

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### Satyagraha in Poona.

OWING to Seth Jannalal Bajaj's mediation, the campaign of satyagraha started in Poona by the untouchable classes for the purpose of asserting their right to enter the public temples of the Hindus has been suspended for a fortnight. Jannalaji entertains the hope of persuading the trustees of the Parvati temple to throw it open to the untouchables under certain reservations. The reservations which he has proposed are that a railing should be put up not farther than six feet from the image of Siva and free access should be given as far as the railing to untouchables as well as touchables. The compromise suggested has the merit, in the view of the orthodox section, of securing at any rate the image from the polluting touch of the depressed classes. This concession on the part of the satyagrahis would induce the orthodox, such is Sjt. Jannalaji's hope, to concede the substance of the satyagrahis' demand. If inside the railing all were equally forbidden to step, touchables as well as untouchables, the satyagrahis would we believe have been satisfied. For the crux of their claim is that they shall labour under no disabilities which do not attach to the so-called higher castes as well. But Sjt. Jannalal Bajaj had little hope that the trustees would ever agree to close the immediate vicinity of the image to Brahmans and other touchables. If it is not so closed, it would mean that within that space higher castes would enjoy privileges denied to untouchables on the ground of caste. The satyagrahis therefore naturally held out. Seth Jannalal Bajaj however pressed them to agree on the distinct understanding that he and his friends would in their own persons

decline to avail themselves of the privileges which as caste-men would be given to them of approaching the very *sanctum sanctorum* and worshipping the image and would preach to others to follow suit. The satyagrahis were very reluctant to give in on what they were entitled to regard as a crucial point, but considering the eminent service which Jannalaji had rendered to the cause by throwing the temple under his own management open to untouchables, and considering also that even under these limitations the area of privilege would at all events be considerably reduced, they decided ultimately to let Seth Jannalal go forward with negotiations, which are at present proceeding. At the moment of writing the prospect of an amicable settlement is none too bright, reactionary influences working upon the trustees being rather strong. The satyagrahis, on the other hand, are indifferent to the final outcome of the negotiations, for they know that their moral position would be immensely strengthened, if even the moderate terms offered by Seth Jannalal are rejected by the trustees. The expressions of sympathy and promises of support, moral and material, which they are receiving, not merely from Youth Leagues and Reform Associations everywhere, but even from some orthodox quarters are highly encouraging and would, we are sure, give much comfort to the leader of the untouchables, Mr. Rajbhoj, who is still lying on his sick bed in the hospital. We must not omit to mention that on the occasion of the second demonstration by the satyagrahis the orthodox section again lived up to its reputation—of meeting non-violence by violence, and the satyagrahis lived up to theirs—of preserving perfect serenity in the midst of grave provocation.

### Satyagraha Movement Spreading

THE movement is spreading fast and unless the orthodox wake up by times we are afraid they will have a hard time ahead. In Bombay City several leaders of the youth have taken the cue from Poona and have notified the managing trustees of several shrines to allow the untouchables to enter the inside of temples or be prepared for a non-violent campaign on their part. In Bombay too we are sure public opinion will rally to the support of these reformers and the orthodox will have to yield—either with a struggle or without one. We believe Seth Jannalal Bajaj would offer his good offices in Bombay too, but hope that in thus playing his rôle of a peacemaker he would not give expression to any sentiment which could be interpreted to mean that there was no justification for a campaign of satyagraha. He did say some such thing in the case of Poona, and we must emphatically rebel the charge of wanton aggressiveness levelled against the Poona satyagrahis. They first of all did their best to persuade the trustees to accede to their demands of their own free will. All progressive in-

fluences were brought to bear upon them, but when the trustees proved intractable, satyagraha was decided upon. What did Jamnalalji himself do in Bardoli? First petitions were addressed to government, officials were visited, the intervention of the Legislative Council members was tried, and when these proved unavailing, Government were given an ultimatum, which, being not satisfactorily answered, satyagraha was launched. Precisely the same procedure was followed in Bardoli. Perhaps Jamnalalji would contend, if his present negotiations succeed, that compromise on these ideas ought first to have been attempted before embarking on satyagraha. We do not know yet what fate the negotiations have in store, but assuming that they succeed, as we hope they will, how can one tell what contribution the satyagraha campaign may not have made to the final result? As, in the case of Bardoli, without a shadow of doubt a compromise was found possible in the end because and only because satyagraha had gone before; so, to be sure, Jamnalalji would find that his laudable efforts would have a better chance because of the satyagraha; and if the efforts are successful, he would owe the success largely to the valiant fight of the satyagrahis whom he was tempted to run down without reason. Or is it a cardinal principle of the satyagraha which Mahatma Gandhi has taught him that it is to be brought into use only against the Government but never against a section of our own people, even if their practices are infinitely more satanic? Gandhiji himself has never preached such a doctrine though it happens to be a fact that his satyagraha campaign was waged in every case against Government. His disciples however apparently think that satyagraha is intended only to reduce the wicked government to submission.

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#### Order out of Chaos in Afganistan.

THE whirligig of time has brought forth a new surprise and General Nadir Khan has been elected King of Afganistan by a tribal jirga held specially for the purpose. There is however potential trouble in the fact that the jirga is not fully representative, many of the tribes not having been able to send their spokesmen in such a short time. A few more months will make it clear whether the whole country falls in with the choice made by the tribes present at the Kabul assembly. It is significant that the jirga declared Amanullah unfit to hold the reins of power, and it is certain that any further attempts made on behalf of the ex-King will be like brewing fresh trouble. It is a pity however that events have conspired against the restitution of a patriotic King like Amanullah whose only sin was to try to raise his country from the slough of mediæval ignorance. Considering the antecedents of General Nadir Khan one may easily believe in the sincerity of the reluctance he showed in accepting the offer, but the persistence with which the offer was pressed has made it well-nigh impossible for him to run counter to tribal opinion. Curiously enough, the Central Khilafat Committee has given its blessing to the choice of Afghans and has appealed to Indian Muslims to give their wholehearted support to the new King on the ground that differences of opinion at this juncture would be fatal. Whatever may be said about the wisdom of his accepting the crown, it cannot be denied that the consummate generalship of Nadir Khan and his brother has been mainly responsible for the successful termination of the great enterprise of ousting the bandit parvenu claimant to royalty who actually ruled for nearly a year. One can only counsel caution and prudence to the new ruler, in view of the disastrous results which followed in the wake of the ex-King Amanullah's well-meant attempts to

introduce an alien culture by a stroke of the pen. The true interests of the country lie in settling down to a peaceful and stable regime and we hope the new ruler would devote his whole attention to giving the country what it wants. General Nadir Khan has already declared to a correspondent of a journal in Paris that he is anxious to lead Afghanistan along the path of progress by opening schools and developing roads, railways, and industry; we hope he is not deflected from the path by the influence of sectional opinions in the country.

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#### Harmony in the Indian Central Committee.

EVERY one will be agreeably surprised to learn that the Indian Central Committee have seen their way to present a unanimous report. Although the seven different reports so recently prophesied will be compressed into four dissentient minutes only eight out of nine members have already signed the report and the ninth is expected shortly to do likewise. Sir Hari Singh Gour has declared in an interview that the past differences were only about the form and diction of the report and not about the substance of the recommendations. This of course will have to be taken with a grain of salt and even now the minutes of dissent will, we are sure, reveal radical differences of view. We know for instance that most of the Muslim members of the Committee have a marked predilection for separate electorates. It is surmised in most quarters that much of the credit for the restoration of harmony among the members of the Central Committee is due to Lord Irwin who must have shown to them the error of their ways in refusing to patch up their differences and indulging in unseemly bickerings. It appears now that some credit must be given to Sir Sankaran Nair who refused to bow down to the dissentients and frequently used his casting vote for preventing needless opposition. If the report of the Central Committee is to have some weight attached to it it must be in its main essentials unanimous or nearly so. The readers of the report will have some solace, now that the literary style which Sir Hari Singh so much affected will not be completely sacrificed. Whether the report will be worthy of the sacrifice the members of the Committee have made in getting nominated in spite of the opposition of the Assembly and submitting to a variety of rebuffs remains to be seen. By some they are regarded as veritable patriots and nobody will grudge them the title if the recommendations they make prove them to be genuinely anxious to secure the good of the country. It is rumoured that the Central Committee has not much confidence in itself to be able to solve the problem of the future constitution of the Central Government. In a memorandum submitted by Sir Sankaran Nair to the Central Committee he has expressed the opinion that the evidence placed before the Joint Free Conference about the Central Government is vague and incomplete and is not a proper basis for any suggestions as to reform of its constitution. He therefore suggests something like a Round Table Conference in order to elicit adequate information as to the probable consequences of constitutional changes to be introduced. Very probably the majority of the members of the Committee have not concurred in this opinion.

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#### Indian Chambers on Coastal Reservation.

IN a statement submitted by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce in reply to a circular issued by the Associated Chambers of Commerce on Mr. Haji's Bill the charge of racial discrimination has been refuted and the right of India to economic self-government has been vigorously asserted. The

statement points out that all modern authorities on Economics agree that every country has a right to determine its policy in regard to coasting trade, which is its own preserve. The Committee of the Federation refer to the well-known fact that the Bill is supported by the Report of the Mercantile Marine Committee and express their conviction that the only means of bringing an Indian mercantile marine into being within a reasonable period of time is coastal reservation. The Committee assert frankly that as a rule the interests of India and those of Great Britain are far from being identical and therefore it is wrong in their opinion to say that certain safeguards in the new constitution depriving India of the right of regulating her economic policy to suit her own needs are demanded in the interests of both the countries. The Committee have made it clear that the path of reconciliation between Indian and British interests does not lie through the 'safeguards' or through propaganda carried on to deprive India of the right of adopting its economic and fiscal policy but in British merchants and traders completely indentifying themselves with the interests of this country and adjusting their angle of vision to the present times. Referring to the Resolution of the Associated Chambers with regard to discriminatory legislation the Committee say that India claims the right to protect her own commerce in the same manner as England, the Dominions and all other countries do. If it is discrimination when practised by India, then all the rest of the world is chargeable with discriminatory legislation in the sense that they discriminate in favour of their own nationals. The Committee of the Federation have done well to make a pointed reference to the provocative language used by Sir George Godfrey in moving the above Resolution and to the misrepresentation of the aims of the national movement in India in which he has indulged on the same occasion.

#### The Soul of Modern India.

SIR PHIROZE SETHNA has analysed the mentality of modern India in an article contributed to the *Near East and India* and has based upon it a convincing plea for a better understanding at this juncture. Referring to Prof. Zimmern's appeal at Geneva for developing an international mind Sir Phiroze says, to do this well we must know the national mind of each country, especially those that are not yet politically free. He is confident that in spite of discords and variety India is developing a common mind. Before the 13th century Indian life was marked by a happy blend of the material and spiritual sides of civilisation but later on life came to be realised as an evil, fatalism was rampant and men became dreamy and mystical, with the result that the Indian mind had become passive, inert, parochial and caste-ridden till the time of the British rule. In spite of some appearances to the contrary Sir Phiroze does not think that India decries Western civilization. Citing the examples of modern Germany and Russia of to-day, he shows that a nation's mentality can be radically altered by the action of new powerful forces. British rule and western education have been such forces. In spite of its sins of omission and commission British rule has been on the whole an enlightened and progressive force in his opinion and along with Western education it has developed a new spirit of activity and made India give up its dreaminess. Under the new influences India may be said to have readopted the active type of life since she had already led it in the best days in ancient times. The impelling motive of the new spirit is to make India a great self-governing modern nation taking a high rank among the progressive nations of the world.

(Continued on p. 508.)

## Articles.

### THE HARTOG REPORT.

"GROWTH of education" is specifically mentioned in the Government of India Act as one of the matters for inquiry by the Statutory Commission. It cannot therefore be charged, as otherwise perhaps might have been the case, that Sir John Simon appointed a special committee for ascertaining the state of public education in India as Lord Durham appointed a commissioner in Canada nearly a hundred years ago merely because he cherishes the ambition of handing down to posterity a report which at any rate would appear to Anglo-Indian enthusiasts equally epoch-making with Lord Durham's. Sir John Simon perhaps felt that under the terms of the statute he had to have a detailed inquiry made. But we doubt whether he knew, or his committee knew, what precisely they were to inquire into. It was of course obvious that their concern was with the political aspects of education. But the political aspects can be variously interpreted. Were they to judge from the expansion of education that has taken place since the inauguration of the reforms of the capacity of the Ministers and the Legislatures to work a representative system of government? Or were they to pronounce on the degree of advance that could be safely made in responsible government on the present basis of literacy in the country? Or were they to advise on the extent to which the existing electorates could be enlarged? Or were they merely to impress upon the Government the urgency of extending mass education in view of the impending changes in the constitution? The Committee might have set out to answer any one or all of these and similar questions. From the summary of their report which is now published it is not clear just in what sense they understood their own task. It does not appear that they attempted to form an estimate of the achievements or failure of the Ministers and Legislatures. The few remarks which they have made on the subject are all in favour of these authorities. They say: "Large additional expenditure has been proposed by Education Ministers and willingly voted by the Legislative Councils." But this is evidently not a considered judgment based on a close scrutiny of the facts. At any rate we cannot share this roseate view. We are bound to confess that, in our opinion, the Ministers and Legislatures have failed woefully; their achievements are miserably small, while their failure is writ large on the Department. Most of them have been content to carry on; hardly anyone has applied to his work the bold policy which public opinion has demanded; hardly anyone has given practical proof of a lively realization of the fact that mass education is literally the foundation of self-government. This admission we are willing freely to make although we know that it can be exploited by the enemies of Swaraj as an argument against the extension of reforms. The fact however is that our failure in this department can be proved to be due to the very ineffective control which public opi-

nion is allowed to exert under the dyarchic form of government in force in the provinces.

The picture of popular education which the committee present is very depressing ; in fact it is even more depressing than the committee have presented it. Indeed they could almost have reported to-day about India what Lord Durham's Commissioner ( Arthur Buller ) reported about Canada in 1838 : "The British Government has, since its possession of this Province, done, or even attempted, nothing for the promotion of general education." At any rate it has not shown even a tithe of the solicitude for the diffusion of mass education which any government professing to prepare the people for self-government would have done. The Americans have understood the implications of this "political necessity" of general education as a first step in the early giving up of control and to this understanding is no doubt due their brilliant achievements in the Philippines, to which we drew attention only last week. The British have nothing like this to show in India. We may be pardoned if we dwell a little longer on the Philippines, because a contrast of India with that country brings out our educational deficiencies in the most impressive manner. Educational expenditure in India has now become 6 times what it was 25 years ago. It appears on the face of it to be quite a respectable increase ; but considering the small amounts spent in the early period, this is far from satisfactory. In the Philippines the expenditure rose  $14\frac{1}{2}$  times in the same period ! That is to say, the rate of increase there is nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times that in India. It may perhaps be objected that the percentage of increase in the Philippines is unduly bloated because 25 years ago the Philippines expended but a paltry amount on education. If we take the last fifteen years we find that during this period educational expenditure increased in India 312 p.c., while in the Philippines it increased 88 p.c. The rate of increase in the Philippines is, again,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times that in India. By 1913 school expenditure had fairly stabilized itself in the Philippines. During the last ten years total expenditure on education in India increased 217.8 p.c. while in the Philippines it increased 355 p.c. In this connexion it should be remembered that the purchasing power of the rupee had diminished to a larger extent in this period than that of the peso. The rate of increase in the Philippine school expenditure is thus really more than the above figures would show. Now let us compare the growth of education in India with that in the U.S.A., where of course the need and scope for such growth are proportionately smaller. During 35 years since 1891-92, educational expenditure rose in India 8 times ( from Rs. 30.5 millions to Rs. 245.8 millions ). In the U.S.A. public school expenditure increased 15 times ( from \$140.5 millions to \$2,166.7 millions ), the rate of increase in the U.S.A. being almost twice that in India. The degree of zeal which a government shows for education is perhaps best measured by finding out what percentage of its total revenue it expends on public instruction. In the Government of India's 8th quinquennial report such an estimate was attempted. The report showed

(at p. 12) that expenditure from Government funds was in 1921-22 12.2 p. c. of Government's revenues. This percentage would in 1926-27 be 13.8. But these figures are wholly misleading. For the quinquennial report takes into account merely the revenues of the Provincial Governments, while it is obvious that the Central Government's revenue also must be brought into the account. When the percentage of military expenditure to revenue is to be given the Government of India adds provincial to central revenues, thus managing to bring down the percentage figure ; but when the percentage of educational expenditure is in question it leaves the central revenue out of reckoning. When account is taken of this revenue the percentage comes down as low as 5.6 ! But the most useful comparison would be between the total governmental funds (including in this term funds accruing to the central and provincial governments and municipalities and local boards ) and total educational expenditure met out of such funds. The figures for aggregate revenue are nowhere given in Government reports and we have not had time to work them out. These figures are available for the U.S.A. and the Philippines ; in these countries the percentage of total educational expenditure to all governmental funds is, respectively, 25.1 p. c. and 23.45 p. c. The Indian percentage would be found to be but a fraction of this.

The whole question reduces itself to the amount of money we are prepared to devote to the extension of mass education. The proportion now devoted is ridiculously small ; it must undergo a large increase if there is to be a general diffusion of education. Such a diffusion now is a "political necessity", to adopt the words of Governor-General Forbes ( quoted last week ). If the Hartog Report serves to enforce this necessity on the non-official as well as the official mind, it will deserve well of the country. For the same reason we welcome the Committee's recommendation that the Central Government should contribute a quota to the furtherance of mass education. Other recommendations, even when they are in the right direction ( and we cannot say this of all ), are comparatively unimportant. The Committee's chief service to the country lies in this, that its report will help to bring home the utter inadequacy of the efforts now made to have universal education, upon which alone the superstructure of Swaraj can be reared.

#### THE PRINCES' CLAIMS.

CLAIMING to belong to that "honest and honourable" section of the Press which H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner invited, in his speech on the occasion of the celebration of his birthday, "to instil fresh ideas and to help to take a ruler out of any ruts into which he may have been driven deep through force of habit or imperviousness to light," we feel that we must, taking the Maharaja at his word, try to disabuse his mind of some notions which have now become almost an obsession with him. He cannot understand how any British Indian can truthfully assert that Indian Princes such as himself, who rendered

valuable help to British India by pleading the cause of her political freedom with the British rulers in the time of the late Mr. Montagu, had now turned hostile to British Indian aspirations. If, however, the Maharaja will think a little about it, he will discover that the explanation for it is not hard to find. The Princes have some controversies at present with the British Indian Government. They feel that they are unjustly treated in economic matters and require fiscal relief in certain directions. They have also a grievance that politically they are treated as vassals whereas their position *vis a vis* the British Government is by rights that of allies. These complaints certainly deserve to be fully and impartially investigated with reference to treaties, agreements, &c. No British Indian has ever opposed necessary inquiry into the Prince's contentions. But the Princes in asking for inquiry base their demand on the imminence of a constitutional advance in British India, as if they can never hope for justice being obtained at the hands of a popular government, supposing one were installed in Delhi in the immediate future. They do not even leave such an inference to be drawn by others; they state in so many words that the question was not so urgent so long as the British administrators were in undisputed control, but that it assumes great urgency when there is reason to fear that these administrators will soon be replaced by Indian administrators. It was on such arguments, openly and unabashedly put forward, that the demand for an inquiry into their claims was founded. The inquiry was at last held; the Princes selected for their counsel a man who pleaded before the inquiry committee that the British Indian Government was pledged to keep matters like defence, political relations, &c. in its own hands for all time to come; that the transfer of control over them to popular representatives was barred by constitutional objections, even though Government were in favour of such transfer. This doctrine was put forward on behalf of the Princes, and the Butler Committee has accepted it in substance. The Committee has practically advised Government to allow the claim of the Princes to put a veto on the grant of self-government to British India at their will. The Princes have many objections to urge against the Butler Committee's Report, but they have expressed no reluctance to be placed in the invidious position of making it not only inexpedient but constitutionally impossible for the British Government to endow British India with Swaraj. So long as this recommendation of the Butler Committee receives no repudiation at the hands of the Princes, and indeed so long as we know that the claim to this position was put forward by their own counsel, that long it is idle for His Highness of Bikaner and Their Highnesses of other States to give lip sympathy to British Indians with their political aspirations. Nor do British Indians profit by these empty and, indeed, in the circumstances hypocritical, assurances of sympathy. We take leave to say to the Maharaja of Bikaner that such expressions of sympathy are rather embarrassing and that he need not be too free in ladling them out.

The Maharaja then tells his auditors that during the next few months the Princes would give practical proof of their support of British India's claim for Swaraj. He had obviously in his mind's eye the round table conference which, it was reported, without authority as it now turns out, would be held in England to which Princes as well as British Indian leaders would be invited. Incidentally the Maharaja gives an indication that if a similar round table conference is held under non-official auspices in India he would not deign to accept the invitation. What contempt he pours upon the "caucus of non-cooperation" by which he evidently means the All-Parties Conference, who have already extended invitations to Princes! The practical proof of the Princes' support to the swaraj movement in British India, which the Maharaja of Bikaner promises at the round table conference in London will however be forthcoming, the Maharaja himself tells us, *provided* that their own claims against the British Indian Government are conceded. On this point we can give the Maharaja some real enlightenment and push him out of the ruts into which he has unfortunately fallen. He seems to believe that there is some necessary connection between readjustment of the Princes' fiscal and political relations and conferment of self-government on British India. In reality there is no such connection. The two issues are quite separate, to be determined on totally different grounds. The Princes' grievances have to be disposed of by an examination of the past treaties, engagements, understandings. The question of British Indian swaraj is to be settled in accordance with the political conditions in British India. The two subjects do not hang together. It is quite possible to remove the Princes' grievances without satisfying the political aspirations of British India, as it is possible to grant self-government without settling the disputes with the Princes. There is nothing unjust in isolating the two questions either; indeed there is some advantage in doing so. We would emphasize this aspect of the matter since there is a widely prevalent misconception about it. What the legal rights of the States are in virtue of treaties, &c. can only be decided by submitting the treaties and other past records to judicial investigation. This is not to be decided by any bargaining between the Governments of British and Indian India. What modifications can be introduced into the position as determined by these documents can alone be settled by mutual agreement. The Princes' contention is that they are assigned a position inferior to what should belong to them on the strength of the treaties. In the determination of this particular question no round table conference can help, and British Indian leaders who attend such a conference must decline to be entangled in its consideration.

But the Princes will perhaps argue that while a general redistribution of power seems imminent and while the central authority is in a mood to part with its power to subordinate bodies, they have as good as a claim to ask that they shall be made autonomous irrespective of the treaties as British India has. We grant the force of this argument un-

reservedly. But the claim must be based on the inherent merits of the case. The Princes, however, seek to take illegitimate advantage of the Butler Committee's recommendation which makes the grant of self-government to British India contingent on *their* consent. They therefore are in a position to hold the pistol to the British Indian leaders and cry "Hands up." British India must grant them all their claims without scrutiny or go without self-government herself. This is not a position in which British India will acquiesce for a moment. And what does the Princes' claim to autonomy amount to in fact? His Highness chose to regard it as a "malicious charge levelled by irresponsible people against the Princes" to represent this claim as "attempting to perpetuate autocracy, absolutism and misrule and to secure a blank cheque to oppress their subjects and squander public money", &c. We maintain that this is a perfectly accurate characterization of the claims, though, being given to understating our case, we would not put it quite so bluntly. For, it must ever be borne in mind that the Princes want autonomy *for themselves*; that while they are anxious to participate in the movement for freedom started by British India, they are not willing to let their subjects participate in it. Any relaxation of control that may now take place is to stop with the Princes. These will be freed from control from the top without being subjected to control from below. British India will never entertain such a proposal. The struggle she is making is for establishing a popular government, not for entrenching

autocratic government. If Indian entredeing Princes will bind themselves to part with such power as they may obtain from the paramount power to their subjects, British Indians will withdraw their objections, but till such an undertaking is forthcoming it will be the bounden duty of British India to oppose to the utmost extent of their ability the freeing of Princes from such tenuous control as is exercised over them. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner no doubt says that the political and fiscal autonomy which the rulers and governments of Indian States are anxious to secure is "as much in the interests of their subjects as of the rulers and their governments, whose interests are really identical." If this is so, it is rather strange that the Princes never can get anybody but those belonging to their own order or their paid agents to say so. We wish to give a timely warning to the Labour Government on this point; for this Government, being favourable generally to the process of parting with power, requires it. The Conservative Government, being always opposed to this process, did not need it. The Labour Government is perhaps apt to think that by making Princes independent it would be taking a step towards establishing popular government in India. Unless in their newly acquired independence their subjects are allowed to share this would verily be a measure of rivetting the fetters of the State's people all the more strongly upon them. British India too must give full weight to this aspect of the matter in her dealings with Indian Princes; but the Labour Government must never lose sight of it.

## THE PROSPECTS OF DEMOCRACY.

### I.—WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

THE present time exhibits one of those revulsions of political sentiment which must puzzle most students of European politics. Within ten years of the "war to make the world safe for democracy", when it was seriously suggested that only democratic governments should be admitted to the League of Nations, it is asserted on all sides that democracy has failed, that it is only suitable to certain countries at certain times and in certain conditions, and that even then it may only be a temporary phenomenon. The war to end autocracies has replaced two military monarchies by three dictatorships, of which two are more ruthless, more arbitrary, less bound by law, and more dangerous to the peace of the world than their predecessors. President Wilson, the apostle of democracy, is now often spoken of as the last and greatest of the Liberals. The political ideal which was the dream of thinkers and the goal of statesmen through the 19th century has lost its attraction at the moment of its completest fulfilment, and this is bound to be particularly disconcerting to a country like India which finds that it has no sooner accepted a political ideal than the rest of the world discards it.

Even those who do not admit its failure acknow-

ledge the defects of its working and devices like Proportional Representation, the Referendum and Initiative are attempts to improve the working of the machine. Others take the line that while it is not much better, it is no worse than other systems, but this sort of view is the most unsatisfactory of all. It is this view which makes Lord Bryce's *Modern Democracies* such depressing reading.

It is noteworthy, however, that though criticism of democracy was never more general, the choice of alternatives was never more limited. Apart from the traditional governments which have been discarded, the choice lies between the dictatorship of the Bolsheviks, a régime of violence based on fanatic dogmatism, and that of the Fascists, equally arbitrary and violent, and based on the fear of the possessing classes. The Russian state is Marx's communist dictatorship, and the Italian the capitalist dictatorship which he predicted would precede it.

Amidst this pessimism and lack of constructive ideas, it is necessary to ask what we mean by "democracy" as a form of government or a political ideal before we decide how successful it has been or estimate its prospects.

Democracy, or the co-operative government of a state by its people, appeared first in Europe in the Greek City States, which have ever since served as a model and an inspiration for later thinkers. But Greek democracy was very different from our modern governments. Not only was there a radical difference of size and complexity, not only was there no representative system, but the democracy itself was partial. The free Greek citizen was in a minority of about 1 to 3 of his domestic and industrial slaves, the former of whom were often people of equal ability and culture with their masters. Greek democracy was really a racial oligarchy; the principle of equality was there, but it was confined to one class. Christianity overleapt in the West the barriers of class and race; it recognised neither Greek nor barbarian, bond nor free, but before this universalism had time to bear fruit in the political sphere the Roman civilisation collapsed in the fifth century. Throughout the winter of the Middle Ages the Church provided the only career open to talent and preserved within itself the germ of democracy amid the wintry blasts of feudalism and brute force. The bursting of the bud came with the Reformation, which on one side was the protest of the common man against ecclesiastical experts and arbitrary authority. Protestantism, when it has not been mere faction or the expression of vested interests, has always asserted a positive idea as well as protested against a particular abuse; in this case it was the right of private judgment as against the dead hand of Church authority, and the equality of all believers in the sight of God. Protestantism rapidly congealed into another authoritarian system resting on an infallible book, but its spirit lived on in the religious sects of Germany and England and found political expression in the Puritan movement. Cromwell's godly commonwealth and the tyrannical "rule of the Saints" had a democratic basis in spite of its religious exclusiveness and moral intolerance. Though the rule of the Major-Generals was a tyranny, yet it was a tyranny based on private judgment which carried with it the seed of its own supersession. With the Revolution settlement England reached an equilibrium which was the source of much complacency to herself, and of admiration to foreign thinkers like Montesquieu.

Democracy found its modern prophet in Rousseau, who extended the democratic idea from the "all believers" of the Puritans to all mankind. Though his facile belief in the innocence and rationality of human nature, and his emphasis on rights to the exclusion of duties, worked much mischief, yet his passionate belief in the equal value of every man and his doctrine that the state must express the free will of its citizens, was of the greatest importance. Rousseau thought only of city states on the classical model or like his own Geneva, but for the translation of his ideas into fact in large country states a new model was needed. This new model was ready to

hand in the English constitution. The new period, heralded by the American revolution, dramatically commenced with the explosion of the French revolution. From that time throughout the 19th century the process of introducing democratic principles into the European country states continued, and the form almost invariably adopted was the representative parliamentary form of England.

The nineteenth century was the great age of Liberalism, and Liberalism was the 19th century form of Protestantism. Every protestant movement must protest *against* something as well as assert (or protest) a principle. The Liberal principle was individual liberty, and the Liberal battle was waged against its opponents, the traditional monarchies, the Roman Church, privileged classes and vested interests. But every protestant movement, after defeating its immediate rivals, is apt to develop a new dogmatism as cramping as the one which it has just overthrown, and the process has to be repeated afresh. On the existence and constant repetition of this process the vitality and progress of the world depend.

It is this fate, the nemesis of completing its own programme, which overtook democratic Liberalism in Europe in 1919. Privilege had almost disappeared, nationalism had triumphed, parliamentary institutions were universally accepted. The mandate of the old Liberalism was exhausted, and political Liberals, having nothing more to fight for, tended to take the capitalist side in the socialist controversy, and to become conservative guardians of the social order. The protestant or liberal spirit moved elsewhere and entered into the various socialist and labour groups. This process had begun before the war in the emergence of the different socialist parties, and it represented the discovery that parliamentary institutions were not in themselves sufficient to express the whole principle of democracy. So we reach the post-war situation in which the world has become dissatisfied with Parliamentarism as soon as it has no enemies left, for the simple reason that Parliamentarism by itself is not sufficient to express the whole spirit of democracy. Here we may note that the cause which has led to the eclipse of Liberalism in Europe has no application for India; here privilege, tradition and vested interests still exist in such abundance that the Liberal movement (under whatever label) is still in its initial stages.

The question then remains, if representative parliamentary institutions do not adequately express the democratic principle, what exactly do we mean by democracy?

T. G. P. SPEAR.

## Our European Letter.

### "A PILGRIMAGE OF PEACE."

THERE has been as little talk of the Tenth Assembly after the session as before. Before, the Hague Conference absorbed public attention and now, Mr. MacDonald's mission to the United States has become the overwhelming consideration. Even for Geneva's sake it is just as well that there should be frequent reminders that Geneva is not all. The name of this pretty Swiss town—it is never so pretty as in these days when autumn is closing in—on which both nature and morality have bestowed character has a magic sound because, as an eminent British official put it recently, it stands for an aggregate of movements and tendencies to which the new world of after war renders homage. Those who neglect it or show indifference err, as the British Conservatives have realised. Much the same sort of error is committed by those who are slow to wake to the significance of Washington in the world of activities. That name too is a word of power of which in Geneva, thanks to the scientific spirit which international work makes possible, there is no lack of recognition. Oddly enough, those who are blind to the actuality of Washington are also those to whose vision the importance of Geneva has not dawned. Nevertheless there would seem to be some awareness in this regard in Great Britain. "In the world today", writes Mr. Garvin in the *Observer*, "Geneva and Washington between them hold the firmest hopes of enduring peace".

The nature of Mr. MacDonald's tour has been diversely interpreted. The suggestion has been put forward—and the message which the Premier addressed to the annual meeting of his Party at Brighton before he left indicates that he is aware of it—that nothing less than some sort of alliance is the real objective. Although not a little incredible, the idea is by no means impossible. We have just been hearing of a Franco-German alliance. Political tendencies are not set in motion according to preconceived programmes. History is best interpreted in the light of the philosophy of our day as a vast attempt at groping urged mainly by pragmatic instincts. Political parties and their ideology no doubt affect a nation's career but the nation itself, in Western Europe at any rate, is far too concrete an entity not to dominate them. There is something common to Mr. Neville Chamberlain's thesis of Imperial commerce (which bears a remarkable resemblance to his father's pet idea), ardently supported by Lords Melchett and Beaverbrook, and the British Labour Party's anxiety to establish the principle of arbitration which proceeds very likely from the little concealed anxiety in Great Britain that the Empire would hardly stand the shock of another war. The existing sentimental ties are widely recognised to be inadequate and there is an attempt at consolidation on a realistic basis. Mr. H. G. Wells, writing in that remarkable new British monthly the

*Realist*, argues that there can be only three mortal bases to the belief in a self-sufficient British Empire, all of them "semi-romantic, short-sighted, foredoomed." The first is that in the world of the future several sovereign systems may coexist like sovereign states before, to which the answer is that "the sea-knit confederation" is "now no more than a heterogeneous system of regions linked by long and vulnerable lines of communication "due to lack of control of the seas" caused by "the aeroplane, the submarine, and the competitive shipbuilding of other states". To the idea that the "Empire is to be regarded as a temporary league leading to a still wider synthesis of world controls . . . meanwhile run with competitive outfit", Mr. Wells objects that with competition as the basis, "new ideas do not come suddenly. Wars do." "The third system of fundamental ideas in vogue among patriotic imperialists is simply the old junk of nineteenth century political thought." However that may be, there is clear evidence of the British mind being busy today to put the Empire on a new and reliable basis. It is just as clear that the real and almost only danger to the Empire comes from the hostility of the United States and it would indeed be strange if a British statesman left any avenue of approach unsearched in this circumstance.

No alliance is, however, likely to be accepted by either the British or American nation so long as the naval parity question is not, as the French would say, liquidated. There is a dangerous tension between the two most powerful of world's communities on this account. Mr. MacDonald has repeatedly stated, and categorical statements leaving no doubt about their implications of the same sort have even more frequently appeared from official sources on the other side of the Atlantic, that he does not go to meet President Hoover with a view to work out a final acceptable formula but rather to prepare the ground for it. He has great faith in personal approach of this sort and he just wishes to bring his favourite method to bear on this problem.

It is easy to lose sight of real difficulties amidst the roseate accounts of the voyage of the steamship *Bengaria* over an untroubled ocean. Too much has been made, specially in Great Britain, of the common heritage of Anglo-Saxon ideas. The one idea common to the entire community of Anglo-Saxon culture is the lack of any sense of centralisation, and loyalty to local groups. The theoretical idea of common stock or common outlook in the face of practical exigencies makes as a rule little impression on British peoples. Both these pleas are vastly exaggerated. Of the three main successive layers of American immigration—the Puritans of the 17th, the Colonists of the 18th, and the Germans and Irish of the 19th centuries—each group has had a deep distrust for the British. As to the outlook, political talk apart, no Englishman, and much less the Englishwoman, would take it as a compliment if it were stated that the British and Americans had the same philosophy of life. Besides, the United States, now in the prime of its economic development, seeks outlets all over the world for expansion only to find itself barricaded, largely due



to British influences. The common outlook so far as it exists would, as a matter of fact, only seem to work against Britain, for, despite their present continental existence and their comparatively limited needs, the Americans have a maritime heredity, apparently outlasting their maritime instincts, which, according to competent observers, must be made to account for their mysterious reverence for the principle of parity.

On the British side obstacles to understanding are no less serious. British obstinacy is just as proverbial as British adaptability and no idea is more deeply rooted in British tradition than that of maritime supremacy. There is a political slump in the country from which the Government is no doubt benefitting, as indeed it should, but on any such vital issue as the future of the navy it would be just as easy for the Conservatives to rouse up democratic opinion as it has been for Labour to divert the interest. Labour, as the opening proceedings of the Brighton meeting tend to show, is inclined to rest on its oars. It is a dangerous tendency. When Mr. MacDonald returns from America he will have to face Parliament seriously for the first time since he assumed power last May. He will not find the transition from the atmosphere of ceremonious visit to the rude handling that awaits him agreeable by any means. I think the analogy between President Wilson's encounter with Congress after his famous European tour and Mr. MacDonald's return to Parliament after the American visit comes from an American source. Judging from the reactions in the London press to the opening proceedings at Brighton, one is inclined to brood on this analogy. Mr. MacDonald's message to Brighton anticipates criticism, but the portents are that his anticipations will be exceeded. The Left wing of Labour is restive and rebels against the cautious movement of the present Government, and Conservatives and Liberals alike lie in wait to exploit

the Government's justification of caution as a strategic march towards socialism. Disarmament, unemployment, and recognition of Russia are the three grounds over which the Government will be faced with volleys of fire. The first means little more than agreement with America at present, and for any concessions to which Mr. MacDonald will accede—and without them it is difficult to see how there can be any agreement at all—he will have to answer the most powerful interests in the country. The reticence of Mr. Thomas about his Canadian schemes concerning unemployment has been rather trying, and by the time they are published the country would probably have no patience to go into the details of his policy. His adversaries would hardly grant him the chances he asks for. They would much more readily seize hold of the idea put forward by many members of the Ministerial Party that the Government's assuming control of the Bank of England was the only possible way of dealing with unemployment. The controversies caused by the Harty clash in the City have lent substance to this thesis, and the present increase in the Bank rate brings into further relief the sharp division which has existed for some time between financiers and industrialists. Then, like Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Thomas also, for all his popularity, may have to face the financial interests whose power is as great as that of the Navy men. Finally, no one expects Mr. Henderson to get off lightly over the Anglo-Soviet negotiations. Whatever may happen, in all that Labour has so far attempted it has boldly tackled the outstanding problems. It has made a definite break with the Conservative policy of "sitting tight," which even the Tories would now find not a little difficult to resume. Will England give democracy a chance? That the next Parliament will decide, but the country will sit up and take notice that Labour has emerged as a force in politics which must be reckoned with.

Geneva, October 3.

## Book Review Section.

### COMMISSAR KRASSIN.

#### LEONID KRASSIN: HIS LIFE AND WORK.

By HIS WIFE LUBOV KRASSIN. (Skeffington, London.) 1929. 24cm. 284p. 21/-

AMONG the Bolshevik vandals who overran Russia and laid her waste, Krassin alone stands conspicuously apart, the only pious soul who patiently repaired the havoc done. In order to serve his unfortunate country, he conquered his aversion for the hydra-headed monster or "the many-headed Government" instituted by the false benefactors of humanity, and "he agreed to join the New Government as he realised quite clearly that if there were no checking of the revolutionary action of the new authorities from within, the fanatics, those fond believers in a wholesale revolution throughout the world would turn Russia into a wilderness." Unlike his mischievous day-dreaming colleagues, who aimed at converting the whole world into an anarchist

lunatic asylum, he was essentially nation-conscious, and "he was a man not of theories but of realities and he never lost sight of the actual conditions and contingencies of the time he lived in." Capitalism was to him as much an abomination as to the fire-eating revolutionaries but as a practical economist that he was he realised that there was such a thing as harmless capital which served as the staff of industry, all the more so in relation to Russia, impoverished by the crushing war burdens on the one hand and the Bolshevik vagaries on the other. It hurt him to see the disagreeable policy pursued by the Red successors of the Czar, which had resulted in Russia being treated as an economic and social leper by her European neighbours. It was only due to his lofty statesmanship that slowly the perverse Commissars bowed their heads before the hard economic facts and, in order to help Krassin "in cutting out a window into Europe," abandoned the policy of hostility to

capital". Lenin was far from being intolerant of the bourgeois in Krassin, for he knew only too well that he "was a cultured man and a scholar and had besides great experience in practical matters, qualities which were lacking in most other members of the Soviet Government." At a time when it offered him the means of saving his country from utter collapse, he readily accepted at Lenin's invitation a subordinate post in the Ministry of Transport. Though nominally an understudy, it fell to him first to initiate and then, as Commissar of Commerce and Industry, to establish the foreign trade of Russia. Ever since the advent of the Reds in power, Russia had been forcibly, and with good reason, condemned to live in a state of close isolation, for fear lest along with her goods, the subversive Bolshevik dogma should be smuggled. To add to this misery, the obstinate German advance into the heart of Russia, the Czechoslovakian and Polish revolts and the internal chaos had destroyed all traces of her domestic credit. It required a Krassin at this juncture to recreate a solvent Russia out of a mass of debris. As a preliminary to laying down his broad and robust plan of reconstruction known as the New Economic Policy he met General Ludendorff and persuaded him to withdraw his troops from Russia. Then it was that he took upon himself to woo the European powers hostile to Bolshevism into opening commercial relations with his country. Successfully so to do, he made a prolonged stay in Paris and London as Russia's trade delegate. By force of sincerity, he persuaded the French Republic and the British Government to set their seal to a commercial treaty, the provisions of which were later deliberately violated—to Krassin's intense sorrow—by the powers at Moscow. However, not long after, Krassin's enduring principles triumphed over the whimsical notions of the Bolsheviks, so much so that "it must have been a bitter pill for Lenin to have to declare that the organisation of the resources of the State on a basis of rationing was premature, since he and the majority of the communist leaders sincerely believed that Russia stood on the threshold of communism. In the spring of 1921, the supreme Economic Council decided to permit private persons to engage in retail trade, and the Government released its hold on a large number of small industrial undertakings. This was the first instalment of the New Economic Policy which was designed primarily to allay the discontent of the peasants and thus to stimulate production. It was followed by the authorisation of a certain number of mixed state and capitalist enterprises."

It was Krassin's ambition, had he been allowed a free hand and had the Bolshevik leaders evinced a desire to regard the monetary obligations of their country as sacred, to invite foreign capital into Russia "sufficient to absorb the normal production of foreign industry. He saw that Europe as a whole—and indeed America too—was going through a phase of overproduction and that in Europe at least the cause of all trouble was the unusual phenomenon

of under-consumption, accentuated by the fact that one of the most important consumers, the Russian market, was still stricken with acute anæmia."

Monopoly of foreign trade was his pet scheme which as Commissar he proclaimed, and though at first this supposedly narrow move on Krassin's part was received with distrust, "Krassin was particularly pleased with this development owing to the fact that Italy recognised the new Russian régime unconditionally, that is to say, without any reservation whatever as to the monopoly of foreign trade prevailing in Russia. . . . While in Paris, Krassin concentrated mainly on steering French trade into the ready channel of the soviet state monopoly." While doing a giant's work in his official capacity, he also found time to encourage scientific research, to patronise an orphanage and to found a museum. By his death Russia stands widowed and paralysed. This is an extremely fascinating biography—a wife's tender tribute—of a person so formidable and yet so pathetic that to read it is to bless his memory.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

### THE WORLD'S IRRIGATION SYSTEMS.

THE THIRSTY EARTH. By E. H. CARRIER.  
(Christophers, London.) 1928. 22cm. 10/6.

IN the very first Chapter of the book the author takes us mercilessly into the very heart of the Sahara and leaves us murmuring like the wandering children of Israel. Then like Moses he comes to our help: he bores a hole into the arid sand, and up comes to the surface a spring of clear bubbling water. Gradually luxuriant vegetation flourishes around the place, and we have an "island of fertility in a sea of desert". Thus at the very outset the author touches his keynote, namely, that the soil of the desert is very fertile and what it needs is the magic touch of water to bring out its amazing fertility.

Throughout the book his one aim has been to show us how man has been occupied from the earliest time in this great struggle with the adverse forces of climate and soil, and how the master-mind that has transmuted ores into metals has finally succeeded in many parts of the globe in converting the desert into a garden.

In a couple of chapters he deals with the general methods of irrigation and some of their advantages. And after giving a short survey of the irrigation systems of the Ancient World, he takes us on a tour round the globe to study Modern Irrigation.

In our wanderings through the Sahara we hear the creaking of the rope against the pulley and the incessant trickling of the streams. We notice how the old Basin system of Irrigation on the Nile has been made perennial by the modern Barrage and Canals. We cross many oases abounding in date palms and reach the shores of the Mediterranean.

Here our eyes are captivated with the terrace and "huerta" gardening of Spain, and the famous "fontanili" of Italy. We are surprised at the glacial irrigation in the Swiss uplands, and the Tidal Irrigation of Shat-al-Arab, which supports the largest area of Mesopotamian date cultivation. And we cannot

overlook the most perfect Irrigation by Gravity in the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

As we proceed eastwards through Persia and Mongolia we notice a considerable number of oases and some terrace irrigation. The deep loess of China is studded with water-holes, and cut up into blocks by rivers so that water has to be lifted for irrigation.

Then we pass on through Alaska to the rich loam of Canada, where water-logging and "alkali spots" are prevented by proper drainage. We find the same troubles in the United States, where the surface is further carved into cañons, so that Storage Reservoirs and wells with pumps are a common feature of irrigation here.

Through Mexico we cross over to South America, where our wondering gaze once again meets the terrace cultivation on the alluvial fans, and the "desert oases". We pass through Argentine with clouds of locusts above our head, and we are naturally surprised when we are told that it has abundant harvests and world trade for its products.

We cross the high seas and land in Australia, only to discover that it is one great artesian basin. Due to its brackish nature, however, the artesian water is rarely used for irrigation.

And when we come to India we find that it possesses the greatest irrigation works in the world—storage reservoirs and take-off canals in the North, tanks in the South, and wells everywhere.

At last we return home and show to our dearest

ones the reminiscences of our world tour. Among the many, we prize most the dates of Mesopotamia, the oranges of Sevilla, the raisins of Valencia, the almonds of Alicante, the wine of Oporto, and the Rose of Sharon. And there are some works of engineering skill which we shall never forget; for instance, to give you only a solitary instance, who can ever forget that giant wheel in Syris, which lifts water into an aqueduct 70 feet high?

The above is a summary of only the irrigation systems in the world. Besides, this book contains exhaustive information on various other subjects. The reader will be astonished with the vast knowledge of History and Geography he has acquired from its perusal. And the young irrigation engineer will have learned plenty of useful Geology and Botany from it. The book is really interesting and very instructive.

Only at times the author forgets himself, and goes into such minute details of History and Administration, that we actually forget we are reading a book on Irrigation. And he might have avoided unnecessary repetition, of which, I am afraid, there is too much.

The author has very cleverly combined the rise and fall of the Great Empires with the flourish and decline of their agriculture. And in his concluding lines he advises us to go "forward to the land" and not "back to the land" if we want our country to prosper.

G. N. GOKHALE.

## EARLY COLONIAL POLICY OF ENGLAND.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. Ed. by J. HOLLAND ROSE, A. P. NEWTON and E. A. BENIANS. Vol. I. The Old Empire from the Beginnings to 1783. (Cambridge University Press.) 1929. 25cm. 931p. 35/-.

THIS Cambridge History of the British Empire has been planned in eight volumes, of which the first three will relate to the general history of British imperial expansion and policy, the next two volumes will form part of the *Cambridge History of India* (Vols. V and VI) and deal with modern India, and the last three will take up the separate histories of the self-governing Dominions. Great interest naturally centres now upon the British Commonwealth of Nations in which, according to Mr. Curtis, "government rests on all the shoulders of all its citizens who are fit for government" and whose very nature and purpose ought to be to enlarge that class. The Empire, it may be prophesied with absolute certainty, cannot endure, "unless it can realise its character as a Commonwealth in time, by extending the burden and control of its supreme functions to every community which it recognises as fit for responsible government." The discretionary power of the Empire to recognise the degree and amount of potentiality and fitness to enjoy responsible government that may be the possession of any part of the Commonwealth, may be and is being questioned by a growing number of people. But the fundamental conception of an

enduring Commonwealth and of its essential attributes remains the same. And we are glad that the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have taken in hand the scheme of a comprehensive history of the British Empire, following the plan of the *Cambridge Modern History* and similar series and utilising the talents and contributions of many specialists and scholars in the different parts of the subject.

This volume covers the first phase of British imperial expansion down to the disruption of America whose schism however did not lead to a positive set-back in the history of freedom, as was feared, the people of the U.S.A. assuming responsibility for the guarantee of freedom throughout the American continent. The present volume deals with the growth of the first British Empire when the centre of imperial gravity lay across the Atlantic, and the foundations of the eastern and tropical empires had only just been laid.

The volume deals, first, with the maritime record of the English race from 1485 to 1569 when the epoch of Anglo-Spanish hostility was inaugurated and then with the typical Elizabethan era of colonisation dominated by interests of commerce with America. Dr. Holland Rose tells us clearly the progress of sea-power for which England possessed great natural advantages and illustrates the vital connection between national unity at home and

colonial security. The influx of large numbers of emigrants to America in the epoch of 1618-1648, which Professor Newton calls the "Great Emigration", was not merely accidentally coincidental with the struggle of the Thirty Years' War; but in the New England settlements the effects of European events were only indirect, and English domestic troubles exerted most influence. Even as early as this period New England saw the establishment of a confederation of colonies for defence against the Indians, the Dutch and the French. The present claim of the superior white races to exercise a beneficent and parental control over coloured and less advanced races, had, even in the 17th century, its counterpart, as described by Mr. Headlam, in the denial by some jurists to pagan inhabitants the possibility of sovereign rights over their territories. The well-marked difference between the colonial regulations of the early Stuarts and the Navigation Acts of Cromwell and later shows the emergence of the importance of the naval power and the foundation of imperial unity upon an economic basis. Soon after the emergence of a definite policy as regards the colonies in administration, acts of trade and navigation, there began also to operate those centrifugal forces which made the colonies separate organisms with peculiar aspirations and interests. This was largely due to the birth of a colonial-born generation and the assimilation of foreign strains in the colonies, while some colonies like New York were made cosmopolitan in character by accidents of history. While from 1660 for more than a century the Home Government viewed the Plantation as a source of raw materials and tropical products, there was no attempt at all made to adapt colonial administration to the changing conditions of colonial life, nor to formulate any fundamental principles of colonial policy. British policy towards the colonies was moulded by the conceptions of the Mercantile System; and even Burke wrote: "There is no situation in which wealth is not strength, and commerce is not wealth." This was in 1762; and even statesmen like Chatham were the products of this influence. The tendency to measure colonial values by commercial, and not human, standards set the West Indies above the New England and Middle Colonies and resulted in the development of slavery and the preference for slave colonies. Even such a mind as Burke's valued Guadeloupe with its slave plantations more than half the continent of North America.

Another fundamental defect of the old system was that, while it left the internal affairs of the colony to the control of its own assembly, it included overseas trade as forming part of imperial affairs as if internal development is not inseparably connected with external trade. Colonial loyalty to the home country declined owing to want of exercise; and the growth to maturity of colonial assemblies was bound to produce conflicts with the integrity of the prerogatives of the Colonial Governors and of the Orders-in-Council.

The chapter on the Constitution of the Empire from Bacon to Blackstone is interesting as it shows

the advances made by writers like Berkeley on the conception of the Empire as a gigantic commercial agency; but the growing strength of the English idea of the omnipotence of Parliament was bound to come into conflict with the concepts of natural law and the contractual theory of government which formed the chief dialectic weapons of the Americans. The political theory of the American Revolution was cradled in the Protestant and democratic theory of the Reformation and built on Locke's ideas. The general causes which made it difficult for the English and the Americans to understand one another were numerous and profound; "many of them have been removed by the passage of time," according to the high authority of Trevelyan, "while on the other hand the difference of race is much greater today." The story of the war is supplemented by a chapter on the literature and the social life of the old Empire. We are asked, by the study of America's struggle for independence, to note the lesson that an Empire need not necessarily fall to pieces when it has become great and that the U.S.A. has "an inspiring lesson to offer to the second British Empire which has grown up since that event"; and in its own growth and solidarity it has shown that "an indefinite number of States may be held together in a union which has not the radical defects of the old colonial system."

The real contribution of the Americans to the cause of freedom has thus been the effective union of all their States in a large commonwealth and in the efforts and sacrifices by which the unity of that commonwealth has been preserved.

The volume contains a large amount of useful and recondite matter regarding the colonial policy of England and the working of the Committees of Trade, as well as about the European wars of the 17th and 18th centuries which so largely increased the complexity of the system, while due notice has been taken of the concepts of international law that were developed during the period. The galaxy of the authors who have collaborated in the production of this volume is striking, in spite of Death having snatched away two, Professors Eger-ton and Alvord. The bibliography is strikingly full, particularly as regards official sources preserved in the national, colonial and foreign archives. We wish however that the general tone of treatment was less dominated by a sense of self-satisfaction which unconsciously helps in the strengthening of the idea that the British Commonwealth (of Whites) is the best of all possible dispensations.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

#### MULTIPLE PERSONALITY.

**THE HUMAN FACTOR IN INDUSTRY AND POLITICS. AN APPEAL TO THE CHURCHES.** By ALFRED HOOK. (King.) 1929. 22cm. 211p. 8/6.

THE book is written in the interest of peace and goodwill in the world and the principal thesis of the author is that it is only by understanding human nature that our difficulties in industry and politics can be got over. It is the ignoring of the

human factor that has caused the present unrest in industry and instability in politics, in his opinion. The first half of the book is for this reason devoted to an analysis of the psychology of man, based on the doctrine of evolution, tracing things back even to inorganic nature. Although the nature of the sub-human animal throws light on the psychology of man we believe the author has pursued the former inquiry too far for the purpose of the book. The author's theory of will in man is distinctly fatalistic since he says that if a particular act of man is undesirable or criminal the whole man should not be blamed and labelled as a bad man or a criminal; it need hardly be said that this theory is fatal to all sense of moral responsibility. He bases his advocacy of toleration and forgiveness on this fatalism. One key-notion in the author's treatment of modern problems is that of a dual or even a multiple personality in one individual man; he explains it as the result of two or more codes of conduct, the religious code, the social code, the business code and so forth. If therefore life appears as a mosaic of disconnected activities, not forming parts of a coherent series of actions we ought not to be surprised; in fact a patchwork of inconsistencies is in his opinion the normal feature of all our lives. Religion and education, the author regards as the two formative agents affecting character. Referring to the former in Great Britain he advises the clergy to refrain altogether from taking sides in those things which divide men and set their face against instilling a particular theology in the minds of children: this we think is a sound piece of advice. He wishes for a new Church which might recognize the place it might fill in human life by constant encouragement of sympathetic laymen instead of antagonising them by formularies, ritual, doctrines which they regard as of little importance. So far as the effect of education has been to produce a notion that an educated class was superior to a working class the author deploras it. He also deprecates the misapplied education of to-day which wastes energy on subnormal children which should be drafted into practical work and mechanical subjects. Very few however will agree with the author when he says that even in secondary education a much larger place should be given to practical and technical as distinct from purely mental training. In the University he regards the classical education as unsuited to a democratic society and expresses his preference for Mathematics and Science.

Most of the puzzles in industry would be solved if people realize that both employers and the employees are the product of their present experience reacting upon their social heritage and are not perverse in any peculiar sense. The remedy in the opinion of Mr. Alfred Hook is to change the experiences and ideas which create the particular psychology or 'personality' as he calls it of the opposing classes. In other words the employed man should be continuously taught to see the position of industry from the employer's point of view by placing before him statements about the output, the unit cost of production, the unit profit or loss and like items; only that he stipulates for truth or honesty in all the statements made. One very good advice given by the author is that those who are not concerned with the dispute should not take sides "crying out for the overwhelming victory of one of the parties." The description he has given of the sense of insecurity as the most powerful factor making for industrial unrest is admirable in its psychological analysis and deserves to be carefully thought out by the employing class. So far as the unrest is due to the monopoly of material things in the 'standard of life' of the masses the remedy is according to him to train the child to find satisfaction in immaterial

things; in this sphere the Church ought to do a great deal by insisting on a spiritual standard of values so that desires may not spring so easily as they do according to current standards. One almost thinks that Mr. Hook is taking a leaf out of the book of the Eastern seer and prophet—all the same there is a modicum of truth in his suggestion. He does not believe in the deprivation of the wealthy as a means of eliminating the desires of the poorer classes; in other words, he has no faith in the spoliation proposed by communism. As for unemployment insurance he regards it only as a palliative and not a remedy; the ordinary man would not work if his position is secure. In order to induce the workers to produce more he suggests that the employer should restrict his own drawings to a reasonable remuneration for the work of management and a fixed rate of interest and use the balance for creating a Fund for equalizing dividends as well as wages so that they may not be reduced in times of depression; this is an excellent suggestion which ought to find favour with the employers and financiers. The range of higher salaries of the manager class is in his opinion too great relatively to the wage of the ordinary worker and ought to be curtailed in order to remove a sense of hostility on the side of the worker.

In the sphere of politics the author applies his theory of double personality in order to inculcate tolerance and understanding. We must not test the political actions of a party leader by our private standards but must judge him by our own political standard; the politician is the product of his experiences and does not lie or deceive because he is fond of falsehood but because it is a means to some end which he desires in virtue of his 'political personality.' Of course such a philosophy runs counter to all the teaching of Gladstone, Morley and their school. In any case there is much pungent criticism in the author's delineation of the present political system in Great Britain. The only thing that reconciles us to the party system, he says, is the knowledge that no other system would work in Britain. The principle that the will of the majority must prevail is not dominant in the minds of the citizens; what ought to be done is to inculcate in the young the principle of honesty as the test of all our actions and he calls upon the Church to teach a new conception of truth and honour to the community. The deadening influence of the party system ought to be put an end to by permeating existing parties with an idea of promoting national interests instead of sectional interests. Finally the author expresses the hope that a recognition of our own limitations as well as those of other men will bring men together in mutual tolerance by understanding the human factor in matters industrial as well as political. Although we do not agree with a large portion of the author's psychological theory, especially with his notion of the multiple personality in man, we accept most of his practical conclusions which are based upon an intimate knowledge of the present industrial and political problems. His suggestions display a vigorous commonsense and are actuated by fine feeling about social welfare. His appeal to the Churches to take a leading part in the task of reconciliation ought not to go unheeded.

V. N. G.

#### BUDDHA'S OWN TEACHINGS.

GOTAMA THE MAN. By C. A. F. RYHS DAVIDS.  
(Luzac.) 1928. 17cm. 302p. 3/6.

IN spite of the fact that bookstalls are already flooded with lives of Gotama the *Buddha* by different authors, this new book cannot be called super-

fluous as it "aims to get nearer the truth about the life and worth of its subject" by dealing with Gotama the *Man*. Coming from the pen of one, who, herself a veteran scholar, was wedded to the late renowned Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids, the work would be hailed with a sense of pleasure and expectation by all students of Buddhism, some of whom are likely to be shocked to see their Teacher divested of all his superhuman attributes, and the old records being treated with the greatest scepticism about their veracity. But the rationally-minded reader will have patience enough to go through its pages, for the first prophet of rationalism was none else than Buddha.

The author tells us in the beginning that the book "deals with the *message* itself. The man is here... there is no *system* of metaphysics or of ethics; here is what we call religion;" and in order that we should feel like men who had come in contact with the Buddha 2500 years ago and received his message, the author has given an autobiographical form to the work. She makes Gotama the Buddha himself speak to us from a *deva*-world.

It would not surprise anyone if the faithful looked upon this contrivance as no less than sacrilege. For it presupposes that the Buddha did not attain Nirvana but that he still lives in another body in another world! Mrs. Rhys Davids tells us that the way to the Home (she does not tell us how it is like) "finishes not with any earth-life, no matter how holy it may have been."

In the opening chapter Gotama tells us how the *Tripitaka* books contain a good deal of supergrowth, and describes the education he received at home, the influence of the caravans' wander-lust upon his mind and how he saw sickness, old age and death in the same man—his description being somewhat at variance with the Scriptures. Here the author brings to light one more aspect of his Great Renunciation: she says that the hero did not steal out of his house, that he rode forth attended by his retinue and went to Vesāli to study the new doctrine of *Vardhamāna* (Mahāvira). But she does not quote any satisfactory authority in support of her new theory.

She has likewise made many statements which are not in keeping with the Pali Canon and in support of which she has not quoted sound authority throughout the body of the book. A few instances will suffice. (1) She says on p. 13 that Gotama was not sheltered in a luxurious way when adolescent as described in the Scriptures. (2) About Gotama's worsening of the body she says, "The books make too much of it." (3) They tell us that Gotama's ascetic friends esteemed him the less because he had given up austerities. She says this is untrue. (4) According to the Books, the Buddha called the way to the cessation of misery as *Patipadā* (path), the author would have us believe that it was *maṃṃā* (way). (5) On p. 103 Gotama is made to tell us that his companion Annā Kondanna was not the same as one of the Brahmins who had visited him when he was an infant and that the story of Vappa's waiting for years is a fable.

In Chap. III, after going through his various attempts to seek the Well of mankind, Gotama is made to name the special features of his revelation. He truly says that the way of his time and country was that everything was prescribed beforehand. Prescribed were the ways by which he might come to honour in this world; prescribed were the ways by which he might reach safety hereafter. The mandate given to Gotama was of *morquill* (one of the quaint words coined by the author) to judge for himself without going through the prescribed mantras and forms.

Gotama thought over this mandate or message

on the Way and Wayfaring, and the author, discarding his first message as reproduced in the *Tripitaka*, reconstructs it from his memory (i. e. her own imagination). The message thus reconstructed (p. 42) is very simple—Evasion of the two extremes, self-mortification and self-indulgence and the four Noble Truths.

The much-encrusted version of this message in the *Tripitaka* is ably discussed by the author. She thinks that the original message did not use the word *Tathāgata*; and that Gotama did not think of ills while speaking about the four Truths, but of happiness.

Her contention in Chap. IV that "the very worthless addition on *anattā*, the non-self," was made to the Buddha's teaching later on by the monks ought to rouse excitement among the orthodox circles of the Buddhists, for the theory is one of the fundamentals of modern Buddhism. But the author has taken great pains to show how it came to be there owing to the different connotations of the word *attā* (Ātman). The Buddhist theory of rebirth without a continuous self or soul appears to reason to be untenable. Many are the feats of logic the Buddhists have to practise in the defending Rebirth by the law of Karma without there being a self-same link of the sufferer's existences. The analogies of lighting a lamp from another, or a river's flow being called the same though the particles of water are continually changing are often quoted to prove that there is no necessity of continued existence of the self (*attā*). Mrs. Rhys Davids thinks that this absurd theory is an overgrowth. She calls the soul, spirit or self as Man or the man-in-man (in the case of women, the man-in-woman). The author shows the debt to Sāṅkhya (printed throughout with an ending long *ā*) which Gotama was in; she denounces the way in which the later monks regarded the man as a bundle of five *khandhas*. She happily describes rapt musing (*jhāna*) as seeking to lesson man's ills by concentrating on man as being virtually in another world.

On p. 87, many revelations are made to the lay reader; e. g. the very centre of the Buddha's teaching was the man as wayfarer through the worlds; it was the Jains who made Karma their chief mandate and the Brahmins had to absorb it in their philosophy\*; and Yajñavalkya's Upanishad was compiled in Buddha's time.

In Chapters VI and IX, the author introduces us to the fellow-workers and disciples of the Buddha, who had the "Way-message" as the thing nearest their hearts and who had made him their "word-willer". She says that they had had no greater reverence for him than that—a discovery not too palatable to be swallowed by the good Buddhists of today. Gotama tells the author that in the beginning he and his companions had got no wish to be monks; that for a year they had decided to remain laymen and that they took robes through the insistence of Koṭṭhita a Brahmin. Mrs. Rhys Davids's Gotama does not speak too guardedly when he passes the following remarks on his disciples:

"They were often lazy, worldly, quarrelsome, impure; too much given to esteeming the monk as such, independently of his worth; too anxious for the favour of a laity which they rated as inferior to their own worth" (p. 91).

That this remark is not exaggerated is fully borne out by the Vinaya texts. This was the natural sequence of allowing any man promiscuously to become a member of the Sangha.

Gotama's special service to the laymen of his day was, the author tells us, that he taught man as

\*He tells us later that for him *abimsā* was not a central word as it was with the Jains (p. 116).

being rightly his own priest. "He ranked the man here as not inferior to the Brahman. Man was thus the worder of his own gospel. Woman did not count save as an instrument of passion and as mother!"

The short notes on different women-disciples of the Buddha in Chap. IX are very instructive. Gotama may rightly be regarded as a pioneer of female emancipation, albeit according to his own ideals.

A passage in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* (Digha Nikaya I) is corrected by the author on p. 153. The passage tells us of the power of a recluse to call up a 'mental body'—a miniature likeness of one's form. She accuses the Tripitaka writers of having altered the Buddha's wording like other unworthy editors. But on p. 162 she herself calls up certain verses from her Gotama's memory although they were never before recorded to have been uttered by him, and similarly in many places tries to correct the original passages to make them fit in with her ideas of the real teaching of the Buddha. Why she should deny equal liberty to the Bhikkhus, one cannot comprehend.

Chapters VII and VIII give us a graphic account of the work and the tendencies at work within the Sangha. Gotama summarises his philosophy by saying: "The worth of life lies in man's will in choosing the better; not in man being a nothing." He summarises his religion by saying that the life of man is a way to the goal and not a going out into *not-life* (p. 119). He complains that the monks have turned his positive teaching upside down, and a negative word is made the characteristic note of his philosophy. The influence upon Buddhism of Zoroaster, who taught the Highest as the Good and from whom the Brahman brothers of the Sangha had imported the Fire-cult, will interest the reader, though one may not readily believe in what the author says about it.

In Chap. X, Gotama again accuses his monks of having misrepresented him on many points, especially on his ideas of having to pass through many Worlds before reaching the Goal. The four Brahma-viharas, he tells us, were first popularised by a Brahman named Manda. Here he adds, "A Brahman as such would never have taught nor professed the catholic or universal goodwill to all men . . . without caste limitations"—a statement not based on sound investigation. We are informed for the first time that Manda's gospel is ascribed to Buddha. But how are we to accept this piece of discovery when we have no other authority than the "monk-word"?

In Chap. XIII, Buddha feels that he is losing respect as a teacher. All his surroundings had now changed. We meet with new names, such as, Rāhula, Ānanda, Kassapa and others. The monk, more than the man, is respected. The aged Buddha describes his condition in the wane of his life in the following happy lines composed by Mrs. Rhys Davids; and it is interesting to note that they would now, 2472 years after the passing away of that Great Man, be aptly repeated by another great Indian who is in his declining years and influence:—

The men of the day that is past, they now are gone.  
The new men are not in accord with me.  
When weighty things are said they listen not.  
When the man speaks they give him no esteem.  
A worthy teacher have they yet in me,  
Yet do they no more take me as their guide.  
More is the honour to my person paid,  
But no more honour to the things we said.

Chapter XVI describes the Buddha's passing away from the earth. The author wishes Gotama to utter his last message differently than as quoted in the Scriptures. Her Gotama emphasizes 'the Way in the Worlds', and instead of attaining the much

cherished Nirvāna enters a new young body in another world!

The style of the book is racy, but often it is quaint. A good many new words have been coined by the author, chiefly of Saxon origin. Though the words sound strange, they are connotative; e. g. *withoutness*; *More-knowledge*, *wanderyears*; *very man*; *world-willing*; *brotherman*; *more-worthing*; *man-in-man*; *monkworthing*; *m-rewording*; *likeable*; and dozens of others. Although technical, the book is sure to interest the layman.

Mrs. Rhys Davids must be congratulated upon the fortitude with which she has set to winnow modern Buddhist philosophy—a work at which women are better adepts than men. Let her theories not be blindly accepted or fanatically rejected, but be carefully sifted and 'worthing'. We hope she will be spared long to add more and more valuable treatises on Buddha's religion to her already long list.

C. V. JOSHI.

#### SHORT NOTICES.

**SOCRATES IN AN INDIAN VILLAGE.** By F. L. BRAYNE. (Oxford University Press.) 1929. 21cm. 130p. Rs. 4/-.

THE book is a record of hypothetical conversations of Socrates—who is in fact the author—with the villagers of the Gurgaon District, where the author spent several years as Deputy Commissioner of the District. Of course the arguments in the book were used actually by the author on numerous occasions, during his conversations with the villagers.

In each conversation Socrates brings out some fault, some bad practice of the villagers or some inconsistency of behaviour, with logical argument and in plain blunt speech. No side of the villagers' life is left untouched. The social and religious customs of the villagers, their ideas about morality, their educational and economic conditions, all form subjects of the conversations of Socrates with the villagers. Agricultural improvements, the co-operative movement, sanitation and public health—all find place in the subjects discussed. The evils of early marriage, the effects of illiteracy, the insanitary conditions prevailing in the villages, the unimproved and crude methods of cultivation, are very forcefully brought out in these conversations. But, as it has been well pointed out by Lord Irwin in his Foreword, "We must not forget Lowes Dickinson's immortal John Chinaman, who demonstrates so wittily and effectively that what an Englishman calls white a Chinaman would call black and that neither is obviously right or wrong."

The book shows how an official with broader and sympathetic outlook along with his official work can usefully use his influence with the rayats in awakening them and creating in them desire to learn and improve.

The book gives some idea of the wholesale awakening of the cultivators of the Gurgaon District who are ready to listen, experiment, and improve themselves mainly through the influence, practical demonstrations and help of Mr. Brayne, the author of the present book.

Lord Irwin very strongly recommends the book in his able Foreword. The glossary of the Hindustani words used in the text will be found very useful. The book is very opportune and would be found useful by the social workers working in rural areas in other parts of India.

N. V. K.

**SRI MADHWA: HIS LIFE AND DOCTRINE.** By C. R. KRISHNA RAO. (The Author, Udipi.) 1929. 24cm. 159p. Rs. 2/—

MADHWA is regarded as one of the greatest Vaishnavite reformers, being the founder of the *Sad Sampradaya*. He strongly denounced Sankara's theory of the world being an illusion and went one step further than Ramanuja by declaring that the Lord and the Universe were distinct. Madhwa's philosophy is founded on logic and grammar and starts with a five-fold hypothesis known as the five eternal distinctions. These are the differences between (1) God and souls, (2) God and matter, (3) souls and matter, (4) souls *inter se* and (5) particles of matter *inter se*. According to him God can be known only through the Vedas, and the world that we see around us is real. He divided souls into three classes:—(1) those destined for the abode of bliss, (2) those destined to be reborn, and (3) those doomed to perdition. A religious philosophy so highly complex is not likely to be easily understood and the author deserves to be congratulated on having produced a commentary on Madhwa's doctrine which is free from discussions of abstruse metaphysical questions. He has certainly spared no pains to make the book readable. His criticisms of the earlier writers on Madhwa are interesting though his refutation of their arguments, specially those of Mr. C. M. P. Achar and Professor S. Radhakrishnan do not appear to be quite convincing. On the whole the book is likely to be a valuable addition to the Vaishnava literature in English.

A. B. N. SINHA.

(Continued from p. 495)

India is convinced that it is only by the cultivation of the Western spirit that she can realise her ideals and Sir Phiroze is certain that India's attitude towards Western civilisation is one of appreciation and that she wants to assimilate all that is best in it for her own development. He says truly that internationalism is not new in India; in fact the unity of all created beings is the cardinal doctrine of her philosophy and he believes that the League of Nations will find in her a great tower of strength; but the mind of modern India has realised that internationalism without nationalism is a source of great weakness. Sir Phiroze Sethna also emphasizes that India has become fully alive to the need of purifying and improving her social system and she is attempting to redress every social wrong. He repudiates the charge that the Hindus are 'slaves of gods'; nevertheless the purification of the religious life is an item in the all-pervasive Indian reform movement. Finally he pleads for a better appreciation of the mind of modern India, for India will be the greatest instrument of Providence for bringing together the Eastern and the Western civilisations. "Can any one doubt", he asks, "that India's future evolution is a matter of supreme importance to the world?"

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE MONEY ILLUSION.** By IRVING FISHER. (Allen & Unwin.) 20cm. 245p. 7/6.  
**THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD.** By JAMES DREVER and MARGARET DRUMMOND. (Patridge, London.) 23cm. 222p. 6/-.  
**GOLD AND THE FUTURE.** By W. L. P. KNIGHT. (Headley Brothers, London.) 1928. 22cm. 112p. 7/6.

**INDUSTRIAL WELFARE IN INDIA.** By P. S. LAKSHMINATHAN. (University of Madras.) 1929. 24cm. 222p.  
**MY BEST TEACHERS.** By JAMES ARTHUR DUPRE. (Meador Publishing Co., Boston.) 1929. 22cm. 324p. \$3.50.

**THE LIBRARY MOVEMENT.** (Madras Library Association.) 1929. 22cm. 173p. Rs. 2.

**A PRIMER OF HINDUISM.** By D. S. SARMA. (Macmillan, Bombay.) 1929. 20cm. 147p. Rs. 1.

**THE GROWTH OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION.** 3rd Edn. By B. G. SAPRE. (Author, Sangli.) 1929. 20cm. 548p. Rs. 4.

**THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE PROBLEM.** (National Industrial Conference Board, New York.) 1929. 23cm. 167p. \$3.50.

**THE ILLUSION OF THE CHARKA.** By ANILBARAN RAY. (Arya Sahitya Bhawan, Calcutta.) 1929. 19cm. 87p.

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