

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

AT the time of writing the deadlock that has arisen in respect of the Public Safety Bill remains unbroken and a bomb outrage has taken place, which for the moment overshadows in interest and immediate effect the point of order raised in the Assembly. Fortunately no loss of life has resulted from the outrage and the injuries received by members are reported to be slight. This will not however extenuate in any way the enormity of the dastardly crime. The unprovoked attack will send a thrill of horror and indignation throughout the country and the heart of every one will go out in sympathy to those who have suffered any injuries. This outrage was preceded two days ago by another, no less reprehensible, at Lahore, where the author of the famous *Rangila Rasul* pamphlet was murdered in cold blood by a Mahomedan. This murder was apparently planned to avenge the Islamic religion for the insult offered to it by the pamphlet of which the murdered man was the author. If so, the criminal must have been nursing the sense of revenge for a long time past, which shows the lengths to which religious fanaticism can go. We have no doubt that Moslems will condemn the outrage unreservedly, as Sir Abdur Rahim has already done, and trust that an earnest attempt will be made by leaders of both communities to restore good feeling between them.

AS President of the Kathiawar Political Conference recently held at Morvi, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel laid special emphasis upon a Civil List for Indian princes and the undesirability of their undertaking

protracted European tours. Not only do princes not derive any personal gain by such tours, but on the contrary they bring back with them some vices. He pointed out that "there are some who do not like to stay in this country at all and occasionally when they are obliged to come here, they come with such apron strings as would engender family quarrels and even the Maharani has to lay aside all sense of modesty and run to the Imperial seat at Delhi to complain to the representative of the Paramount Power about the vices of her royal husband." Apart from the fact that such tours involve the subjects in considerable financial sacrifice, they often lead to some grave scandal. Lord Curzon's circular forbidding them to undertake such tours except with the permission of the Paramount Power may strike some as a very drastic remedy; but when the princes themselves refuse to show any consideration to the feelings and interests of their subjects, no alternative seems possible. There is also a craze at present noticeable among the princes of acquiring extensive estates, of course at the cost of their poor subjects, in foreign countries. And last year they were involved in an expenditure of millions of rupees in getting their treaties with the Paramount Power properly interpreted, whereas they should have known that "greater safety lay in securing the good will of the people than in seeking the illusory protection of the Imperial Power." Mr. Vallabhbhai did well in drawing attention on this occasion to the disabilities of untouchables and pleading for the removal of untouchability itself, for which purpose we are pleased to learn of the donation of Rs. 5000 by the Thakoresaheb of Morvi. Besides the resolution asking for the introduction of responsible government usually passed at such Conferences, there was one demanding such elementary civil rights as the freedom of the press, freedom of public meeting and freedom of association which are denied to the subjects in a large number of the States. Support was given to the Nehru report and Princes asked to submit their States budgets to the vote of their Legislatures and to fix a Civil List for themselves.

LAST week the Assembly carried Mr. Bajpai's motion for the election of a panel of 16 members to serve on the Standing Emigration Committee. The occasion was utilised by Mr. K. C. Roy for giving expression to public dissatisfaction at the manner the

Committee is worked by Government. The first point to remember is that it is not a committee elected by the Assembly by direct vote, as is desired by Indian opinion, but one composed of members selected by Government from a panel elected by the Assembly. This indirect election is, in our opinion rightly, disliked by the members. Among these must be reckoned the Congress party which has decided not to seek election to the Committee so long as the final selection of its members rests with Government. When the nominations are to be made by Government, it is not always that persons enjoying public confidence are selected by them, and more often than not the nominations are so manipulated as to strengthen the position of Government on the Committee. It is true that in regard to such questions as come up for decision by the Committee there is little scope for difference of opinion between Government and popular representatives, Government policy being ordinarily shaped in accordance with the dictates of public opinion. That however does not alter the fundamental fact that the method of constitution of the Committee is not such as to encourage self-respecting persons to offer themselves for election. Then Mr. Roy also complained that really important questions are either kept out from the purview of the Committee or are brought in "through the back-door". He instanced the case of the Hilton-Young Commission Report which though vitally affecting Indian interests was not discussed on the floor of the Assembly. Mr. Bajpai pointed out that opinion in the Assembly on that point was gauged by means of consultations with party leaders, than which he did not know of a better way of achieving their purpose. It is regrettable that in the working of Standing Committees whose establishment was recommended by such a responsible body as the Joint Parliamentary Committee in the interest of the political education of the people of India, the Government should leave any room for complaint by anybody. We do not see why they should reserve to themselves the right of final selection of the members when the Committee is nothing more than an advisory body. Political education can be promoted only by entrusting responsibility to the members and not by an exhibition of a spirit of suspicion and distrust which seems to underlie the method of indirect election in the present case.

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THE Conference of the Independent Labour Party has passed again a resolution affirming India's right to self-government and for this reminder of the party's good will, we in India ought to be thankful. The resolution also condemned repressive measures in India. But as if an apology was needed for explaining the want of practical action by the party so far, it was urged that the Labour Party should handle the Indian situation carefully, so that the Conservatives may not have an opportunity of raising the 'Red' bogey and calling upon electors to support the party in its endeavours against subversive elements. We wonder whether the Leaders of the Parliamentary Labour Party have a hand in this watering down of the resolution, by qualifying clauses and parentheses. The mover of the resolution, Miss MacNully, gave it as her opinion that the Simon Commission Report was sure to rule out self-determination for India and on this ground she promised that the I. L. P. would resist the conclusions of the enquiry. We feel very sceptical of such promises being carried out, in view of the many proofs we have received of the weakness of the Party in submitting to the dictates of the Party in power which manipulates their schemes so as to

invite the support of the United Parliament. If the Labour Party believes in its principles, it must not condescend to make compromises with principles diametrically opposed to them. It is these compromises and trucks with their opponents that have generated the common belief in India that the Labour Party has betrayed India. We are inclined to think that for the present at least we need not expect anything but pious platitudes from the Independent Labour Party and Indians will do well to rely on their own efforts to realize their just aspirations. The suggestion was also made by the mover of the resolution on India that the Labour members of the Commission should be repudiated in case the report of the Commission turned out to be reactionary. Let us see if the suggestion is going to be acted upon.

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THE *Economist* in a recent issue has served the cause of freedom of opinion by raising a timely protest against the activity of the Home Office in England in putting a ban on certain books on the highly debatable ground of immorality. The journal asserts that knowledge and ideas are so intrinsically precious that attempts made by "authority" to restrict the free expression of opinion have always been vigorously opposed by men of liberal minds. Here we may add that the credit of championing the cause of liberty in the realm of ideas belongs pre-eminently to John Stuart Mill who in his *Liberty* made out one of the most powerful pleas against all encroachments on the freedom of opinion. The journal further points out that a contemporary critic of established religious or political doctrines is safe from prosecution unless the blasphemy is likely to cause a breach of peace. The mere fear of censorship, it says, may go far in cramping knowledge and it therefore asks whether the procedure adopted by the Home Secretary is appropriate and equitable. In recent cases action was taken under the Act of 1857 which authorizes the seizure of obscene writings, books and prints. The article describes the definition of obscenity, relied upon by the magistrates as a very wide-drawn definition and says that when once the Home Office sets the law in motion a conviction is almost inevitable. To select suitable reading matter for children is the function of parents and teachers, not of the State; this is the judgment of the *Economist* and we fully endorse it. As the law now stands, the Home Office could secure the destruction of classic works of imagination including those of Shakespeare; and the journal further shows the absurdity of the recent dictum of the Home Secretary that cheapness of price renders indelicacy illegal so that if the same thing is contained in a high-priced volume available only to the few it would pass muster. In the opinion of the journal the gravest danger is that the law while tolerating a Sunday Press purveying to millions lurid details of theft, murder and rape may be invoked to suppress original studies in psychology or physiology whose treatment offends some pruriently-minded people. The reader may here be reminded that Dr. Ellis was prevented from printing and issuing his famous studies in the psychology of sex on account of the threat held out by Act of 1857. The journal thinks that it will be undoubtedly necessary to amend the Act and also narrow down the definition of obscenity given by Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, and it urges upon the Home Secretary to remember that standards of taste in literature and morality are highly debatable and changing from day to day. It is certainly high time that the vagaries of the Home Office are exposed and freedom

of disseminating learning asserted against an irrational censorship.

THE letter of the Government of India to the Provincial Governments announcing their scheme for the Banking enquiry has now been published and

with it the enquiry may be said to have started in right earnest. In their review of the history of the Banking enquiry the Government of India state it as their opinion that an enquiry into the general banking organization of the country is an essential preliminary to the inauguration of a central bank; this is certainly not true and the structure and constitution of a central bank has nothing to do with the existing condition of banking. The long and short of it is that Government are not at present prepared to reopen the question of a Reserve Bank. The Government propose to divide the enquiry into two stages; that of collecting the evidence and the consideration of the evidence by outside experts. The Government are right in thinking that the work is too vast for a single committee and they recommend the formation of a central committee and provincial committees composed of persons having local knowledge. We are glad to find that agricultural credit and financing of internal trade are to be given as prominent a place as the financing of the foreign trade and supplying credit to industries. In the next stage Government propose to invoke the assistance of foreign experts. We do not feel inclined to support this proposal as we cannot imagine any points on which the local experts cannot with their long experience of Indian conditions give a considered and final judgment. The foreign experts by their failure to appreciate the virtues and defects of Indian character are more likely to be a hindrance than a help in the case at least of a banking enquiry. The suggestions about the composition of the provincial committees are quite sound and we have nothing to say against them. In the case of the central committee however we would recommend the reduction of members to be appointed in consultation with the Indian Chambers and the Associated Chambers from four to two only; we think very little can be gained by making the Central Committee larger than what is just necessary for representing all important interests. While inviting suggestions from Provincial Governments as to the direction of the enquiry and the procedure to be adopted the Government of India submit their own memorandum on the main heads under which the provincial committees are to classify their material. In this memorandum also agriculture is given a very important place; the question of small industries connected with agriculture, the methods of marketing the produce, credit facilities for the purchase of instruments and seed, the scope for agricultural banks and land mortgage banks and other allied questions will be explored. One important question mentioned in connection with the growth of the investment habit is that of the existing difficulties experienced by joint stock banks in opening new branches. This is a very ancient complaint and it is to be hoped that the Enquiry will pay special attention to it. The question of indigenous banking is regarded as one of the main heads of enquiry and an earnest attempt ought to be made to affiliate this with the joint stock banking with proper safeguards for its continuation as a vital part of the whole banking organization.]

## TRADES DISPUTES BILL.

WITHOUT in the least questioning the motives of those who moved for a fresh circulation of the Trades Disputes Bill which was passed by the Assembly on Monday last, we feel that nothing could have been gained by a postponement of its consideration. The issues have been before the Assembly as well as before the public for a sufficiently long time and the members of the Assembly must make up their minds either to accept the Bill or to reject it on its merits. If the Bill, as many critics said, was replete with dangerous clauses then the proper thing to do is not to run away from it but to throw it out after convincing the Assembly that it was so.

Coming to clause 15 which is a great issue between the exponents of unbridled capitalism and those who would champion Labour interests it is not surprising to find that Diwan Chamanlal moved the total deletion of the clause. Although the motion was inevitably lost, he reminded the Government that if they wanted to copy English legislation, they should not do it only in part but wholesale, adopting for instance the beneficent Acts like the Maternity Benefit Act and the Old Age Pensions Act. It is undeniable that the clause restricts the right to strike effectively by penalising those who strike in Public Utility Services without giving two weeks' notice of their intention to stop working. One redeeming feature of the clause as amended by the select committee is that the employer who looks out workmen suddenly without a corresponding notice is equally made liable to punishment along with the worker.

Mr. Chamanlal also moved for the deletion of clause 16 which he asserted was capable of several interpretations. It will be remembered that this clause penalises a sympathetic strike which has an object other than the furtherance of a trade dispute within the trade; it also penalises a strike designed to inflict hardship upon the community. We have on previous occasions showed that the words are very ambiguous and by a stretch of meaning they can be made to apply to any strike which is on a sufficiently large scale. The select committee must therefore be congratulated on the addition of the words 'severe, general and prolonged' before 'hardship.' The addition of these words exempts ordinary hardship from being a fountain and source of illegality in a strike. Although it is true that these words have restricted the application of the generalized phrase 'hardship to the community' the very principle underlying the clause is extremely debatable and we cannot induce ourselves to support clause 16. The signatories of the report of the select committee have admitted that their amendments will not materially impair the effectiveness of the clause; in other words sympathetic strikes will continue to be illegal and strikes that inflict prolonged and general hardship on the community will be illegal in virtue of the passing of this Bill. Our contention is that the right to strike is inherently justifiable and ought not to be indavd

on any ground because by taking away a workman's right to terminate his contract the law is reducing him to the position of a serf. The decision as to when the good of the community should override the dictates of individual liberty can besides be hardly left to the State which practically means the Government in power at any time, because experience has proved that they themselves are swayed by sectional leanings. It is clearly one of the objects of this clause to prevent a strike which might be coercive and purely political and having no trade object to fulfil by its successful termination. But it is doubtful if any form of words can be devised which will not equally apply to strikes other than those of this description. The worst feature of this clause is that if by cessation of work you are causing a prolonged and serious hardship to the community you are acting illegally even if you have committed no breach of contract; so that under the Bill as passed the right of men in combination to cease to work or to terminate their contracts will disappear. This is a serious curtailment of the freedom of contract which is one of the important bases of modern industrial societies. For these reasons we would have preferred the elimination of clause 16.

Besides, as Pandit H. N. Kunzru has pointed out in his minute of dissent, no evidence has been adduced to show either the urgency or the desirability of such a provision at this stage. It has been pointed out by other members of the select committee that clause 15 and onwards, far from settling trade disputes, will only embitter relations between the employers and employed. We believe that there is a large substratum of truth underneath this forecast. It has also been pointed out that such clauses cannot lead to beneficial results in a country where the trade union movement is in its infancy and where a friendly spirit is necessary to foster its growth. Even Mr. Fazal Rahimtoola has expressed the opinion that no political clause should be inserted in the Bill and there can be no doubt that clause 16 has a decided political significance since its clear object is to penalise coercion of the State by causing serious hardship to the community.

Reverting to clause 15 which relates to the public utility services, it is to be noted that the power enabling Government to declare any industry or undertaking to be a public utility service after giving sufficient notice, on which we commented adversely on an earlier occasion, has after all not been given to them so that only those services mentioned in the Bill can be regarded as public utility services, a sudden strike in which will be illegal and make the strikers liable to be punished with imprisonment. Considering the fact that strikes in such services cause a very wide and acutely felt disorganization of the routine of social life with regard to the primary amenities, we can with great reluctance acquiesce in the inclusion of the clause in question in the Bill. Even then it has to be remembered that it involves a corresponding obligation on the Government or other employers that the welfare of the workers in such services shall be provided in

all ways recognized in the practice of all civilized countries. For example it is notorious that the welfare of workers in the railway services, whether state-managed or company-managed, is not properly looked after and in most cases of railway strikes the dissatisfaction with the conditions of pay and service is the prime cause responsible for them, whatever might be said of the adventitious causes which add their own quota to the result. Unless therefore Government gives an undertaking that these services will be their special concern so far as the general welfare of the employees is concerned, the inclusion of the clause as an integral part of the Bill will be a one-sided bargain.

Members of the select committee admitted that the first part of the Bill is a genuine attempt to settle trade disputes by the agency of courts of enquiry and boards of conciliation and the earlier clauses of the Bill deserve to be considered on their merits. The Bill as now passed makes it obligatory upon Government to appoint a board of enquiry, where both parties to a dispute apply for such a reference provided that the persons applying are properly accredited; this is a decided improvement as the original Bill left the appointment of a board to the discretion of Government. This amendment is clearly based on the patent fact that labour interests entertain a suspicion against Government and are inclined to suspect that they would be reluctant to move when the aggrieved party is the workers and the party put on its defence is either the Government in their capacity of employers of labour or the capitalists. This slight amendment therefore ought to be welcomed even by Government as it places them beyond the pale of misunderstanding and suspicion, by accepting an enquiry in which they themselves would be willing to place all the cards before the public. Another noteworthy change made by the select committee removed the veil of secrecy from the report of a court of enquiry or a board, making it compulsory that the report with any minutes of dissent shall be published by the Government of India or the Local Government, as the case may be.

Though the Bill is now placed on the statute book, we are inclined to persist in the belief we expressed when commenting on the Bill on a previous occasion, that the best thing for Government to do would have been to divide the Bill into two separate enactments, one including clauses 1 to 14 and another incorporating clauses 15 to the end. We are decidedly of opinion that the former is the more urgent of the two and being also less controversial would not have given rise to much controversy; the latter ought to have been withheld for the present for the simple reason that Indian opinion is decidedly adverse to it. All those interested in the healthy development of trade-unionism are convinced that the penal clauses of the Bill are a direct assault on the position of Labour, since they would make the assertion of the rights of Labour more and more difficult. The notion at the back of the penal clauses is that strikes in India have been latterly due to the incitement of

political workers and Communist propagandists and not to economic causes. This is a serious misapprehension and the sooner it is corrected the better for all concerned. A sincere attempt to cure the grievances of the workers will in the long run be more effective in the prevention of strikes than any amount of penal legislation which acting through fear would fail to touch the root of the problem. It will be necessary to cure the strike psychology by tact and good will instead of by *force majeure*. The idea that strikes can be prevented by threatening people with being clapped into prison, after they have become conscious of their rights and have learnt to prize their liberty, is essentially the product of a by-gone and antiquated political philosophy which brought in the policeman and the law at every point. The whole spirit of this new legislation is in violation of the principle that men have complete freedom to make any contracts they like and to give or withhold their services according to their own notions of right or wrong apart from any dictation. From this point of view the passing of the Bill would be hardly conducive to the ideal of industrial peace which everybody professes to cherish.

#### RECIPROCITY.

It is an encouraging sign that the proceedings of the Hindu Mahasabha at Surat have met with general disapproval in the Press for opposing to the Muslim communalism a communalism of the Hindus, and we are glad to note in particular that the *Hindu* has administered a stern rebuke to the promoters of the Mahasabha for the resolutions adopted by them. If these opposing particularisms would cancel out each other and promote nationalism, we would gladly support the Mahasabha movement, but unfortunately if one community begins organizing itself to meet the real or supposed aggression on the part of another, it only provokes greater aggression thus giving excuse for further preparation to meet it; and in this way what happens in international affairs happens also in inter-communal affairs, a race in tabligh and sangathan is started corresponding to a race in armaments, accentuating animosities all round. We cannot therefore object to the Hindu Mahasabha any less than to the Muslim League, and it will ever be our ambition to help to however small an extent in effecting a reconciliation between the warring communities, ourselves standing on neutral ground.

If the Hindu Mahasabha opposes Muslim claims it has the astuteness of doing so under the pretence of opposing all communalism, though in some resolutions, as observed by the *Hindu* in its leader, it has failed to keep up this pretence. All the Muslim demands for a redistribution of existing provinces are rejected by the Mahasabha on the ground that the redistribution is not urged on merits but is inspired by the desire that Mahomedans should have as many provinces in which they predominate as the Hindus. It is of course quite conceivable that the motive force behind this demand is just such a desire to establish reciprocity with the Hindus—and a very undesirable kind of reciprocity at that. For several prominent

Muslim leaders have declared, in explaining and justifying this demand, that only when Moslems are in a position to exact retribution for possible oppression by Hindus on a footing of equality can they have a sense of security. They must therefore have just as large a field in which they can practise unbridled oppression on the Hindus as the Hindus have under the present arrangement. Not that those who put forward this plea wish oppression to go on; but capacity to meet Hindu oppression by answering Muslim oppression will alone, they think, stop oppression everywhere. If the Hindu Mahasabha's record were so white as to give a guarantee that its objection to the redistribution of provinces proposed by the Muslims was animated only by a thought of the public good, the objection would be formidable indeed. But one cannot help feeling that if the Muslim demand is made in the sectional interest so is the Hindu objection.

It is however necessary for those who are acknowledged to be free from communal bias to dispel the illusion, cherished at any rate by some Moslems, that by enlarging the field of possible oppression, they can prevent oppression altogether. If the Moslems will only cast a glance at the condition of minorities in Europe, where, on account of post-War adjustments, certain peoples have been placed in a position of reciprocity in respect of certain others, they will find that the threat of meeting oppression by oppression has not been able to secure fair treatment. Perhaps the best illustration of this is afforded by Upper Silesia. By the partition of Upper Silesia a large Polish minority of approximately 572,000 remained under German rule and a large German minority of approximately 350,000 was transferred to Poland. Each of these communities is thus in a position to wreak vengeance for ill-treatment by ill-treating the other, and if the Muslim idea is at all valid, there need be no further safeguard provided for ensuring adequate protection of either minority. The Governments of Germany and Poland however knew better; they realised the necessity for a friendly approach to the solution of the vexed question of minorities. Poland had already signed a Minority Treaty in 1919, but in 1922 by a special Convention Germany also accepted similar obligations towards the minorities in the German part of Upper Silesia as those which Poland had entered into in respect of the minorities in the Polish part. The Convention contains detailed guarantees of the rights of both minorities and provides for the establishment of Minorities Offices in both areas to look after minority rights—a German Office in Poland and a Polish Office in Germany. These Offices are authorised to refer such questions as they fail to settle to a Court of Arbitration, with appeal to a Mixed Commission appointed by the League, and composed of two Germans, two Poles and a chairman of some other nationality. If still unsatisfied, they may appeal to the League Council. Elaborate regulations for use of language, freedom of religion, equality before the law, equal civil and political rights, and establishment of mino-

rity schools are laid down under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

It is not claimed that the working of the Convention has given complete satisfaction. In fact numerous complaints are made on both sides of the Upper Silesian frontier that the regulations are not complied with by the signatories. These accusations of infringement culminated in an exchange of sharp expressions of feeling between Herr Stresemann and M. Zaleski at Lugano in December last. It is not pretended therefore that the minority question has found a solution in Europe. But one thing is certain: that the solution does not lie in each side being armed to the teeth to fight the other; but it consists in the two parties coming together and by a process of give and take arriving at a reasonable settlement. In the case of Upper Silesia of course the German and Polish Governments must strengthen the Convention and see that it is strictly adhered to. Similarly the Hindu-Muslim problem cannot be solved, as it has not been solved elsewhere, by putting it within the power of each community in an equal number of provinces to tyrannise over the other. It can only be solved, as the League Council recommended in the case of Upper Silesia, by "ensuring the protection of minorities upon the basis of an equitable reciprocity." The reciprocity which some Moslem leaders seek by creating as many Moslem provinces as there are Hindu is anything but equitable. To say this is not of course to bar any scheme for territorial redistribution that may be found reasonable or desirable. But these questions must be decided on their own merits, without reference to the communal aspect.

#### TWO RECENT PROSCRIPTIONS.

How the wide discretionary powers of proscription of books vested in the Government are sometimes liable to be misused, resulting in heavy financial loss to individuals is illustrated by the action of the U. P. Government in proscribing "Bharat men Angrezi Rajya." We observe that a great deal of labour and money was expended in its preparation and that a large number of renowned historical scholars in this country had collaborated in its composition. For eight months prior to its publication on the 18th of March last, it was being extensively advertised with a view to securing a market for it. The book ran into two volumes of the aggregate length of over 2100 pages. The twelve-page advertisement of the book was proscribed, so the publisher was orally informed, by order of the Chief Secretary, which was shown to the publisher, but a copy of which was not given to him. He was also warned that if his book was found to be "actionable the Government will consider his prosecution under section 124-A of the I. P. C." This proscription took place a couple of days before the book was out while the book itself was proscribed on the 22nd of last month. Now the complaint of the publisher, with which we sympathise, is not that the book has been banned, but that it has been proscribed without a proper study of its contents by Government. He points out that copies of the book purchased by Government must have reached them not earlier than the evening of the 21st; while they did not even twenty-four hours to read and digest its contents before they decided by a stroke of the

pen to confiscate all its copies! The publisher contends that the short time between receipt of the copies of the book by Government and the issue of their proscription order is all too inadequate even for a first-class genius to go through it properly. If they found the matter in the book objectionable, as they must have as a preliminary to its proscription, we do not understand why they did not set the usual process of law in motion against the publisher with which they threatened him on the 16th ultimo rather than starting this arbitrary proceeding against him. There is much force in the publisher's complaint that the action of the Government was much too hurried and has resulted in great unfairness to him, not to mention the heavy financial loss it involved him in.

About the ban placed by Government on "Shiva or the Future of India", our European correspondent writes:—"It is not a little puzzling why the Government of India which did not deem it necessary to take any step with regard to the free circulation of "Mother India," in spite of a pointed proposal from some members of the Indian Legislature, should have shown such eagerness to ban Mr. Minney's book, "Shiva or the Future of India" in the To-day and Tomorrow series. True, Mr. Minney repeats a great deal of Miss Mayo's opinions, but neither his intention nor his manner is at all comparable to the tone which the worthy Yankee dame chose to adopt. If Mr. Minney urges that the British Government in India should continue to administer India for another hundred years even more effectively and directly, he also makes a plea for their carrying forward fearlessly good government and reform. He is concerned more with the welfare of India than with the justification of British rule, unlike Miss Mayo. Indeed his argument partakes so much of the character of the boomerang that no more powerful proof need be sought against the desirability of his conclusion than the perpetuation of the present position of the Government of India. Mr. Minney stands for greater identification of the interests of the Englishman in India with the country which makes him opulent. He is all for the Government of India's appropriation of the taxes and death duties on large fortunes which English merchants amass in India, but of which the British Government at Westminster is the benefactor. He would wish to see less of the money of both retired and active Government officials go to swell the profits of the boarding houses in England. There will probably be an early opportunity to test the *bona fide* of the Government of India about the prohibition of Mr. Minney's book which is attributed to the possibility of its offending Indian susceptibilities. Miss Mayo's new book "Slaves of the Gods" a great and well-known friend of India who has just met her in America describes as "even worse" than "Mother India." This work is sure not to contain the relieving features of Mr. Minney's book, and may not, therefore, interest our censors."

#### A LIBEL ON HINDUISM.

MISS MAYO has not allowed her interest in this country to flag and has followed up her "Mother India" by another publication\* of like nature and import. The "Slaves of the Gods" is a collection of her stories about India which, it must be admitted, are very well-written. These are full of so grotesque exaggeration and distortion that they would not fail to strike any unprejudiced reader as having no relation to realities. But Miss Mayo is careful to assure us

\**Slaves of the Gods*. By Katherine Mayo. (Jonathan Cape.) 1929. 8 x 5. pp. 237. 7 s. 6 d.

that they are "taken from real life." It is quite conceivable that the incidents embodied in her "stories" might have happened in some obscure corner of this vast land; but if her object in bringing them to light is to represent them as matters of common occurrence, we feel it our duty to enter an emphatic protest. If foreigners are invited, as indeed they are by Miss Mayo, to form their conclusions about the moral tone of Hindu society on such utterly misleading and one-sided evidence, they are sure to form a low opinion about Indian life and character. We would not feel sorry for this, were we convinced that such an opinion was deserved. The fact of the matter is that Miss Mayo has a special eye for the dark side of any society and is at her best in describing it for the edification of the world. That however is anything but a fair way of judging the character of any race or community. It is doubtful if even the most civilised countries in the world can successfully stand Miss Mayo's tests, for every country is sure to have its own superstitions and weaknesses. One wonders if Miss Mayo can maintain that her own go-ahead country, America, is absolutely free from them; and if one followed her vicious example one would be forced to condemn America as a most depraved nation. Similarly it would be possible to lay one's finger on the weaknesses of English society or for that matter of any society. To concentrate one's attention in this manner upon the black spots in any society while ignoring completely its good points is, to put it at the lowest, the reverse of fair and just. It is because in both her publications Miss Mayo tries grossly to blacken and misrepresent Indian life and character by such obviously unfair methods that she has drawn upon herself the wrath of India.

In the chapter addressed "To the Women of India" in her latest publication she is at pains to establish her bona fides in relation to Indians. We do not think the attempt will have any measure of success. Friendly criticism and advice is never unwelcome; but Miss Mayo cannot be regarded as a friend. How can one who can see only our dark and never our bright side be regarded in that light? It is of course not intended to deny the existence of the evils in Hindu society to which she draws attention but the method adopted by her is preposterous. Her excuse is that while countless people can be found to dwell on the bright side, none would come forward to expose the black spots. Who else but herself can do that unpleasant and thankless job? We fail to see why she could not have chosen the golden mean which would have enabled her to arrive at the truth.

But to come to close grips with the contents of her new book. The twelve stories in it, taken though they are "from real life," cannot be said to be typical. If the incidents have actually happened, they must be exceptions more or less and Miss Mayo ought to excuse people if their first tendency is to regard them as imaginary or fictitious. The stories are intended to bring into bold relief some weaknesses in Hindu culture like child marriages, unequal marriages, woes of widows, suttee, proverbial persecution of a daughter-in-law by a mother-in-law, the unquestioning submission of the Hindu wife to her husband, untouchability, the system of Devadasis, etc. Now there is no doubt that Hindu culture is disfigured by some of these evils; but it is also equally true, as is clear from the many quotations from Indian speakers and writers given by Miss Mayo herself in the book, that the evils have attracted public attention and are on their way to disappearance in the fulness of time. For this she is apparently not prepared to give credit to anybody else but herself; but facts tell a different story. Attempts on the part of social

reformers to raise the age of marriage, to remove untouchability and practices like the dedication of girls to temples, and to purge Hindu culture of its black spots have not originated since the publication of Miss Mayo's "Mother India" but are decades old. And if Miss Mayo had had the patience to go through the proceedings of the National Social Conference and several provincial social conferences she would not have been under the temptation to withhold their due from such social reformers like Ranade, Bhandarkar, and Telang, to name only a few from among a host of those that have made social reform their particular concern. As it is, her information appears to have been collected from sources which look at this country with jaundiced eyes; else it is difficult to account for some of the extravagant and obviously untrue statements of which she is guilty. In "The Under Dog," e. g., she has depicted the house staff of a European Civil Surgeon as devoid of any humanitarian feeling, so much so as to refuse to pay due attention to an intending patient simply because he happened to belong to a low caste. If such people were really in existence, one would expect them to be given the sack immediately. But Miss Mayo's European Civil Surgeon had apparently such an abundance of consideration for his Indian subordinates that he does not appear to have minded this extraordinary conduct on their part very much. That she has caught the contagion of the bureaucratic distrust and suspicion of politics and politicians is evident from the manner she writes, in her story about "The Widow", about the happenings of 1921. By way of sample we may quote the following sentence:—"In the very streets of the capital (Calcutta) secret plotters and killers vied with open assassins to terrorize all who opposed the will of the new-made saint, Gandhi, then at the zenith of his power." What palpable exaggeration! But the more offending and vulgar part is still to follow. Two volunteers engaged in the work of collecting foreign cloth to make bonfires of are shown as making Miss Mayo's helpless widow give up, under the threat of Gandhiji's displeasure, the only *sari* she had because it was Manchester-made. The widow, Sita, had consequently no cloth left to cover her shame with the result that for days together she had to keep indoors in her secluded hut and to go without food and water. Suspicion having been aroused, one of her relatives, her son-in-law, went to the hut to make inquiries when to his surprise he saw "in the far corner, crouched on the floor, a skeleton figure, naked, quaking, and staring with burning eyes at its outstretched finger tips." The son-in-law gave her a piece of his scarf and went away to fetch his wife to comfort her mother. "When he returned, an hour later, with women and clothing and food, that door turned slowly on its hinges because against it, swinging with the empty food-jar from the peg, hung a small limp body—dead—choked with the noose of the scarf." If such a grave scandal had happened at the time, it would surely not have failed to find entry into the hospitable columns of Anglo-Indian newspapers published in Calcutta. But we do not remember to have read about it at all. The exaggeration is so gross that no words need be wasted to prove that it is so. Most of her stories suffer from the same fault and must be accepted with a great deal of salt, though it is possible that the material for them were supplied to her by sources she had reason to regard as reliable.

In one place Miss Mayo speaks as if all attempts to raise the age of marriage were frustrated owing to the perversity of the wretched Hindu members of the Assembly. We have no wish to deny the existence in that body of orthodox Hindu elements who would be glad if all such attempts came to naught; but it is worthy of note that the latest postponement

of the last attempt in this direction, viz. Rai Sahab Harbilas Sarda's bill, was due not so much to the opposition of orthodox Hindus as to the extreme caution on the part of Government.

It is greatly to be regretted that under cover of friendship Miss Mayo should have antagonised a whole nation by trying to give a wholly distorted and mischievous view of its manners and customs. While nobody desires their disappearance more earnestly and more quickly than Hindu social reformers, whose numbers are happily increasing daily, it would be turning a blind eye to realities not to recognise the fact that their disappearance is very largely a matter of public education. This is bound to be a slow process; but slow or quick, no person who wishes to be admitted to our friendship can afford not to take proper account of these signs of the times. There is considerable force in Miss Mayo's statement that some of these objectionable practices being clothed in religious authority are very slow to die out. But public notions about these matters are fast changing in the desired direction and if Miss Mayo's writings have done something to bring home to us the absurdity and iniquity of such customs, she must be thanked, whatever we may think of her motives or manner of exposing our foibles.

D. V. A.

## REVIEWS.

### SOCIOLOGICAL SCIENCE.

**AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY.** Ed. by JEROME DAVIS & HARRY ELMER BARNES. (D. C. Heath & Co., New York.) 1927. 9 x 6" pp. 926. \$4-48.

**READINGS IN SOCIOLOGY.** Ed. by JEROME DAVIS & HARRY ELMER BARNES. (D. C. Heath & Co., New York.) 1927. 9 x 6, pp. 1065. \$6-00.

THIS "Introduction to Sociology" is a cooperative effort to present in one book the various forces that make any particular society and to illustrate their operation in contemporary American Society. Book I (pp. 3-187) is an excellent summary of the cultural history of mankind with special reference to the evolution of modern Euro-American society. The process of invention and discovery has been a painful one, a full knowledge of which is likely to create a feeling of social continuity of mankind. Growth of culture, either through discovery and invention or through diffusion and borrowing, has not been uniform. While at one period of human history newer modes of technology or belief have been acquired in quick succession within a comparatively short time, at another they have been slow to come and relatively long ages have passed in stagnation. The distinctly modern epoch of mechanistic science is seen to be a tiny fraction of the whole period of the cultural history of man. A close study of the process of lending and borrowing of modes of technology or belief clearly demonstrates the indebtedness of Europe, before the dawn of modern science, to the ancient Orient more than once. Such a study, it is hoped, will engender in the minds of Euro-Americans a sense of humility and a feeling of respect and gratitude towards the Orientals. And the cultural history of man such as is presented here ought to prepare the young mind for the acceptance of social change without exasperation.

Book II (pp. 191-589), divided into four parts, deals with the four types of forces which, it is con-

tended, shape society. The part played by physical environment in the formation of society is treated by Ellsworth Huntington in six chapters (pp. 191-304). In four of these chapters the reader is told about the influence of geographical factors in general, and of climate, soil and relief of land in particular, on economic activities, general social conditions and health. The conclusions drawn by the author are very well illustrated by examples from the United States of America in the case of climate, soil and relief; but in the case of geographical factors in general the author is content with a hypothetical case. He asks his readers to imagine four identical groups of Chinese being transplanted into four geographic regions of marked dissimilarity such as Illinois and Arabia. He expects Illinois-Chinese after some generations to retain the literary, artistic and religious portion of their former culture almost intact but to change their mode of agriculture, their placid temperament, their family system and their inheritance laws. The Chinese in the Arabian desert on the other hand would resemble the present Arabs in their "occupations, habits and customs". Such an assumption is not proved by the definite evidence so carefully adduced by the author in the chapters on soil, relief and climate. It runs perilously close to the theory of strict geographic determinism. Fortunately the author's express evaluation of geographical factors as moulders of society contradicts such an extreme view. "The environment is rarely or never the actual cause of any given sociologic condition, but it is responsible for a considerable share of the differences between people in one part of the earth and another." "On the intricate pattern thus laid out by geographical environment, man himself imposes still other irregularities, especially through the migration of people and ideas, through natural selection, and through the rise of men of genius with their inventions, reforms, and other new ideas" (p. 281), and, it must be added, through the interplay of past traditions with these. Physical environment influences social life also through the medium of occupations. This mediate influence is illustrated in the fourth chapter with reference to mining regions which are generally characterised by low "social, civic and educational standards". From the material presented in these chapters the reader will conclude for himself, in the words of the author, that in many sociological phenomena "geographical and human conditions interplay so completely that it is practically impossible to separate them, although it is easy to see that both are operative". Seeing that the author rightly attaches most importance to climate amongst the physical factors the reviewer would like to see the chapter on climate change its place and stand immediately after the first chapter which is concerned with general geographical factors.

The last chapter of this part of the book deals with cities and rural districts. It is occupied with such topics as contrast between the birth and death-rates of cities and rural areas, numbers of leaders of society produced by cities and rural districts, etc. Such a chapter ought to occupy a place in the section on social organisation and not on geographic environment. The city, in whatever geographic region, has certain common features which are the result not so much of physical environment as of human congregation and relationships. So too the rural district.

In part II (pp. 307-393) F. H. Hankins neatly introduces the reader to the general principles of biology, viz. evolution, reproduction and fecundity, struggle for existence, variation, natural selection and heredity. These forces have operated in fixing



the quantity and quality of a society and its civilisation. They may be rightly regarded as having shaped society. The author also discusses certain generalisations about human biology, worked out by biometricians, vital statisticians and anthropologists, which cannot claim to be the moulders of society but are such that every social reformer must be thoroughly conversant with. To take an example from Indian society, if a reformer wants to change the present Hindu Law of prohibited degrees in marriage, he must base his proposed changes on a sound knowledge of the nature of inbreeding, the limits mating within which alone is inbreeding, and the results that follow therefrom. European society in many cases has been a human laboratory where the effects of close breeding can be subjected to an intensive scrutiny and the results of the biometricians' studies can be used as scientific generalisations on which rational reforms in the law of prohibited degrees should be based. Many a radical thinker and social worker, zealous to abolish all inequalities, will sober his hopes and moderate his programme of doles and free meals. Knowledge of the phenomenon of blending will soften much bigoted antagonism to inter-racial marriages.

In "The Psychological Foundations of Society" (pp. 397-491) contributed by L. L. Bernard, the author proposes to call "attention only to those phases of psychology which are closely concerned with the individual's behaviour in social situations," psychological and social adjustment being the central problem of sociology. Mechanism of habit-formation, importance of language, and the process of imitation are explained with this end in view. Where adjustment fails and serious conflict is the result, various psychic aberrations, which may be regarded as precipitated by the intolerant attitude of society, ensue. Those portions of the section that deal with groups and group-controls traverse some of the ground that legitimately belongs to a later section, viz. that on organisation, where Seba Eldridge treats of the subject in greater detail (pp. 593-696). The various factors so far narrated enable a society to accumulate its treasures—peculiar economic activities, beliefs, customs, traditions and sentiments. These then become the social heritage at any given stage of social history. In any further progress of that particular society this accumulation of social heritage or culture introduces a new and very powerful conditioning factor. Cultural background of any given society is thus an important sociological phenomenon. Malcolm W. Willey ably summarizes (pp. 495-589) the cultural heritage of the primitive peoples of America. Yet he does not lose sight of the wider aspects of cultural history. He touches on the subjects of significance of differences in cultures, shifting of the centres of cultural diffusion, and relations between cultural history and social reform. In this discussion there is naturally some repetition from the first book: but it is welcome inasmuch as the lesson conveyed needs reiteration. Some of the author's remarks will give food for thought to the protagonists of racial supremacy.

Book IV (pp. 699-903) by Jerome Davis is intended to illustrate the application of sociological principles to social problems. Starting with a discussion as to what social reconstruction means and whether it is possible, the author discusses the social problems of America one by one: concerning the family and the home, health and disease, recreation, property and poverty, crime and treatment of the criminal, and lastly the peculiar problem of America viz. racial conflict. In one case only—poverty—a concrete attempt is made to apply the principles expounded in the preceding sections. The

author asks himself the question "What are the causes of poverty?" and answers by enumerating "historical causes", "geographical factors", "biological causes", "psychological causes", "cultural factors" and "organizational factors". General sociological principles, if there are any, are conspicuous by their absence either in the explanation of the phenomenon of poverty or its solution. It appears to the reviewer that the author, by his treatment of the subject, makes it clear that sociology implies more a particular method of approach to the study of a social problem than a well-organised body of principles for social reform. A student of sociology studies the general principles of some of the sciences—biology, eugenics, geography and anthropology, economics and ethics; and is thus prepared to face a social problem as a complex of factors needing patient and dispassionate analysis. The study of cultural history, embracing even the primitive peoples, broadens one's mental horizon much better than political history.

The work is designed as a text-book for students of sociology, and as such appears to be the best in the English language. The first and last books will be interesting and instructive even to lay readers; the first, because of its wide sweep of human history; and the last, for the facts of contemporary American society it enumerates.

Attention may be drawn to the following list of misprints:

Teggart	appears as	Taggart (p. 205) & Taggert	(p. 711)
Thomson	" "	Thompson (p. 321)	
hereditary	" "	heredity (p. 350)	
The Aquisitive Society	" "	An Aquisitive Society	(p. 653 f. n.)

On p. 361 the explanatory note in the illustration of the inheritance of sex-linked traits is incomplete.

"Readings in Sociology" forms the second volume of the work. The readings are carefully selected to illustrate the views propounded in the first volume. Readings for students ought to be so designed that they provide not only support for the opinions in the text but also show the other side. Readings illustrating the views of other schools of thought are lacking in this selection. So also some of the masterminds of England fail to find a place in this volume. It is earnestly to be desired that the eminent editors will remove these defects by the addition of a third volume giving readings illustrative of the opposing schools and also from the works of such standard writers as Rivers, Keith, Marett, the Webbs, Tawney, Russell, MacDougall, Hobhouse, Graham-Wallas and Karl Pearson.

G. S. GHURYE.

#### AMERICAN ELECTORAL LEGISLATION.

STATE AND FEDERAL CORRUPT PRACTICES LEGISLATION. By EARL R. SIKES. (Cambridge University Press.) 1928. 8¼ × 5¼. pp. 321. \$ 3.00.

"A people's electoral methods are in the long run the express image of its electoral talent."—*Carlyle*.

ELECTIONS have come to stay and with it electoral legislation. There are few countries which can boast of more varied experience in this respect than the United States. From the smallest parish to the Federal State public bodies—advisory, deliberative,

and legislative—are all of them elected there as in other democratic countries; but in addition, innumerable public offices from the highest downwards are filled by election in America. The ambitious and the powerful, be they individuals or parties, of course try to turn these elections to their own advantage by means, fair and unfair. The unfair practices are combated partly by the zeal of their opponents and partly by the strength of public opinion. The former are unscrupulous and the latter comparatively dull and uncertain. But it is to these two that we owe such purity at elections as we possess. And the crystallisation of these efforts we get in what is termed electoral legislation.

Mr. Sikes has dealt both with the theoretical as well as the practical side of the subject, and has done this within a comparatively small compass. He has given a brief history of the legislation under the three main heads of corrupt practices, viz—Bribery, Intimidation and Fraud. He has interspersed his sketch with brief critical comments which are very illuminating. The control of political advertising and of the expenditure at elections really falls under one or other of the three main heads mentioned above; but it assumes such practical importance in a rich and commercialised country like America that not less than three separate chapters had to be devoted to this topic by itself. It is comforting to read at the end of the book that popular opinion is now wisely asserting itself and that multi-millionaires (individuals or corporations) will not hereafter be allowed to dominate the elections. One earnestly wishes that the hope thus expressed is really in the process of fulfilment.

The electoral problems in India are somewhat different from those in America. Here we are faced not so much directly with the money problem but with the problem of illiteracy, which means either total apathy or strong religious and caste prejudice. With this difference however there is much similarity in electoral experiences not only in India or America but all the world over.

There are several instructive and interesting questions discussed in this book which should prove of great use in framing any new piece of Corrupt Practices Legislation. The dividing lines between philanthropy and bribery or between legitimate political propaganda and mischievous advertising are very hazy and are often changing with the sentiment and practices of particular periods. Legislation or judicial interpretation has to meet these changes by adapting itself to these sentiments and these practices. An interesting example is afforded by a statute passed by the state of Indiana by which a voter who has been bribed is permitted to sue the bribe-giver for damages. ( p. 15 ) To us the provision seems extravagant and almost inequitable; but possibly where there is an extreme divergence in the wealth of classes, fabulous wealth on the one hand and abject poverty on the other, some such remedy appears to be necessary. It will thus be seen that while there are certain general lines on which the legislation ought to develop it will always have to be modified and continuously modified in the light of particular abuses. The most cherished of our methods are likely to prove unsatisfactory with changing times and circumstances. There can thus be no finality in legislation of this kind. Mr. Sikes book containing as it does a historical review of the efforts made by one of the most advanced countries in this respect is no doubt a very useful contribution to this subject and deserves careful study.

B. R. DAMLE.

## PALINGENESIS.

### PRE-EXISTENCE AND RE-INCARNATION.

BY W. LUTOSLAWSKI. (Allen & Unwin.)

1928. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  × 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ . pp. 157. 6 s.

THE subject of this book is described as palingenesis which literally means 'rebirth' but is used here by the author with a wider significance. 'Pre-existence and re-incarnation taken together' he says at the very outset, 'constitute palingenesis'. He believes that every person now alive was born several times in the past and will be born several times again in the future. Of his own past lives, Prof. Lutoslawski is "absolutely certain." It is this intense conviction that probably explains the somewhat unusual tone of the Preface where he states that he is writing the book not for all, but only for such as have already guessed the truth. He is plainly in earnest about his theme and feels that he has something valuable to communicate to others. The earlier part of the work is concerned with the history of the belief, the arguments that support it and the objections that may be urged against it. In the historical part, the author tries to make out that this old belief, first formulated in India, was once almost universal. It ceased to be prominent in Christian Europe after some time, for it somehow came to be regarded as implying a denial of eternal salvation; but it began to re-assert itself there in the last century. The arguments adduced in its favour which are eight in number are described as "perfectly scientific." They are the old familiar ones based upon belief in the just and merciful nature of God, the immortality of the soul, the continuity of progress and so forth. The same commonplace reasoning is found also in dealing with the objections to the belief; and we cannot say that what is set forth in this part of the work is very convincing. The fact is that palingenesis, like the Indian theory of transmigration, may be an excellent hypothesis to account for the observed inequalities of life, but it does not seem to admit of demonstration.

Though having much in common, the two theories of palingenesis and transmigration are not identical and the author draws attention to some of the differences between them at the close of the book. For instance, there is not the same emphasis here, as in the Indian view, on *Karma* as a law of moral retribution. More important is the difference between them in the end which they have in view. The Indian theory aims at the emancipation of the individual, although attempts to include within the aim the deliverance of mankind as a whole are not unknown, as is shown, for example, by the Bodhisattva ideal of Mahayanism. But palingenesis as conceived here has the latter as its *sole* aim. Individual perfection becomes but a means for this higher end of universal deliverance and the perfected man will long for re-incarnation till it is accomplished so that unlike the general Indian belief, re-birth is willingly sought here, not shunned. It is in the development of this aspect of the subject in the latter part of the work that we find the author at his best. He thinks that a wider belief in palingenesis with a proper understanding of its significance will hasten 'the realisation of the kingdom of heaven on earth.' The belief, it is needless to say, is closely connected with Christian teaching. In a splendid Chapter with the title, "Quest for Truth", the author, by tracing the progress of philosophy from materialism through all the intervening stages, shows how the ideal of liberating mankind from the thralldom of sin and suffering stands higher than even mysticism whose aim is to bring man into direct contact with God. This ideal, described as the true goal

of all philosophy, is termed "Messianism." It signifies the regeneration of mankind through the instrumentality of a nation that has become conscious of the true aim of its existence. "Christianity has transformed millions of individuals, but has not penetrated into political and social relationships, which remain pagan. For the conversion of individuals we needed the incarnation of a Son of God; a Messiah who has given the living example of a perfect personality. For the conversion of peoples, we need a nation-Messiah, to give a living example of a perfect social and political life, in conformity with the teaching of Christ". (p. 113). The formulation of this ideal is not unconnected with the political history of Poland, the country to which the author belongs. Poland, as is well known, suffered from the tyranny of three nations for nearly a century and a half and it is in the efforts made by its great men to bring relief to its suffering people that the ideal has been evolved,—an ideal which utilizes the Christian teaching on the one hand and on the other, the Platonic belief in pre-existence and the Hindu theory of transmigration. The author seems once to have entertained the hope that Poland would play the "Messianic" part in the regeneration of mankind; but he no longer does so for we find him writing here in a mood of disappointment: "The Polish nation is not such a Messiah at present, despite the exhortations of her prophets, nor is it certain that the Poles will accept the great mission entrusted to them by Divine revelation." (p. 113). The book is extremely well-written and the most valuable point in the teaching is that the aims of single nations need not be in conflict with the common aim of humanity, that in fact a nation fulfils the law of its being only when it acts, adopting the good of humanity as its final goal.

M. H.

### JAPANESE BUDDHISM.

**BUDDHISM AND FAITH.** By MASATOSHI GENSEN MORI. (The Herald-Sha, Tokyo.) 1928. 7½ x 5. pp. 148.

THIS little volume, by one of the best writers in English among the Japanese younger men consists of eleven essays dealing with the various aspects of the most important sects of Japanese Buddhism. What is the underlying thought of these sects may be gathered from the very suggestive remarks of Prof. Y. Okakura who has contributed an introduction to this volume.

"What is, then, really needful at present," says he, "when scepticism reigns almost supreme, is in short a wholehearted faith in an omnipotent Moral Agent in the heart of things, whose presence we see shadowed forth as this phenomenal world of ours. But how is that desired faith to be brought about? Here lies the most knotty part of the question. Roughly speaking, two main gates have so far been thrown open for human souls in need of salvation to choose: the Shodomon and the Jodomon. Of the two the one that at first sight appeals most to the modern mind that is enamoured of scientific methods, is undoubtedly the former or the doctrine of salvation by self-discipline and will-power; and its approaches naturally present far more ragged features than those of the latter or the doctrine of salvation by dint of sheer faith. The clearest modern minds are at the same time confronted very often by the fact that even in a strictly scientific investigation, the lead is not always taken by mere power of reasoning and that we are as frequently led straight into truths by an intuitive flash of thought; and thus some of them have gradually come to see, especially in matters concerning the soul,

the wisdom of the Jodomon attitude of complete devotion where its votaries cause themselves to be wholly absorbed in the all-pervading soul, so that the Universal Spirit may lead them right".

These remarks of Prof. Okakura admirably sum up the substance of the present volume which deals with the Buddhism of faith and not with the Buddhism of discipline. It also incidentally explains why this type of Buddhism is still a vital force in the national life of Japan today. The explanation is that Japanese Buddhism is more like the great religions such as Christianity, Islam and Hinduism in its theistic aspect than like the Buddhism of Indian origin. The original Buddhism lays stress on the perfection of character by a proper discipline of the body and the mind. Japanese Buddhism, on the other hand, believes in Amida, the Universal Light and the World Redeemer who redeems men from their sins if they have faith in Him. This doctrine sounds like the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith. I am not sure if it does not go farther than St. Paul's in its acceptance of faith as the only way to salvation. Amida by the way is a corrupt form of the Sanscrit word 'Amitabha' and the doctrine of Amitabha was originally preached by the great philosopher Asvaghosha who lived in the first century of the Christian era. There is a story of Buddhist theology translated in English by Paul Carus which tells us of the conversion of a young Buddhist monk to the doctrine of Amitabha. Briefly stated, this doctrine is that there is a Universal Light pervading the whole universe. It is called Amitabha. The great Gautama Buddha represented only a ray of this Universal Light, this Amitabha who can fitly be called the world Redeemer. Faith in Him being the only condition of salvation, every body can be saved provided he has faith in the Amitabha's boundless love and mercy. The Japanese Buddhism as described in the volume before me is only a logical development of this original doctrine which moreover clearly shows that at quite an early stage in Buddhist history, there were a few notable philosophers and thinkers who felt that the doctrine of Nirvana and self-annihilation was insufficient and were in search of something more positive and soul-satisfying. Asvaghosha seems merely to have supplied this paramount need of the age by introducing the theistic element in Buddhism. Asvaghosha's Buddhism however travelled beyond the borders of India leaving at home only dry and lifeless metaphysics, and became part of the living traditions of the Far Eastern people. The present volume tells in vivid language what this Buddhism had done for Japan and is further capable of doing, if rightly interpreted. I hope that through the influence of such Japanese scholars as Mr. Mori, the Indian Buddhism will be modified to meet the needs of the time and become more positive and constructive than it is to-day.

G. Y. CHITNIS.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**EMPLOYEE STOCK OWNERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES.** By ROBERT F. FORESTER and ELSIE H. DIETEL. (Princeton University.) 1926. 9 x 6. pp. 174. \$1.50.

THIS book is an interesting study of the various plans under which employees in U. S. A. acquire stock and contains a general discussion of questions raised by the provision of such plans.

The book consists of three chapters. The first two describe in minute detail the various schemes of Stock Ownership offered by different firms to their

employees, while the last chapter discusses important questions of policy involved in stock ownership by the employees.

This movement, while encouraging saving by workmen, has not been an unmixed blessing. In the author's opinion "in its best form and in the most fortunate circumstances employee ownership promotes a better spirit of work, but is not equally attractive to all types of men. This movement is frankly a capitalist movement, requiring the good faith of the employer to be successful."

The present dangers besetting this movement are also well pointed out and the whole book furnishes a wealth of information to those interested in the problem of industrial ownership of the workers in the New World.

V. V. GIRI.

#### THE TAGORE BIRTHDAY BOOK. Ed. by C. F.

ANDREWS. (Macmillan.) 1928. 7¼ × 5. 7s. 6d.

THE Tagore Birthday Book, so admirably edited as it has been by Mr. C. F. Andrews, represents the quintessence of the poet. The poetic license is allowed to take liberties with the calendar. As a result, the book embraces Tagore's whole existence—the cycle of spring from January to June. To a real song bird, life is one long summer. It knows no winter, and no autumn or knowing it is supremely unconscious of it. Its refined senses are sensitive only to such clairvoyant joys as Tagore breaks forth into.

"Each rose that comes brings me greetings from the rose of an eternal spring."

It is a matter for pride to possess this handsome publication.

P. M. G.

#### A LECTURE ON LECTURES. By ARTUR QUILLER-COUCH.

(The Hogarth Press.) 1927. 19.3 cm. pp. 48. 2s. 6d.

SIR ARTUR QUILLER-COUCH or Q, as he is tenderly styled, is a colossus among the present day literati, too full to the brim to make inconsequential flutter like the great body of impressionist writers. Edmund Gosse, the Oxford luminary, is now joined to his ancestors, Saintsbury is happily alive—the last link between the present and the Golden Treasury of the past which to him is intimate but a far-cry to the 20th Century England. "A Lecture on Lectures" is Q's latest and not the least brilliant. Except for some stray modernisms here and there, it reads like a smooth Elizabethan composition with which Milton was familiar.

K. V. R.

#### THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS OF MILITARISM.

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES. (Community Church, New York City.) 7¼ × 5. pp. 21. 10 cents.

REV. HOLMES, unlike the mechanical preachers of lifeless sermons, cherishes in his heart the righteous indignation of a Savonarola. The intelligentsia of India knows him intimately as one who proclaimed Gandhi as the greatest man of the world. Rev. Holmes shuns war as did his Master before. He is convinced that, besides being an evil of the blackest dye, war gives rise to other abominable evils such as (1) sanctification and utilisation of force as the decisive factor in the determination of human destiny; (2) the identification of militarism with materialism; (3) the sin against children; (4)

falsification of history; (5) the prostitution of all science to the ends of murder and destruction; (6) betrayal of morality; and (7) the Sin against the Holy Ghost. Home truths for militarists and war lords!

B. C. D.

#### WHAT ARE INDIAN STATES? By B. S. PANTHIK. (Rajasthan Publishing House, Ajmer.) 1928. 7¼ × 5. pp. 238. Rs. 2.

THE case for Indian States has here been presented in a manner which in some cases at any rate seems to depart from good taste. The story of the Indian mutiny which the author calls "the War of Indian Independence" has been, irrelevantly it appears to us, dragged in. The book is full of stinging sarcasm and ungraceful sentiments. It contains some sensible information in places but on the whole we are at a loss to know what the author is driving at.

S. P. N.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

STATE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY IN RUSSIA DURING THE WAR. By S. O. ZAGORSKY. (Yale University Press, New Haven.) 1928. 25cm. pp. 351. \$4.00.

THE NETHERLANDS AND THE WORLD WAR: STUDIES IN THE WAR HISTORY OF A NEUTRAL: Vol. III. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington.) 1928. 25cm. pp. 140. \$2.25.

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES OF HIS HIGHNESS SAYAJI RAO III, MAHARAJA OF BARODA, 1877-1927. (Macmillan, London.) 1928. 23.3cm. pp. 519. 15s.

RUSSIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SINCE THE REVOLUTION. (2nd Edition.) By MAURICE DOBB. (Routledge.) 1929. 23.3cm. pp. 437. 15s.

THE EVOLUTION OF CHARLES DARWIN. By GEORGE A. DORSEY. (Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 19cm. pp. 300. 7s. 6d.

THE CHRISTIAN'S ALTERNATIVE TO WAR: AN EXAMINATION OF CHRISTIAN PACIFISM. By LEYTON RICHARDS. (Student Christian Movement.) 1929. 19cm. pp. 159. 4s.

MOTIVE FORCES OF THE MIND. By ALIC RAVEN. (W. Heffer, Cambridge.) 1929. 20cm. pp. 94. 3s. 6d.

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST. By VERA FIGNER. (International Publishers, New York.) 1927. 21.4cm. pp. 318. \$3.00.

SOUTH AFRICA'S PAST IN STONES AND PAINT. By M. C. BURKITT. (Cambridge University Press.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 183. 12s. 6d.

WOMEN WHO HAVE WORKED AND WON. By JENNIE CHAPPELL. (Pickering & Inglis, London.) 18.5cm. pp. 184. 2s.

AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO CIVICS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS. By R. J. HALL. (Longmans.) 1928. 7½ × 5. pp. 228.

YUNNAN. By MRS. M. M. DYMOND. (Marshall Brothers.) 19cm. pp. 95. 2s. 6d.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE ZOROASTRIAN RELIGION AND CUSTOMS. By ERVAD SHERIARJI DADABHAI BHARUCHA. (D. B. Taraporevala, Bombay.) 1928. 18.5cm. pp. 210. Rs. 3.

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