterizes as the Oceanic era which has seen the shrinkage of the globe and the overflowing of Europe into the continents washed by three great oceans. From the point of view of England the important fact is the determination of Australia and New Zealand to remain white and predominantly British. If Australia is not peopled by Europeans betimes, the author believes that the "fluttering tide of humankind in Asia" would set in motion a catastrophe of emigration taking possession of that continent. The maintenance of peace in the Pacific and the problem of Empire Settlement are there closely interrelated. The whole of Canada is, according to Sir John Marriott, eminently suitable for the permanent settlement of British emigrants. He expects much from

the 'three thousand family scheme', under which the two Governments, in England and in Canada, advance jointly funds sufficient for settling 3000 British families; he also has a good word to say about several child-migration schemes managed by philanthropic societies in England and yet he thinks that immigration into Canada ought to be on a colossal scale. As regards Australia the author deplores the policy of restricting immigration by legislation; in the four years 1921-24 the total British immigrants numbered 3,24,657. The Empire Settlement Act of 1922 promises to improve the prospect by means of well-planned schemes of assisting immigrants financially. He regrets that in New Zealand also the policy of restriction is carried to extreme lengths and that she does not admit more immigrants from "overcrowded Britain who looks wistfully to this fair and thinly peopled Britain of the South."

There does not seem to be a wide field for colonization in South Africa except for men with adequate capital; but Rhodesia, in the opinion of the author, is destined to afford a home to large numbers of British families. A land settlement scheme under the Empire Settlement Act has already been launched. The author is very much in favour of schemes for encouraging boys of the public schools to settle in the Oversea Empire. It is a good sign that the Church of England and other religious bodies are keenly alive to the importance of this work. In this connection the author has emphasized the importance of the Empire as a market for British goods; yet he feels that the Mother Country moves slowly in the matter of giving preference to Dominion goods although Sir Austen Chamberlain has set a good example. Sir John Marriott thinks that much of the expenditure on social services ought to be transferred to the furtherance of schemes of migration. Instead of trying to place in industry at home people who would lead happier lives in the countries of the Oversea Empire we should concentrate, he says, on Empire Settlement. It provides a cure, in his opinion, for many social ills. The book makes out a powerful case for colonization and settlement which we are certain will attract wide attention in Great Britain.

AN ECONOMIST.

SHORT NOTICES.

MANUAL OF DAIRY FARMING. By B. K. GHARE. (Macmillan.) 1928. 7½ × 5. pp. 302.

THE book contains fifteen chapters and a large number of appendices. The first part of the book having three chapters deals with the soil, manures and cultivation; the second with cattle management including feeding; the third is devoted to milk and its products, and the fourth to cattle-breeding, while the fifth treats of dairy economics. There is no book on this subject written in India so far. There are no doubt books written by Englishmen or Americans and dealing with the subject with which the one under notice deals; but they do not give any information with regard to Indian cattle or Indian feeds and Indian conditions. Mr. Ghare's book is therefore very useful to those interested in the cattle question in India. He has treated the subject from all points of view and the information given is based on his personal experience and is derived from up-to-date records. The three chapters on feeding experiments, a dairy bacteriology and dairy economics form a very valuable addition and there are as many as 27 excellent illustrations. The book is on the whole valuable to students of the problem of cattle breeding or dairying and interesting also to the general public. Mr. William Smith, the

Imperial Dairy Expert, has written an introduction to the book which adds much to its value.

D. L. SAHASRABUDDHE.

THE FUTURE OF AN ILLUSION. BY SIGMUND FREUD. (The International Psycho-Analytical Library.) (Hogarth Press, London.) 6s.

IT is always unfortunate when a specialist in a certain branch of learning is looked upon as competent to theorize on life as a whole on the basis of his prestige in his subject. This is specially so in an age which is given to technique, and which has raised method to the rank of wisdom. For the attention which this book has drawn to itself not the author, whose services in his own field are rightly esteemed at great value, but his followers are probably responsible. Culture is a social product and the individual, at bottom, is anti-social and savage; religion has been established and maintained as the most satisfactory illusion leading the individual to believe in culture and to rise against his own natural instincts—such is the theory propounded in this work. That theory, however, is neither new, nor has it been treated—one could hardly expect it, of course—with any of that force and consistency which naturalistic philosophers have imported into it after fifty or more years of work. No profound student of religion, as different from the devotee, need, or will, deny that religion is as much of a fiction as any other fiction created to serve as basis for work-a-day life or knowledge. That thought, odd as it may sometimes seem to Occidentals, is part of the religious philosophy of the East. The test by which the case for religion stands or falls, in the ultimate analysis, is not whether it is true or not in the scientific sense of that term, but whether or not it is the most satisfactory and workable of fictions considering life and knowledge as a whole. Those who deny this claim for religion, as in the present case, should not be content with merely saying that a child, kept unaware of religion, will neither know life's tragedy nor need solutions for it. They should treat human history as empirical fact, and prove in the manner of scientific demonstrations that life has no problems such as form the subject matter of religion and philosophy.

R. RAO

INDIAN HISTORICAL READERS. Books 1, 2 and 4. By JAMES H. GENSE. (Macmillan.) 1927-1928. 7¼ × 4¾. pp. 153, 147. As. 12. each.

THE teaching of Indian History in higher standards may be immensely improved, if at times the topical method is made use of in presenting certain aspects more distinctively before the students' mind. The Indian Historical Readers are a very successful attempt in this direction. India is viewed here from four distinct points and each point is developed from the beginning up to the present day, so that the student gets a continuous treatment of one aspect of the study at a time, which helps a clear understanding of the whole. For instance Book I in this series treats of the rulers in Indian History and the author has cleverly chosen the special types of this class. Alexander the Great, Asoka, Chandragupta II, and King Harsha represent the ancient period; Babar, Akbar, Chandbibi and Shivaji represent the mediaeval period and Queen Victoria is rightly selected to typify the modern period of Indian History. It would be difficult to find fault with the author's selection, since no great Ruler, who could have ranked as equally distinctive with the types, could be shown to have been left out. Book II treats of the principal races of India, how and when they found their place in India and what part

they played in making the India of today. Here again only the individuality of each race is distinctly brought out to impress the reader with the peculiar stamp that each has left behind. Book III gives the romantic side of history, and the last volume treats of the more difficult portion of the story, namely the administrative systems of all the Great Realms in Indian History. The Books are thus very skilfully planned and make very interesting reading. The information given is historically accurate and up-to-date. One is struck with the ingenious way of the author in telling unpleasant truths about those, whom many might claim as their ancestors. Good taste is invariably shown in such descriptions (e. g. Book I. p. 35, foot-note and Book IV p. 107). The language is good and suited to the level of the students of standards VI and VII of Secondary High Schools. Illustrative maps and pictures are copiously supplied. Teachers of Indian History will find the series very valuable and perhaps its adaptations in the vernaculars may be found similarly valuable, if the publishers make that attempt.

V. N. KUMBHARE.

FARM AND FACTORY IN CHINA. By J. B.

TAYLER. (Student Christian Movement.) 1928.

7¼ × 5. pp. 107. 2/6.

YOUNG China is still in her birth-throes as it were. She gives promise of attaining full-blooded life by solving the dead weight of over-population which threatens her economic existence. We have it on the authority of Prof. Tayler that she "shows none of the hesitations in regard to industrialisation that mark important sections of Indian opinion led by Mahatma Gandhi and Tagore." Her bright future is therefore assured. To hasten its consummation, there is happily the process of westernisation of her institutions, at work. Quo Vadis, Primitive India?

K. V. R.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MR. SASTRI'S WORK.

Mahatma Gandhi writes as follows in YOUNG INDIA on Mr. Sastri's work in South Africa:—

A graphic letter received this week from an eye-witness describes the now famous Klerksdorp incident of which the South African press is full. Though nothing remains or needs to be said from the political standpoint after the full, free and frank apology from the Union Government, too much cannot be said of Sjt. Sastri's generous and courageous behaviour in the face of a plot which might have proved fatal in its result. The letter before me shows that this true son and representative of India stood his ground without the least nervousness even when the lights were put out by the party that had come led by the Deputy Mayor to break up the meeting he was addressing. And when the firing of an explosive had made the meeting hall too suffocating for the audience, Sjt. Sastri went outside, and as if nothing untoward or serious had happened, finished his speech without even referring to the incident. Popular as he had already become among the Europeans of South Africa before this incident, his cool courage and generous behaviour raised him still further in their estimation.

And as he wanted no fame for himself (few men would be found shier than Sjt. Sastri of fame), he turned his popularity to the advancement of the cause he has represented with such singular ability and success. During

his all too brief stay in South Africa he has immensely raised the status of our countrymen in that part of the world. Let us hope that they will by their exemplary conduct show themselves worthy of him.

But Sastri's contribution to the solution of the difficult and delicate problem of South Africa does not rest merely upon what was after all an accident. We know nothing except through the results of the inner-working of the ambassador's office in which he had to exhaust all his art of diplomacy that comes from a conviction of the correctness of one's cause and that spurns to do or countenance anything wrong, mean or crooked. But we do know how unsparing he has been in the use on behalf of his cause of the gifts of eloquence, scholarship, both English and Sanskrit, and great and varied learning with which nature has lavishly endowed him. He has been delivering to large and select audiences of Europeans lectures on Indian philosophy and culture which have stirred European imagination and softened the hard crust of prejudice which has hitherto prevented the general body of Europeans from seeing anything good in the Indian. These lectures are perhaps his greatest and the most permanent contribution to the Indian cause in South Africa.

It must be a serious problem for the Government of India to choose Sjt. Sastri's successor. He has persistently withstood all pressure to prolong his stay in South Africa. Letters from South Africa show me how our people dread Sjt. Sastri's impending departure. It will be a calamity if a worthy successor is not found to continue the mission so successfully inaugurated and represented by Sjt. Sastri. Tradition has I hope been set up at the Viceregal Lodge of treating the office of India's Agent in South Africa as neutral ground which the Government and popular parties may jointly tread. It is to be hoped that the successor to be chosen will be one who will commend himself equally to the Government and the people, and who will truly represent not merely the Government of India but the people as well.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE WOMAN WITH THE BASKET. The History of the Women's Co-operative Guild, 1883-1927. By CATHERINE WEBB. (The Women's Co-Operative Guild, London.) 1927, 7¼ × 5. pp. 205. 2s.

CHARVAKA-SHAHSTI. Indian Materialism. By DAKSHINARAJAN SHASTRI. (The Book Co., Ltd, Calcutta.) 1928. 7¼ × 5. pp. 94.

SISTER INDIA. By WORLD CITIZEN. (Sister India Office) Bombay.) 1928. 7¼ × 5. pp. 242. Rs. 2-8.

INTRODUCTION TO VEDANTA PHILOSOPHY. By PRAMATHANATH MUKHOPADHYAYA. (The Book Co., Ltd-Calcutta.) 1928. 9¼ × 6¼. pp. 258.

INDIA'S CURRENCY EXCHANGE AND BANKING PROBLEMS, 1925-1928. By JEHANGIR C. COYAJEE. (The Book Co., Ltd. Calcutta.) 1928. 8¼ × 5¼. pp. 59.

WORLD LOYALTY. (The Backly Social Service Lecture.) By J. C. MAXWELL GARNETT. (The Epworth Press.) 1928. 7¼ × 4¼. pp. 122. 2s. 6d.

PROBLEMS OF RURAL INDIA. By NAGENDRA NATH GANGULEE. (University of Calcutta.) 1928. 9¼ × 6¼. pp. 155.

FIJI BLUE BOOK for 1927. 1928. 13 × 9¼. pp. 258. 5s.

WEALTH, BEAUTY AND YOUTH FOR ALL. By J. T. SUNDERLAND. (Ganesh & Co., Madras.) 1928. 9 × 5¼. pp. 95. Re. 1-8.