

THE Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE long expected official announcement about the Statutory Commission has at last been made and though it cannot come as a surprise to anybody, it is sure to cause keen disappointment in Indian political circles. The Commission consists only of members of Parliament and may be said to be fairly representative of the different parties in English public life. The Chairman, Sir John Simon, is a distinguished Liberal; while the Conservative and Labour parties have respectively four and two representatives. From the news that had already unofficially leaked out, it had become clear that no Indian would find a place on the Commission; and the report has proved literally true. Indians will however be associated with the Commission throughout their inquiry and the Indian and provincial legislatures will be asked to elect representatives who would help the Commission with advice and information. While it is undeniable that this is a step of some constitutional importance and will provide for the Commission being made familiar with Indian hopes and aspirations it can never be a substitute for the presence of Indians on the Commission as members. In this connection it is necessary to remember that when the inquiry which culminated in the Reforms of 1919 was being conducted the legislatures of the country as such were kept at arm's length. It is some thing that they will be paid the com-

pliment of being officially consulted on this occasion. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru however has faithfully voiced Indian feeling with regard to the Commission's personnel when he characterised the exclusion of Indians as "arbitrary, unjust and unfair." In the personal statement issued by the Viceroy, the claim is made for the Commission that it is free from any prepossessions. This claim will be hotly contested by Indian opinion. It is yet too early to say what response there will be to his appeal for co-operation; and it would certainly be a good thing if the leaders of different political parties in this country put their heads together and decided upon some common plan of action. The only gain, if it may be so called, from the Indian point of view is that the Commission would be coming out two years earlier; but as against it, there is the consideration that from a British Government differently constituted, India would perhaps have got a more hope-inspiring Commission. But we had better look to the future rather than to the past and see how under the circumstances its deliberations can be turned to utmost national good.

* * *

INDIAN opinion in British Guiana is at present greatly agitated over the recent appointment of Indians in British Guiana by the Governor of a commission to go into the question of the revision of the constitution of the Colony.

This is in pursuance of an important recommendation made by another Commission appointed last year by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was charged with the duty of considering the economic condition of the Colony and asked to report on the causes which have so far retarded its development. The Commission came to the conclusion that it was necessary that "the authorities finally responsible for the solvency and good government of the Colony should have power in the last resort to carry into effect measures which they consider essential for its well being" and recommended the examination of the question of how this could be done, by a local commission appointed by the Governor. Under the present constitution the Colony has a partly elected legislature which is split up into two for division of work. One is the Court of Policy which consists of the Governor, seven officials and eight elected unofficial members. The Governor presides and with his casting vote helps to maintain the official majority. This body enjoys full legislative power except in fiscal matters, which are reserved for the Combined Court. All members of the Court of Policy are also Members of the Combined Court; but with them are associated six more elected members who are known as Financial Representatives. The Combined Court is invested with the power of imposing taxes and of indirectly controlling public expenditure. It will be seen that in the Combined Court the elected members are in the majority and though they are constitutionally pre-

cluded from adding to any provision made in the budget, they can make their voice heard by the power to reduce or reject any item in it, which they enjoy. Our countrymen constitute 40 per cent. of the population of British Guiana and with the "Blacks" who also number as many and with complete political equality prevailing in the Colony can exercise a powerful influence on the administration. This has been too much for the Europeans in the Colony and one would not be far wrong if one surmised that the underlying idea of the proposed constitutional inquiry is to see how best to dislodge them from their present position of influence and power. The Indian community in the Colony is, quite naturally, greatly perturbed at the action of the Governor in setting on foot the constitutional inquiry in question. The Indian Association there has addressed a powerful protest to the Government of India on the subject and has appealed for the support of the mother-country in the fight which seems to be in store for the Indians settled there. Largely attended meetings of Indians have also been organised in the Colony and entered an emphatic protest against the intended lowering of their political status, which, they are apprehensive, is sure to result from the labours of the Commission.

* * *

IN his seventh lecture delivered at the Madras University Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar dilated on the constitution and functions of the Central Legislature in India. In their nominations to the upper chamber, the lecturer says, the Government should set before them-

selves a very high standard of merit and should nominate men who have distinguished themselves in State service as well in research work, arts, letters, industry and commerce. After an examination of the various methods of constructing a second chamber Lord Bryce had declared that every method of choice had proved to have defects. This is no reason nowever to abandon the bicameral system. There should be no equality for several provinces in India for electing to the upper chamber but the representation should be proportionate to population. The strength of the upper chamber should be about 120 to 150. Correspondingly the Assembly also should be consisting of about 300 members. The upper house should not be so small that in a joint session of the two legislatures it would be swamped. Besides it must represent all the interests in the country. About the powers of the upper house there are various theories. The theory of co-ordinate powers is incompatible with the Cabinet system. In all constitutions the house elected on a broader franchise is invested with the power of refusing supplies and is styled the popular Chamber. The subordination of the upper Chamber in financial matters and equality in other respects does not work out in practice. The third theory reduces the utility and powers of the Second Chamber within very narrow limits. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy regards this curtailment as serious. According to the Act of 1919 the Assembly alone has the right of voting grants for expenditure; in other respects both the Chambers have coordinate powers. In Canada, the Upper Chamber by convention may not amend a bill for imposing a tax or appropriating revenue while in Australia the Upper Chamber has no power of originating or amending money-bills. Except in the matter of the introduction of money-bills the French Senate has coordinate powers with the popular Chamber and the French Senate freely rejects and amends money-bills. According to Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar, the Australian practice is the best model for India.

As to conflicts between the two Chambers there are various ways of settling it. Under the Australian Commonwealth Act, if the Senate does not pass a bill passed by the popular chamber the Governor-General dissolves both the chambers and if in the new popular house the bill is passed again the Governor-General convenes a joint sitting at which the matter is finally decided. In South Africa also after a bill is twice rejected by the upper Chamber a joint session is convened. The Act of 1919 also has made provision for a joint session if a bill passed by one chamber is not passed by another in a form acceptable to the originating chamber within six months. A joint sitting should always be separated from the time of the original disagreement between the two chambers by more than six months. The very purpose of a Second Chamber being to delay what it regards as hasty and ill-conceived measures, an immediate joint session is an absurdity except in the case of money bills which cannot wait. There is another method, that of referendum which however the lecturer does not approve of.

As to the strength of the lower house in India, at present there is one member to represent 25 lakhs of population. Of course if representation is introduced on anything like the scale obtaining in Europe the lower house would be too unwieldy. In England there is one member for every 70,000 people. To fix one representative for every 10 lakhs of population is not unreasonable and this would give 250 members for the Assembly who are elected. This increase in strength is necessary in order to keep a close touch between electors and members in a country of great distances. As the lower house makes and unsmakes ministries, no European Constitution allows any nomination because the whole house must owe its membership to the suffrage of the people. Therefore under a government completely responsible, nomination will have to go. But in India there are peculiar difficulties. In the first place the representation of depressed classes is arranged for by the method of nomination. With a changed system we shall have to make provision for the representation of the depressed classes and of labour also in some other way. Some hold that the interests of these classes can be safely trusted to the enfranchised classes. Others hold that there must be a separate representation of these classes. It is a matter of difficulty to devise a low franchise for these classes. Considering everything, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar thinks that the best solution would be to confer the franchise upon organised associations of these classes. He is positive however that there is no place for nomination in a complete scheme of responsible government. Similarly the officials other than the ministers will have no place as nominated members of the Legislatures under a system of responsible government.

There is another difficulty and that is about special interests. With regard to the present representation of Commerce, the lecturer would prefer to combine the Chambers of Commerce and have a joint electorate. But the difficulty in this case is that either the Indian merchants or the European merchants may be swamped under this system. Besides the interests of the European Chambers of Commerce and those of the Indian Chambers may be divergent and their points of view radically different.

* * *

SINCE the death of the last ruler of the State of Kurundwad (senior) a few weeks ago, public opinion, not only in the State, but in the whole of the Deccan, is considerably exercised at the form which the administration of the State will assume

during the minority of the young ruler. In similar cases in recent years the Government have set up Councils of Regency—a form of administration which seems to commend itself to the subjects of Kurundwad. Owing to the virtual incapacity, due to an attack of paralysis, the late ruler was unable to carry on the administration for the last four years, when his young Ranees was practically the ruler of the State and it is an open secret that much public discontent prevails in the State, at the manner in which she allowed herself to be exploited. Nevertheless public opinion does not desire her exclusion from the Council of Regency. What is intended is that she should be its President assisted by sympathetic councillors appointed by the Government and enjoying public confidence. The demand seems to us to be eminently reasonable and deserves sympathetic consideration at the hands of the Government. The difficulties in the way of a formal expression of public opinion, either by means of public meetings or the public press, in an Indian State are well known and they were forcefully brought home by the manner in which the State authorities saw to it that the recent public meeting in Kurundwad convened for this very purpose ended in a fiasco. We have no doubt, if the meeting had been allowed to go on uninterruptedly what its verdict would have been—it would have put on record an emphatic demand for a Council of Regency being established in Kurundwad. We hope it will be found possible to satisfy a demand which has such a strong consensus of public support behind it.

* * *

THE Imperial Social Hygiene Congress met at the Carlton Hall under the presidency of Mr. J. A. Richey, C. I. E., to discuss the educational aspects of social hygiene. Mr. Richey pointed out that in all the nature lessons he heard in India he could recollect no instance in which the teacher or student showed that he had conducted any original observations. In his opinion the Indian boy was profoundly moved by the ideals of the Boy Scout movement. Mr. Richey endorsed the proposals contained in a memorandum addressed by the British Social Hygiene Council to the Imperial Education Conference; they are:—that the biological sciences should be included in the Matriculation and B. T. courses; that at each University eight popular lectures should be given each year on Hygiene and Citizenship; that nature study and elementary hygiene should be taught in all primary schools; that direct teaching in physiology and personal and social hygiene in relation to the responsibilities of citizenship should be given in all high schools; that training in organized games, scout and guide work and physical training be provided for adolescents both during and after school-life. Mr. Lory from Bombay dwelt on the divorce of influence of schools and that of home life in India and thought that circumspection was necessary in the presentment of sex matters to boys and girls. He said he had every hope that tangible results would accrue from the Delegation's visit to India. Dr. Caleb regretted that physiology had lagged so far behind other subjects in view of the fact that it had so important a bearing on life. Now we agree with these experts that so many subjects should be taught in schools and colleges. But how India will be able to stand the cost is the most pertinent question. There is nothing however to prevent us from making a small beginning.

* * *

“INDIA TOMORROW.”

THIS is a booklet issued by the Oxford University Press and is written by one who only gives out a Hindi *nom de-plume*. In stating the problem the author makes it clear that a ready-made British constitution “neatly tied up in red tape” would not do for India. He shows a boundless predilection for a scheme that would build up—from villages, local areas, districts upwards to a province, and he thinks it a mistake that the politician should not consent to wait to constitute a provincial Council or a Central legislature before the other local organs are properly developed. All this probably postulates a halt of some 50 years! And yet the author admits at the end that the political history of England tells another tale. Next we come to the constitution of the Commission. The author begins with a lecture on the faults of written constitutions, a platitude which leads us nowhere. His firm conviction is that with representative Indians on the Commission, there will be long dissenting minutes because the Indians cannot shake off the prejudices of their constituencies. A Commission on the contrary consisting of persons entirely ignorant of Indian conditions would plant the exotic of western political institutions in India. So we are in a quandary. The solution of these real difficulties would lie in the adoption of the methods of the League of Nations because the problems of India are international. Therefore the Commission should regard themselves as *rapporteurs* at Geneva, who, after a multitude of advisers have plead before them their own ideas, would try to discover the common substratum. Other commissions have to judge the issue; but not so this commission which is only to interpret the views of others, and try to effect a reconciliation between opposing views. The author is convinced about the correctness of the Round Table Conference idea but instead of one round table he would have so many round tables, the *rapporteurs* moving freely from one to the other and all those who have proved their ability to gauge the situation as evidenced in the events of the past eight years should be called at these round tables. Now about the work of the Commission. The author has no illusion about the fact that India will be satisfied with nothing less than representative government of the Western model. The Commission should remove the idea that political progress in India depends more on the good will of England than on the march of events in India. Accordingly the Commission is not to devise fresh constitutions but to indicate the final course. How the indication of the final course is to assist us in the difficulties of every-day administration it passes our understanding to comprehend. Any further development in any provincial constitution should depend upon a unanimity of all parties. This is vagueness incarnate. Does it mean for instance, that if tomorrow in the Bombay Council it is decided by a unanimous vote that Finance should be a transferred subject, it would come into effect automatically? We think the author's dislike of paper-constitutions had made him ignore the diffi-

culties of what he calls the natural evolution of a constitution. This chapter on the work of the constitution is one of the most intriguing in the whole book.

Discussing the communal question, the author says that it is now generally recognized that for many years to come communal electorates will be inevitable. In order to lessen the evils of this sectionalism the author proposes that there should be a double election; in the first election communal electors should elect communal candidates; in the second election these candidates should again be elected by a joint electorate. Dealing with the 'Services,' he thinks that Indianisation of the services and extension of responsible government should not both be tried together but only one at a time. He is certain that if communal considerations are introduced into the selection for services there will be great deterioration of efficiency just at this time when we need it most. The author has placed his finger unmistakably on a foible of the present system of selection when he says that "nepotism makes a strong appeal to some of the finer attributes of the Hindu family and caste-relationships." But he is wrong in thinking that the Muslim is exempt from this weakness and this is a peculiar delinquency of the Hindu. We endorse however his suggestion that an impartial Public Services Commission should exercise the right of making all appointments to the services.

About the Indian States, the author thinks that self-determination ought to be conceded to them. It follows then that the "elected representatives of British India have therefore exactly the same right to interfere with the Indian States as France has to interfere with the Government of Switzerland." So far so good; but the author has to admit later on that protective measures adopted by the Central Legislature have benefitted the Indian States. Similarly, he regards the grievance that the revenue and protective duties pass directly into the British Indian exchequer as more imaginary than real considering the uses to which the finances of the Central Government are devoted. The task of the commission would then be the creation of necessary channels along which the evolution of Indian States along international lines may proceed without an immediate disturbance of existing conditions.

Speaking about provincial councils, the author thinks that Dyarchy has succeeded pretty well and he throws the onus of pointing out a better way on those who criticize it. He is sure however that ministers must be coordinated under one of their own number with whose policy they are in agreement.

In the Central Government, one of the most perplexing problems according to the author is that of the Army. A curious phrase that he uses is sure to cause some surprise to Indians: "So long as Britain lends India an army". How can Britain be said to lend an army when every pie for the maintenance of it is provided for by India is a puzzle to us at least. The substance

of his teaching on this subject is that the Assembly cannot be entrusted with control over the army.

In the chapter headed 'Conclusion', the author says that he has made an honest endeavour to state issues clearly and the reader should not expect in every case a solution of our difficulties. That he has given us various suggestions none can doubt, but if he cannot give us solutions at this critical juncture he remains merely a *rapporteur* of his own conscience. He repeats at the end the oft-refuted proposition that the leaders are unrepresentative of the masses, and cannot help reminding us that the steel-frame in India stands between order and chaos to-day. The whole mischief in his opinion is that Europe instead of importing the Western Civilization in homoeopathic doses has hurled the whole complicated structure at a people more ready to absorb than to understand.

There is very little that is inspiring in the book; there is a good deal of the usual stock-in-trade of the practical bureaucrat who loves to talk of expediency, hard facts of life, and the virtues of the man on the spot and is perfectly supercilious of paper constitutions. But he believes in a common understanding and common purpose between Indians and the Westerners and must be declared to be a political optimist.

INDIANS IN F. M. S.

THE Federated Malay States depend to a very large extent for their labour supply upon India. How much is this the case will be apparent from the fact that during 1926, the number of those who migrated to the Colony was nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs. Out of these about $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs were assisted emigrants i. e. free labourers imported at the expense of the Immigration Fund for work on estates, mines and elsewhere. Among the balance of about 25,000 who paid their own way to the F. M. S. as many as 62 per cent. were labourers; and the rest traders and others. The number of non-recruited labourers wishing to go to F. M. S. is also progressively rising, being 28,618 in 1926—by far the largest number to arrive in any one year. These people are given free passage and a small bonus on arrival which apparently is admirably serving as an inducement. It will thus be seen what a large proportion of the Indian emigrants to F. M. S. belong to the labouring classes. Though in the case of the majority of the emigrants free passage is found for them, it in no way restricts their liberty as regards choice of employer or the kind of work in which they might engage themselves. For, on this point the F. M. S. Labour Department administration report assures us that "all the Indian labour employed throughout the Federated Malay States is free. Labourers are landed free of debt and are at liberty to leave their employment at any time on giving a month's notice. Further, no immigrant can enter into any written contract to serve as a labourer." This is satisfactory and it is to be hoped that emigrants at the time of departure are made to realise clearly what their position would be on going there and what would be their rights and responsibilities.

A noticeable feature of the figures of emigration to F. M. S. is the deplorable sex inequality that they disclose. The percentage of females which was 19'39 in 1922 did not advance beyond 23'31 during 1926 and is even slightly lower than during the preceding year when it was 23'29. There is no

doubt a tendency towards sex equality; but the progress is disappointingly slow. And if the Indian immigrant is to be expected to lead a decent life in F. M. S. it is very necessary that care should be taken that sex equality is reached as soon as possible. Much of the responsibility for this state of things is sought to be thrust on the non-recruited immigrant who, it is said, is the greatest sinner in this respect. Thus during 1926, while 21,284 non-recruited male immigrants went into F. M. S., only 2,353 females came with them, which works out at nearly one woman for every nine men. It is not our purpose here to apportion responsibility for this state of affairs. But whether the blame rests with the recruited or non-recruited immigrant, there is no doubt that great vigilance is needed on the part both of the Government of India and of the F. M. S. with a view to see that proper sex parity is maintained.

Even a cursory glance at the vital statistics relating to the Indian immigrant community in F. M. S., especially that working as estate labourers, is enough to convince anybody that its health leaves a good deal to be desired. For we find that the death rate among Indian labourers on estates and mines compares unfavourably with that among Government employees in the Colony itself. In the case of the former it was 17.71 per mille in 1922, 14.94 in 1923, 12.55 in 1925 and 15.62 in 1926. It will be noticed that barring 1922, the death rate has been consistently showing an upward tendency. In the case of Government employees, the death-rate was lower, viz. 10.73 per mille during 1926. Nor can the registration system be said to be free from defects. In the first place, all the estates do not consider it of sufficient importance to maintain the necessary records, or if they kept them, fail to furnish the necessary information to the Government. But what is a matter for greater anxiety is the fact that the general death rate for the community appears to be higher than the birth-rate. During 1926 there were 9,010 births and 11,920 deaths, i.e. nearly 3,000 more deaths than births. If this process is not checked in time, the extinction of the Indian community in F. M. S. is a certainty before very long. While we do not wish to underrate the difficulties in the way of a proper system of registration of births and deaths, and are prepared to make some allowances on this account, we cannot disguise from ourselves the feeling that the situation as revealed by these figures is very far from reassuring. Another alarming feature is the rise in the number of suicides committed by Indians in F. M. S. Information on this point is available since 1915, during which year the number was 17. It is true that the increase in this number is neither consistent nor uniform; but nonetheless it is a fact that during 1926 the number for 1915 had more than doubled itself and stood at 39. These figures give ground for much anxiety and fill one with grave doubts whether the conditions of life and work of our countrymen in F. M. S. are at all such as to make life worth living.

The Report in question furnishes some useful statistics as to the savings made by Indians in F. M. S. and the remittances made by them to India, the impression sought to be created thereby being that our countrymen there are generally in a prosperous condition. Even taking the figures in the Report for what they are worth, they mean nothing more than that 16,779 persons had succeeded in laying by \$ 2,027,105, the average per depositor having risen from \$ 76 in 1922 to \$ 121 in 1926. Similarly, remittances to India have gone up from Rs. 33,57,215 in 1923 to Rs 65,93,340 in 1926. It would be wrong, in our opinion, to draw any general conclusion about the condition of our countrymen there merely on the basis of these figures. Whether we look at these statistics from the point of

view of the number of people who were able to save or the amount they were able to lay by, they only mean that a little over 1 lakh of people out of a total Indian population of 360,000 were able to save some thing; and even were the savings and the remittances to be added up, the average savings will be found hardly to exceed Rs.40 per head. This cannot be said to be very tempting, though it may be somewhat better than in India. Nor do the wages in the Colony appear to be high enough and even with an Agent of the Government of India in F. M. S. there does not seem to be much attempt in the direction of having a minimum standard wage fixed, as is being done in Ceylon, thanks mainly to the Indian Agent there. We hope that this will be done at no distant date in F. M. S. if it has not already been done.

It is worthy of note that out of nearly 1700 complaints registered in the various labour offices, as many as 774 were for non-payment or late payment of wages. Assaults on labourers are also not as rare as they might be, for during 1926 there were about 200 complaints on that score. And one would not be far wrong in assuming that the actual number must have been considerably larger, seeing that people are as a rule unwilling to put themselves to the trouble of registering their complaints. There were also 136 wrongful dismissals and cases of separation of families totalled 104. The Report assures us about all these cases having been departmentally dealt with; but it would have been better if some idea had been given as to the kind of punishment which was inflicted upon the offenders.

Coming to drunkenness among estate labourers, the Report says there were no serious complaints of drunkenness brought to the notice of the Labour Department during the year, which is of course very different from saying that drunkenness among labourers was conspicuous by its absence. The majority of the toddy shops in F. M. S. are held on what is known as the two-fifths system, under which Government is entitled to two-fifths of the gross revenue from sale of toddy, the balance after deducting expenses going into a fund for the benefit of labourers. The report mentions the existence of licensing boards but does not say what their constitution is. We hope labour interests are adequately represented on them, not only by officers of the Labour Department, but by non-officials preferably from among the labourers themselves. If this is not the case at present, the omission deserves to be remedied at the earliest opportunity. Detailed information as to the prevalence of drunkenness and the extent of literacy among Indians is a great desideratum. The only things mentioned under 'Education' in the Report are that 386 estates maintained schools and grants to the amount of £ 48,830 were paid during the year.

Since 1923 a home for unemployed Indians seems to be maintained in the Colony and is managed by a committee of Indian unofficials with the exception of the Deputy Controller of Labour, Penang, who is its chairman. 606 adults, 89 minors and 21 infants were admitted to this home during the year. About 160 of these were repatriated to this country, while work was found for most of the others. There is also a home for decrepit Indians, admissions to which during 1926 numbered 1973.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

GENEVA, October 20.

POLITICS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

THE meeting of Parliament will take place early in November. Meanwhile in Parliamentary circles

in Great Britain seem still to roll echoes of the conferences of Blackpool and Cardiff. There is a great amount of the usual sort of vague talk about general election, but the defiant tone in this matter in Ministerial quarters has undergone most marked change since the Russian issue, the goose that lay the golden eggs for the Conservatives, had been killed. The hurry which characterised the proceedings at Cardiff and the tactics displayed there have deepened the suspicions, manifest for some time now, about the Baldwin Government. Neither the habit of making their party conferences a chorus into which the Ministerialists had fallen nor the split in the ranks of the Conservatives could be concealed any longer. The reform of the Lords, votes to "flappers" and the repeated collapse of the Government's efforts to achieve economy are all issues deeply dividing the Government's adherents. At the end of the Cardiff Conference Mr. Garvin took Mr. Baldwin to task in the *Observer* for confounding the name of the Unionist party, and the Premier himself betrayed great uneasiness at the Conference on Lord Rothermere's transfer of allegiance. Besides, the farmers—always a heavily-burdened and loudly-grumbling class as any one who has lived on a farm in England will know—are furious about the Government's way of treating agriculture, and the mining industry still lives from hand to mouth. In the daily press there are nearly as many warnings from experts as there are optimistic statements from amateurs about the revival of trade. Even Locarno has suffered in glory, of late, the *Westminster Gazette* condemning it as a risky implication in the present fearful state of European politics and there is no doubt that Sir Austen Chamberlain's foreign policy of maintaining British prestige by giving Great Britain a controlling hand in every quarrel is coming to be regarded with some suspicion. The Chancellor of the Exchequer who is now holidaying at Lido—the new Venice—will not be living up to his reputation if he does not create some fresh complications on account of his admiration for Mussolini, before he leaves Italy. The time is singularly unsuited to face the country and in Governmental circles there has been recently a rumour that Mr. Baldwin would put off the general election as long as he could—until the spring of 1931 if he can help it.

THE LABOUR PARTY.

The occasion for the talk about general election was Mr Macdonald's unheeded challenge to the Premier at Blackpool. To the gay atmosphere of Blackpool Labour reacted rather differently from its previous sitting in the austere North. In each case the great London newspapers had appropriate comments to make. In the North it repudiated Russia for which it was patted on the back, and for supporting the nationalisation of mines and capital levy at Blackpool its politics came to be called a bit of window-dressing with a view to general election. At one place it was the triumph of British common-sense and at another, it was a concession to the wild left wing with its imported politics—for, in John Bull's island only foreigners are bad. The fact is in the repudiation of Russia by the British Trade Unions Labour too has killed its goose. Besides, it has given an occasion for the Government to jeer at it on being obliged to follow in their footsteps in spite of all talk to the contrary. If the circumstance is not capitalised when Parliament reopens it would be

indeed strange. Between British and Continental Labour there is one great difference which even a friend of the former cannot fail to notice, and put rather crudely, it is the faltering hand of British Labour in politics. In the widest of world's thoroughfares, the field of politics, it is not intentions and aspirations which count, but character, at the last resort, cynical aspersions notwithstanding. That means capacity to stand by and fall with a certain policy with its corollary that that policy should be definite and determined. To hold to their post, in the face of every assailant is the strength of M. Poincare, the Baldwin Cabinet, Signor Mussolini, General De Rivera, and the Soviet chiefs. Labour in Great Britain possesses no such assurance. Internationalism and disarmament are Mr. Macdonald's pet themes; yet when he was Premier and came in 1924 to Geneva he swerved from unqualified disarmament to M. Herriot's famous formula of "arbitration—security—disarmament" with surprising ease. In a very recent article in the *New Leader* he avows his belief that the time is ripe for India's self-government but India still remembers something that he said when he was Premier which was neither in manner nor in matter any different from what other British Premiers had said. In the same article he refers to China with considerable restraint but when China was a live issue in British politics the Labour leader could not make up his mind to challenge the Premier on that point. Failure may have been obvious here but in a certain kind of failure lies the vindication of a political policy. It is true that Labour lacks experience but in this worst of all worlds who stops to ask for causes, who can afford it? In no country may Labour gaily sail into the harbour of power through the fine weather of mere persuasion. The loss of that respectability generally associated with political life in Europe and Great Britain in particular must be a condition of success, but Mr. Macdonald loves the silks and ribbons of political life as much as anybody else.

"NEM, NEM, SOHA"

Visitors to Geneva for the Assembly found themselves supplied with a little map bringing out the contrast between Hungary "as she was before" and as she is today after the boundaries of Central Europe were rearranged by the Treaty of Trianon. Lately Lord Rothermere has been at pains to coach up the public in this matter. Every visitor to the Hungarian capital gets instructed in the politics of Central Europe and when Mrs. Besant visited Geneva in the second week of last month she had a kind word to say about the deprivations of the Hungarian people. Thousands of homes in Budapest bear embedded in or beside the door the chart of contrasts and underneath it the words: Nem, Nem, Soha—No, No, Never. The opening reels of the Budapest cinemas bear the map and the formula. Hungarians have a deep faith that some day, perhaps not so far in the future, their boundaries will be enlarged and the Magyars in Czecho-Slovakia and Yugo-Slavia and Rumania will be once more under Hungarian rule. It is worth noting in this connection that just when the Hungarians were profuse in their thanks to Lord Rothermere, there is a proposal ahead at Bucarest to name a street after Sir Austen Chamberlain as a recognition of the position he took up at Geneva in the quarrel between Hungary and Rumania. Lithuania has sent a letter to the League of Nations charging that Poland has persecuted Lithuanians in Vilna and the Polish-Lithuanian question has raised the whole question of Minorities to the fore. Few realise how dangerous and how widespread is the Minority movement in Europe. It was news to the entire audience at a meeting of the League of Nations Union in Paris last winter when a lecturer on the subject,

himself a representative of the Minorities, took up the pointer and travelled through the entire region of Eastern and Central Europe on the map and passed on to Italy and Spain, naming country after country and the vast blocks of minorities in each. His definition of a Minority was those who had the misfortune to be dominated by the majority and when someone suggested that it had been found that the proper way to deal with minorities was for the majorities to digest them slowly, "since 1914?" was the sharp reply. It is noteworthy that the significance of the minority question is the antithesis between cultural and political claims, and in parenthesis I may mention that even in Great Britain the question is by no means as easy as it might appear. As many times as I travelled in the flying Scotsman between London and Edinburgh I have encountered Scotsmen who have dragged me into conversation with obvious delight to find an opportunity to denounce Englishmen. In the theatres and music-halls, in the provinces in England the jokes against Scotsmen are even more marked than in London, and in the Highlands of Scotland in most hotels I have noticed the Scotch visitors refraining from describing themselves as British in the visitors' book so as to maintain their distinction from the visitors from the South. In Wales the feeling of nationalism is strong to the point of ebullition.

THE NEW EUROPE.

The Treaty of Versailles is in the melting pot and a newer Europe knocks against the new Europe which it has set up. The question is how and when is the melting going to be done. Germany has begun an intensive propaganda to repudiate her war-guilt and there are reports in London of attempts to change the popular conception about it by the wholesale distribution of explanatory pamphlets. Should Locarno support or denounce it in England? The answer will no doubt be furnished by politics, and in France it is causing tremours. M. Leon Daudet (the French Royalist whom his followers set free by a cleverly contrived telephone message from the Ministry of the Interior to the prison) writing from Holland declares that powerful Dutch oil and rubber financial interests are seriously anxious about Germany disturbing the peace of the world within a year. He has heard that German steel interests now have large surplus stocks and are inspiring a bellicose attitude in certain German papers in order to dispose of it in war, and that German industry is once more faced with the alternative of aggression or ruin. He reminds France that Germany is the one country in Europe where Socialism is not opposed to Nationalism, but is a faithful servant of the General Staff. Similarly M. Gabriel Aldhand writing from Roumania states that American credits are being used by Germany to establish in neutral countries factories which will enable a sudden gas, submarine, and air war to be declared and he affirms that in Russia and Turkey alone there are more than five hundred secret aerodromes organised by German engineers. Recently British banking interests have warned Germany that they would not facilitate German credits to Soviet Russia. Another current knocking against the Europe set up by the Treaty of Versailles is due to the choking of trade by tariffs. An international conference for the abolition of prohibition of exportation and importation opened here at Geneva this week under the auspices of the League of Nations with a speech by the President, M. Coligin, a former Prime Minister of the Netherlands. Thirty-two nations are represented including the United States. The United States, as the tariffs controversy with France—which is not yet concluded—has shown, is drawn to Europe in spite of the policy of isolation. The phase of self-

sufficiency in the economic history of the country is over and markets have to be sought in Europe. This necessitates competition with Europe in peace time and in the event of a war in the Old World the capacity to prevent a blockade such as Great Britain declared during the last war from coming in the way of trade.

THE POLITICIAN'S BOON.

Not in Great Britain only but in Austria, Italy, and France the name of Soviet Russia is proving to be a boon to the politician. There is an impending Ministerial crisis in France. M. Poincare stands by his budget and threatens the Finance Commission of the Chamber that should their recommendations come to prevail the Budget deficit would be enormous and he would resort to a motion of confidence in the Government. Alive to the issue of the coming general election the Radicals and the Socialists cannot support the burdensome taxation of M. Poincare and justify it to their weary constituents. Writing in the *Tribune de Geneva* the Socialist leader, M. Leon Blum, argues for capital levy. If the argument of finance fail to carry conviction as it must in the present state of the country, there is no doubt that M. Poincare and his friends will exploit to the full the present international situation and talk of national peril as sedulously as it is done in Russia. The Rakowsky incident, the tenth anniversary of Bolshevism, and recent events in Germany, all provide ample topical allusions. In Germany too the serious strike in the coal mines threatens the Reich. It would be surprising if the outcome of the general situation in Europe did not soon become an important factor in British politics.

IN TURKEY.

By the way, why do not our Indian Muslims keep themselves interested in the affairs of their fellow-Muslims in other countries? The semi-official *Milliet* of Constantinople denying the recent criticism in foreign newspapers that Turkey adopts a domestic policy of complete independence from the old religious caliphate, but in her foreign policy takes heed of currents affecting the caliphate, says that the relations of Turkey and the Caliphate are only "a historic souvenir." "The Turkish Republic, it is maintained, has nothing to do with an institution "which has been condemned by the transformation of the mentality of the Orient. The Turkish authorities are not naive enough to have recourse again to an out-moded institution whose failure has been proved by experience". Commenting on the great speech recently made by Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the *Hakimet I Millie* says that the President gave an exposition of the general aspect of the country at the moment when he arrived in Angora, the disastrous results of the war, the period of armistice, the controversies between various sections of the nation, the conditions of the Army, the Greek and Allied occupation and the attitude of the Sultan. "Not only the people," it declares "but also the aristocracy could imagine no administration of the country possible without the Caliph Sultan. The Ottoman State was rotten to the core: The Ghazi, realising to the full how arduous the struggle would be but having discerned in the people a desire to change the existing state of affairs, determined to set up a Turkish State absolutely independent and founded on the principle of national sovereignty. Relations with Constantinople were broken off. Henceforth Constantinople would not dominate Angora but would be subordinated to it. The Ghazi had also definite ideas regarding the question of the mandate and the support of foreigners in general. Mustapha Kemal Pasha has offered us a modern civilised independence".

REVIEW SECTION.

THE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT.

THE MECHANISM OF THE MODERN STATE.

By J. A. MARRIOTT. 2 vols. (Oxford University Press.) 1927. 9 × 5½. pp. 596, 595. 42s.

SIR JOHN MARRIOTT describes his work in a sub-title as a treatise on the science and art of government. In spite of the general nature of the title of the book, the main aim of the author has been to describe the government of England, and if he has taken up the cases of other governments from the ancient democratic polity of Greece to the modern budding democracies of the British Dominions, it is only to set off his central theme. That the work has been done thoroughly is but to say what is due to an author who has literally spent his life in the study of the English constitution, both with the instincts of a dispassionate student, and the zest of one who has himself played a part as no inconspicuous member of the House of Commons and of several important committees. Yet after wading through nearly 1200 pages one sets down the volumes with very mixed feelings. The reader is bound to feel that he has had very up-to-date information on all constitutional points, that he has gained an insight into several obscurities of political practice and procedure in England, gains several interesting peeps into the very *sanctum sanctorum* of English politics: the cabinet itself. All the same he would feel that he has not received as much illumination as he might have expected. After the philosophic depth and wide range of Lord Bryce's *Modern Democracies*, Sir John's volumes form very uninspiring reading. And for this Sir John himself is responsible. He has set himself the rigid limits of a mere historian; he defines the scope of his work as primarily analytical, and regards "the realm of Politics and Philosophy" as one "into which the mere historian may not intrude." That is why the author is so tantalising in many places, where we would like him to discuss the full significance of the trend of events in the political world to-day, where before our very eyes we see the ghost of democracy haunting the Soviet Russia and the Fascist Italy. Has democracy succeeded, or has it failed? Has it realised the vision of those stalwarts, who hailed the fall of the Bastille as the dawn of a new age? Or is it still continuing in the stage of a great experiment? These are the questions of the day, but they find no illumination from Sir John. Perhaps it is ungracious to speak of this as a defect, when the object of the author was chalked out on different lines. And yet it is difficult to see how the most prosaic of historians or political analyst could pass by the most ominous symptoms of the day. Sir John does not fail, for example, to note the changing angle of vision, which would make democracy representative not of localities but of vocations. But the topic is only mentioned, barely discussed.

There is no denying the erudition and thoroughness of the learned author. In a book which in its

wide survey is not confined to the modern period strictly so called, but takes in analogies, wherever and whenever found, whether in the ancient or the mediaeval world, the marginal summary is a great aid to the general reader and the student alike. It is almost a political encyclopaedia of modern democratic organisations, and no political student can afford to neglect the food for thought it provides. Our legislators will find in it a fund of information which would lighten their task of hunting for it to a considerable extent.

At a time when the political supremacy of democracy has been so ruthlessly challenged, it is interesting to note what the great Cavour thought at a time when he had to face difficulties incomparably greater than any that Mussolini has had to face in recent years. Cavour was no saint. If he were, he might not have succeeded in a world dominated by non-saints. Hence his final verdict as quoted by his recent biographer, Mons. Maurice Paleologue, is of great interest. "Parliamentary government has its inconvenience, as have all governments; nevertheless it is the best. I confess myself impatient of a certain kind of opposition, and this I combat with vigour. Yet when I reflect upon it, I am always glad to have to fight it, because it compels me to explain my ideas to the best of my ability, to redouble my efforts to win over public opinion. An autocratic minister commands. A minister under a constitutional government has to persuade and convince in order to be obeyed..... Believe me the worst of Parliaments is preferable to the best of anterooms." Will Mussolini even in his old age agree to this?

A. R. WADIA.

POST-WAR EUROPE

HOW EUROPE MADE PEACE WITHOUT AMERICA. By FRANK H. SIMONDS. (William Heinemann Ltd., London.) 1927. 9½ × 6½. pp. 407. 21s.

FOR those of us who are neither historians nor politicians, but ordinary people dependent for our "current history" upon the newspaper and the magazine, the sequence of events since November, 1918 is a thing too complex to be easily unravelled. Or, to change the figure, it is a picture puzzle which we can never put together, not only for lack of skill but also because many of the bits have never come into our hands. For such persons, Mr. Simonds' book is an uncommon boon.

The author is an American but one who has been sufficiently "internationalized" to be able to grasp a world point of view. He is able to visualize events and policies and their results as seen from both sides of the Atlantic. He traces the progress of events and the development of national and international psychology from the first meeting of the Peace Conference at Paris in 1919, through Washington, Cannes, Geneva, and Locarno, down to the late activities of the League of Nations. Yet the book is anything but a dull recital of facts. Its style, which is always readable, and in places brilliant, abounds

with frequent aphorisms. The book is laid down with a feeling of satisfaction that some insight has been given into the great "complex" of European thought and life.

One of the distinctive features of the book is its biographical flavour. Though arranged topically and not biographically, it leaves the reader with more or less distinct portraits of the great figures of the peace making years—Lloyd George, Wilson, Poincare, MacDonald and others.

For Lloyd George, Mr. Simonds has little admiration. "Mr. Wilson undertook to be an international compass: Lloyd George was always satisfied to be a domestic weather-vane." Personally, he had every charm. Nor did he lack any grace save that ultimate gift of sincerity.....There was missing nothing save that somewhat heavy circumstance which the British describe as character.....With him, any end justified all means. But, in fact, he had no end in view." With this caustic introduction, the author follows the career of the "Welsh Wizard," to its ultimate downfall.

The characterization of Wilson is of course diametrically opposite. His fault was a lofty idealism which failed to grasp the hard facts of life. Wilson erred because of too great a faith in democracy—through a pathetic belief that the "people" possessed all the virtues that their rulers and diplomats lacked. He envisaged "all people as peace-loving, generous and just;" as freed from the vice of nationalism. "He was always suspended between two imaginary worlds. He undertook to interpret an unreal America to Europe, and a non-existent Europe to America." Hughes, in the later developments of the Washington Conference, continued many of Mr. Wilson's limitations. "Mr. Wilson at Paris and Mr. Hughes at Washington were ultimately shipwrecked because both refused to recognize European realities.....For Mr. Hughes a submarine was only a submarine. Its value in the great diplomatic game he never suspected.....No material element was ignored, but all the moral values, all the imponderables were dismissed." Through the honest yet largely futile efforts of these two men is shown the "great gulf," deeper and wider than the Atlantic, which separates American and European tradition and present thought. "Not only did they speak different languages, but they thought incredibly, different things about the same facts."

Poincare figures most prominently in connection with the Ruhr Occupation. Concerning him, the writer quotes Clemenceau's definition of a symbol—"A public man about whom some people still believe what was never true"; and again Clemenceau's comparison of the two great Frenchmen, "Briand knows nothing and understands everything; Poincare knows everything and understands nothing." The man of the Ruhr is shown as "a lonely figure, remote and isolated amidst his books and papers;.....a timid man driven at last by the logic of his own words and against his own will to play a role for which he had not one single qualification;..... 'a lath painted to look like iron,' "Napoleon, Bismarck, even Mussolini might have made the Ruhr a tragic reality; thanks to Poincare, it was never more than a ghastly farce."

MacDonald is shown as not a Prime Minister, but a Foreign Secretary. "Of all the figures who appeared on the stage of post-war Europe, none was more transient nor more important." Within a few weeks, he "changed the whole atmosphere of European relations. Indeed his achievement justifies the claim that it was a pacifist who at last led the way to peace in Europe." MacDonald, as the leader on a path which wound its way to Locarno and the

new status of the League, is shown as one of the great figures of the new Europe.

The League is one of the great subjects of the book. The writer holds up to view the illusions which surrounded its birth, and which still obscure much of the thought concerning it that still prevails in America. He shows its slow development; the way in which the small nations of Europe gathered into it as their only defence against the Greta Powers; the impetus to its growth provided by the new attitude of France and Britain and the entrance of Germany. He explains its very great limitations—its power to license defensive without preventing offensive warfare; and the fact that it has become a political rather than a moral experiment. Yet Mr. Simonds proves that the League is far more than it does—that it stands for an *idea*, "an incredible compromise between the centrifugal influences of nationalism and the centripetal necessities" of European life. It is also a point of contact for the statesmen and journalists of all Europe, "a continuing fact in European life."

Other subjects dealt with are the question of reparations and debts, with the resulting controversy between Europe and America; the widening gulf and divergent progress of the two sides of the Atlantic;—the "friction zones" in Europe and their influence upon the prospect of future war or peace.

This book is heartily recommended to all those who are interested in the sequence of international events, in the following of present-day trends, and in the hope of the "far-off divine event" of peace on earth.

A. B. VAN DOREN.

THE PRACTICE OF EDUCATION.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION, Vol. II.

By J. J. FINDLAY, (University of London Press)

1927. 9 x 6. pp. xii, 382. 10s. 6d.

THE two volumes on the 'Foundations of Education' from the pen of such an eminent authority as Professor Findlay—the first dealing with aims and organization, and the second, literally and figuratively the weightier of the two, coming to grips with practical issues—constitute to our mind one of the few landmarks in modern educational literature. They deal with the subject with authority, (though the author disclaims it) but not *ex cathedra*, for the manner is that of a fellow-student and enquirer, of one who has garnered his data from medicine and law, from psychology, sociology and child-study, but whose point of view is empirical and eclectic. Written with massive knowledge of the theory and practice of education, past and present, and with more than forty years' experience of teaching, these volumes are not intended as a *vade mecum* of directions to teachers for the morrow's work; rather, they are, as the author himself tells us, his reactions, at the moment to the total situation in education—"reactions" such as would guide many a forlorn mariner on the sea. We cannot follow the criticisms and suggestions that reticulate this second volume, dedicated with such handsome fitness to Rabindranath Tagore: we can but indicate the nerve-knots in the shape of underlying vital ideas.

In framing curricula the educationist must purge from his mind one capital heresy, namely, that certain subjects can be prescribed as nostrums for training mental powers, and are therefore more important than others—the notion that accounts for our schools' according music and eurhythmic, arts and crafts, a backseat, if any seat at all, in the scheme of studies. It is well to bear in mind the warning sounded by Jung

(in his *Psychological Types*): "we should not pretend to understand the world solely by the intellect; the judgment of the intellect is at best only half the truth and must, if it be honest, also come to an understanding of its inadequacy." We know not only with our brains, but also with our muscles; "the whole body is alive with energy to know how things are done, to acquire accomplishments." Skill has been called callisthenic intelligence. The self is a unit of which body and mind are manifestations; hence must the educationist think not of the body alone nor of the mind alone, but of the body-mind as a coordinated whole. In the Primary School the physical trainer and the musician must come together in just the way indicated a decade ago by M. Dalcroze, the eurhythmist. Dancing, singing and physical exercise should be all of a piece, seeing that "a child sings with his whole body, not merely with his voice and lungs and that his most perfect and happy experience of muscle and nerve is found in rhythmical response to good music." A different sort of mental and physical experience is acquired by games like football, cricket, tennis etc, described by William James as "the moral equivalent of war." They combine underlying good will with superficial hostility and are like drama in that they chasten the emotions of love and hate, the word *play* being doubly appropriate to them.

In these early years of the Primary stage, History, Human Geography, Literature and Religion must 'not be taught separately' but taken together under the single subject 'Humanities'; and so would Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Physical Geography, Sound, Light, Heat, Mechanics, Botany and Zoology come under the single rubric of Science. Why? The answer takes us to the bedrock of the book. The great aim of a teacher should be—we may say the end of psychagogy is—to carry meaning and purpose into life, to show the inter-relations between objects or incidents that lie immediately round the child or boy and, as he grows, to widen the circle of meaning. All learning implies, as Herbart emphasized long ago, the recognition of connection between the distant and the near in time and space, the establishment of correlation of the new with the old that the learner retains in memory or affection. There is nothing so trifling but has tentacles that reach up to the ends of the Universe. A piece of chalk can lead the student to the study of marine animals, to chemistry, to geology and to literature. Cats have to do with the clover-crop, and earthworms with the world's bread-supply, Darwin tells us. Verily "the Universe can be imaged through a test-tube." A child's immediate horizon of consciousness, the fields round his house, the manners, customs and doings of the people about him in his village, must be taken as the starting point of his education; in other words, Place, Folk, Work, (Environment, Organ, Function) must form the nucleus for all early studies in science and humanities. Without forging a chain of associations in the educand's mind the teacher can neither invest his teaching with meaning nor rivet attention, much less stimulate interest or rouse dormant curiosity. "A class should be given full play to wander in many regions, so long as the human interest is felt by the children to be vital, calling upon the energy that bubbles over when allowed expression." Thus the story of Rama, or the Viceroy's visit, or the neighbouring river might press the button and start currents that make a detour through history, geography, literature and religion. Drawing, painting and decoration may be affiliated to story-telling as well as to history. The organic filaments that link subjects together must not be lost sight of at any time, either in the Primary School or in the Secondary, where differentiation of subjects

in curriculum is necessary, or in the College. While-teaching chemistry for instance, the teachers may not do ill now and then to ring up the curtain that hangs behind specialisation and reveal the story of chemistry in history and adventure, the bearing of chemistry on the other sciences and on the fortunes of mankind. The teacher who cannot see the whole in the parts and 'a world in a grain of sand' has certainly missed his vocation.

The key to successful teaching at any stage, and especially in the earlier, is to be always ready to answer the crucial question that springs up subconsciously in the minds of students of all ages: "Why should I learn these lessons?" Arousing interest is nothing but making the educand see, if not 'the end from the beginning,' at least some steps ahead. The learner's energies should first be quickened and started by some stimuli provided by our words, by social contacts, by apparatus, or by some exciting and live issue or problem within his experience, and then these energies can be controlled and guided by the teacher. Prof. Findlay strikes the dominant chord of his book when he criticizes the suggestion of the Board of Education that "some grasp of the underlying principles" will make the girls more interested in the domestic subjects; in reply the author drives home the truth that "*principles are only sought when problems arise which seek for solution.*" And it must be remembered in this connection that the problems of a subject are attacked with gust only when they arise from situations that have meaning. This monition occurs like a refrain in several pages of the book. The children should become *self-active*; and the dormant will-to-see awakened. *Self-activity* is the device on the banner, and the fundamental article of faith, of the German pedagogy of *Akti vitat* and of the American Project Method—a method followed by several elementary schools of the new type in Europe and America. Under the Project Method a teacher guides the children in the study of problems actually encountered in life outside the school, and in the course of solving these problems or working out the projects, principles are discovered and learnt. "The pupils actively seek the solution of a problem wherever the search may lead, even outside the school", as another writer puts it. This would mean the abeyance or abolition of the conventional machinery of time-tables and subjects, such as has been effected by Government regulation in Vienna. The Project on which the boys of William Clayton's Yorkshire school embarked to save the owls in the neighbouring lord's estate from instant annihilation, by gathering data to prove the beneficent economy those ominous birds fulfilled in nature by destroying rats and mice, is an extraordinary *tour de force* of concentration and of correlations reaching out to statistics, zoology and handicrafts (p. 316, footnote).

In the chapter on the Secondary School, and elsewhere, the author blows up into smithereens two superstitions that have struck tenacious root into the soil of educational conservatism. The one is that all boys should learn all subjects at the S. L. C.—that certain subjects are indispensable for mental training. One subject, say languages, which is one boy's meat, may be poison to another whose pabulum, for instance, is mathematics. "Our 'group' superstition assumes that a careful admixture of meat and poison to each individual is essential to 'general' health. *Of all the loose tags in which current educational patter abounds none is looser than the tag about 'premature specialization'.* If every boy of sixteen were studying half the number of subjects he studies today, and learning them twice as thoroughly, the all-round gain would be enormous. The impossibility of omniscience has long been self-evident; yet somehow the taint of this impossible (and undesira-

ble) ideal still lingers faintly on in the scholastic precinct. We are in serious danger of turning out boys who are well-informed—the very worst type of bore. Why not grasp the nettle firmly and admit (what we all guess already) that *no subject whatever, and no one class of subject, is indispensable?* The indispensable thing is that everybody should learn something well enough to get an inkling of the gap between knowledge and half-knowledge." The educational gods of a country would do well to ponder over and inly digest these words of the Headmaster of the Bristol Grammar School.* The author contends that at the high school the utmost freedom of choice among subjects compatible with the resources in staff and equipment should be accorded to students. That other fetish too among us, namely, that the capacity to pass in all subjects in one week or month is the sovereign test of competence, receives no quarter at his hands. "A candidate who fails in one or two subjects of a certificate should be allowed credit for those in which he has passed, allowed, that is, to present himself at a second trial in subjects in which he has failed on the first attempt."

If one thought more than another recurs to those who contemplate educational arrangements in Indian schools and colleges, it is this, that when our young warriors, even the best of them, go out to face the problems and dangers of life, they feel like "David in the armour of Saul," only too glad to lay aside their cumbersome, ill fitting panoply of learning and masses of generalized knowledge laboriously acquired. This remark applies of course to the elect among our students, for most of them are mentally very ill-clothed indeed. The cause of this disease in our educational system lies in the fact that the means of applying knowledge to the particular circumstances of life is delayed until schooldays are over. As we read Prof. Findlay's book, this defect in our educational methods stands out in uncomfortable relief.

Co-education; Reward and Punishment; the limits to self-government of boys in school; the Play Way in education class-management; the Dalton plan; Educational experiments ranging from Illinois to Bengal, (from Dewey to Tagore); the examination of popular phrases like freedom, individuality and self-expression, efficiency, activity, happiness and interest; the importance of enfranchising book-keeping, shorthand, Esperanto and hobbies in a high school curriculum; Infant schools and Nurseries; Workers' and Mass education;—these and a hundred other topics the reader will find in this second volume illuminated by a mind moving with assured mastery in this labyrinthine subject. Behind all these topics, binding them as it were in a golden nexus, in the very heart of the book, he will see the author's vigilant consciousness of the spiritual values of life, his insistent recognition of the fact that the supreme aim of education is to evoke in the pupil's mind intimations of the Infinite and Everlasting; his readiness to breathe his benediction on the teacher who, alive to the *ethos* of his age, lives in the presence of great ideas, and gifted with qualities of leadership and sympathy, helps, not to repress the energies of the young, but to a new consciousness of freedom, seeing that youth's is an adventure on waters beyond the teacher's narrow voyaging. "*Zoin perisson*, life beyond measure, first granted to us, we offer in turn to the young."—Can there be a nobler close to a book on education?

This book is not written with a view to enable the gifted few to live in an intellectual *Goschen* of their own, but to initiate us into the subtle art where-

* E. W. Barton, writing in *The University Bulletin*, 1925, and quoted by the author in the footnote on p. 347.

by we can put power, if only a modicum of it, into the hands of the toiling millions in fields and factories—the power that comes of knowledge—and a ray of light into their homes. Pervaded, but not weighted, by a scholarship that is equalled only by the writer's experience, marked by supple alertness to new ideas, unbiassed in criticism and profound in psychological insight, these architectonic volumes on education will royally reward the reader as much by these qualities as by its graceful and urbane style.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.

FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM.

THE A B C OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM. By E. W. KEMMERER. (Princeton University Press.) 1926. 8½ × 5¾. pp. xiii, 211. 7 s.

PROF. KEMMERER is acknowledged to be an authority on Currency matters not only in U. S. but all over Europe. We expect from him a thorough treatment of a subject and lucid exposition. This expectation is amply realised in the book under review. It sets forth the main features of the Federal Reserve System and its working. The author complains that there is a surprising lack of public interest in the working of this system although the Federal Reserve Act is one of the most important pieces of legislation enacted in modern times.

The first defect of the Banking system of U. S. before the Federal Reserve System was established was decentralization. The reserves were scattered over 30,000 different banks and in times of panic or adverse balance of trade they were found to be ineffective. What was wanted was a national conservator of the money market. The second defect was the inelasticity of credit due principally to the inelasticity of the Bank-notes; the machinery for taking out new notes worked too slowly. The result was that in times of crisis the Bank-notes could not be depended upon to provide additional currency. The third defect was that the domestic exchange system as well as the foreign exchange system were both cumbersome. Heavy shipments of currency back and forth were required for the varying seasonal demands of different parts of the one country. The foreign trade being financed through London, an additional foreign exchange operation increased the expense and risk of financing a shipment of goods. The last defect was that for the Central Government, there was no Central Bank acting as a single treasury equalizing the demands for heavy disbursements at certain seasons of the year and large hoardings at other seasons. The Federal Reserve System was created to remedy all these defects.

Twelve Federal Reserve Banks each operating within an assigned district constitute the apex of the new Banking System. Member banks subscribe to the capital stock of the Federal Reserve Bank in their district 6 p. c. of their own capital and surplus. The constitution of these banks is completely democratic. The unification of the policies of the twelve banks is effected through the Federal Reserve Board at Washington. The first effect of the new system was to centralize all the Bank reserves in a Federal Reserve Bank by June 1917. The advantage is thus described by Prof. Kemmerer: "Reserve money collected in a few large reservoirs is quickly available in large quantities either for export or for domestic use and the fact that it is readily available in large quantities inspires public confidence and lessens the danger of financial panic. Inter-District mobility

has increased by means of rediscounting by one Federal Reserve Bank for another and the creation of a broader discount market for commercial paper. Trade acceptances and bank acceptances have increased enormously since the Federal Reserve system has been at work."

The inelasticity of the old system has been cured by the substitution of Federal Reserve Notes for the old National bank-notes. These new notes are backed by a 40 p. c. gold reserve and can be used as till-money by all banks. Any bank can get any amount of notes from the Federal Reserve Bank by rediscounting eligible paper and the Federal Reserve Bank itself may obtain more notes in the same way. Intricate devices are adopted for contracting the circulation of notes. Similarly by removing the rigid legal requirements for reserves of the old system, by free use of rediscounting and encouraging loans against short time collateral bills the new system has wonderfully increased the elasticity of the deposit currency which does far more work than the Notes in settling transactions. The domestic exchange difficulties of the old regime have been removed by making each Federal Reserve Bank a clearing house in its district, doing clearing work at par and gratis; besides collection work is done by the Federal Reserve Bank in promissory notes, trade-bills, time drafts, acceptances and the like for a trifling charge. The most important mechanism by which internal exchange is facilitated is that of the Gold Settlement Fund. Each Federal Reserve Bank has to keep to the account of this fund one million dollars in gold plus an amount at least equal to its indebtedness to other Federal Reserve Banks. By means of this fund transfers may be made among all the Federal Reserve Banks and the United States treasury. There is now practically no shipment of money within the country and banks are enabled to dispense with the necessity of tying up large sums in other banks for the clearing of cheques. As one result of the new system the dependence on London for financing foreign trade has lessened and bills drawn in dollars on business houses in U. S. have become very convenient and a large part of the foreign trade is now directly financed by United States banks and corporations. Lastly, the work of the treasury has been immensely facilitated by the establishment of Federal Reserve Banks which during the war handled the enormous fiscal operations of the Government including the depositing and withdrawing of the treasury balances examined the collaterals offered by banks in return for the deposit of balances, did the work of floating the Liberty loans and were the head-quarters of the publicity campaign for popularising the loans, and rendered fiscal aid to the Government in advancing money. Without the new system the war would simply have produced a chaos. Prof. Kemmerer says "one shudders when he thinks what might have happened if the war had found us with our former decentralized and antiquated banking system."

The whole of the Federal Reserve Act is reproduced in appendix B. The handbook contains an admirable exposition of the United States Banking System, parts of which are certainly worth copying by us in India.

V. N. GODBOLE.

LEADERS OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ.

LEADERS OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ. (Natesan & Co., Madras.) 1926. 7 x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$. pp. v, 248. Re. 1-8.

THIS is a useful compilation, as bringing under one cover life-sketches of seven of the most prominent

protagonists and founders of the Brahmo-Samaj movement in Bengal. Serious students of the history of that movement have nothing new to learn from the pages of the volume before us. Readers of Pandit Shivanath Shastri's voluminous work on the history of the Brahmo Samaj or of Pandit Sita Nath Tatva Bhushan's writings bearing on the same topic, will find this volume scrappy and superfluous. The life of Raja Ram Mohan Roy is best read in the pages of Miss Collet and Babu Hemchandra Sarkar, not to mention the numerous papers on the contribution of Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Indian nation building, read on the occasion of the anniversary celebrations of that greatest of Indian worthies, for several years past throughout the length and breadth of India. In this connection, we would, draw the particular attention of our readers to the utterances of the late Mr. Justice Ranade, Dr. Brijendra Nath Seal and Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee. The life of Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore is best studied in his own autobiography and in a character-sketch of that philosopher-saint, contributed to the pages of the *Modern Review* by Pandit Shivanath Shastri. Keshav Chandra Sen has an admirable biographer in Pratap Chunder Muzumdar, himself a master-craftsman in the handling of the English language, as everyone knows who has read the latter's "Oriental Christ" and "Heart-Beats". We know not any biography of Pratap Chunder himself here, perhaps the sketch before us has much to tell us that we did not know before. The life and life-work of Sasipada Banerji, the founder of the Deva Samaj and a real man of God and social reformer, if ever there was one, is treated well by Pandit Shivanath Shastri and many another writer in Bengal. Ananda Mohan Bose, who is known to Bengal as the Ranade of that part of the country, a politician, social reformer, a protagonist of every liberal movement making for all-sided advancement of his country, is well portrayed for us in the pages of Hem Chandra Sarkar as also in a volume by Pandit Shivanath Shastri entitled "The Men I have seen", a publication by the way of the *Modern Review* Office, which is much superior in insight, interest and personal knowledge of the theme handled, as well in unity of aim and treatment, to the volume before us. While that is a book of "fugive pieces though not without a plan", this is a mere compilation, no higher in its utility than a ready book for consultation and reference by a man in the street.

What can we say of the contents of the volume before us? The Brahmo Samaj movement originated in the all-sided effort of Raja Rammohun Roy to give India the chart and plan of her emancipating work for the public good of her children. Ram Mohan Roy was a prophet and a pioneer in every field of our national activity. He was a journalist, a savant and a social, moral and religious regenerator of his countrymen. He was also a statesman and politician instinct with the true spirit of progress. Nothing escaped from his sweeping vision. The lines that he laid down for our country's advancement still remain uncovered. In the movement known as Brahmo Samaj, he has marked out a plan of universal religion which alone has the potency in it to become the uniting faith of the several nationalities in this country, that we know as Indians. His culture, his piety, his historic imagination and the vision of the prophet that was in him have given him a rank and title of eminence in the hierarchy of our national leaders that remains unapproached and inapproachable. Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore emphasised in his career, as the protagonist of the Brahmo faith, its national and essentially ancient pedigree. He took his stand firmly and unchallenged on the doctrine of the Upanishads. As Pandit Shiv-

nath Shastri has pointed out, he was very keen on one point, namely, that our liberalism ought not to improve us out of recognition as Hindus and descendants of the ancient Rishis. He was a mystic, a saint and a meditative soul. Keshab Chunder Sen and Pratap Chunder Muzumdar may be fitly styled the missionaries of the Brahmo Samaj in the widest and highest sense of that term. They, between them, carried its gospel far and wide. They did not a little to arrest the tendency of some of the ardent Bramhos in Bengal toward being anglicised in their ways and habits of life. Of these two Keshab was indeed a creative genius. The finest religious orator that modern India has produced, he was also a real bhakta. He gave the Brahmo Samaj its ceremonial and ritual. He was the founder of the New Dispensation. His excessive leaning towards and fascination for the personality and life of Christ made him for a time a suspect among his own people. The cult of hero-worship round the personality of Keshab created a division in the Bramho Samaj camp, out of which grew the Sadharan Bramha Samaj round the personalities of Ananda Mohun Bose and Pandit Shiv Nath Shastri. The Adi Bramho Samaj of Maharashtra Devendra Nath, the New Dispensation of Keshab Chunder Sen and the Sadharan Bramha Samaj of Ananda Mohan Bose and Pandit Shivnath Shastri are the three off-shoots of the parent church founded by Raja Ram Mohun Roy. Of these, if an outsider is at all a proper judge of the matter, the Sadharana Bramha Samaj is, at present, the most popular. Unlike the Arya Samaj, the Bramha Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj are religious movements that do not swear by the Vedas. To an educated Indian with a nationalistic bend of mind, these latter appeal more than the former. And that is the very reason why among the laity of India, the Arya Samaj of India has the greatest following of them all. The propagandist and missionary zeal of the Arya Samaj and the organising genius of its leaders are by far superior to those of the two other liberal and reforming faiths. No wonder it is going on apace while the Bramho and the Prarthana Samajas with the best of intellectual guides and leaders, like those treated of in the volume before us, and like Ranade, Bhandarkar and Modak on this side of India, lag far behind. But a movement predominantly intellectual and rational has necessarily to suffer, in the midst of conditions such as obtain in India at the present day, from a scanty following. Perhaps, we have digressed too far from the real purpose of penning these lines. We have no doubt that the book under review will admirably serve the purpose for which it is brought out.

V. N. NAIK.

LORD BROUGHAM AND THE WHIG PARTY.

LORD BROUGHAM AND THE WHIG PARTY.

By ARTHUR ASPINALL. (Manchester University Press.) 1927. pp. 322. 9½ x 6. 10s.

LORD BROUGHAM has been fortunate in his biographer and Dr. Aspinall in his subject. The life of Brougham is obviously an excellent one for biography. Of Bacon it was said that he had a powerful intellect but that it was divorced from virtue. The same may be said of Lord Brougham, one of the most remarkable men who lived in the 19th century. Lord Brougham was a versatile genius, but the many and glaring defects of his character prevented him from becoming great. "Greatness" as Neville D'Este says in his 'Masters of War', "is compounded of three elements, industry, illumination and virtue." Lord Brougham possessed the first two qualities in abundance, but sadly lacked in the chief essential of

greatness—virtue. It is the career of this characterless genius that Dr. Arthur Aspinall has portrayed in the book before us.

Dr. Aspinall's work supplies a long felt need. Two 'lives' of Brougham which have so far been published are untrustworthy. The life of Lord Brougham (published in 1869 in the last of the 8 volumes containing the careers of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England) by Campbell, his friend and sometimes rival in politics, has the merits and defects of a contemporary biography. The biography of Brougham by J. B. Aslay (in the two volumes of Victorian Chancellors published in 1906), though ably written, was not based on any original research. The author does not seem to have used the documents pertaining to the subject of his Memoir. Brougham himself wrote his autobiography which appeared as a posthumous work in three volumes in 1871. Writing as he did his autobiography in his old age when his memory was failing, there are inaccuracies of statement, and hence the work is not reliable as an historical composition. But Dr. Aspinall's book does not contain the faults of the above mentioned works. Dr. Aspinall is qualified as no one else could be for the writing of this memoir and he writes with a thorough acquaintance with all the available records pertaining to the subject, a warmth of appreciation, a shrewd criticism and a humorous understanding which are both engaging and convincing to the reader.

The learned author has written the career of Brougham as a statesman with special reference to the history of the Whig party with which he was closely connected during his public life. The author points out how Brougham starting his career as a briefless barrister, rose to be the Lord High Chancellor of England. Anyone perusing the book will not fail to note that the career of Brougham was a strangely inconsistent career. Officially he was connected with the Whig Party, but he changed his political opinions as often as we change our clothes. He was sometimes a Whig who advised his party to stand on its own legs; sometimes he favoured a coalition with the Liberal Tories; and on some occasions he was a Radical and stood as a Radical candidate for Parliamentary elections. What is the key to his inconsistency and political metamorphoses? The fact of the matter was that Lord Brougham was a greedy office-grabber who sacrificed political principles at the altar of office. History cannot give a better illustration of a trimmer and opportunist than Lord Brougham.

The author rightly points out that the gravest charge that can be brought against him is his faithlessness and egoism. Students of history can never forgive Brougham for betraying the Queen during the course of the Royal divorce suit. He was her legal adviser, and yet he belied the trust reposed in him in order to secure his own end.

The author also draws pointed attention to the fact that Lord Brougham dabbled in too many subjects. He quotes Roger's witticism. "This morning Solon, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Archimedes, Sir Isaac Newton, Lord Chesterfield and a great many more went away in one post chaise". The author's estimate of Brougham is thus given: "Thus his qualifications for a statesman were limited as much by the fact that he attempted too much and therefore knew too little about all the many subjects in which he tried to specialise, as by the many, and glaring, defects in his character."

The moral of the political career of Brougham is obvious. No person can be called great and no one can command the respect of his own generation and

of posterity, if he or she is a genius but without character. Character is as much an essential condition for success in politics as it is in every other field. If Brougham failed to achieve greatness, it was because he had no character.

We cordially recommend this brilliant book to all politicians and students of history.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

SCIENCE AND THE MODERN WORLD.

SCIENCE AND THE MODERN WORLD.

By A. N. WHITEHEAD, (Cambridge University Press). 1927. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$. pp. xi, 265. 8s. 6d.

THIS book consists in the main of the Lowell lectures delivered by Dr. Whitehead in 1925. His aim is to show how the development of the exact sciences has affected modern thought in its different stages, how the fundamental concepts which these sciences have evolved have coloured our view of the world as a whole. Dr. Whitehead's rich and varied knowledge of science combined with a natural gift for metaphysical investigation has eminently fitted him for the task which he has undertaken and though the book seems to be obscure in some places one cannot fail to find in it the material of a revolution in our general scientific and philosophical outlook.

In reading this book our interest mainly centres round Dr. Whitehead's acute criticism of the scientific philosophy which has been predominant in the last three centuries. "The ultimate issue of the whole story," he says, "is the patent dissolution of the comfortable scheme of scientific materialism which has dominated in the three centuries under review." (p. 195) Scientific materialism is the theory which presupposes "the ultimate fact of an irreducible brute matter or material, spread throughout space in a flux of configurations." "In itself such a material is senseless, colourless, purposeless. It just does what it does do, following a fixed routine imposed by external relations which do not spring from the nature of its being" (p. 22). But it is the stuff which underlies the world, and to which everything can be ultimately reduced. Dr. Whitehead contends that the materialistic scheme is "entirely unsuited to the scientific situation at which we have now arrived," and that it must give place to a more adequate conception of the world.

Modern science in the distinctive sense may be said to have originated in the 17th century and the general trend of scientific thought in the two succeeding centuries may be traced to the peculiar circumstances which attended its early history. The scientific philosophy of that age was mainly dominated by Mathematics and Physics which set up the standard for all other branches of science. Under their influence science became mainly quantitative—a search for relations between measurable elements among phenomena. There arose the conception of mass as a physical quantity inherent in every material body, which remains permanent during all changes of motion and among chemical transforma-

tions. This mass or matter came to be thought of as the one and only reality in terms of which everything can be explained.

Scientific materialism, however, proves to be defective if it is taken as a philosophical doctrine. It can describe everything in terms of matter and motion simply because it does not take into account all the facts of concrete immediate experience. The only concepts that it uses are mechanical concepts, and thus the entire world is reduced to a mechanism in which there can really be no room for self-determining organisms, final causes, life, mind or values.

The error which Dr. Whitehead finds at the basis of scientific materialism is the belief in 'simple location' from which arises the fallacy of "misplaced concreteness". "To say that a bit of matter has 'simple location' means that, in expressing its spatio-temporal relations, it is adequate to state that it is where it is, in a finite definite region of space and throughout a definite finite duration of time apart from any essential reference of the relations of that bit of matter to other regions of space and to other durations of time." (p. 72). The fundamental assumption underlying the materialistic scheme is that matter or the stuff of which the world is made has 'simple location' and the world is merely a succession of instantaneous configurations of matter. Dr. Whitehead argues that "among the primary elements of nature as apprehended in our immediate experience, there is no element whatever which possesses the character of simple location." (p. 72) An object seems to be only in a definite region of space and during a definite period of time because we ignore other objects to which it is essentially related. The reality of the object however is not confined solely to the place where it appears and to the period of time during which it appears but extends to other places occupied by different objects in different periods of time. To think of an object existing as only in one fixed place is to mistake it as self-existing, self-sufficient and self-dependent. This is the fallacy of misplaced concreteness, the error of mistaking the abstract for the concrete.

Every concrete object, according to Dr. Whitehead, is a "prehensive unity." Prehension is defined as "a process of unifying." Every object unites in itself the aspects of all other objects which therefore enter into its composition. "Realisation is a gathering of things into the unity of prehension." Things so gathered into a unity have essential reference to other places and other times, so that we cannot say that a thing is only here and now. Nature is a complex of prehensive unifications none of which can be torn out of its context and invested with an independent reality of its own.

This is Dr. Whitehead's theory of *organic mechanism*. The world is not a chance-collocation of mutually independent entities externally related to one another but is an organism each part of which is a subordinate organism consisting of minuter organisms, so that every part is dominated by the whole that lives in it. Thus, "an individual entity,

whose own life-history is a part within the life history of some larger, deeper, more concrete pattern, is liable to have aspects of that larger pattern dominating its own being and to experience modifications of that larger pattern reflected in itself as modifications of its own being." (p. 134) In the case of an animal, the total organism, in which we are to include its mental states, modifies the plans of the successive subordinate organisms until the ultimate, smallest organisms such as electrons are reached. "This principle of modification is perfectly general throughout nature and represents no property peculiar to living bodies." (p. 99).

Dr. Whitehead believes that it is only such a conception of the world which can do full justice to the concrete facts of our experience and adequately meet the claims of poetry, morality and religion. This conception however has its difficulty. If everything is a unity of aspects of other things we seem to be left with a world consisting of relations without relata—a difficulty which many absolutistic systems of philosophy have found hard to grapple with. The place of mind or consciousness in his scheme of the world also requires to be further elucidated. Is mind an entity which merely gathers into itself the aspects of all other entities? Is consciousness merely a "cross-section" of a world of objects selected by an organism? Unless these questions are fully answered it is difficult to form a correct estimate of the metaphysical system which Dr. Whitehead presents to us here.

K. C. GUPTA.

THE MIRROR OF INVESTMENT.

THE MIRROR OF INVESTMENT. By PAT LOVETT. (Banna Publishing Co., Calcutta.) 1927. 8¾ × 5¾. pp. 492.

"THE object of this book is to give the public a shrewd notion of the actual condition of the Indian joint stock companies whose shares it is proposed to buy for investment or speculation." With these significant words the editor of the leading commercial weekly in India opens his short preface to the "Mirror of Investment," as he has chosen to title the book under review. With all his long experience in the commercial and industrial spheres, in which the author is actively engaged as a capitalist, and as a journalist, we are constrained to say that the book does not fulfil the high expectations formed at the outset by conjuring the name of the distinguished editor as the sponsor of the book. Though it is evident that in a compilation of this character there is no scope for originality and research, yet it cannot be denied that mere collection of statistics regarding the financial position of various companies will fail to give the public "a shrewd notion," as is the avowed purpose of the book. Millions of hard-earned rupees of the investing public, a vast majority of which is the middle class uninitiated into the art of company flotations and their window-dressing, yet desirous of making secure provision for their dependents by in-

vesting in the industrials of their own nation, are frittered away in buying securities which are quoted considerably above their par value for the time being but are considered by men of business acumen as intrinsically mere scraps of paper. It may rather seem anomalous that such a state of things should continue in the exchanges all the world over, that worthless securities should change hands at fabulous prices thus beguiling bona-fide investors, until the crash comes as a bolt from the blue to turn the erstwhile millionaire into a pauper, exciting the pity of the world. This turn of the wheel of fortune takes place through absolutely no fault of that unfortunate victim, actuated by pious motives and a genuine sense of obligation and duties. It is true that it is not for the author of the book to proffer advice as to the best type of investment, which must be left to a professional expert; still the author would have done a distinct service to the investing public if he had explained thoroughly such terms as gross and net, block, effective reserves, depreciation, preferred and deferred capital, by scanning a particular balance sheet to arrive at the intrinsic value of its share, and thus had shown how to separate the apparent from the real. Likewise a little academic discussion about the action of the "Bears" and the influence of the "Bulls" on the course of events would have helped to expose the pitfalls and hazards to the unsophisticated layman in his endeavour to make a sterling selection for the purpose of bona-fide investment.

The first two chapters of the book form the subject of short articles on "Exchanges," namely Bombay and Calcutta, and in the next two the author has dealt with our financial system and the proposed, but now abandoned, Reserve Bank from the Indian standpoint. But what is of more interest to us on this side is the chapter on Cotton, as cotton manufacture is the only greatest organised industry, financed and manned by Indians predominantly. Some glaring handicaps from which this enterprise is suffering today after a steady progress for over three quarters of a century, are clearly mentioned in the book. "Very few patents have been taken out in India. Very little advancement, either technical or on the business side, has been made on local initiative and every improvement which has come on the scene in Europe has been imported at necessarily heavy cost, and many errors have been made in connection with the introduction of improvements." "Until India produces textile machinery on the spot, the disadvantages which the Indian mills as a whole have against the British producer will never disappear." These statements truly depict the position of the industry on the technical side and are by no means encouraging.

Another paragraph appears on p. 245 which reflects great credit on Bombay capitalists from the point of view of financial ability and business acumen. "Unlike the Indian capitalists of Bombay who own nearly all the cotton mills there and, what is more, staff them with Indians, the Bengalees do not own a single jute mill in Calcutta, nor are they to be found in the supervising staff. The industry is in

the hands of Britishers, Scotchmen for the most part. Yet it is notorious that 60 per cent. of the share capital is held by Indians. The moral is obvious."

An important suggestion is made to the Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Co., which is the first and greatest company holding a unique position in the Indian insurance world. The premium rates, the author thinks, "are not only the highest compared with those of all the Indian companies but are even higher than some of the foreign offices," and the time has arrived when the management will do well to revise them at an early date. We hope the suggestion will be acted upon by the directors to the advantage of both the parties concerned.

The book is not the only publication of its kind. Those interested will do well to compare the present book with the Investors' India Year Book, published annually by the reputed Calcutta firm of Messrs. Place, Siddons and Gough, who are the pioneers in this respect. Both are intended to serve the same purpose and are devised on a similar plan, but each with a peculiar feature of its own. The volume badly wants a comprehensive index. The list of principal shareholders, not absolutely reliable as the author himself tells us, includes the names of political luminaries and is quite amusing.

S. Y. PONKSHE.

SHORT NOTICE.

INFORMATION ON THE PROBLEM OF SECURITY. BY J. W. WHEELER-BENNETT AND F. E. LANGERMAN. (George, Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1927. 9 x 6. pp. 272. 10s.

THIS is an admirably-compiled book of documents and other information regarding the attempts made since the War to develop some system of mutual guarantee against warfare amongst the European States, and leading up to the adoption of the Locarno Security Pact. The purpose of the book is well expressed in the preface:—"The whole history of post-war European politics may be said to have been a desperate search after security—a search in which the hunters knew well that inevitable destruction awaited their failure. The details of this search are given in the following pages: its gradual progress from the theory of a two-or three-party pact directed against another party; through the more universal plans propounded by the League of Nations; finally to the pact of specified but mutual guarantee achieved at Locarno..... This is what Locarno achieved: for the first time, perhaps, in the world's history it attempted to set the feet of the world upon the road of common sense."

The permanent validity of the settlement brought about at Locarno still remains uncertain; but the historian of the future will be grateful for this comprehensive survey of the efforts put forth during the past few years to rid the world of

the nightmare of fear which is the ultimate cause of all wars. Once the nations learn to trust each other, war will be at an end; and everything done to banish the sense of insecurity is work of the very highest importance for the well-being of humanity.

J. S. HOYLAND.

TOPIC OF THE WEEK.

FRIENDS of labour will be happy at the appearance under the able editorship of that well known labour leader in Southern India, Mr. Ernest Kirk, of a monthly journal devoted to the interests of all workers. To the readers of this journal Mr. Kirk needs no introduction, our review columns having been frequently enriched by his writings, which, we know, were highly appreciated. Such a publication was a great desideratum from the point both of labour and the general public and labour in particular has reason to be grateful to Mr. Kirk for bringing out a monthly which may be expected to play a not inconspicuous part in educating the public on right lines with regard to labour problems. The *Indian Labour Review*, though not the official organ of the all-India Trade Union Congress, has been assured of the support of the members of the Executive of that body, which is no small thing. The first number contains, among other things, an inspiring message to Indian Labour from Mr. B. P. Wadia who did so much pioneering work for organising labour in Madras. Every attempt has been made to make the review as readable as possible and the progress of time is sure to add still more to its readability and attractiveness. We wish every success to Mr. Kirk's new venture.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- PARLIAMENT AND WAR. By FRANCIS R. FLOURNOY. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.) 1927. 8½ x 5½. pp. 282. 15s.
- INDIA TOMORROW. By KHUB DEKHTA AGE. (Oxford University Press.) 1927. 8 x 5½. pp. 87. 3s. 6d.
- A HISTORY OF VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN INDIA. By A. S. ALTEKAR. (Oxford University Press.) 1927. 8½ x 5½. pp. 144. Rs. 3.
- KENYA FROM WITHIN, A SHORT POLITICAL HISTORY. By W. MCGREGOR ROSS. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1927. 8½ x 5½. pp. 486. 18s.
- A SUBSTITUTE FOR SOCIALISM OR SHORT STUDIES IN PROGRESSIVE ECONOMICS. By A. G. F. MACHIN. (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Ltd., London.) 1927. 8 x 5½. pp. 79. 2s.
- THE COTTON WORLD. A SURVEY OF THE WORLD'S COTTON SUPPLIES AND CONSUMPTION. By JOHN A. TODD. (Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ x 5. pp. 236. 5s.

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