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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE elections in the United Provinces and the Punjab, whether to the Legislative Council or to the Assembly, show a much weakened hold of the Swarajism on the public mind. The success won by Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Munshi Iswar Saran, and Seth Ghanshayam Birla in the Assembly election and by Mr. Chintamani, Venkatesh Narain Tivary, Iqbal Narain Gurtu, and a host of other Independent or Liberal candidates in the Council elections proves beyond a shadow of doubt that in what one may call now its home, Swarajism has received a severe check from which it is not likely to recover, unless of course at Gauhati it subsides into quiet constitutionalism. In the last U. P. Council there were as many as 31 Swarajist members; in the present one there will be only 18. This, indeed, is a great triumph for Liberal and other Constitutional groups, which include many public men of whom effective public service may be confidently expected. Some of the Swarajist members returned too may be relied upon to acquit themselves creditably. Among these we may mention Pandit Govind Balabh Pant, the leader of the Swarajists in the expired Council. His record in that Council was very good, indeed. And he was an obstructionist only in name. So far indeed was he from the practice of obstructionism that he was foremost in ardently supporting the provi-

sions in the official Oudh Tenancy Bill, which was rejected by the Council and later certified by Government. He was quite right too in selecting official members for partnership on this occasion rather than the elected members, for the former championed the cause of right and justice far more than the latter. It is very much to be hoped that such capable and public spirited Swarajists will be rendered free by the Gauhati Congress to support good measures introduced by Government.

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MADRAS is heaving a sigh of relief at its being rid at last of the communal octopus that was dominating the administration for six long years. The disappearance of the Panagal ministry and the installation of an Independent one in its place are being hailed with delight by the leading organs and publicists of the Province. We congratulate Lord Goschen on thus giving practical effect to the verdict of the electorate in spite of the difficulties caused by the refusal of responsibility by the Swarajists. A governor endowed with a lesser sense of constitutional integrity would, perhaps, have yielded, under the circumstances, to the desperate efforts of the Panagalites on the one hand and the pressure of his own autocratic advisors on the other, to retain in office the tried supporters of the bureaucracy or himself administer the transferred subjects until the Swarajists agreed to accept responsibility. It speaks not a little for the far-seeing statesmanship of Lord Goschen that he rejected both these alternatives as leading to trouble in the future and adopted the only advisable course consonant with reason and the constitution. The new ministers, it is to be hoped, will justify their choice by fearlessly pursuing a more progressive policy than that of their predecessors in regard to the subjects under their charge. We do not wish to add to the volume of unsolicited advice that they may be receiving now from all quarters. We would only ask them to remember that their position in the Council is somewhat precarious without a solid majority party behind them and that the chances of their commanding the confidence of the house will solely depend on their ability to eschew the communal outlook from their administration and embody in their policy the popular, nationalistic point of view. Herein lies the secret of their success and continuance in office. The Swarajists appear to be in a mood to support them in all that promotes the real interests of the people and strengthens the national cause. They will surely try to step into the ministerial gadi if the Gauhati Congress raises the bar on office. But that is only a consummation which all constitutionalists are eagerly wishing for.

IT is now some time since the Andhras have begun to play with the ideal of complete political independence for India.

Andhra Provincial Conference. Last year, under the presidency of Mr. B. Sambamurti, the Andhra Provincial Conference held at Madras passed by a narrow majority a resolution urging the adoption of the ideal of absolute independence by the Congress. This year also, the Conference held at Ellore last week carried by a slightly smaller majority a resolution to the same effect moved by Mr. Sambamurti who, it would seem, aspires to play the rôle of a de Valera in that province. We do not grudge the Andhras the proud pleasure of appearing to be the most go-ahead province in the country in embracing uncompromising ideals of nationalism. No one is entitled to set limits to the political aspirations of a people and the Conference was undoubtedly within its right in passing the resolution. But we are seriously in doubt as to the wisdom of making such declarations of faith in the present circumstances of the country. The resolution reflects more of the futile bravado spirit than any sense of practical politics. That the saner section of the province is of our way of thinking is evident from the opposition to the resolution of such leaders as Messrs. Venkatappiah, Prakasam and C. Rajagopalachar. So there is no danger of the advice being taken seriously by the country or the Congress. The folly of this resolution is matched only by the madness of another requesting the Congress to concert measures to conduct civil disobedience on an extensive scale. If the country was unfit for direct action three years ago, it is still more so now when political dissension and demoralisation is on the increase. If at all there was any live issue before the Conference on which it could well have given a lead to Congressmen, it was the question of how the Congress Councillors in the legislatures should conduct themselves. But the proceedings in regard to this, we are told, ended in smoke, all the resolutions and amendments on the subject being dropped after considerable discussion. This is quite in keeping with the bankruptcy of political sense betrayed by the Conference in its previous resolutions.

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TAMIL NADU seems to be blindly following the lead of Andhra Desh along the perilous path of political bravado. The provincial conference at Madras is reported to have passed a resolution similar to that of the Ellore conference, recommending the Congress to adopt as its goal the ideal of absolute independence. It is a pity that the delegates at both the gatherings should allow themselves to be carried off their feet by the flush of victory in the recent elections. The alien yoke that they are so impatient to cast off is not going to be removed by merely flaunting paper-resolutions of independence in the face of the foreigner. It is a relief to turn from such impotent outbursts to the resolutions urging a vigorous prosecution of the constructive programme including village reconstruction, removal of untouchability and the organisation of labour. Practical work in these directions, if need hardly be observed, will bring the day of Swaraj nearer than all tall talks of independence or mere mouthing of empty threats. The Swarajists have yet to learn their lesson in constructive nationalism, although their no-changer brethren have far advanced in the field. One scans in vain the presidential address of Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar for any new lead in this respect, beyond a pathetic appeal to Mahatmajî to raise funds and keep up the organisation. The

address is also sterile of all helpful suggestions in regard to the future policy of the Congress in the legislatures. Mr. Iyengar no doubt rejoices at the result of the recent elections and bestows fulsome praise on his own party men, leaders as well as workers, with an extra dose of thanks to providence for so mercifully vouchsafing a victory to Congressmen. But the victory will have been won in vain if it is not effectively utilised to advance popular interests and strengthen the cause of Swaraj along lines that will help the presentation of a united front to our enemies. Mr. Iyengar repeats all the old arguments against acceptance of office until the "national demand" is responded to by the government. It is needless at this time of the day to tread over this old ground.

* * *

DR. BENTLEY who has served for a number of years in Bengal is noted for his well meaning enthusiasm. This is not the first time when he has propounded his sanitary scheme or held out the vision of a healthy Bengal. Many of his own sanitary schemes together with others must be accumulating dust in the archives of the Bengal Secretariat. To the insistent public demand for better sanitation the Government gives wholly inadequate grants, "small mercies" as Dr. Bentley calls them. For the rest the Government avows "profound sympathy but no funds." When there is a severe water scarcity the Publicity Officer duly issues bulletins urging the people to strain the mud and (or) water before drinking it and similar profundities, for which the people have to pay in cash and little to thank. The Bengal Government owns cinchona plantations near Darjeeling and the tablets are prepared in the Juvenile Jail at Alipur. With a sure business instinct, the Government makes handsome profit out of quinine manufacture and sale. As a matter of bare fact the Government have never made any serious and province-wide attempt to eradicate malaria. It is time that the Government came by the discovery that without a proper Loan Policy no work on a large scale can be begun. It can find the money if it has the will, the kind of will that has found the crores to build the new Howrah bridge.

* * *

WE make a present of the following to the Madras Excise Commissioner. It is a bit of interesting evidence given by Dr.

Subbarayan, now the Chief Minister of Madras, before the Royal Commission on Agriculture

"Replying to Sir Henry Lawrence the witness said that lot of illicit distillation and illicit consumption of liquor was going on under the very nose of the Excise Department. His personal experience was that the departmental officials did connive at it. Sums of Rs. 200 and 300 were paid to them that they might work at illicit sales."

We wonder what answer the Commissioner has to give to this serious charge. The administration report of the Department for last year makes mention of the increase in excise crime but seriously asks the public to believe that it is due to the non-cooperation movement which, we are told, "brought with it a contempt on the part of the masses for law and authority, some of the effects of which are to be seen in the growth of excise." This explanation is as silly as it is far-fetched. It is to be hoped that the new minister in charge of excise will investigate into the matter and put down corruption with an iron hand.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN BARODA.

THE Baroda Government recently appointed Rao Bahadur Govindbhai H. Desai, Naib Dewan, to inquire into the present state of compulsory education in the State and to suggest ways and means for accelerating its progress. It is a painstaking report that Rao Bahadur Desai has now presented, which merits close study even outside Baroda. The report shows that although compulsory education is in force in the State for twenty years, still much lee-way has to be made before the goal of universal education comes within sight. As it is, nearly half the number of villages in the State are yet to be provided with schools, and even allowing for some villages which, though themselves without schools, yet lie within the area served by schools in the neighbouring villages, at least "40 p.c. of the total number of villages are without any provision for educational facilities." Some of these villages may be too small ever to be able to supply the minimum number of children considered to justify the opening of a new school, but how many of the villages which go at present without a school are of a big enough size to admit of their being equipped with a school later on Rao Bahadur Desai does not say. In fact he does not seem to have made an inquiry on the point. He shows, however, by giving figures for literate persons that the rate of progress of compulsory education is very slow. "We have now," he says, "at the most one-sixth of the State population as literate, instead of what it should have been, viz. one-half." As to the standard of education reached, the report says that 48 p. c. of the children do not even reach the second standard; that is to say, they "do not get any education worthy of the name." These are but a few of the telling figures quoted in the report, which, however, are enough to show that Baroda cannot rest on its laurels as it is doing at present, if it is not actually going backwards, but must forge ahead in order that it may retain the position of honour and pride which it held not so very long ago.

In certain places in the report Rao Bahadur Desai clearly goes outside his legitimate province in order to attempt a justification of the State's policy of stagnation and in some cases even of retrogression. For instance, he delivers himself of an opinion at p. 22 that "the allotment in the budget for education which has now reached its maximum cannot be increased," and that "further expansion and improvement in education will have to be done by effecting economy and stopping waste of expenditure." This expression of opinion is entirely uncalled for and must certainly be unauthorized. If H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar had come to the deliberate conclusion that all progress towards education in future be financed out of economies in the present expenditure, we should think he would have selected a more direct and authoritative means of communicating it than a casual reference in a report such as this. Rao Bahadur

Desai also seeks to defend the closure of 470 schools nearly ten years ago and the exclusion of the Kaliparaj community from the operation of the Compulsory Education Act. The defence is as unconvincing as it is unwarranted. In regard to the second, Rao Bahadur Desai says that compulsion is in force only in areas served by compulsory schools and as the Kaliparaj area is without such schools, the exclusion of that community from the operation of the Act does not involve the creation of a new disability on the Kaliparaj but merely a statement of existing facts. This, of course, everybody knows, but if you first abolish schools in a certain area and then put that area outside the pale of compulsion on the ground that there are no schools, you only make two bits of a cherry instead of one in denying the benefit of compulsion to the inhabitants of that area. The closure of schools itself is sought to be justified on the ground that the schools were only "nominal," as Rao Bahadur Desai calls them. That is to say, the attendance in them was meagre and often faked, perhaps, and the tuition received was next to nothing.

It may be that these schools were unsatisfactory, but we refuse to believe that the only way of mending them were to end them. Even supposing that the villages were not ripe for schools ten years ago, it cannot be that the whole area must be left schoolless even at the present time. For it must be remembered that not one of the 470 schools then closed has yet been reopened. The attitude of the people in general is in no way hostile; on the contrary, they are eager to have facilities for education. Rao Bahadur Desai himself says: The backward classes "objected to the very existence of a school as an addition to the other plagues of village life and would be glad to pay even a Nazarana for the removal of the nuisance of a school. But 20 years' experience has changed the mentality of a majority of these people; and the time has been reached when the closing of an existing school would be resented and persistent efforts made to have it reopened." Again: "There are indications of a desire on the part of people not only to get schools but also to improve the existing ones. Village people come forward with voluntary contributions for supplying dead stock and other equipment for schools. They also demand higher standards and women teachers in girls' schools. Leading men among backward classes like the forest tribes of the Navsari district want not only more schools to be opened but also to make education compulsory as it was till last year." In the face of this testimony given by the inquiring officer himself, the defence set up by him does not appear even plausible. Surely the State can do much to awaken the desire for knowledge in the people. To this end Rao Bahadur Desai proposes one step, viz. the transfer of control over schools to local bodies. This step is no doubt suggested by the example of Bombay Presidency, but we doubt whether it is best calculated to promote compulsory education. Local bodies are hardly ever up

to the mark in this matter, and State officials, provided they take a keen interest in the work, manage education more efficiently. We would not, therefore, like to see the vital interests of education to be sacrificed to the claims of local self-government. The true remedy for putting life into "nominal" schools and for covering the country with a net work of educational institutions is to take the help of a band of educational missionaries in starting new schools and maintaining them at a high level of efficiency. If the State would offer to pay all reasonable expenses incurred by such a voluntary agency in opening and conducting schools, we have no doubt that such workers will be forthcoming and would obtain highly encouraging results. We hope the Baroda State will make this new departure at any rate in the education of the depressed classes and aboriginal tribes.

The remedies suggested by Rao Bahadur Desai are good so far as they go, but by themselves they are entirely inadequate. The excuses for non-attendance of children at school are too many and must be curtailed. Fines levied on parents must be promptly collected, but the Act itself must be tightened up. The penalty now imposed under the Act is a fine of annas 8 for the first offence and a maximum fine of Rs. 5 for a subsequent offence. Rao Bahadur Desai proposes that a warning should be given for the first offence and that for subsequent offences such fines may be levied as may appear proper to the punishing authority. This is much too lenient. There is no reason why coercive provisions in Baroda need be any less drastic than those in European countries. A corresponding provision in Northern Ireland, just to take one instance, is as follows:—

(a) In the first case of non-compliance, if the parent of the child does not appear, or appears and fails to satisfy the court that he has used all reasonable efforts to enforce compliance with the order, the court may impose a fine not exceeding (including costs) forty shillings; but if the parent satisfies the court that he has used all reasonable efforts as aforesaid, the court may, without inflicting a fine, order the child to be sent to a certified day industrial school, or, if it appears to the court that there is no such school suitable for the child, then to a certified industrial school, and

(b) In the second or any subsequent case of non-compliance with the order, the court may order the child to be sent to a certified day industrial school, or if it appears to the court that there is no such school suitable for the child, then, to a certified industrial school, and may further in their discretion inflict any such fine as aforesaid, or they may for each such non-compliance inflict any such fine as aforesaid without ordering the child to be sent to an industrial school.

" Provided that the court in lieu of ordering the child to be sent to an industrial school

may make an order for the committal of the child to the care of a relative or other fit person in accordance with the provisions of section 58 of the Children's Act, 1908."

Baroda which can propose such Draconian legislation as the Press Act need not err on the side of timidity in enforcing the law of compulsory attendance; the penalties attached to its non-observance may well be made so severe as to be really deterrent. At present they are treated with contempt. Employers employing children of school age are exempt, under the existing Act, from punishment. Rao Bahadur Desai proposes that they should be subject to penalty equally with parents. All these are desirable amendments, but the main thing that the State must be willing to do is to devote a larger portion of its resources to education and must enlist the sympathies of men who will take up the profession of teachers and educational organizers not for money but for love. There is no dearth of men of this class provided the State will trust them and give them enough scope.

AGRICULTURE AND THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

NOW that the Royal Commission on Agriculture is touring the country collecting evidence for its report, it will be useful to take a general survey of the agricultural conditions in India, to discuss in a general way the evidence that is being tendered before the Commission and to formulate certain conclusions based upon them. For a clear grasp of the subject, it is best that we divide it into certain broad divisions and discuss each of them separately, not forgetting that they are merely parts of one wider whole. For this purpose we can divide the activities of the various Agricultural departments into (1) Research, (2) Demonstration and Organisation, and (3) Education.

Under "Research" come the bulk of the activities of the Agricultural Institute at Pusa, and the work done by the Research sections of the various provincial Departments of Agriculture. This kind of work which we might call "Deliberate Research" is new to this land; because, although researches have been made and improvements effected in methods of Agriculture in the old days, we have no information that some individuals deliberately dedicated their whole lives to research work. Thus it happens that the research worker of the present day has before him a practically virgin field and results naturally follow the efforts of men in this field very quickly at the start. Thus the researches carried out in different parts of the country have all yielded very good results. Even if, in course of time, the volume of such results does not remain constant, research work will still have to be persistently carried on because on the results of such work depends entirely the improvements that can be effected in the field of agriculture. Research is the basis of all propaganda and demonstration work, and it is this latter that can reach and influence the ordinary cultivator.

Some people make the sad mistake of imagining that research work is confined to the laboratory and to the scientists working therein. It has to be remembered that the experimental farms are merely outdoor laboratories, that the work done on such farms is quite as much research work as any done inside buildings, and that the men engaged in working out field problems on experimental farms are as much scientific men as those working in indoor laboratories. The result of all this work during the past few years, both at Pusa and in the provinces, has been to place in the hands of cultivators better implements, better methods of cultivation, better seed, and better means of controlling crop pests and diseases.

Before the results of such research work can reach the actual farmers, a good deal of propaganda and demonstration work has to be undertaken. The farmer, all over the world, is said to be a conservative person; but it has been recognised that with all this conservatism he is quite ready, nay eager, to adopt improved methods once he is satisfied about their usefulness. It has also been admitted that the apparent conservatism of the farmer is a factor of safety; because hasty and premature adoption of new methods may involve him in considerable loss. Thus we have the need of an intelligent and patient body of men who will interpret the results of research work to the farmers in a way he can understand and appreciate. It is therefore not enough to preach improved methods to the farmer, but he should be shown how these can be actually translated into practice and what results follow from such practice. It is this work that is engaging the attention of the district staffs of the provincial Departments of Agriculture.

Quite distinct from this is the work of Rural Organisation. Organising the rural community of the production of crops is considered to be a very important piece of work in other countries, but here this has barely been touched. This question is receiving some attention at the present time, especially in tracts that are being opened up for cultivation under newly constructed canals. Consolidation of holdings and the establishment of cooperative societies to help cultivators in various ways are being attempted in many places, and the results are fairly encouraging. All this is part of the wider problem of Rural Reconstruction and requires the services of men who are specially trained for the work and who can understand the mentality and win the confidence of the cultivators.

All the lines of work briefly described above demand duly qualified workers. Men have to be trained before they can be expected to carry on this work satisfactorily. The proper training of these men is of paramount importance, because mistakes committed, especially in propaganda and demonstration work, have far-reaching consequences, often quite incommensurate with immediate effects. Mistakes that may be made in

research work will often merely mean that some time is lost and that results are a little delayed. Even the slightest mistake in demonstration work may mean that the expected result does not appear quite as it should. The cultivators who have been watching such demonstrations become doubtful about the soundness of the methods preached by the demonstrator, and this, coupled with their innate cautiousness, creates in them a prejudice against everything that the demonstrator might say, in spite of all reasonable and cogent explanations. Their confidence, thus shaken once, will be very hard to regain. The district officers have therefore not only to be very alert and careful, but they must be assured that the results passed on to them by the research workers are absolutely reliable. In the stress of competition and in the desire for advancement, a temptation may sometimes arise in some workers to skimp certain details, and this might land a whole body of officers in trouble. Thus we require the very best men possible in the field of agriculture.

For training them, there are various institutions in this country. Firstly we have the Agricultural Institute at Pusa, then we have the various colleges of agriculture, and then the vernacular schools. The Pusa Institute concerns itself with training a limited number of specialists in various branches of Agricultural Science. Properly organised, this Institute should be capable of supplying the needs of all provinces of India for specialists. While there would be thus no need to look to foreign countries to supply recruits to the various Departments of Agriculture, it would still be desirable to afford facilities to agricultural officers in India to visit foreign lands from time to time and get into personal touch with the methods pursued in different parts of the world. This system would further prevent the loss of experience gained after an expenditure of considerable sums of money, which occurs when foreigners recruited into the service retire, before their time especially. The colleges of agriculture train students in all the branches of agricultural science, giving an opportunity to the students to specialize in certain selected branches. The men that pass out of these colleges are equipped with enough of knowledge to undertake either research work or district work. The education imparted in the vernacular schools is of a more practical nature and aims at training people to become farmers. Stress is laid on practical work in the field, and just so much theory is given to them as will enable them to understand and appreciate the improved methods taught to them. In addition to all these, there have been attempts, attended with varied success, to have "short courses" for actual farmers and primary school masters intended to help them with the latest methods of agriculture.

One of the primary objects of some of the colleges of agriculture has been the training of men who will start life as farmers. The complaint has been that this object has not been realised to any

great extent. The cause for this is two-fold. Firstly, the primary requisites for farming, viz. land and money, are wanting in most cases, and secondly there is a regrettable absence of encouragement so necessary to young men who take up a line of work not commonly followed. A determination to succeed and a dogged perseverance which will make light of hardships and set-backs,

are necessary if one wants to succeed as a farmer. In this, sympathy of elders counts a good deal, as we are here dealing with young men who are generally totally unaccustomed to farm life. How the young men who pass out of agricultural colleges can be helped to become good farmers will be discussed at length in another article.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

EUROPE AFTER THE WAR.

By T. G. P. SPEAR.

III.—GERMANY.

AFTER the Peace Conference Germany lay sullen, resentful and crushed. With the failure of the militarists she had put her trust in President Wilson's Fourteen Points, had disavowed her old leaders and overthrown the Monarchy, had installed in power the Socialists and begun to elaborate a democratic Constitution, and she had been rewarded with the harshest treaty of modern times, with crushing financial burdens which were all the greater for being undefined. The superstructure of Bismarck's work lay in ruins and it was even doubtful if the foundations would not crack. Bolshevism which might capture the hungry masses as it had already done in Hungary, Royalism which threatened Civil War, a Separatism which might dissolve the Reich into its historical components as the French hoped, Reparations which might lead to financial collapse and so open the way to chaos—these were the problems which depressed and threatened to overwhelm her democratic statesmen on the morrow of the Peace.

The first danger was from Bolshevism. In Germany (unlike Russia) the revolutionary section of the Social Democratic Party were a minority. In consequence the majority leaders Ebert and Scheidemann took control of the government, while the Independents under Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg retired to foment revolution in the manner of Lenin. They took the name of Spartacists, a Roman leader of the Social War, and relied on hunger and disillusionment to foster revolt in the great cities. But not so easily could the German middle class be moved. It was no exotic like its Russian counterpart, but the backbone of the country, and it was its steadying influence which enabled the German ship of state to survive all the storms of the post-war period. The middle class is the ballast of a state, whose stability is in inverse proportion to its size. So the Spartacists met their match in Noske, the Socialist Minister of Defence, and in Von Seeckt, the new Commander-in-Chief, and in the early part of 1919 were ruthlessly suppressed.

The next danger came from the Royalists. The army officers with their Hohenzollern traditions did not take kindly to disbandment, and their leaders found their opportunity in the bad times

which predisposed people to regret the Monarchy and magnify the glories of the good old days. In 1920 Dr. Kopp effected his "Putsch" which for a moment seized Berlin, but the forces of weariness and stability proved again too strong. The later Hitler-Ludendorff coup in Bavaria failed equally signally and the Monarchists turned perforce to constitutional methods. They formed a Nationalist Party with an extreme wing led by Ludendorff and they profited by the collapse of the mark and the Ruhr occupation to gain many seats. But they were unable to form a government, and though they secured the election of Hindenburg as President in 1925, their opposition to the policy of Locarno and his own independence of mind have successively discredited them. The average German has no love for the Republic, but he prefers it to a military monarchy and he has no love for the ex-Kaiser. The Republic has at least brought him peace, if not exactly with honour, and it is beginning to bring him prosperity; and therefore with Teutonic practicality he will probably stick to it for the present, whatever his personal prejudices or abstract principles.

The third menace of Separatism was always more of a French dream than a German danger. Whatever substance there was in the dream came partly from the older tradition of a divided Germany and partly from the localisation of acute party differences. Thus one local unit, Saxony, was predominantly Communist and Catholic Bavaria with its Wittelsbach tradition and its popular Prince Rupprecht was stoutly Royalist. But as her only way to separation was by vassalage to France the danger was never so great as it was often thought. A temperamental divergence, rather than a desire for independence, underlay the movement and the strength of the sentiment for unity can be gauged from the comparative docility with which Bavaria has endured a Republican régime in spite of her Royalist prejudices.

After the Revolution one of the first tasks of the democrats was to draw up a Constitution. But thorough though they were, the democrats of Weimar were more speedy than their ill-fated forefathers at Frankfurt in 1849, and completed their work in the summer of 1919. The new Constitution has been called the most democratic in the world. It represents the completest expression of

Liberal thought, and it has both the strength and weakness of the Liberal school. There is a single chamber and responsible government, and also a universally elected President. Thus the co-operation of both President and Minister is necessary for an act of government as in France, but unlike the French system both have an equal popular mandate, and the chances of friction are correspondingly increased. So far, the shrewdness of Ebert and the national prestige and sturdiness of Hindenburg have increased the reputation of the President until Hindenburg could "order" the formation of a Cabinet by a fixed date, and affect policy by his expressed opinion as in the recent controversies over the new flag and the Hohenzollern estates. The most interesting experiment is the institution of an advisory Economic Council, a step in a syndicalist direction, and Proportional Representation has also been introduced. As Naumann said of it, "it is the most just of systems, but you will have a miserable time of changing coalitions," and eleven Chancellors in eight years have amply verified his prophecy. Apart from this, the Constitution represents a long stride towards the unification of Germany, changes which Bismarck desired but did not see coming easily with the elimination of the conflicting traditions and jealousies of the dynasties. The status of a Federal unit is reduced from a "State" to a "Land", the right of direct taxation is conceded to the Federal Government, and posts, telegraphs and railways are federalised at a stroke. The two cracks of Bavarian particularism and Rhineland separatism which appeared in the imperial foundations were closed by timely French pressure and for the rest the shocks of revolution and defeat have only served to cement the already linked blocks into one consistent whole. The Weimar Constitution was not so much a cause as an effect of German national sentiment.

We now consider Germany's relations with the rest of Europe, and first the dominating issue of Reparations. From the first the Germans were resigned to the payment of reparations and Herr Bauer's "ministry of Acceptance" was prepared to agree to almost any given sum. But the Allies with their quarrels about pensions, the cost of the war and reparations proper were unable to agree to a figure; they merely fixed a preliminary figure and appointed a Commission to report in two years time. This was one of their worst mistakes, for nothing could delay financial recovery more than this uncertainty, and the post-war temper soon aggravated the situation. The Germans would only propose of themselves sums which they thought they could pay, and Allied suspicions made them denounce every such proposal as evasive and unsatisfactory. So Germany headed steadily for financial collapse.

The Allies demanded 1000 million pounds by May 1921 payable in cash and kind. Before the expiry of the period they refused a German offer to

pay 1500 million pounds and in May 1921 accepted the Reparations Commission's estimate of £6,200 million (132,000,000 gold marks) as the total payable. They then complained that the Germans had only paid £400 millions of the promised £1000 millions and replied to the German protests with a seven days' ultimatum. Another "ministry of acceptance" was hastily formed by Dr. Wirth, which began by prompt payments of the sums demanded. But the effort to do this proved too great. The drawing of foreign bills for cash payment depreciated the mark, the loss of the Silesian and Saar colfields left Germany with insufficient coal for her own needs after paying her tribute to France, foreign purchases further depreciated the mark and investors began to place their money abroad. The "flight from the mark" began, and accelerated by unwise inflation, it soon rendered the reparations valueless as fast as they were paid. The Allies replied by granting a partial moratorium at the Cannes Conference in January 1922; this led to the fall of M. Briand. His successor Poincaré met the British proposals for further concessions by proposing to occupy the Ruhr coalfield, and when Germany announced her inability to pay for two years carried out his threat single-handed in January 1923. The Germans carried on a futile passive resistance for nine months until Dr. Stresemann submitted, during which the mark finally descended into the abyss. In the middle of 1923 the mark, formerly worth nearly a shilling, was at the astronomical figure of 20 billion to the pound.

Germany could descend no lower, and from now her fortunes began slowly to mend. France on her side realised that she must reduce her demands if she was to obtain payment, and reluctantly consented to the appointment of a new Commission under the American General Dawes. When it reported the Radical Herriot had succeeded Poincaré; he joined with the English and Germans in accepting it and agreed to evacuate the Ruhr. The Dawes scheme is briefly this. A new bank of issue with a management half German was formed to finance payments. Payments were to be made in an ascending scale up to £175 millions a year in five years' time, and a beginning was made with mortgages on the railways and industry. The only detail unsettled was the total payable. So far the scheme has worked well, and if it has given America a grip of Germany by the mortgages, it has also provided a workable scheme and enabled Germany to look forward once more with hope and even with confidence. The second step towards recovery was the replacement of the mark in 1923 by the "Rentenmark," which was secured on the land and houses of the country, real values which no depreciation could affect. Its value has remained constant, and it has restored internal stability and confidence.

Other causes of friction with the Allies were disarmament and the fate of ceded German territories. Germany acquiesced in the loss of Alsace

Lorraine to France and Schleswig to Denmark and she recovered by plebiscite two large areas in East Prussia; but in Silesia the plebiscite in 1921, though giving a German majority, left the fate of the richest part of the province in doubt. English and French as usual disagreed, and the League of Nations eventually arbitrated a line midway between the two allied proposals.

Enough has been said to show the depth of the waters which Germany has passed through. Spurned by the West she had first turned to Russia and concluded the Treaty of Rapallo in 1922. But in 1924 a radical France talked of conciliation, and fortunately for Germany the hour produced the man in Dr. Stresemann. He met half way each gesture of M. Herriot and his successor Briand, and the way was thus opened for the negotiations which led to the agreement of Locarno in 1924. Germany formally guaranteed her new western frontier and even agreed to attempt no rectification in the east without first appealing to arbitration. On the surface, she soothed the Allied suspicions, but the importance of Locarno is far greater than this. For the first time since the war Germany was treated as an equal, and her election to the League of Nations formally marked her readmission into the ranks of the great powers. Moreover, she had gained a most valuable lever for obtaining further concessions such as the prompt return of the Saar basin and the amelioration of reparations,—the lever of threatening to denounce Locarno and with it the guarantee of the frontiers. This lever has already procured her election to the League at the expense of Spanish and Brazilian membership, and what it will obtain in the future is yet to be seen.

We found Germany in a mood of despair, and we leave her sturdily confident. Her delegates have received the plaudits of the world at Geneva, her chief statesman has met M. Briand in friendly converse at Thoiry, and her industrialists have joined in the recent manifesto on the economic ills of Europe. So much patience and steadiness in her difficulties, so much energy and good-will in her recovery are the mark of no feeble people, and it is not difficult to prophesy that the German name will yet be honoured in Europe before it descends to the limbo of forgotten peoples.

. CHIROL ON INDIA.—II

AFTER dealing with the effects of the War on India's destiny, Sir Valentine Chirol discusses the economic condition of rural India in a couple of chapters; and from his teeming suggestions, none of them new, we can only select a few here. Though he overestimates the work already done by the Co-operative Credit Societies and the Agricultural Department of the Government of India, instead of thinking of "the petty done and the undone vast", he by no means appears here as a smug rhapsodist of English achievements. He nails on the counter the Government's failure to promote Indian industries: "Few Englishmen will contend that the long and tangled history of British econo-

mic policy in India constitutes a blameless chapter in the annals of British rule." He is indignant at the Cotton Excise duties imposed at the behest of Whitehall and for the behoof of Lancashire,—and abolished only after years of heartburning and fruitless prayer. "It was a thinly veiled measure of protection for Lancashire at the expense of India, and the sophisticated arguments by which it was defended rankled as deeply as the thing itself", says he. One should not wonder if the author were to be hauled over the coals by British capitalists for writing this. The same blunt candour makes him condemn some of the vexatious restrictions placed by the Forestry Department upon old grazing and other customs and the scandalously low rates of pay paid to the petty village authorities and the rural police who are charged with the enforcing of these restrictions. Nor does the *Zamindari* system escape censure from the author, who points out how the Talukdars and Zamindars have now, since the coming into vogue of motor cars, taken to levying special cesses for the purchase of the coveted Rolls Royce.

All who think seriously of the unconscionable drain on India's resources caused by uneconomic elements in popular religion would feel with the author that the number of useless cattle in India mean for her a loss she could ill afford. "At the Bangalore meeting of the Board of Agriculture it was estimated that out of the 146 million bovine cattle in British India, 16 million oxen and 8.5 million cows were, allowing for all deductions, entirely superfluous. The cost of maintaining amounts at a minimum figure to Rs. 176 crores. This annual economic loss is four times the entire land revenue of India."* Painless lethal methods of disposing off these cattle cannot be thought of in India where the cow is worshipped. A more difficult problem is not the multiplication of cattle but of men—the saltant growth of population whereby during the last 50 years the population of India has leapt up by 50%, at the rate of 2 millions per year, and this, in spite of the appalling infantile mortality and a deathrate twice as high as that of Great Britain. It is high time that the Government took measures, as in England, for the spread of knowledge regarding birth-control; but would this also offend Indian 'doxy'? Coming to another source of loss to the country, the havoc wrought by monkeys, birds, mice, and pigs, the author would lay the blame for it entirely at the door of the peasant's religion: it must be shared equally by the Arms Act and also by his ignorance. For all this as well as for the pathetic fatalism of the Indian farmer the remedy is education in the real sense and not merely the spread of the three R's. Before we take leave of this section of the book we may note in passing that the author's encomiastic reference to Sir George Lloyd and his laudable enterprise in launching the Bombay Reclamation project sounds ironical now that we know it for what it is truly—a mad financial gamble fit only for megalomaniacs to specialize in.

In the rest of the book which is taken up with the constitutional and political sides of the argument, the author teases out with a masterly clarity and a sure hand the tangled skein of post-war events and interprets with the insight of experience the imbroglie of hot politics. The Rowlatt Act, the Punjab tragedy, the appearance of Mahatma Gandhi on the proscenium of Indian politics, the N.-C.-O. and the Khilafat movements, the Moplah riots, the boycott of the Prince of Wales' visit, the riots in Bombay, the boycott of

* India in 1924—25: Rushbrook Williams.

the first elections, the ghastly atrocities of Chauri Chaura, the imprisonment of Gandhi, the emergence of 'Swarajism', Hindu-Mohamedan riots, Kohat, the Mahatma's fast and the Unity Conference, the abolition of Khilafat by the Agha National Assembly and the inglorious collapse of the Khilafat agitation, *Sangathan* and *Shudhi*, *Tanzim* and *Tabligh*, the Akali movement and the diabolic tragedy at Nankana Sahib and the events connected with it including the *Jathas* and the Gurdwara legislation—all are made to pass before our eyes with obtrusive comments interspersed between, neither extenuating nor setting down aught in malice.

The irresponsibility and the futile obstructionism of the Swarajists broods like a dark shadow over the closing chapters of the book. This is what makes it easy for us to understand why the author, though well seasoned as a political thinker, should be at pains to improvise, as he does, such trumped-up arguments against provincial autonomy. To Sir Valentine, provincial autonomy means in the first place "not merely a relaxation but the removal of the ultimate control over the provincial governments released from that control and the Central Government of India so long as it remains entirely or even partially subject to it." Our answer is that on all questions of all-India importance, recognized as such by statute as well as by convention, the decision arrived at by the autonomous provincial governments will be subject to the approval, revision or veto of the Central Government, and that the latter in its turn will be answerable to Parliament with regard to the Foreign, Military and Political Departments, which are of Imperial importance and for the others to the Central Legislature. For the rest, Parliament will exercise the same exercises over the Dominions. When responsibility at the Central Government (with the exceptions above noted) is granted, there will be, or ought to be, no general control over Indian affairs that it be, no government by secret cables between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and few or no instances of vexatious interference by Whitehall. That, while provincial autonomy would eliminate dyarchy in the Provinces, it would introduce it in a form in the Central Government is another difficulty that confronts the author. But everybody can see at once that in so far as dyarchy disappears from the Provinces it is no small minimization of its creaking discomforts; and to that extent it marks a definite improvement of the Constitution. It is true however that when dyarchy reappears at the Central Government it will bring with it some of its evils, but these could and should be reduced by the prescription of limits to the monetary demands of the 'Reserved' departments and by their being made amenable ordinarily to the opinion of the Central Legislature. Thirdly, it is feared that there would be friction between the Central Government and the Provincial Governments, as if their respective jurisdictions and spheres could not be defined precisely by a Parliamentary Committee or as if such difficulties have been found insuperable by federal governments. Nor would it be difficult to distribute the common sources of revenue if only initial care is taken to mark off the quota of revenue due to each. The question of who should deal with the Native States would not arise for a long time as nobody wants the Political Department to be 'transferred'. But the funniest part of the argument lies in the question: "Do you mean by provincial autonomy that every Province shall have its own customs duties, its own army, its own marine if a coastal

Province, its own railway system?" No Indian politician in his senses, nor an English unless he wished to quiz the Indian, would ever take provincial autonomy, after all only a convenient phrase, to include these, for it means nothing more than this, that the present 'reserved' subjects are to be made transferred subjects—that is all. May we in this connection remind Sir Valentine Chirol of his sagacious reflection elsewhere in the book: "British statesmen obsessed with the shallow and certainly now obsolete notion of an 'unchanging East' have seldom been willing to believe that nowhere is it more true than in India that, 'if it were done when it is done, then 'twere well it were done quickly.'"

His objection to the separation of Judicial and Executive functions is again urged in a somewhat cavalier fashion: "Whatever may be urged against the combination of Executive and Judicial functions in all but the highest branches of Indian administration, it has the advantage of teaching the local executive officer how to act in emergency as well as how to think." If this bastard combination, whereby the prosecutor is also a judge, that was deemed necessary during the formative period of Indian administration when efficiency was the prime consideration, is not good enough for England (except in rare cases) because it makes justice often a farce or a travesty, why should it be good for India? Because, indeed, it trains the local executive officer how to act and how to think—which functions he could not obviously perform efficiently otherwise!

But for this resolve on the part of the author not to allow the political clock to move forward, his attitude to Indian questions is marked by justice and a noble liberalism. He drives home that fiscal independence is the step to emancipation from the rigid control exercised, with an eye to British rather than to Indian interests, over the allocation of revenues; that a larger portion of the revenues should be allocated to agricultural development and the ravenous maw of military expenditure should be fed less so that, "where the latter is shown to be required for Imperial rather than Indian purposes, it should not fall exclusively on the Indian tax-payers' overburdened shoulders . . ." It will be, he says, an earnest of the Government's determination to consider the interests of agriculture not from the point of view of revenue alone, as it was doing heretofore, but from that of the people's welfare. He not only sees the justice of the demand for the Indianization of the army and reinforces it, but also lifts the curtain and enables us to see the hidden wheels that impede progress in this line, to wit, the aversion on the part of British officers to take orders from Indian superiors, their fear of loss of prestige with Indian troops, and their social objections to mess with Indian officers. In regard to the Kenya deputation he records the naked truth that the Indian delegates got little more than a formal hearing in London. Sir Valentine's attitude on the colour bar and the Natal Boroughs Ordinance is not distinguishable from an Indian's and there is a righteous spirit vibrating through the placid language. A noble peroration closes the book, wherein he exhorts the British Government to bestir itself to deliver a resolute frontal attack upon the twin evils of poverty and ignorance, a task from which England has till now shrunk, and so discharge her duty as trustee for the welfare of India; and there is sadness, wisdom, and vision when he reflects how "British efficiency, hardened into a shibboleth, has served as an excuse for postponing indefinitely the fulfilment in practice of solemn promises into

which Indians had read an unreserved acknowledgment of their right to equal treatment."

There are one or two errors of fact in the book, as for instance, where matriarchy is spoken of as an institution among the *Nambūdris* (misspelt *Nampudris*) of Malabar and Travancore, which is confounding them with the *Nāyars*. Elsewhere there is mention of a South Indian fruit called *durian* of which the reviewer is not aware, though a South Indian. There are again several orthographical slips in regard to Indian names, the most glaring of which is *Prirhana Samaj* (so spelt in three places). B. M. Malabari figures as A. P. Malabari. Again: *Panchnamas Dayānand Saraswata*, *Bhagavatghita*, etc.

The style has a vim and go and often rises to a subdued eloquence with ever-renewed charm of of phrase and a never-failing diction. The involutions of clause can never be accused of following the suggestions of mere rhetorical effect, but are steadily subservient to the demands of many-sided truth. A wonderfully readable, sober and sympathetic book, there is no dull page in it, and young India may well read it with profit.

R. SADASIWA AIYAR.

REVIEWS.

COLONIALISM IN INTERNATIONAL LAW.

THE ACQUISITION AND GOVERNMENT OF BACKWARD TERRITORY IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. By M. F. LINDLEY. (Longmans Green & Co., London.) 1926. 9 × 5¾. pp. 391. 21s.

THIS is an admirable summary of the law on a subject which has not so far been isolated from other topics of International Law, except in a notable contribution to the study of the subject by a young Indian scholar.

The work can only be judged with reference to its scope, which is to present on historical lines the law on the subject as distinguished from *morality*. Within recent times, notably since the Peace Treaty, there has been a great advance in the International Law, both conventional and otherwise, on the subject. But the roots of the present-day international law on the subject lead us back to the thirteenth century when philosophers had begun discussing the rights of Christian races to acquire heathen lands. The doctrine acquired great importance in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, as a result of the discoveries of new continents and the establishment of dominions and colonies outside Europe. The movement received a new impetus in the nineteenth century, and the theory and practice of acquisition of dominion in backward territories developed apace. The War made a great revolution by which, not only did vast territories change their masters, but a new theory made its first tardy approach in the domain of international law—the theory of trusteeship. All this history is stated with clearness and lucidity and the theories of international law at each stage subjected to keen analysis and criticism in the light of actual cases and facts.

The term 'Backward Territory,' as the author admits in his preface, is neither a term known to International Law, nor very well defined. In the middle ages the distinction, was not with reference to stages of civilisation but one between Christian and non-Christian countries. But that distinction is seen to wear off quickly. In point of fact, acqui-

sition of territory and the recognition of sovereignty in them by international law has proceeded in history with singular want of regard to the question of the relative backwardness of the territory acquired. It is only in recent times that conquering states have sought moral justification for their aggression in the fact of the backwardness of conquered territories. But it would be a travesty to suggest that the invading adventurers who took advantage of the dissolution of the Moghul Empire to establish authority in India were, in point of civilisation, more forward than the Indians of those days. Other instances might easily be cited in Europe itself. Poland and the Balkan States could hardly be called backward territories.

Full and precise as the author's treatment of the law has been, he has almost wholly neglected to discuss the problems on the higher plane of international *morality*. Yet the work contains material which throws considerable light on that problem. It is interesting to note that even in the middle ages, when the leading thought was to deny sovereign right to non-Christians and justify Christian aggression, opinions to the contrary were held by noted divines (pp. 12-17). The conflict between morals and cupidity which started then may be traced in all ages, and even in times when aggression all round had become the rule, the still small voice of justice and morality was always heard. In recent times the aggressors have sought moral justification in the doctrine of the White Man's Burden and after ages of struggle the first germs of international morality in law were laid by the League of Nations covenant. The story of this evolution has been told by the author with a meticulous regard to facts of history, but without the lofty idealism which alone can place the history in its true light. The same story has been told with less wealth of detail, but with finer imagination and a correct grasp of broad tendencies by Mr. B. Sen-Gupta in his pamphlet on *Conquest of Territory and Subject Races in History and International Law*.

The author illustrates the doctrines of International Law on acquisition of sovereign rights in backward territories by reference in each case to numerous cases of acquisition. It is singular, however, that there is hardly any reference to the acquisition of sovereignty in India by the British. One would have thought that this topic should have deserved a large share in the treatment of the subject, not only because India is the largest single acquisition made by any state, but also because of the very complex questions which it raises. It is difficult to bring the British title to India under any one of the distinct categories known to international law.

Part I of the book deals with the modes of acquisition with reference to kinds of territory. Part II deals with the characteristics of the acquiring sovereign. Part III relates to the various titles or modes of acquisition beginning with Papal grants, so much relied upon by Spain at one time and ending with the mandates of the League of Nations. Part IV deals with the relations of the sovereigns with subjects so far as they concern international law.

It would be impossible to deal with all the topics of the book with any pretence to adequacy in this place. But a reference must be made to two interesting questions raised by the League of Nations mandates. At p. 263 the author discusses the question of the seat of sovereignty in the mandated territories. He holds, firstly, that except in Iraq, the sovereignty nowhere vests in the native

authorities and, secondly, that sovereignty is not vested in the Allied Powers or in the League of Nations, and therefore concludes that in every case except that of Iraq the sovereignty vests in the mandatory, though the mandated territory is not the national territory of the mandatory. It would be queer indeed if this was the net result of the elaborate endeavour to place the conquered territories on a more satisfactory basis than older subject states. But we do not think that this conclusion is justified. The author does not lay sufficient stress on the fact that the mandatory is strictly bound by its authority in the mandate, and is clearly made accountable to the League of Nations for carrying out the mandate. He recognises, indeed, that the sovereignty is limited by the conditions laid down in the respective mandates (p. 266), but, nevertheless, cannot find the residual sovereignty resting anywhere else. His difficulty arises from the fact that in these mandates International Law has started a new category of sovereignty which does not fall under any of the hitherto recognised concepts of International Law. The theory underlying the mandates is that of trusteeship or wardship. Mandates are granted because the mandated territories are supposed to be incapable of self-government and lasts till they acquire such capacity (Art. 22 of the League Covenant). The mandatories are required to administer the territories in the interest of the natives. It is obvious, therefore, that their position is that of Guardian or Trustee and the beneficiaries of the sovereignty are the natives themselves. This distinction of the fiduciary and beneficial ownership of the sovereignty is a new concept of International Law which should be kept clear and treasured as a valuable acquisition and not permitted to be swamped by a theory of sovereignty of the mandatory.

Another interesting point discussed by the author is with reference to the nature of the duties owed by the sovereign to the natives. The author very correctly observes that the duties cast upon mandatories are much wider in application than to the mandated territories only. The trusteeship in its broader aspects extends to every sovereign of backward territories. And he very cogently points out that the obligations of these sovereigns to their subjects are not merely moral but legal; they impose duties which International Law will recognise. The relations of sovereigns to their subjects in backward territories is no longer a matter of complete indifference to International Law.

Though the duties of sovereigns to the natives are thus legal duties, the author concludes that International Law does not confer any rights on the natives themselves. "The duties so laid upon each Power would, from the legal standpoint, be owed to the other members of the International Family, whose sense of justice and standard of morality had demanded observation of a certain level of conduct on the part of the powerful nations in dealing with defenceless backward peoples, and who, in order to ensure as far as possible that the level should be reached in all cases, had made reciprocal promises with regard to their own actions in relation thereto."

Here, again, it would seem that the author has failed in the orientation of his ideas to a new category of International law. If the sovereign is a trustee, and the beneficial interest of the subject is recognised in International Law, it follows that the beneficiary has also rights against the trustee. The author deals with these duties as exclusively founded on contract, and, apparently in accordance with the well-established rule of the law, concludes

that none but the contracting parties can have rights under it. But in private law, an exception is made where the effect of the contract is to create a trust, in which case the beneficiary too has a right against the trustee. There is no reason why with the advent of trusteeship in International Law similar rights of the beneficiary should not be recognised.

International Law started with the idea that each sovereign is omnipotent with regard to his own subjects and the relation of sovereign and subject is no concern of other sovereigns or of International Law. At the present moment, as the author has shown, this theory does not hold good in all matters. There are certain matters in the relation of sovereign to subject, such as slave-trade, slavery, etc. which rules of International Law seek to regulate. By the League of Nations covenant, moreover, with regard to the mandated territories certain other definite duties of the Sovereign to the subject are recognised and by Art. 22 of the covenant these duties are recognised as "the sacred trust of civilization" for the performance of which the covenant provides the securities. Although not embodied in the covenant, the same obligations must sooner or later be definitely recognised as subsisting between sovereign and subject in other backward territories, so called. It could then be hardly possible for International Law to deny to the subject, on whose behalf these trusts have been imposed, a *locus standi* to invoke the assistance of the League or International Tribunals for the proper performance of those trusts. Even now it would hardly be possible for the League to refuse a hearing to the people of mandated territories in their complaint of a breach of legal duties by the mandatory in the same manner as Koreans were denied a hearing in the past in their complaints against Japan. It is quite true that International Law has not yet definitely recognised such right of the subject races. But it is certain that unless such right is recognised, the doctrine of trust embodied in the League covenant will continue to be the force to which it has been very nearly reduced in Tanganyika for instance.

NARES C. SEN-GUPTA.

U.S.A. IN THE SEVENTIES.

THE DREADFUL DECADE. By DON C. SEITZ.
(Bobbs Merrill Co., Indianapolis.) 1926.
8½ × 5½. p. 312 \$3.50.

THIS record of American life from 1870 to 1880 is decidedly lurid not only in name but also in content. Written from the stand point of the journalist, the book savours rather of the nature of a "best seller" than of calm and impartial history. In it "muck-raking" is the order of the day, and the casual reader is left with the impression that American life consisted solely of inflated finance, race antagonism, bribery and corruption, and scandals in Church and State.

In reading a book written in this day and generation, one regrets to find the author still clinging to the view-point of a narrow nationalism. In writing of the "Virginian" incident and the massacre of American blockade runners in Cuba, however much one condemns Spanish high-handedness and cruelty, one is somewhat surprised to find the "historian" referring to the flags of the two countries as our "beautiful banner" and "the sinister standard of Spain." This is the sort of Jingo patriotism that thoughtful students are striving to banish from the writing and teaching of history.

Yet, aside from these criticisms, the book contains much of truth and of interest. America was passing through a period of post-war hysteria, which is not without its lessons for us who in these days find the whole world turned upside down. It is well to remember that then as now there were millions of decent, honest, clean-living people who pursued their middle class lives unaffected by the vagaries of high finance and the lure of the "unearned increment". But of the general atmosphere of corruption and unrighteousness there can be no doubt. In many ways the period is comparable to the days Walpole and the Whig supremacy in England.

To Indian readers, the book may be commended as an exposition of the perils of capitalism and the dangers that infest the road to democracy. The chapters on "Fisk and Gould" and "Credit Mobilier" are an exposure of the methods by which Wall Street fortunes were made and lost in a day, and of the crooked ways that went to the making of the "Kings of Finance", until the great Panic of 1873, which ruined rich and poor alike, and brought the country to its senses.

The chapters on the "Tweed Ring" and "Grant's Administration" are a ghastly exposure of political corruption. Tweed and Tammany ruled New York and out of the finances of that great but gullible city, piled up immense fortunes for themselves and their followers. In the building of a new court house, enough plaster was paid for to fill the court house rooms, and enough floor coverings to have packed the same rooms with carpets. "This was but one item in the Chimborazu of Steal."

The chapter on "Reconstruction" gives a vivid picture of the Post-War South, when doctrinaire politicians of the North thrust the rights of suffrage upon millions of newly freed Negro slaves. This led to recrimination on the part of the whites, and the organization of the infamous "Ku Klux Klan."

Racial injustice is laid bare in the chapter on "Indian Wars". That the Indian warrior was often cruel, treacherous, and vindictive no one will deny. The fear of him hung like a cloud ever present on the horizon of the lonely settler of the prairies. On the other hand, the rapacity of the whites, who drove the Indian owners from their desirable hunting grounds ever into less and less adequate reservations, cannot be justified by any code of ethics. There were the usual atrocities in which women and children perished horribly. There were the usual complaints, "You white people have driven me from mountain to mountain, from valley to valley as we do the wounded deer. At last you have me... Do we Indians stand any show of justice with you white people, with your own laws? I say no." Then came the usual revenge in the massacre of General Custer and all his men, blood repaid with blood, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth."

On the whole the book may be commended to students of democracy as an excellent example of "how not to do it." The reader puts it down with a fresh realization that the road to popular government is beset with many perils and strewn with many failures.

A. B. VAN DOREN.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

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- DEVOLUTION IN GREAT BRITAIN. By WAN-HSUAN CHIAS. (Columbia University, New York.) 1926. 9 × 6. pp. 287. \$4.50.
- KENYA. By NORMAN LEYS. [Third Edition.] (The Hogarth Press, London.) 1926. 8½ × 5½. pp. 425. 4s. 6d.
- LAND REVENUE HISTORY OF BENGAL. By R. B. RAMSBOTHAM. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1926. 8½ × 5½. pp. 205.
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- THE NEW CANADA. By JOSEPH E. RAY. (Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., London.) 1926. 7½ × 4½. pp. 158. 4s. 6d.
- THE LIFE WE LIVE AND OTHER STUDIES. (The Adult School Lesson Handbook for 1927.) (National Adult School Union, London.) 1926. 7½ × 4½. pp. 296. 1s. 6d.
- MATERNAL MORTALITY. By R. M. WOODBURY. (U. S. Department of Labour, Children's Bureau.) 1926. 9 × 5½. pp. 163.
- REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON BETTING DUTY. 1924. (H. M. Stationery Office, London.) 9½ × 6. pp. 59. 6d.

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