

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Meeting Face to Face.

THE Round Table Conference offered by the British Government presents such a splendid opportunity to our leaders to meet the Cabinet Ministers, pleads Mr. Jayakar, that in his opinion it ought not to be missed on any account. The stipulation of any terms as conditions precedent to the Conference would, he fears, only end in a stalemate, which must be avoided at all costs. This in brief is Mr. Jayakar's objection to the Delhi Manifesto, which he has explained to Pandit Motilal Nehru in answer to the latter's invitation to go to Delhi to take counsel with men belonging to other parties. The advantages of such face to face conversations cannot be overrated, and we very much deplore the inability of the Bombay leaders who value personal interviews with Cabinet Ministers so highly to give to the leaders assembled in Delhi the advantage of a personal talk with themselves. Mr. Jayakar was of course too ill, but none of the other leaders of his persuasion found it possible to go to Delhi either. This was rather unfortunate. For they would at all events have made one discovery if they had taken part in the conversations that there is no difference of substance between themselves and at any rate some of the leaders assembled there like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The latter has already made it clear that the Delhi manifesto is not meant by him to lay down any conditions precedent. Others may read another meaning into it and hold themselves bound by the conditions which they imagine the Manifesto contains. Surely, Mr. Jayakar and those who think with him may make some allowance for the preference which at an All-Parties meeting some party may feel for making the resolutions mutually agreed upon a little more absolute in appearance than they are in truth meant to be. But the thing that really

matters is not the form of words used but the substance, and on that Mr. Jayakar and others may rest assured there is hardly any difference. There is no fear of a stalemate coming about unless of course Government is absolutely unreasonable. It is now an open secret that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who feel exactly like Mr. Jayakar, were able by their participation in the Delhi meeting to render very valuable help to those Congress leaders who are exerting a restraining influence. It is a thousand pities that Mr. Jayakar, Mr. Jinnah and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad could not raise their own powerful voices at this conference, which would perhaps have enabled Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to persuade the leaders to adopt a different formula incapable on its face of being interpreted in the way in which the terms of the manifesto are being interpreted in certain quarters.

Defection in Poona.

THERE is apparently a widespread feeling in Congress circles that Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru fell victims to the blandishments of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Pandit Malaviya at Delhi and Allahabad, and the younger section seems bent in some places upon weaning their leaders betimes from the pernicious influence of the "Moderates." The non-co-operator cubs of Poona, e.g., held a public meeting on Saturday last at which a fierce attack was made on the Liberal leaders and Mahatma Gandhi himself was not too gently handled. To the Mahatma, the President declared, they owed utter devotion and attachment, but after all the country was greater than all the Mahatmas put together and when these went astray and forgot their past pledges it was their painful duty to dethrone them from their leadership and hold them rigidly to the promises which they had made in terms which do not admit of any prevarication. These critics interpret the Calcutta resolution literally and insist that nothing but the actual establishment of full self-government within the next five weeks could possibly release Mahatma Gandhi from the obligation which he has incurred by not merely supporting but himself proposing the Calcutta resolution. Not even a definite promise of self-government, supposing it were to be implemented a day later than December 31, would absolve Mahatma Gandhi to whom all vows are sacred from the inception of the passive resistance movement to which he has committed the Congress. And the Viceroy's declaration, however favourable an interpretation be put upon it, is very different indeed from a definite promise. It is not even a vague promise to establish a system of full self-government in the near future. The Round Table Conference itself, which is to discuss the degree of self-government that can be conceded, is to take place some time in 1931. The Bill that is to emerge from these discussions is to be referred to the Joint Select Committee of Parliament.

with power to drive a coach and four through the scheme that may be agreed upon at the Conference, thus denying India's right of self-determination. The new procedure, which is hailed with such rejoicings by Mahatma Gandhi, will thus issue possibly in 1932 in a truncated measure of reform having no sort of resemblance to the self-government postulated by the Calcutta resolution. The "conditions precedent" mentioned by the Mahatma, which are being already explained away, even if fully carried out, will not help in enlarging the scope of the measure. Thus argue some of the quondam disciples of Mahatma Gandhi. What vexes them most is that a man of his sanctity should take his promises so lightly. If perhaps at the last Congress he had argued that some time must necessarily elapse before steps are actually taken to give effect to Dominion Status and the resolution had been more loosely worded the considerations now put forward might perhaps have appeared valid to them. But the resolution being rigid and cast-iron in its form left Congressmen no loophole whatever and placed upon them an inescapable duty of initiating civil disobedience on the morning of 1st January if by the midnight of Dec. 31 full self-government was not established. The logic of these critics is unanswerable. The only mistake they make is to ignore the fact that Mahatma Gandhi too is, as we said some time ago, a realist politician, in spite of all his idealism. We do not think that the Mahatma will be unduly alarmed by this revolt from his authority.

Maharaja of Patiala on India's Future.

HIS Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, speaking recently at a banquet given in honour of his birthday, has welcomed the Conference foreshadowed by the Viceroy's announcement because it would enable the Princes to have their say in the final settlement of the question of the future Indian constitution. His Highness's grumble at the body of Princes not feeling itself to be the gainer by its unflinching loyalty has probably a reference to the Butler Report which instead of placating the Princes had riveted the supremacy of the Paramount Power more firmly than ever. It is good that His Highness the Maharaja deprecates the holding of a separate Conference with the Princes and welcomes a joint conference at which both the leaders in British India and representatives of Indian States would participate at one sitting. In such case friendly negotiations can be pursued with better effect than in the case of separate conferences. No one can quarrel with the desire of the Indian Princes to which His Highness has given expression, to be masters in their house but it must be remembered that in that case the question of the rights of the subjects of the Princes will not bear shirking and will assume a greater importance than now when they are controlled by the Government of India. His Highness the Maharaja naturally expressed his nervousness at the widening of the terms of reference of the Simon Commission since so far as the States are concerned they had only British evidence and the evidence collected by the Butler Committee to go upon. This is certainly a serious grievance and unfortunately there is no possibility of recording fresh evidence with regard to India as a whole. H. H. the Maharaja recommended a Federal Constitution in which the States as well British India would be autonomous States having the position assigned to the various members of the British Commonwealth in a resolution passed at the last Imperial Conference. We doubt whether any Indian leader could be induced to concede this position unless guarantees were provided by statute for the recognition and upholding of the elementary rights of the subjects of the States; failing this the subjects

would be simply handed over to the tender mercies of the Princes,

Ban on Mr. Saklatwala.

MR. SAKLATWALA has been elected by the London branch of the Congress to represent it at the coming session of that body in India and it is monstrous that he should be prevented from setting foot in his own mother country to take part in the deliberations of a well-known political organization by the refusal of a passport. In his protest urging the removal of the ban Mr. Saklatwala has characterized the refusal as an unwarrantable invasion of the rights of a British citizen and, what is more, an interference with his duties to his relations in India. Considering the past professions of the Labour Party we thought it would behave better in this matter than the Conservatives who started the affair in 1927. The argument of the *Daily Express* that Mr. Saklatwala represents nobody in England except himself can hardly have any weight attached to it since he has been properly elected by an Indian organization in England and Englishmen can have nothing to do with the business. The same journal further contends that in special circumstances the curtailment of individual liberty in the interests of public good is justifiable; but surely Indians have a right to know what these circumstances are. So far nothing has been vouchsafed to them in this connection. The only sin of Mr. Saklatwala appears to be his label of a communist but communism is openly professed in various States of Europe and the mere fact of holding certain opinions should not disqualify a person from visiting his own native land and perhaps addressing a few political meetings. We do not see what can be the objection to his speeches in India as long as he keeps within the four corners of the law and keeps to the standard set by public opinion. The only way to prevent the various speculations that might be indulged in, is to publish the reasons which have led the Secretary of State to decide upon what is regarded as an unjustifiable curtailment of the liberty of a citizen to move within the bounds of the British Empire.

European Attitude towards future Constitution.

WE are of opinion that Col. Crawford's example of having a frank exchange of opinions with Indian audiences should be widely followed by his confreres all over India. In the address delivered by him at a public meeting held in Gokhale hall, Madras, during the week he explained the attitude of the European Association in very temperate language and his tone in replying to the several searching questions put to him at his own request was admirable. Referring to the Viceroy's pronouncement he said that the Britishers did not wish that there should be any misunderstanding about the Declaration of 1917 and consequently they welcomed it. Every one will agree with Col. Crawford that no constitution could work in India unless they could get all interests to co-operate in the working thereof. This does not mean however that minorities in India have a right to block the way. We are glad to be assured that the European Association was not antagonistic to Indian aspirations, and that in their criticisms they meant well. Nor would Indians deny that a powerful European opposition in the future Legislatures ought to be welcomed as a guarantee that power would not be abused by the party having a numerical majority. Col. Crawford naturally took great credit to the European Association for their cable to the Secretary of State which he pointed out had been used as a trump card in dealing with troublesome people in Parliament.

Articles.

THE CASE FOR INDIA.*

IT is a sign of the times that the number of books appreciative of the Indian point of view and placing before the British public the real state of things in India is increasing; and Mr. J. S. Hoyland's book must be counted one of the number. In this book he lays bare the Indian psychology and its characteristic expressions in the field of politics which he has discovered as a result of his contact with thousands of educated Indians; and we must give him credit for having shown a wonderful understanding of the Indian ways of thinking many of which are puzzling to the average European. So far as the present situation is concerned, the fount of mischief is in Mr. Hoyland's opinion the Englishman's lack of interest in India and his insular and self-sufficient outlook and its logical consequence the callous discourtesy of his demeanour. If better relationships are to be established the first move must come from the side of England and he calls upon the English to undertake the responsibility for a *rapprochement* with a people "so readily influenced by generosity and friendliness as the Indian. Speaking of the significance of Mr. Gandhi in the national movement, he warns the Britisher against supposing that he is a nationalist after the Western pattern; "his vision of that kingdom which gains its ends of righteousness and freedom not by violence but by non-resistance to evil" makes him, he says, a great moral teacher rather than a practical statesman. Mr. Hoyland is right in thinking that it is impossible to understand India without an attempt to understand Hinduism and he gives what appears to us an unbiased picture of its main attitudes as they evolve from its principal tenets; as a result he emphasizes the pervasiveness of the religious spirit in India which makes the people "extraordinarily open to moral and religious influences". To this factor Mr. Hoyland attributes the fact that in the middle ages in India there has been scarcely any interest shown in political issues and the true mind of India has rejected material well-being and power as worse than useless.

With regard to Islam the question is in his opinion how far the national party is to go in seeking to conciliate a strongly self-conscious community of men whose allegiance is not to India at all but to a shadowy alliance of Islamic States which, if it became an actuality, would desire to dominate India. In spite of this he thinks that the problem of Hindu-Muslim relationship is absolutely fundamental to the well-being of India, and should be solved by the people themselves without any interference from the West. Viewing the position of Muslims, torn between loyalty to India and loyalty to their religion and in many cases preferring the latter, sympathetically, Mr. Hoyland regards them as deserving of the

sympathy and respect of Englishmen. He regards the Pan-Turanian party which thinks in terms of a confederation of Islamic States under the aegis of the new Turkey and dreams of a potential Empire as a danger to Indian nationalism, but even here he would leave the problem to be solved by India herself since he believes that European interference can only make matters worse. The one thing needed for the solution of problems presented by Islam in India is in his opinion a new spirit of conciliation and willingness to see the good in other people's systems and he advises the Christians as the adherents of a religion of love to set an example in this.

Examining next the British system Mr. Hoyland speaks eulogistically of the magnificent work of peace-making accomplished by the system in its early days—work in the highest degree beneficent and humanitarian. There is hardly an Indian who would disagree with him on this point. He also believes that if the British were to be totally removed, India would in a very short time lapse back into the condition in which she was during the middle ages. In spite of this he thinks that in the present position the only hope of progress lies in freedom and the generous concession of the widest possible measure of self-government. He has no sympathy with the opinion which decries the material benefits of civilisation which British rule has brought to India, but he does not subscribe to the proposition that any material benefits can justify the permanent subjection of one people to another. The great weakness of the British system is according to him over-centralisation and control by authorities in England resulting in the extinction of local initiative and the lack of touch with the real feelings of the people; owing to the fact that the system is enforced by an efficient but soulless machine it degenerates rapidly into a reactionary tyranny enforced by military frightfulness and he instances the famous Rowlatt Act which produced a series of tragic consequences and the imposition of the salt tax by the arbitrary exercise of the emergency powers of the Viceroy. With regard to the future he regards both types of critics, those who believe that the introduction of Western democracy is a colossal blunder and those who wish to bundle India back into the old paternal régime bag and baggage by scrapping the whole machinery of Council government, as being out of court. The introduction of Parliamentary democracy is in his opinion a foregone conclusion and the only question is about the pace of the advance towards complete self-government.

The second part of the book gives the Indian point of view and describes the objective views held by educated Indians without any critique of those views. This is a very useful procedure from the point of view of enlightening the British public about the real state of affairs and Mr. Hoyland performs his task admirably. It must be remembered however that there are Indians who do not subscribe to the views summed up in this part. The outcome of the Great War produced in the Indian mind a serious doubt about the Western system of thought and

* *The Case for India*. By JOHN S. HOYLAND. (Dent.) 1929. 20cm. 173p. 4/6.

morals which was reduced to a pathetic derision before gods and men and displayed what was regarded as a religious *debacle*. The great war presented to the Indian a civilisation immensely strong in material resources and dominant throughout the world as being obviously pathological and brought home the lesson that Westerners understand nothing but force; this produced a strong reaction in favour of the indigenous culture in India and ultimately a demand for severance. The ultra-nationalists thought, he says, that if the East did not win its right to develop its own system in its own way that system would be swiftly submerged by its antagonist, the world-system of the West. The nationalist contrasted his own system, essentially peaceful and being based upon *Ahimsa*, with the Western system full of innate aggressiveness and bellicosity, and founded upon the twin factors of conflict and greed. Although this estimate is regarded by Mr. Hoyland as being ill-founded and superficial he rightly says that the psychic state from which it issues must be taken into account and cannot be ignored. Besides the Indian holds that in the domain of inter-racial relationships the West is radically unjust and tyrannical; unfortunately it is too true. Mr. Hoyland emphasizes the intimate connection in India between religion and swaraj since the winning of swaraj is demanded as a spiritual right and is imposed as an imperative religious duty. The spread of communism is regarded by the educated Hindu as the natural result of the loss of the ideal behind caste—that of a man's daily work being a religious duty to be performed for God. The wrongs of the woman are supported by the orthodox Hindu because they are parts of a system which reverences the ideal of service and breeds among women a type of character extraordinarily altruistic. In fact the Hindu demands swaraj because he believes that through it alone can be preserved a system which makes for religion and duty. With regard to industrialism also the Hindu according to him sees no meaning in an India waxing materially rich through the denial of her own true genius and running after big wages and big profits; he therefore demands swaraj in order that his country might be saved from industrialism with its wrong motives of exploitation, selfishness and greed. Similarly with regard to the Hindu-Muslim problem the nationalists believe that it can never be solved without swaraj since they believe that the conflict between the two communities is due to the policy of divide and rule and swaraj is sincerely believed also to be the only remedy for caste-hatred, which would be cured if industrialisation is reversed. Mr. Hoyland has described the parallelism between India of to-day and the Ireland of 1920, and drawn the conclusion that the only solution of the problem of national awakening is freedom.

In his description of the Indian attitude to religion Mr. Hoyland refers to the antinomy between the system which inculcates desire and the system which condemns desire and he says that swaraj is desired by the enlightened Indian because it will

give India freedom to follow the teaching of her religious system. As for the slogan that India cannot govern herself, he recounts the fact that no English officials believed in 1770 that the American colonies would govern themselves and that no one among the governing class believed in 1921 that the Irish could govern themselves; again very few believed, he says, that the Labour Party could govern England successfully and yet all these prognostications have been belied. The only possible policy to pursue in the case of India is the same as that followed in other cases, namely, the granting of freedom. In his view the Indian aspirations although crudely idealistic are far from unpractical and he insists that the focus of the modern situation in India whether they are visionary or practical but consists in the fact that they are entertained by the vast majority of educated Indians.

UPLIFT OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

WORK DONE ON THE WEST COAST.

THE West Coast has not known a more loveable personality than the late Rao Sahib K. Ranga Rao. His memory is associated with the noble endeavour of elevating the Depressed Classes in South Kanara. Years ago when orthodoxy was at its height Mr. Ranga Rao started the Mission in Mangalore. The more conservative among his own community were altogether opposed to the idea and Mr. Ranga Rao had to face no end of ridicule and contempt. But his faith in his Mission enabled him to carry on the work which has to-day attained considerable success. It is interesting to notice that the Depressed Classes Mission in Mangalore is supported by all classes of people irrespective of caste or religion. This is undoubtedly due to the quiet and selfless way in which Mr. Ranga Rao went about his business. To go out and live among the poor, to participate in their joys and sorrows he knew was the way to help them most. To him reform was not a fashionable cult but a living necessity of his nature. There was no spirit of condescension in the work he was doing. It was to him a privilege to help the lowliest and least amongst his countrymen. Work inspired by such high ideals was bound to prosper and the Depressed Classes Mission in Mangalore serves as a monument to Mr. Ranga Rao's love for his less fortunate brethren.

The work of the Mission is now managed by the Servants of India Society with the help and sympathy of the local leaders. Messrs. R. Suryanarayana Rao, S.I.S., and A. B. Shetty, M.L.C., who are Secretaries, are probably the two best men available for this sort of service. The Mission has been doing excellent work under them. It runs a higher elementary school for Adi-Dravids and a boarding house for them. There are 90 pupils on the rolls and the attendance shows a steady improvement. The accommodation and equipment are satisfactory. The poorest among the pupils are helped with scholarships granted by the Government. Of the 9 scholarships 7 are awarded by the Commissioner of Labour, Mr. Gray, I.C.S., who takes a great interest in the work of the Mission and

two by the Education Department. The best part of the curriculum is the vocational training given to the pupils. The Carpentry Department trains a number of boys in cabinet making. This Department has done very good work, but as the report for 1928-29 points out, there is room for improvement in this direction. The great difficulty seems to be to get employment for the boys so trained. For the girls there is provided training in needle work and other minor accomplishments. Gardening which is valuable not only from the point of view of manual Labour but from an aesthetic point of view receives special attention at the hands of the Mission.

The most important aspect of the work carried on by the Mission is the midday meal provided to the pupils at a considerable cost. We find there is a growing demand for accommodation in the boarding house and there is not sufficient room to receive all the pupils who seek admission. This is due, unfortunately to the dearth of funds. Mangalore has been doing its best all these years, but there seems to be a fall in the funds collected from the locality. As pointed out in the report of the Mission the starting of similar enterprises in other parts of the country is tapping the sources from which the Mangalore Mission has been accustomed to receive support. Government have been rendering valuable help to the Mission but a great deal more may yet be done. Seeing that the management is in the hands of men who are truly devoted to their work it should be easy for Government to advance the necessary funds and make the work of the Mission more fruitful. The poor and depressed are always with us and there is room for a wider expansion of the activities of the Mission if only the requisite funds would be forthcoming. The Mission has also organised colonies where the Adi-Dravids and Koragas are made to settle down and make the best use of the land placed at their disposal. Building materials are supplied free of cost for house building. Nearly 100 families are under the care of the Mission.

We would remind the workers, however, of the spirit in which Mr. Ranga Rao worked. With very little sympathy and less appreciation he carried on his appointed work without being depressed or down-hearted even for a moment. In endeavours of this kind it is faith that matters most. When public attention is drawn to other and more exciting interests it often happens that quiet and sober work of this kind suffers a little neglect for the time being. But if those who have set their hands to the plough will be steady and persevering and work in a spirit of love and service, it will not be long before the public come to realise the worth and the value of their work. We have very little doubt that next year when the report comes to be drawn up the Secretaries will have even a brighter record of work well done.

We cannot conclude this review better than by abstracting from the remarks made by the Commissioner of Labour when he visited the school on 31st August 1929:

"Mr. Suryanarayana Rao kindly showed me round the classes and carpentry section which were at work and

also the boarding arrangements. The institution is doing valuable work and doing it extremely well. The financial support given by Government is well deserved and well applied. One would like to see, so deserving a cause receives much greater support from the local public. I wish the institution continued success and hope that the various plans under consideration for the development of the work may soon be carried through."

We wish every success to the Mangalore Depressed Classes Mission and its work.

E. SANKARAN UNNI.

COMMON CITIZENSHIP.

In view of our struggle in East Africa which centres round a Common Electoral Roll, the following statement on the East African situation, handed to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Passfield, on 5th November by a deputation from the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society would be found of much interest, for the statement emphasises Common Citizenship based upon a Common Test of Civilization.

OUR Committee understands that His Majesty's Government proposes to set forth at an early date its policy in connection with Kenya and East Africa. We venture, therefore, to appeal to you to include in that statement a declaration making it clear to British subjects everywhere that upon the real issue of native policy which lies behind every form of public controversy and every official report upon the matter, the present Government adheres firmly to the repeated declarations of British statesmen made during the past hundred years.

The real issue is indeed simple. Stripped of controversial detail, it is whether or not Great Britain holds fast to the repeatedly declared policy of an ultimate Common Citizenship for all civilised British subjects. The most recent, as well as the most emphatic, declaration upon this basic feature of Empire policy was made by Mr. Winston Churchill at the Imperial Conference in 1921.—

"There is only one ideal that the British Empire can set before itself in this regard, and that is that there should be no barrier of race, colour or creed which should prevent any man by merit from reaching any station if he is fitted for it."

Mr. Churchill's declaration merely repeated in different language formal statements of native and Colonial policy made by her late Majesty Queen Victoria in official Proclamations when tropical and sub-tropical people came under the flag of Great Britain, and by Lord Salisbury in the latter half of the nineteenth century, notably in his "no whit inferior" despatch of 1875. Let this fundamental principle be adhered to as firmly and clearly as it has been stated and established, and the other subjects of controversy fall into their right perspective.

First in order comes the qualifications of citizenship, or in the phrase used by the Hilton Young Commission, the Civilisation Test. It has not been found difficult hitherto to define the terms of this test, which, though it must necessarily vary in the different Dependencies, demands, quite obviously, that all races—English, Belgian, German, Dutch, Indian and native—shall be required in each Dependency to satisfy a common standard of civilisation

prior to exercise of the franchise on a common roll.

It would follow also that all legal distinctions or disabilities resting solely upon race or religion should, if they exist, be eliminated from the legislation of the Dependency.

These three cardinal features of policy, (a) a Common Citizenship for civilised British subjects, (b) a Common Test of civilisation, (c) legislation without racial distinction, transcend, in our opinion, all other considerations, and will, we trust, be made as clear with all possible emphasis in the forthcoming statement of policy and stated as lucidly and definitely as they have been on several occasions hitherto in British official dealings with native peoples.

Subordinate to these three capital considerations are the three subjects of Land, Taxation, Labour. We venture to urge that the statement of His Majesty's Government should also find a place for a declaration—

(a) That it is no part of the duty of a Colonial administration to provide labour for private enterprise and that forced labour, except for local and traditional purposes of public utility, shall be entirely prohibited. In those rare cases when labour is called out for some exceptional purpose, it should only be done with the sanction of the Central Authority and be paid the market rate of wages.

(b) That taxation in Dependency territory shall be imposed in proportion to the wealth of the people concerned and that *direct* taxation imposed upon the native races shall be spent in native areas, especially upon medical services, education and improved communications.

(c) That it shall be an obligation of the administration in the Colonies to reserve and provide the natives with adequate land for their subsistence and economic advancement and that no restriction shall be placed upon the economic products which the natives wish to raise upon the lands assigned to them without the express sanction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Our European Letter.

THE BLAST.

THE publication of His Excellency the Viceroy's statement and the Simon-MacDonald correspondence caused a blast which swept across London. For a moment it seemed as though a Parliamentary debate in which all the feeling of old historic tradition dating from Warren Hastings and the biting force of the recriminations of post-War party politics would combine to expel the Labour Government from power. At the moment of writing this letter the full report of the debate in the House of Lords is not yet to hand, and the anxiously expected debate in the Commons has still to take place. But it is safe to say London opinion has regained something of its political sanity. "The reflections of the week-end seem to have had a steadying effect on

members of Parliament", says the Parliamentary correspondent of the *Times*, and the political correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, "the great battle will be more in the nature of a sham fight." The Earl of Zetland in a letter to the *Times* pleads: "There is urgent need of viewing the whole matter in proper perspective; and never, surely, was there a greater call for restraint, whether in speech or writing." And this remark might indeed be addressed to India as well as to England. It is imperative that our countrymen should fully realise the situation in England.

This reaction in England may be traced to two causes, both fundamental. British politicians have too much indulged in the habit of minimising the danger in India and too much believed in the power of the army. Whether it was because they had themselves not realised the situation until the Viceroy told them about it or because they dreaded to make India an issue, they have always lulled the British public into a feeling of security. "At all costs," says Mr. Garvin in the *Observer*, "the supreme question of India must be kept above party and saved from being swept into a vortex of controversy." Secondly, as the *Daily Mail* puts with characteristic unabashed brutality:

Like Southern Ireland, India, after receiving Dominion status, would be able to nominate its own ambassadors to foreign capitals and to conclude treaties of its own with foreign Powers. It is not bound to us by ties of race and, under the control of revolutionaries and rangers, it may be safely predicted that the policy followed would be one hostile to Great Britain. We should have to prepare for an absolutely prohibitive tariff on our trade. Yet last year *one-ninth of our exports went to India*. Is this vast commerce to be recklessly imperilled at a time when the Government is begging Moscow for a pitifully small share in Russian trade and hunting desperately for a cure for unemployment?

We have before pointed out that, with Indian Home Rule, nothing can save British investments in India. We leave the public to guess what the effect on the gilt-edged market will be when the national debt of India is in danger of repudiation. The shock would be such that it would take us a generation to recover—if indeed recovery were ever possible. The total involved, with commercial investments, is not less than £1,200,000,000, so that universal impoverishment must be the result with a catastrophic decline in the yield of our taxes.

Yet, those of our countrymen who would be daunted by this opposition would be entirely missing the mark. Certain general considerations have to be borne in mind in this connection.

1. Something like a revolution has taken place in British party politics and all the principal organs of public opinion have shown themselves conscious of it. "For a long while," says the *Observer*, "party politics in the ordinary sense will play but a small rôle in British history." "Throughout our political history the dual division of parties in this country has remained. The extraordinary and revolutionary fact now faces us that it has disappeared", says the *Manchester Guardian*. Going a step further the *Spectator* draws certain conclusions from this change. "The tendency will probably be for Unionism and Socialism to receive the limelight. This may not be a genuine conflict and yet it may seem to the public real enough. For electoral purposes it may

suffice. Politics will be conducted, perhaps with a good deal of make-believe."

2. Despite Mr. Lloyd George's sagacity, of late, the Liberals have been on the whole most unfortunate in their part in this "make-believe". Much of the Liberal leader's strength in the present juncture is no doubt due to Sir John Simon's adherence to his party, but how mistaken the Liberals are in their present attitude towards India may be gathered from the ten previous statements on the goal of British policy, ranging from 5th June, 1919, to 24th May, 1927, which the Parliamentary correspondent of the *Times* has cited in Monday's paper obviously in anticipation of yesterday's debate in the House of Lords. His following gentle admonition is, no less obviously, addressed to Sir John Simon:

Sir John Simon and the other members of the Statutory Commission have shown great anxiety during the last week or two to dissociate themselves from the Viceroy's statement, though the only new departure in it is the important project of a Conference for which they had made themselves responsible. . . . The general desire will certainly be to keep the Statutory Commission out of the discussions as far as possible for the sake of their own prestige. Their position has not in any sense been weakened by the published documents, but it may easily be weakened by party recrimination in this country if they give any handle for the notion that they are involved in it.

3. It is well-known that the Conservative party is rent by internal dissensions, personal as well as political, and Lord Rothermere's intention in attacking Mr. Baldwin for his assent to the Viceroy's statement may well have been also to utilise the "make-believe" to oust the leadership of the party from him. Mr. Baldwin's prestige, however, is so enormous that this simply cannot be done. The "inquest" may show that his policy of drift was responsible for the defeat at the polls, but what is there now for Conservatives to do except to preach Empire trade? What constructive policy appealing to the imagination can they produce? The results of the recent municipal elections have been no small warning.

4. It should also be realised that in the England of the second quarter of the twentieth century, unlike the middle of the last, the middle classes whom the *Daily Mail* influences are not the influential classes. Democracy in our time consists of the forces of Labour, in which we must also include capital, led by intellect, of which tradition or experience forms part. The "backbone of the country" has become invertebrate through its own stupidity and rigidity. In fact, that the more a newspaper gains in circulation the less it should become a power in policy-making is one of the paradoxes of democracy.

5. The future is with Labour. The *Observer's* comment that "the Government holds the cards" is correct. Both the Prime Minister and Mr. Snowden have gained immensely in authority and the responsibility of any one overthrowing the Government in the present stage of Anglo-American negotiations would indeed be heavy. Nor may Labour rest on its oars. The Government must utilise its present opportunity to increase its support in the country, and this can be done in only one way.

As the *New Leader* says, "*Danton's 'Vaudace, Vaudace, et toujours Vaudace,* is the true motto for the Labour Government. Let it live dangerously if it will live at all." It is a minority Government, unstable and uncertain, but neither so unstable nor so uncertain that unless there is a great international crisis (in which case the country would naturally hesitate to entrust the entire direction to so young a party) will Britain willingly go back to the drift of the past five years. If now Labour is unseated, it will sweep the polls. Mr. MacDonald's left wing might give him trouble but not even Communists would be so mad as to return the Tories out of revenge against Labour.

Nor on our side should there be any lack of completeness in comprehending the significance of Dominion Status, however much the conception may be twisted in application. It is a progressive idea not a juridical status, and we who understand that the price of religious realisation is eternal renunciation should also know that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. The British conception may still be a precious heritage to us politically on account of coming developments. This has been so well brought out by Mr. Blythe, the vice-President of the Irish Free State, that I here reproduce his words as reported in the *Manchester Guardian*:

Mr. Blythe then proceeded to consider the advantages which its position within the British Commonwealth brings to the Free State. He pointed out that membership of the Commonwealth was a guarantee against interferences by the British Government, since such interference would rouse uneasiness in the Dominions and lead to the dissolution of the Commonwealth. Thus as matters stand there is no likelihood of aggression by Great Britain against the Free State.

The Free State Cabinet on its side, he said, was not "looking for another round," but it was ready to assert and make clear in every respect the status of sovereignty which had been attained by the Free State and every Dominion.

The one danger was that the Free State might find itself dragged into some war in which England had become involved because of her interests in India, or Egypt, or elsewhere—"interests that do not concern the people in the Free State." But this danger, as was justly pointed out, would hardly be lessened if the Free State were formally converted into a republic.

The Free State Government's policy, therefore, was to avert the danger by other means, especially by using such international influence as they could exert at Geneva and elsewhere to promote the cause of peace. Thence their willingness to spend money on sending delegates to Geneva and maintaining Ministers Plenipotentiary in foreign capitals.

To make these developments substantial is our task, henceforth.

Geneva, November 6.

Reviews.

CHILD STUDY.

YOUR CHILD TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW.
By SIDONIE MATSNER GRUENBERG. (Lippincott.)
1928. 51cm. 225p. \$2.50.

PARENTS may be grouped into two general classes in their attitude to the training of their children. In

one class are those who do not experience any great difficulty because they let things take more or less their own course. They do not realise that better results are possible, or that any particular care is necessary in training children. They have "no traditions, no prejudices, no knowledge whatever about their task". In the other group are those who have great ideals, and who want to give their very best to their children by personal direction and by the creation of an atmosphere in the home and elsewhere which will help the child to attain the highest development that he is capable of. Recent years have seen a considerable increase in our knowledge of psychology, especially child psychology. "More and more parents consciously desire relationships with their children and results in their children which only the best of parents attained in the past".

A very considerable amount of study and research has been made, especially in the West, into the question of child training. The pioneer work of Froebel and Montessori is well-known. Forty years ago, the Child Study Association of America started its work in the field of parental education for "more intelligent parenthood and happier, more efficient homes".

Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, as Director of the Child Study Association and as Consultant in Parental Education in the Child Welfare Research Institute of Teachers' College, Columbia University, has had excellent opportunities for close study of the problems of parental education and child training. From her wide knowledge and experience she has produced a book for the guidance of parents, to which she has given the title "Your Child To-day and Tomorrow".

In the opening chapter, the author outlines the purpose and the plan of the book. While such things as housekeeping and the feeding of children have been raised almost to sciences, the training of children still lags behind. A considerable mass of exact knowledge of the nature of the child and of the laws of his development has been achieved, but this has mostly been done by the scientists and the educationists, and it is as yet a closed book to most parents. "It is not what the scientists know but what the people apply" that is really important.

Many parents succeed in solving the problem of the training of their children "through sympathetic insight, through quick observation and through the application of sound sense and the results of experience to the problems that arise". But it is well for parents to supplement their own good sense and observation with the results of scientific investigation. It is the general result of this investigation during the last half century that is dealt with in the book.

Chapter II deals with the question of obedience and contains some illuminating observations. Obedience is generally regarded as a fundamental virtue, desirable as an end. The author's thesis is that it is not that it is only to be regarded as a means to an end. Clearly, habitual obedience and decision of character do not go well together. We must educate

through obedience and not for obedience. When Your Child Imagines Things, Punishments and Rewards, Truth and Falsehood, Being Afraid, Books and Reading, Learning the Use of Money, Work and Play, Gangs, Clubs and Friendships, Ideals and Ambitions, Sex Education, The Age of Transition, Habit, and Heredity and Environment, are the remaining chapters. The book is full of valuable suggestions for those who are anxious to do the best for their children.

Not many parents have a satisfactory theory of punishments. Rules like "Never punish in anger" or "Be sure that the child sees the relation of the offence to the punishment" will be readily admitted by all to be of the very essence of the philosophy of punishments, but without the habit of strict self-discipline they are very difficult to carry out in practice. The author lays great emphasis on the serious harm that is often done to the whole nature of a child by punishment, which is very often administered in a state of mind where correct judgment is impossible, which is felt by the child to be unjust, and in which there is great irrelevancy and confusion between cause and effect. After all, punishment is only a corrective. The more important thing is to build up the positive virtues, and the author rightly lays stress on that aspect.

One of the most distressing things that discerning parents often have to face is children's lies. In spite of the most careful training, in spite of the most scrupulous maintenance in the home of an atmosphere of strict truthfulness, in spite of the most patient and expressed faith in the ability of the child to become a truthful, dependable person, occasional lapses are still there. If then the statement that all children lie is not very much of a consolation, it helps one not to be discouraged to be able to see with the author that what to an adult is an obvious lie is very often, in the child, the result of his imagination and his memory of it, that a lie may often be the result of aesthetic feelings, dissatisfaction with things as they are, or that it may be the result of faulty observation. A lie may also be an effort to escape punishment. As a child put it, 'A lie is an abomination to the Lord, and an ever-ready help in time of trouble'.

The succeeding chapters are also equally illuminating. The great emphasis throughout the book is on the right relationship between parents and children. This is particularly stressed in the chapter on 'Sex Education.' The child is not embarrassed in putting sex questions, and is not embarrassed by frank answers. Even in adolescence, there will be no embarrassment, if in the meantime parents have kept in close sympathy with him, and he feels that he can go to them with any question and be answered frankly, and the way to keep him in close sympathy is by meeting frankly every question as it arises.

A clear distinction is drawn between sex education and sex information. We have not much choice in the matter of education which includes "the acquisition of attitudes, the modification of impulses, the attainment of control," for the process is going on all the time. The question, as the author

points out, is not whether we are to have sex education for our children, but what kind we are to have.

A useful list of a few important recent books and pamphlets on sex education is also included in the chapter.

The book is a very good treatment of an important subject, and all who have the high interests of their children at heart will do well to study it.

One cannot, however, lay the book down without wondering why such an important theme as 'the child and religion' has not found a place in it. One would have liked to see discussed the author's vast experience behind it, topics like the child's idea of God, his attitude to religious forms, worship in the home, religious feeling, religious life and the place of personal activity in the development of spiritual nature. This omission is a great flaw in an otherwise excellent book.

K. C. THOMAS.

PUBLIC UTILITIES.

OUTLINES OF PUBLIC UTILITY ECONOMICS. By MARTIN G. GLAESER. (Macmillan, New York.) 1927. 24cm. 847p. \$5.00.

THIS substantial work is a new addition to the Social Science Text-books edited by Prof. R. T. Ely and it well keeps up the tradition of that series for comprehensiveness of treatment and soundness of views. The term "public utility" cannot easily be defined and, as the author points out, its content is bound to differ from place to place and from time to time. The economic problems considered in this book are those of "services affected with a public interest" differentiated on the one hand from services which are rendered by the State from the proceeds of general taxation or special assessment and on the other hand from private business. More particularly it is the American public utility services rendered by private persons and controlled by the State that are the subject matter of this volume.

The work is divided into four parts. The economic basis of public utility enterprises is considered in the first part. After defining public utility, the author gives us some idea of the importance of public utilities in U.S.A. He cites an estimate of the total wealth of U.S.A. and shows that public utility wealth forms over 12% of the total; in his opinion, however, even this estimate errs on the side of underestimation. Short historical chapters on the development of public utilities in U.S.A. follow in which the importance of the factor of urbanization in increasing the sphere of public utilities is well brought out. The other chapters in this part deal with the legal organisation of public utilities, in which the predominance of corporations as purveyors of public utilities is emphasized; with public utilities as a going concern, in which an analysis is made of the nature and relative importance of the various bargains into which a public utility undertaking has to enter in the conduct of its business and with a description of the accounting methods of public utilities, the uniformity attained by State regulation and aids to management. The second part deals historically with the development

of the agencies of regulation in U.S.A. Regulation has been a plant of very slow growth in U.S.A. During the first few decades of the 19th century some experiments in State ownership and management were tried, which failed disastrously. As a result of this and of the growing belief in *laissez faire* and the efficacy of competition no systematic forms of regulation were put in operation till almost the end of the 19th century. As a fact, this belief in competition died hard and even to-day the principle that public utilities are best organized as monopolies has not been completely recognized. In the early days all attempts at consolidation were looked upon unfavourably, and even in railway management there was till 1879 no demand from the public for regulation, only a demand for more railways so that competition be real and effective. The development era in public utilities coincided with this era of individualism in economics and in these early days charters and franchises were liberally given and the growth and management of public utilities was entirely unchecked. By the seventies, however, the abuses of non-regulation were patent; a general growth of consolidating movements was making the factor of competition ineffective and the managers of public utilities, protected behind certain legal decisions, showed themselves defiant of public opinion. This gave rise to a series of movements demanding regulation and the earliest form of local utility regulation was that of restricting the terms of franchise. Short-term franchises, however, proved unworkable in practice and this kind of municipal regulation gave rise to so much corruption that the experiment had to be abandoned. It was after this that the now dominant form of regulation, that of State or Federal Commissions controlling the rates at which the commodity or service is sold by the corporations, came into existence.

The central portion of the work, Part III, deals with the administration of public utilities under these conditions. This is considered from all points of view and problems of labour, of taxation, of standards of service are all passed under review. But the main problem is that of rate-fixation. Where public commissions have full control of prices, the methods by which the prices that may reasonably be charged and are determined by them have the utmost importance. On the one hand the interests of the public have to be safeguarded and on the other a reasonable return has to be guaranteed to public utilities. Otherwise fresh supplies of capital will cease to flow into them. Prof. Glaeser reviews the whole problem in great detail. He points out how judicial decisions on this point have given the wrong lead and how a great many conflicting theories of valuation and determining the rate-base held the field at present. He points to the difficulties in the way of getting at a rate-base by a physical valuation of the utilities' assets or in determining it by the cost of reproduction standard. His own finding, which he develops at some length in Part IV entitled: "Trends in public policies affecting public utilities," is in favour of the investment standard. This standard he considers as the true economic standard for determining the rate-base. He rejects any attempt at arriving at the rate-base by a

direct valuation of the assets of a corporation as not only full of difficulties but also misleading and lays emphasis on the need for looking at the business as a "going concern". He is specially concerned with the problem of attracting continuously a sufficient supply of capital into public utilities and remarks that the best single index of the economic status of industry is the standing of its security in the credit market". The rates-regulation policy, he opines, should be so conducted as to maintain public utility securities at par. In respect of local utilities a policy of indeterminate franchises and the service-at-cost principle is advocated. In the last part the author points how no definite uniform policy has yet been adopted by the public regulating commissions and how the faith in competition is dying hard. It must be frankly recognized that public utilities are best worked as monopolies and such rates as will allow them a reasonable profit must be freely sanctioned. In this connection the failure of some commissions to grant proper advances in rates during the war and the post-war period is specially commented upon.

All this and more is dealt with in a thorough-going manner in this text book. Statistics and charts to explain and illustrate the text are plentiful, there is a short bibliography, and Appendix B contains "review questions and exercises" on each chapter in the book. In short as a text-book on American public utility economics we do not believe that this volume leaves anything to be desired. But the very thoroughness and exclusiveness with which American conditions are treated makes it incomplete for countries outside U.S.A. For, as the author remarks, "U.S.A. is still the classic home of privately owned and operated public utilities"; and in this it differs considerably from other parts of the world. It is thus only problems of regulation that are dealt with in the book. Problems of municipal trading which are important in many continental countries or problems of State ownership and private or State management which confront us here in India, are not even touched upon. Indeed, Indian conditions in respect of public utilities are radically different from those obtaining in U.S.A. On the one hand a great many of public utilities are State owned and State worked for State owned and private worked. This is the case with the major portion of our railway and irrigation systems. On the other hand the other utilities that are private owned and worked are almost unregulated. Our private hydro-electric companies, for example, are almost uncontrolled and with gas, electricity, tramway and other local utilities we are yet in the municipal short-term franchise stage. In this latter class of problems American experience has no doubt a lot to teach us and the lessons of that experience can usefully be studied in this admirable text-book of Prof. Glaeser. D. R. GADGIL.

THE POET ON N.C.O.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE. LETTERS TO A FRIEND. Ed. by C. F. ANDREWS. (Allen & Unwin.) 1928. 20cm. 195p. 7/6.

THESE letters cover the period 1913-22 and are useful as giving us an insight into the working of the

poet's mind with regard to the several important problems that agitated the public mind during that period. Many of the letters appeared in the *Modern Review* at the time and were later on published in book form under the title "Letters from Abroad." Thus the book under review presents hardly any new material to the public. Each chapter opens with an introduction or rather a summary of the circumstances in which the letters were written. The summaries are from Mr. Andrews' pen and help considerably in understanding the contents of the letters. It is necessary to add, as pointed out by Mr. Andrews in his brief preface, that the profits from the book will be devoted to the Pearson Memorial Hospital at Santiniketan.

The two topics of outstanding interest to the Indian public during 1919-22 were the Dyerism at Amritsar and the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement by Mahatma Gandhi. Though a friend of Mahatma Gandhi's, the poet was no friend of his movement. His reasons for what must have seemed at the time to some people an extraordinary attitude towards the movement were as follows:—

"Let us forget the Punjab affairs—but never forget that we shall go on deserving such humiliation over and over again until we set our house in order. Do not mind the waves of the sea, but mind the leaks in your vessel. Politics in our country is extremely petty. It has a pair of legs, one of which has shrunk and shrivelled and become paralytic and therefore feebly waits for the other one to drag it on. There is no harmony between the two, and our politics, in its hopings and totterings and falls, is comic and undignified. The entreaty and anger, which alternately are struggling to find expression in the ludicrously lame member of this tragic partnership, both belong to our abject feebleness. When non-co-operation comes naturally as our final moral protest against the unnaturalness of our political situation, then it will be glorious, because true; but when it is only another form of begging, then let us reject it." (p. 92.) (Italics ours.)

Further on p. 95:—

"I find our countrymen are furiously excited about Non-co-operation. It will grow into something like our Swadeshi movement in Bengal. Such an emotional outbreak should have been taken advantage of in starting independent organisations all over India for serving our country.

Let Mahatma Gandhi be the true leader in this; let him send his call for positive service, ask for homage in sacrifice which has its end in love and creation. I shall be willing to sit at his feet and do his bidding if he commands me to co-operate with my countrymen in service and love. I refuse to waste my manhood in lighting a fire of anger and spreading it from house to house."

His dislike of the non-co-operation movement was even more firmly rooted; the idea of asceticism for which its originator stands and which, so as to say, forms its basis was wholly distasteful to him. As pointed out by him,

"An emancipation of human nature has already been going on for a long time in India. Let us not add to it by creating a mania for self-immolation. Our life today needs more colour, more expansion, more nourishment, for all the variety of its famished functions. Whatever may be the case in other countries, we need in India more fullness of life and not asceticism." (p. 116.)

Again:—

"The idea of non-co-operation is political asceticism. Our students are bringing their offering of sacrifices to what? Not to a fuller education but to non-education. It has at its back a fierce joy of annihilation, which at its best is asceticism and at its worst that orgy of frightfulness in which human nature, losing faith in the basic reality of normal life, finds a disinterested delight in an unmeaning devastation, as has been shown in the late war and on other

occasions which came nearer to us. 'No' in its passive moral form, is asceticism, and in its active moral form violence. The desert is as much a form of *himsa*, violence as is the raging sea in storm; they are both against life." (p. 131.)

The poet recalls an occasion during the days of the swadeshi movement in Bengal when a crowd of young students offered to leave their schools if only the poet ordered them to do so. His reply was of course an emphatic refusal which he justifies thus:—

"The reason of my refusal to advise these students to leave their schools was because the anarchy of mere emptiness never tempts me, even when it is resorted to as a temporary measure... I could not lightly take upon myself the tremendous responsibility of a mere negative programme for them which would uproot their life from its soil, however thin and poor that soil might be. The great injury and injustice which had been done to these boys, who were tempted away from their career before any real provision was made, could never be made good to them." (p. 132.)

No wonder that the poet specially wrote to Mr. Andrews to "keep Santiniketan away from the turmoils of politics." (p. 102.) Events have shown that the poet was a better and more correct interpreter of public feeling than Mahatma Gandhi.

Amritsar touched Rabindranath so much to the quick that, as Mr. Andrews tells us, "Night after night was passed sleeplessly. At last some relief came to him by renunciation of his knighthood as a protest against what had been done. For a time it seemed as though "Amritsar" had shattered all his hopes and aims" (p. 83). The moral drawn by the poet from the Dyer debate in Parliament was that:—

"It shows that no outrage, however monstrous, committed against us by agents of their Government, can arouse feelings of indignation in the hearts of those from whom our governors are chosen... The late events have conclusively proved that our true salvation lies in our own hands; that a nation's greatness can never find its foundation in half-hearted concessions of contemptuous regardlessness.

It is the sign of a feeble character to seek for a shortcut to fulfilment through the favour of those whose interest lies in keeping it barred—the one path to fulfilment is the difficult path of suffering and self-sacrifice. All great boons come to us through the power of the immortal spirit we have within us, and that spirit only proves itself by its defiance of danger and loss." (p. 88.)

But few will be disposed to agree with the poet in his definition of Swaraj:—

"What is Swaraj? It is *maya*; it is like a mist that will vanish, leaving no stain on the radiance of the Eternal. However we may delude ourselves with the phrases learnt from the West, swaraj is not our objective. Our fight is a spiritual fight—it is for Man. We are to emancipate man from the meshes that he himself has woven round him—these organisations of national egoism". (p. 128.)

One wonders if Swaraj is not our objective, what else it is or can be.

In spite of his realisation of the need of self-sacrifice by our people, the poet would not have his students give up their least comfort for the benefit of any humanitarian cause and thus learn the lesson of self-sacrifice in their younger days. The boys at Bolpur decided to go without sugar and ghee and to send the savings thus made to some relief fund. The poet was surprised at this and wrote to Mr. Andrews:—

"Do you think this is right? In the first place, it is an imitation of your English schoolboys and not their original idea. In the second place, so long as the boys live in our institution they are not free to give up any

portion of their diet which is absolutely necessary for their health... Our boys have no right to choose this form of self-sacrifice just as they are not free to give up buying books for their studies." (p. 49).

But whether one agrees or not with the poet in his views on these and other matters touched on in this volume the letters are undeniably readable. And Mr. Andrews has done a service to the public by making them available in this handy form.

D. V. AMBEKAR.

POST-WAR JAPANESE EXCHANGE.

JAPAN'S FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND HER BALANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PAYMENTS.

By S. Y. FURUYA. (Columbia University Press.) 1928. 23cm. 208p.

THIS is a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for Ph.D. degree in the Columbia University. The object of the book is to discuss the exchange situation in Japan during the period 1914-1927. The first chapter contains a brief survey of the economic organisation of Japan and those who are not familiar with Japan's economic progress would derive much benefit by this lucid and clear statement.

Chaps. II, III, IV and V recount the movements in the yen exchange situation during the war and after. It is divided into three periods and the yen-exchange with each important trading country is studied in seriatim. The causal relations between exchange and prices and between exchange and the balance of payments are pointed out. The problem of financing the foreign trade is effectively dealt with. The utilisation of time-honoured exchange correctives as stimulating exports and checking imports, the formation of exchange funds and pegging exchange, the innovation of "stamped bills" of the Bank of Japan, the popularising of acceptances, yen bills and the initiation of a discount market, and the embargo on gold exportation till 1924 are referred to and there is a critical appreciation of these expedients. The statistical presentation of the facts gives a clear idea of the actual situation.

The salient characteristics are summed up in Chapter VI and the defects of exchange banking and the financing of foreign trade are related herein. Suggestions for improving exchange banking and the reorganisation of the Japanese monetary and banking system are offered. There is a clear statement of the reasons for giving up the exchange fund system. The necessity for the resumption of the actual gold standard in practice is carefully studied. He realises clearly that the stabilisation of yen exchange is after all a problem of credit control and stabilisation of internal prices which an organised banking system alone can hope to achieve. The detailed measures immediately necessary are outlined on p. 176.

The final chapter gives a brief resumé of the various theories of foreign exchange. As a piece of study in economic history it is indeed very valuable and shows the keen grasp of the author over this intricate subject. He finally tests the theories in the light of the yen exchange movements and rightly comes to the conclusion that short-term exchange fluctuations of any country may be due to speculation brought about by political changes, economic and social disturbance and natural calamity. "Backed by speculation, the actual supply and demand of exchange bills in the market are the determining factors."

The long-time fluctuations in exchange follow the lead of the purchasing power parity. In actual

practice exchange may lag behind the price-parity for it takes long time to go through the balance of visible and invisible transfer of funds. It does not directly reflect itself in the exchange rates. The exchange factors and the exchanges act and interact on each other. Thus he succeeds in proving that the theory of foreign exchanges indicates an application of the general theory of prices.

A study of the pages on banking organisation, exchange banking and the discarding of the gold exchange fund system would afford ample information and stimulate the thought of the members of the Central Banking Committee in India.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

A GREAT AFRICAN.

AGGREY OF AFRICA: A STUDY IN BLACK AND WHITE. By EDWIN W. SMITH. (S.C.M.) 1929. 22cm. 292p. 7/6.

THE Negroes are the only people known to history who for the sake of their skin have suffered indescribable wrongs at the hands of the colourless monsters of humanity. They have uniformly filled the rôle of the injured, the humiliated, the outraged and the robbed. The wealth of their privileged persecutors bears their bloodstains. To-day, though nominally they are freemen, they are as much the social underdogs as their slave ancestors and as ever the same helpless victims of the white man's murderous ferocity. Christianity is all their solace, for with true Christian forbearance, they have allowed themselves to be tortured by the Christian pharisees.

Aggrey is the inheritor of this cruel legacy, "a brand plucked from fire", not to ignite the retaliatory passions but to illumine the dark continent. He is supremely the child of Africa, destined to elevate his submerged fellow-Africans to the level of their white rulers and thus wipe out the stigma of their inferiority. For the crimes of the slave drivers, the slaughter of the innocents by Leopold, and the provoking indignities and pinpricks of daily life, he could with justice have said, Vengeance was his, but like the true chip of the block of which he came, he offered the pitiless white man his bleeding hand of love. Born to be second in rank to a chief, he renounced it to fashion himself into a Kiyame of the African soul and the peacemaker between the African and the European. Though by genius a schoolmaster, and an epochmaking one at that, it was mainly as a teacher of men that he played his part. In the Achimota College, he saw the realisation of his fond hopes for the uplift of his people and he poured his whole ardent soul into it.

Now Aggrey the torchbearer is no more but "the perfect avalanche of his personality" lives and animates Negro awakening. A community, however oppressed and suppressed, cannot be held down for long if it produces constructive leaders of the type of Aggrey and his illustrious friend Max Yergan. The sun of glory has risen upon the Negroes and promises to rise to a zenith unattained by the insolently superior white Christian.

Aggrey's life, so reverentially recorded by Mr. Edwin Smith, deserves to be read by all those who live in a state of subjection, political as well as social. It may fall short of the lofty heights to which Booker Washington rose or the caustic brilliance of Dr. DuBois, the rebel spirit of the Negro race, but he possessed in common with them the calm and creative optimism of a sincere Christian aspiration.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

SHORT NOTICE

BANKER AND CUSTOMER. By S. EVELYN THOMAS. (The Gregg Publishing Co. 926. (2nd. Edn.) 23cm. 718p. 12/6.

THE "Banker and Customer" undoubtedly is a work of outstanding merit, both for reference and for detailed study.

The style is perfectly lucid and the work, though filled with necessary technicalities, is written in such a plain, facile and straight manner that it may be easily intelligible even to a layman. The exposition of the principles and practice of banking is up to date and the plan of treatment of the book is up to the best tradition of the writer.

This work should be on the book case of every student of commercial subjects and it would be an ornament and a valuable work of ready reference on the table of every successful banker. Moreover the directing heads of business houses carrying on bill transactions on an extensive scale, could not consult a better guide than "the Banker and Customer."

S. R. BATLIBOI.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- WEALTH AND LIFE.** By J. A. HOBSON. (Macmillan.) 1929. 20cm. 489p. 15/-.
- LABOUR AND INTERNATIONALISM.** By LEWIS L. LORWIN. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 20cm. 682p. 12/6.
- FASCISMO GARIBALDINO.** By EZIO GARIBALDI. (Camiscio. Rossa, Rome.) 1928. 20cm. 242p.
- WOMEN IN MODERN INDIA.** Eds. EVELYN C. GEDGE and MITHAN CHOKSI. (Taraporevala.) 1929. 20cm. 161p. Rs. 4.
- THE CASE FOR INDIA.** By JOHN S. HOYLAND. (Dent.) 1929. 20cm. 173p. 4/6.
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