

Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

AT the 11th session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Mr. N. C. Kelkar delivered the presidential address which took a wide survey of all the questions touching Hindu-Muslim relations. Though excellent in many ways, we hardly think the address is calculated to pour oil on troubled waters or to assist the advance of true Nationalism. It is bound to please that section of the Hindus who are accustomed to enjoy sallies at the expense of the Muslims whether they are good, bad or indifferent, but it is bound to cause grave concern to those who are ceaselessly trying to bring the two communities together. There is a subtle charm about the arguments Mr. Kelkar brings forward to prove the harmony between communalism and nationalism, but they do not go to the root of the matter. The necessity for a Hindu to think about the well-being of the Hindus as a community cannot justify an essentially narrow and sectional outlook, and the truth remains that the more rabid a Hindu or a Muslim is, the further he is from the spirit of nationalism. Mr. Kelkar is very enthusiastic about the Shuddhi movement and he would recommend the Mahasabha to depute its agents to those provinces which are not zealously prosecuting the movement. We doubt whether mass conversions, unless they touch the converts spiritually, are likely to do much good except by way of increasing the numbers. He strongly advocates the granting of equal privileges to the untouchables in the matter of visiting Hindu temples and receiving the spiritual satisfaction in the same conditions as the Brahman

from the worship of the Deity. Similarly he would advocate the gradual fusion of sub-castes and removal of provincial barriers to intermarriage. On the subject of Hindu-Muslim compromise he rejects the proposals of Mr. Jinnah as impracticable because in his block proposals "matters of unequal merit are soldered up indissolubly" and he suggests that the items in the demand should be severally dealt with on their merits. Mr. Kelkar is prepared to concede the demand for the reservation of seats for the Muslims, to commence with; but he would confine this to the provinces where they are in a minority. To claim this even in provinces where they are in a majority is, as he says, a "double propping up of reservation". As for reservation of posts in public services in every administrative department he rightly characterises it as sheer absurdity.

Mr. Kelkar's strictures on the extra-territorial attachment of the Muslims are quite well-deserved. As long as Muslims regard some foreign land under a Muslim king as their true domicile and India only as a Kafriethan no true nationalism can be developed. Curiously enough his policy about Hindu-Muslim unity is 'wait and see'; we are equally surprised at his scepticism about the compromise proposals outlined at the various unity-conferences and his advice to wait for a right psychological moment when spontaneous intuition may come to our help. In the meantime he would appeal to the Hindus to devote greater attention and energy to the question as to how they will give the best account of themselves in the work of achieving political Swaraj. The proper consolation for a Hindu is, he says, that the Hindus as a community have never done anything to prevent or imperil the work of building a common nationality in India in the presence of the other religious communities.

IN his presidential address to the third session of the Educational Service Conference recently held at Ahmedabad, Mr. Primary Education in Bombay. Munshi, member for the University in the local legislative council, gives some statistics which show how very slow is our progress towards the goal of universal literacy. The number of primary schools in 1920-21 was 12,826 and that of pupils 801,155, which five years later, i. e., in 1925-26, rose to 13,448 and 913,168 respectively, the percentage of increase being 4.8 in the case of the former and 14 in the case of the latter. The proportion of boys at school to the total male population is 7.2 and that of girl pupils to the female population 1.3 so that, Mr. Munshi computes, for doubling the number of pupils, we must wait for 35 years more and for every village to have a school of its own, 505 years! In this connection it is necessary to bear in mind that, under the arrangements contemplated by the Chandavarkar Committee which dealt exhaustively with the whole question of the spread of primary education, there was to be universal compulsory edu-

cation in 10 years at a recurring cost of Rs. 70 lakhs; whereas, according to Mr. Munshi, during the five years since the passing of the Compulsory Education Act in 1923, the amount sanctioned for the expansion of primary education was only Rs. 4 lakhs; and if money for this purpose goes on being made available at the present rate, it will, he calculates, be 87½ years before we have all the boys and girls of the school-age at school. If we consider girls' education by itself, the prospect is still more dismal. As already pointed out, at present only 1.3 of the total female population is studying in primary schools. The number of primary schools intended for girls was 1505 in 1920-21 and the number of girls studying in them 167,459; the corresponding figures for 1925-26 were 1498 and 182,086 respectively. It is well-known that only 15 per cent. of the boys and 10 per cent. of the girls, studying in primary schools succeed in reaching the IV standard, that is, in retaining literacy throughout life. On this basis Mr. Munshi says that out of every 13 boys 11 will have to be content with an illiterate wife. He attributes the present unsatisfactory condition of primary education to the policy underlying the Compulsory Education Act of 1923, which, instead of fixing the responsibility for primary education on the Government themselves, transferred it to local authorities which are not fit to meet the same. And then he goes on to describe how the Minister of Education is rendered quite helpless and impotent by the 1923 Act. If it was a mistake, as we ourselves believe it was, to transfer the responsibility for primary education to local bodies, the Minister of Education cannot in any case be exonerated. For the few local bodies which, taking courage in both their hands, send up schemes of compulsory education for Government sanction, find that the sanction is not forthcoming for want of funds in the Government exchequer. The Minister has besides the power of requiring local bodies which do not frame schemes of compulsory education to introduce it. Needless to say, that the Minister has not even thought of making use of this power. The fact is that the Minister is glad to shelter himself behind the lack of enthusiasm of the local bodies, but those who know the wide scope of his power know that he cannot thus shelter himself.

THE total provincial revenue in C. P. for the year 1928-29 is estimated to be Rs. 5.53 crores and the total expenditure Rs. 5.81 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 28 lakhs. Compared to other provinces,

C. P. has a very small land revenue: for instance it is Rs. 3 crores short of the figure for Bombay. Excise and Stamps together yield nearly Rs. 2 crores, and in view of future possibilities of development this is rather a parlous condition for a province which is frequently liable to famines. On the expenditure side, "General Administration" shows a very modest figure of Rs. 67.6 lakhs, which compares favourably with the bloated figures under the same head for Bombay and Madras. The expenditure on Police is nearly Rs. 61 lakhs, while that on Education Rs. 68.27 lakhs. If we compare the expenditure on Education today with that of 1925-26 we find that the increase is only Rs. 15 lakhs, which is hardly a measure of substantial progress. Now that the Provincial Contributions have ceased to be a burden on the revenues of the Province, educational schemes ought to be prosecuted more vigorously. In this connection we would draw the attention of the reader to an article by a correspondent in the *Hitavada* of Nagpur (dated 25th March) which points out that bungalows built for the higher officers of the Revenue, Police and Judicial departments are shown as expenditure of Transferred Departments. This may be technically

correct as the Public Works Department is controlled by a Minister, but to show all this expenditure under Transferred Departments is clearly misleading. It would be better if buildings for the officers of the Reserved Departments are shown separately as a deduction from the technical head 'Transferred'. In any case a distinction has to be made between 'Transferred' and 'Nation-building'. The interest charges amounting to Rs. 27 lakhs cannot be said to weigh very heavily on the total revenue.

To judge from the report of the Registrar General of Panchayats for 1926-27, the experience of Madras in regard to the part which panchayats can play in spreading elementary education is very encouraging. This year for the first time in their short history were they allowed to manage their own education on the principle, as the Registrar General puts it, that "an elementary school is best looked after by representatives of the locality for which it caters." The result was that during the twelve months covered by the report as many as 300 elementary schools were started and managed by panchayats. The resources of these bodies being very limited, they could of course not be expected to finance their education unaided; and it is but proper that the Government should come forward to bear a lion's share of the cost. Under the arrangement in force in Madras, Government undertake to pay a minimum salary of Rs. 15 per teacher per mensem and an initial equipment grant of Rs. 80 per school, while the panchayat for its part has to find the necessary accommodation and to meet all other expenses. The Government aid carries with it the condition that schools receiving the same should be accessible to all communities without any kind of restriction. This condition was found difficult of fulfilment by schools located in rented or rent-free buildings. In such cases the Government have administered a strict warning that unless such schools found means within a given period to satisfy that condition, they would have to consider seriously the withdrawal of their help. While the public prejudice against the depressed classes will take time to disappear, it is something that *adi-Dravida* children should be studying in 42 panchayat-managed schools along with those of the so-called superior castes. The lead given by Madras in the matter of asking panchayats to manage their own schools deserves to be taken up by other provinces.

THE Railway Department of the Government of India appears to be cultivating the habit of omitting useful but to them inconvenient information from the statistical portion of its annual administration reports. Attention has been drawn in these columns to the omission, after a lapse of about half a century, of statistics showing the rate of profit earned or of loss sustained on the different classes of passengers and the ratio of accommodation provided to the numbers actually carried in the different classes. Another instance of this growing habit is the omission of statistics showing the gross earnings of railway collieries and the net gain or loss resulting from the working of those collieries. This information continued to be given right up to the end of 1921-22, but from 1922-23 onwards it has, for some unexplained reason, been consistently omitted with the result that the public is precluded from knowing how the huge investments, which have been and are being daily made in the acquisition and development of these collieries, are behaving. And even such meagre information as is now left in the statistical section of the administration report is presented in a capricious

manner. For example, the Sor colliery which figured regularly in the reports for the years 1918-19 to 1921-22 with a capital outlay of about Rs.10 lakhs disappeared altogether, without a word of explanation, from the reports of succeeding years; while the Jarangdih colliery which first appeared in the report for 1923-24 with a capital outlay of Rs. 16 lakhs and an output of 25,000 tons, disappeared from the statistical statements for the years 1924-25 and 1925-26 and has appeared again in the report for 1926-27, with a capital outlay shown at Rs. 58 lakhs and with no outturn shown, the reason given for the latter phenomenon being that the colliery does not issue any coal as yet, as development is still in progress. This playing with the statistics which are meant for the information and use of the public must cease. No material departure from the established form of statistics should be made without the concurrence of the Central Advisory Council and even then every such departure must be satisfactorily explained in the narrative section of the administration report.

COMMENCING with its administration report for 1925-26, the Railway Department of the Government of India has been publishing an interesting statement

relating to the progress of Indianisation of the superior services on the State-managed and the company-managed railways. The latest report shows that during 1926-27, the percentage of Indians appointed to the number of vacancies filled rose from 38 per cent. to 54 per cent. This big jump does not fully reflect the effect of the grant of the Lee concessions to the officers of the company-managed railways. These railways finally accepted the policy of Indianisation in return for the grant of the Lee concessions only towards the end of 1925-26 and therefore had not had sufficient time to enable them to prepare their schemes for giving effect to that policy. It is therefore clear that the increase during the next and succeeding years should be even more markedly rapid. It must, however, be noted that at the end of 1925-26 there were 56 vacancies which were not filled and at the end of the next year this number rose to 63. That such a large number of appointments should be kept vacant from year to year is, in the absence of explanation, likely to excite the uncharitable suspicion that these vacancies represent low-paid appointments and are intended for use as a reserve for maintaining a show of progressive increase in percentage in each succeeding year.

THE *Pioneer* has again correctly voiced Indian feeling with regard to the Simon Commission. Commission in the following words:—

.... Asked by a representative of *The Pioneer* as to what he was going to do to bridge the gulf which exists between his Commission and the large and powerful number of Indian politicians, Sir John Simon blandly inquired, "Is there a gulf?" He then gave vent to the belief that "the already decreasing hostile agitation would probably vanish before his return in October." He and his Commission, he added, were anxious to do all they could to meet Indian opinion, and he assured everybody that they were very sincere. There was a hint of some minor concessions, but, on the whole, it was quite clear that Sir John has made up his mind to stand by his letter of February 6. Such an attitude and such a refusal to face obvious facts makes any friend both of Great Britain and India depressed as to the eventual result of the present adventure. Sir John Simon does not seem to have realized what is patent to everyone with any knowledge of this country, that the opposition to his Commission is deep and founded on beliefs, which are ineradicable, as long as the present method of enquiry holds the field and as long as the strength of such feeling is officially decried. Wrapt in a cloak of invincible self-confidence, they apparently believe that the curious receptions they have had in India represent a whole-hearted approval of their mission. Such is not the case and it would appear as if the future will hold a rude awakening for this ostrich-like attitude.

MINORITY PROTECTION.

IN his pamphlet on the rights of the Indian Mahomedans,* Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan pleads, eloquently and urgently, for inserting in India's constitution a charter for the protection of Muslims similar to those contained in the Minorities Treaties concluded after the Great War. To this plea we believe no one in India, not even the extreme Hindu communalist, will demur and we for our part have no hesitation in vowing our allegiance to it. No task is more pressing to the Swarajist (using the term in its wider sense) to-day than that of freeing the Mussulmans and other communities of the apprehension which they feel that in the Swaraj of the future they will be subjected to injustice and oppression, but if this result is to be secured by providing such securities as are appealed to in this pamphlet, the task is indeed extremely simple, for, as we have said above, we can conceive of no sane person who will not give his hearty assent to them. These assure civil and religious equality to all those who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion, and guarantee to them the right to their own language, schools and church, and in fact the right to their own intellectual culture. In short, the clauses in question give as large a measure of cultural autonomy as is possible to minority communities, and there is no question whatever that similar clauses must be embodied in the Indian Constitution as well. Dr. Khan proposes that the execution of these provisions should be entrusted to the British Parliament as the execution of the Minorities Treaties is entrusted to the League of Nations. To this proposition objection will naturally be raised as it involves a serious detraction from the power of the Indian Parliament, but the object which Dr. Khan has in view will be attained if the Supreme Court, whose establishment he recommends, is empowered to declare null and void any act of the legislature which is in conflict with the principles embodied in the Constitution.

We are clear that there will be no opposition in any quarter to giving Mahomedans and other communities such cultural autonomy as the Minority Treaties give to minorities in Europe. But it would appear that Dr. Khan worries much less about freedom of religion and culture than about a share in office and power, and the Treaties in question, where they are not altogether silent about the latter, provide securities of a different kind from those which Dr. Khan advocates. As to educational privileges he maintains, quite properly, that Mahomedans ought to be given an equitable share in the funds applied to educational expansion, and if it is thought desirable a provision to this effect may be made a part of the organic law of India. We ourselves lay the greatest possible stress on an equalisation of educational opportunities for all, because it alone will lead to an equal distribution of power. We would

* *What are the Rights of the Muslim Minority in India?* By SHAFAT AHMED KHAN. (The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad.) 1928. pp. 188.

give special encouragement to those who, like the Mahomedans, are backward in education, but having done that, we would be more strict than Dr. Khan in admitting various communities to the civil service. That race or creed or caste should be no bar to the employment of anyone in the administration goes without saying, and this indeed is one of the fundamental rights included in the Declaration of Rights which has been formulated by the All-Parties' Conference, but when Dr. Khan advocates the fixation of a definite proportion for each community in every province and in every Government department, he makes a proposal which is palpably absurd. The share each community gets in the public service must depend on its production of suitable men and cannot therefore be arbitrarily decided once for all by legislation purposely rendered incapable of subsequent modification. The only way in which those who happen to be backward in education can be helped forward in public employment is to lay down, as was proposed by Dr. Paranjpye in the Bombay Council, a minimum educational qualification for each post and to give in filling it a preference to applicants of the backward communities possessing that qualification. The superior services must be excluded from this preferential treatment, for these the best available capacity must be utilized. But short of them, preference may well be given, not to minorities, but to all communities who lag behind in education. Dr. Khan also claims adequate representation for the Mussulmans in the Cabinets of the provincial and central Governments. This proposal is entirely incongruous with the principle of responsible government and therefore quite incapable of application, apart from its absurdity.

But Dr. Khan lays the utmost emphasis on the maintenance of communal electorates, for which however no support whatever is found in any of the Treaties. In fact the whole idea underlying the minority provisions of these treaties is that all that requires to be protected will be protected by the specific guarantees provided in the treaties, and that when cultural autonomy is secured no further safeguards are necessary. This means that communal electorates are, to say the least, uncalled for. In any case they have absolutely no reference to the Minorities Treaties on which Dr. Khan so much relies. He knows this and therefore points to Kenya, Cyprus and Palestine for analogy, but these examples will not impress Indians very favourably. To Dr. Khan himself communal electorates do not appear desirable *per se*; but he thinks that they must be tolerated in the present circumstances as a necessary evil. If this is Dr. Khan's position, he owes it to the opponents of the communal electorates system to show how they are "essential to the existence" of Mahomedans in India and why they were not even thought of in Eastern Europe. If specific safeguards are provided in the constitution against every manner of injustice and persecution there is no reason why the common register should still be discarded and the communal

pamphlet is most disappointing. Dr. Khan quotes extensively from the post-war Treaties and the material he thus puts together is most useful, but he really places little reliance on the methods approved by Western experience as the best for protecting the interests of minorities and ends by putting forward proposals which derive no support and are impliedly condemned by the experience to which he refers.

The question is at bottom not so much that of utilising one kind of social machinery in preference to another, as of magnifying in the social mind the importance of the common life. It is therefore a question of what value one places upon the common welfare on the one hand and upon individual group advantage on the other. So long as in one's mind sectional interests predominate over the common good, the present wasteful struggle of communities must go on; but when the common purpose, are come to be more keenly appreciated than partisan ends of life, means can certainly be found for putting the different groups to working together for the common good. Dr. Khan, we are afraid, is not fully alive to this spiritual aspect of the question.

PROF. KARVE'S LIFE-WORK.

II *

IT must be a matter for gratification to Prof. Karve and to all his friends and admirers that there is not the slightest or the most distant suggestion of bad motives in any of the criticisms against him or his activities. The utmost that is said against him is that he is ever changing his field of activity and that he is ever starting new institutions, leaving the older ones to take care of themselves. And as regards the institutions he has started, the worst that is said against them is that they are not serving useful purposes or that they are not conducted on principles which the critics believe to be the most correct.

PROF. KARVE'S ALLEGED INCONSISTENCY.

That Prof. Karve has ever been starting new institutions has to be admitted, but that does not mean that he was ever disloyal to the institutions previously started by him. He began his public activities by starting a Fund to be collected from those who had anything to do with the village in which he then lived, viz. Murood, and meant to be applied to some useful purpose in connection with the education, sanitation, etc. of that village. When he joined the Fergusson College at Poona, he could not of course devote much of his time to the collection and management of the Murood Fund, but no sane person would think of finding fault with him for ceasing to take active interest in the obviously narrower and parochial Murood Fund, and applying his energies to the service of an institution like the Fergusson College, with its wider opportunities and possibilities of service to society. Murood could not always claim what rightfully belonged to the whole of Maharashtra. The Fund Prof. Karve started has always a soft corner in his heart and the managers of that Fund are fully aware of his sympathy and love which often express themselves in useful suggestions and many a time in financial help. As already pointed out, his marriage in 1892 with Mrs. Anandibai Karve was the immediate cause of forcibly bringing before him the problem of young widows in India and weaning him to a certain extent from the

work of the Deccan Education Society. But that was inevitable. The Society he continued to serve as loyally and zealously as any of its other life-members and never allowed the Society for the encouragement of Widows' Marriages which he started in 1896 to interfere with the duties which legitimately were expected of him as a life-member of the Deccan Education Society. In a way he was helping forward the cause for which the latter Society stood, viz. spreading education and making it available even to the poor. Did not the propaganda of the Widow-Remarriage Association serve the purpose of educating public opinion? We have again to bear in mind that life-members of institutions are human beings and that moments arrive in their lives when certain interests claim preponderating attention from them. At these moments the utmost that can be demanded from them is that they attend to all the duties that ordinarily belong to them and that the newer interests do not clash or come in the way of the activities and ideals of the older ones. That he was true to the ideals of the Society and that he loyally carried out all the duties pertaining to his post is evinced by the fact that he is one of the most respected of the life-members of the Society on the retired list and that his advice is freely sought and highly valued by its present members.

When Prof. Karve started the Widows' Home at Hingne and became, according to his critics, comparatively lukewarm in his interest in the Association for the encouragement of the Remarriage of Widows, he was not disloyal to the latter cause but served it in the truest and the noblest sense. While it is desirable that all obstacles to the remarriage of widows which rest on mere custom and prejudice should disappear, the remarriage of all widows cannot be the goal of any Society. In the next place, prejudices and conventions based on them more surely disappear with the spread of education and all that it connotes, than by direct propaganda in favour of remarriage. And in the third place freedom to remarry is after all only one of the many needs of women in India. They need freedom in several other matters, they want their legal disqualifications and disabilities to be removed from the statute-book, they should like to have the vote and above all they want the benefits of education which is the best solvent against social prejudice and the best tonic for restoring their physical, intellectual and moral health. If they once become educated, all prejudices born of unintelligent custom will tend to disappear, the outlook of not only women but of the general public would be widened and a healthier and better tone would be given to society. In taking up the cause of the education of widows (and then after some years of maidens and women in general) Prof. Karve was not only ensuring the success of the cause of widow-remarriage but also putting it on a firmer, wider and more rational basis.

A similar argument holds good in justifying the foundation by Prof. Karve of the Indian Women's University. If women are to be educated they should be educated on lines best suited to them and not necessarily on lines primarily meant for boys who took to education not for itself but for reasons which may not apply to, or appeal to, all women or even a majority or a large section of them. The *Nishkama-Karma-Matha* or the Sacred Home for Selfless Work which Prof. Karve founded in 1910 was in my opinion based on immature thought and born of precipitate action, but even in this case one feels that Prof. Karve's motives were of a lofty kind and that if he committed a mistake it was one of judgment and such as only high-souled people could commit. It was indeed a fall and a failure but only angels could so fall and fail, all the while retaining

their moral purity unsullied, and getting over the temporary set-back within a short while by sheer force of character. People there are who think that the Indian Women's University, as it is being conducted since it was founded in 1916, was also a blunder on his part, but none accuses him even in this case of anything except an error of judgment, which may or may not be there. The present writer for one does not consider that to be a false step, and he may now proceed to weigh and consider the arguments advanced against it.

THE INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY AND ITS JUSTIFICATION.

Among the objections against the Indian Women's University the following, representing the opinion of the majority of the Bombay University Committee (1924), are the chief ones:—

"A separate University for women is wasteful of money and effort and is likely to lower the standard of higher education for women co-education is a sounder principle at the University stage. Even those who are inclined to support the existing Women's University admit that if the use of the vernacular as a medium is in some degree admitted in the colleges of the University of Bombay and if provision of special options for women is made, a separate University is totally unnecessary. We are agreed that a separate Women's University is wasteful of effort and money and that a Women's University with the vernacular as its medium is not in the interests of higher education of women in this presidency, for reasons which appear from what we have already said about the vernacular in Universities. Moreover, there is no real evidence of any real demand for such a form of education."

As regards the alleged absence of a 'real demand' for the education provided by the Indian Women's University, there are four criteria of a 'real demand' in such matters and judging by all these, the charge does not stand. In the first place there is the criterion of financial help from the public. The University has an annual income of about Rs. 70,000 and the various schools and colleges affiliated to it are supported by the public to the extent of at least Rs. 30,000 per year. Does this mean absence of a real demand? You can cheat the public once or on particular occasions or at a particular place but you cannot continue cheating them for ten years at various places and to the extent of thousands of rupees every year. Then, again, if one compares the number and status of the Chancellors, Vice-Chancellors and members of the Senate of the Indian Women's University with those of similar bodies in other Indian Universities, one would find that the first-named University has no need to hang down its head. The number of girls who are taking advantage of the education provided for by the schools affiliated to the Women's University is steadily increasing and that certainly speaks something in favour of the University. References in the press and on the platform are again an index to the popularity or otherwise of an institution and judging from unsolicited references from papers or persons of high status, one can come to the only conclusion that the University is gaining in popularity. That there is still a large number of girls taking advantage of the institutions possessing the Governmental hall-mark is only the natural result of the tendency of humanity to tread the beaten path and also of the expectation of advantages attaching to degrees recognised by Government. In fact, seeing that professional careers are open only to persons with the Governmental hall-mark, it is rather a wonder that as many as 72 girls appeared for the Entrance examination of the Indian Women's University, which can offer no professional prospects to the successful candidates, but which can claim to provide a better sort of education.

IS THE UNIVERSITY REACTIONARY?

There are some who think that the men connected

with the Indian Women's University are reactionaries in their views and that they successfully appeal only to those whose views in regard to the place of women in the economy of life are antediluvian. The truth, however, is that there are few men who are more generous and liberal in their views in regard to the functions and capacities of women than Prof. Karve, the founder of the University or the various Chancellors and Vice-Chancellors of the University, including men like the late Dr. Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, the late Justice Sir Lallubhai Shah, Sir M. B. Chaubal, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Sir Chunilal Mehta, the present Chancellor, and Mr. Balakram, I.C.S., the present Vice-Chancellor. The question of the co-education of boys and girls at the college stage has to be decided on its own merits and it must not be assumed that because one goes in for a separate college or for a separate university for women at a particular stage of society, he is therefore of anti-feminine or reactionary views. It is again illogical to assume that because there is a separate University for Women, the education there is likely to be inferior to that given in institutions for boys. English indeed is bound to suffer to a certain extent in an institution where the medium of instruction is the vernacular, but that is no argument against the University, if it takes care that the graduates sent out by it possess a sufficient knowledge of English to enable them to appreciate and imbibe all that is best in that language and to keep in touch with what is going on in the world outside their province. Again, one might fairly say, as the present writer did say in the memorandum he sent to the Bombay University Committee, that IF the Bombay University sees its way to introduce some improvements and changes in its studies so as to make them more suitable to our women, there would be no need for a separate university for women, and yet we have gone in for such a university, seeing that the 'if' introduces a condition which is difficult of realisation under the present circumstances or in the near future.

The fact of the matter is that the University in question is an interesting and valuable experiment and that whether time proves its utility or otherwise the experiment is worth trying. All those, at any rate, who are in favour of freedom in educational matters being given to responsible persons with high ideals, ought to welcome such experiments and not to condemn them in anticipation of failure. New ways of thinking do not gain ground in a year or even in a decade. And even if Prof. Karve's University is proved by time to be a failure, it will have served a useful purpose by bringing out the mistakes or the limitations of the ideals it stands for. Prof. Karve is not a dogmatist and if he lives to see the University for Women written down a 'Failure' by time, he would himself take steps to give it a decent burial. But it is just possible that he may live to see it officially and universally recognized as serving a very necessary and useful purpose in supplying the educational needs of Indian women. The present writer, for one, hopes that the latter possibility may before long develop into an actuality. But abandoning the rueful or the wistful gaze into the future, one may end this article by saying that, whatever be the future of the institutions started by Prof. Karve, he will always be remembered as one who spent himself in what he considered to be service to India's womanhood and that if noble ideals and unwearied attempts to realise those ideals entitle one to be called a man, India might proudly point to him and say, 'Here is a man'.

V. M. JOSHI

(Concluded)

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

AIX, March 23.

CHINA AGAIN.

AN abrupt instruction from the Foreign Office to Sir Miles Lampson, the British Minister in Peking, to drop his negotiations with Aanton and Nanking, brings the affairs of China once more into the forefront. The nature of these negotiations is all the more interesting as Sir Miles would seem to have bowed to the ruling of his superiors if not under protest, at least with undisguised reluctance. The facts are, so far as they are known, that General Li Chai-Sum of Canton was to have received a loan of thirty million Mexican dollars, for a railway project connecting the partly-built Hankow-Canton Railway with the long-completed Canton-Kowloon Railway, and thus should be inaugurated a new "era of friendship" between Canton and Britain. Regarding Nanking, the terms were slightly more complicated. The British were to abandon their plea for the punishment of General Cheng Chien, and for punitive indemnities in connection with the Nanking incident, in return for formal apologies and reparation for the private persons affected. Sir Miles was also to have agreed to effect certain increases in customs duties, the surplus revenue arising therefrom, being divisible between North and South equally, that is between the Peking and Nanking Governments. Chiang-Kai-Shek, on his part, would seem to have insisted that the agreement should include a formal avowal of regret on the part of the British for the incidents last year on the Yangtze in which British warships were involved, and which led up to the outburst at Nanking. Manifestly on this question touching British prestige and probably, really on the question of the distribution of surplus customs revenue between the North and the South, the projected agreement has been wrecked.

Nevertheless, it is not the Chinese who have lost by letting the opportunity slip by. For the loan to Canton was offered two years ago, and the Nationalists declined it on the ground that it would only further a project of direct economic benefit for British interests, and economic harm to Canton's commerce. The situation remains unaltered, and it may not prove China's misfortune that Li Chai-Sum's receptivity could not be taken advantage of. So also, Britain's demands for indemnities regarding the Nanking incident were unsupported by any other Power, and in view of the difficulties of single-handed action by any of the Powers in China, it is no concession to forego them. The proposed increases in duties, besides, have been collected regularly in Southern Chinese ports for more than a year, and they have been already paid by British and other importers, albeit under protest. The other proposals contained in the abortive agreement are visibly based on an approach to the Chinese problem regionally. Diplomacy so directed is doubtless worthy of the name, it is as old as empires, and in Britain's annals forms an integral part of her imperial policy. It was tried

to divide the new United States, and it shall never succeed in continental countries, with an immense land-board, where economic forces make up for the difficulties in the way of unity, and defy division. Those who can understand China, her people, her economics, and politics, have the key to the next five centuries of world-history, said John Hay. One of the facts concerning this understanding is that China is one, the momentary schisms notwithstanding, and any calculation built on any other premise depends on an illusion. In any case the present negotiations, therefore, would have led into a blind alley.

TUMULT AMONG THE ARABS.

Despatches from French sources in the Near East are full of warnings about the swiftly developing situation in the Arab world, and by implication convey doubts about the durability of the Entente. Reports of the occasional conflicts between the French and the British in that part of the world have long been current, but they were never permitted to attain the dimensions of open diplomatic treatment. French opinion is not reassured by the messages from London that Sir Gilbert Clayton and Ibn Saud are approaching agreement. The view here is that in the desert nothing is stable, and only European solidarity could maintain the present authority. The tumult among the Arabs causes anxiety because it carries with it possibilities of creating a breach in the Anglo-French cordon. The Syrian correspondent of the Provençal *Petit Marseillais* writes: "There is no better post of observation than our French Syria for studying the Anglo-Arabian conflict which has recommenced with an unsuspected force. We are, at least we might be, the victims in the struggle: the Syrians and Frenchmen who see this clearly take it into account. It is our first duty to communicate it to the metropolis. Beware. Like the fires of Stamboul which spread through wooden houses with fearful rapidity, so are all the political conflicts in the Orient where all men and all things are sensitive and thin of skin. What does it profit us to have a small fraction of the petrol at Mosul which has been promised? How can a definite régime in Syria be established when the frontiers are in effervescence, and political passions ready to spring out are agitating in the shade? At last a Franco-Turk *modus vivendi* was discovered, but can it be applied in this tumult? . . . Whether the news are exaggerated or not, it is the origin of the conflict which is grave: the game is between civilised men and the nomads. The former cannot count on any one, the civilised man is an egoist. The nomads will draw towards them other nomads, and awake in their passage or at their word, the oriental fanaticism and nationalism which were asleep only in seeming. Let not Geneva prevent us from turning our regard to the desert and the Biblical floods."

PEACE PROPOSALS.

Once more Geneva has been busy talking of disarmament and draws public opinion towards it. This time the talk is more directly addressed to the public, partly because disarmament, far from being

a practical issue, has fallen into the region of ostentatious debating, and partly due to the necessity on the part of French and German representatives to have an eye on the impending elections in both countries. The Disarmament Commission started with a set task, that of considering the results of the deliberations of the Arbitration and Security Commission, the Russian proposal for immediate and general disarmament, and the determination of its own programme. Of these, the first one is more or less settled by the decision that the League of Nations should strengthen security by favouring regional pacts of the Locarno type, in view of the present difficulties to resuscitate the 1924 Protocol which bound disarmament to security and security to arbitration. As regards the last item, it has been suggested that on account of the strong influences pressing for the precipitation of the Disarmament Conference, the Commission is inclined to shelve the responsibility of postponing it, and let the Council arrange the decision. For the moment, the second item, the Russian proposal, is the most outstanding part of the discussions pending at Geneva. From being altogether comic when it was first presented, it has gradually grown in importance, and has produced some curious results. It has brought Turkey into the discussion and united Russia, Turkey and Germany in this regard in a manner which has caused some reflection among the Western Powers. It has led to Comrade Litvinov's open justification of the size of the Red Army "as a safeguard against the unanimous hostility of the world", and as "small in proportion to the population of the Soviet State". It has accentuated the Anglo-Soviet bitterness by provoking an oratorical feat on the part of Lord Cushendun, and finally (this is the most important consequence), as a result of the questions and answers in public between the American and Soviet delegates, the whole weight of vigorous radicalism contained in the Russian proposal has now been transferred to the Kellogg scheme for the outlawry of war. Mr. Gibson's reply to Comrade Litvinov's direct appeal for American support to the Soviet proposal was: "The Government of the United States has faith in the multilateral treaty which it has formulated, and it has none in the Soviet proposition. The first can be made more efficacious than the second, despite its apparent radicalism. Let us create confidence in the methods of regulating international disputes, and the need of reducing armaments will come of itself". The addition of Admiral Jones to the American delegation now in Geneva and reports of a concentrated effort on the part of the State Department in Washington to further its peace policy have had the effect of attracting considerable attention in Europe to a recent speech of Mr. Kellogg entitled the War Prevention Policy of the United States. The speech was mainly devoted to answering the criticism of the various Notes sent out from Washington to Paris on the question. Despite the fact that there is much anxiety all over Europe, and specially in the League circles in Geneva, to come to some agreement with America defining the rela-

tion of the United States to the League, it cannot be said that Mr. Kellogg's scheme has been received with enthusiasm in Europe. The Italian press has little more than mockery and irony for it, the British press is lukewarm, and the British Government would seem to look upon it essentially as part of the election tactics, and hence calling for dexterity rather than seriousness. In Germany, of course, there is much willingness to countenance it, and in France there is a real attempt at studying the American proposition in all its aspects. This is probably because the proposal has so far been addressed directly and fully only to France, and also because Franco-American alliance has its roots deep in history. What is certain is that the American Government has very influential and strong public backing in this drive, and if some of these forces are frustrated in their attempt to consolidate peace, they are determined to face the obstacles and deal with them in a vigorous spirit.

OUR BENGAL LETTER.

(From Our Correspondent.)

CALCUTTA, April 3.

THE SWARAJISTS' DECLINE.

THE last two months in Bengal have seen a steady decline in Swarajist stock. In the session of the Council just ended the party experienced the biggest defeat of its career on a question which it has placed in the forefront of its programme, which is in fact, its principal *raison d'être*: to wit, the killing of Dyarchy. And now comes its extinction from the Calcutta Corporation. Unfortunately the no-confidence motions against the Ministers in the Council, which, compared with the vote on the Ministers' salaries, is quite an insignificant affair, has quite overshadowed the bigger issue. Mr. A. C. Dutt moved the total rejection of the Ministers' salaries and raised a constitutional issue. He said that the mandate of his party was to kill Dyarchy; that the Ministers had no following in the Council and that they had to depend on the Government and nominated members for support; and that finally they had no control over finance. These are all stock-in-trade arguments against Dyarchy which no one denies. What is more, they are by no means exhaustive. Still, the majority in the Council had been returned to support the present constitution, and the motion was defeated by a 2 to 1 majority, the actual votes being 40 for and 80 against. Compared with this the failure of the no-confidence motions was nothing. Those motions were admittedly the outcome of personal pique and private ambition. Personalities are the bane of Bengal politics, as is well-known by now. And during the debate on the Ministers, and more so than ever after it, columns have been spoken and printed to prove it. The debate itself was disappointing and the standard of oratory poor. The subject is too stale by now to permit of anything very new being said about it. The Swarajist Mr. J. L. Bannerjee's speech was the best effort of the day. He spoke against the motions, but voted for them. The Councillors might well have saved their breath, for it is well known that the lines of voting had already been determined outside the Council Chamber before the debate began. The real issue in these two defeats inflicted on the Swarajists, was not whether the Ministers have the confi-

dence of the Council, or whether they have been kept in power by the votes of the Government and nominated members with the help of 17 Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The real issue was the revolt against obstructionism which has held Bengal firmly in its grip ever since the second reformed Council, and has really retarded much progress which would undoubtedly have been made. Just at present there is an excellent example of this, and Sir P. C. Mitter made full use of it in the Council. He referred to the scheme which he has put forward for providing the rural municipalities with drinking water. At present the District Boards spend Rs. 10 lacs a year on this, besides which the Government make a grant of Rs. 2½ lacs annually. Sir Provas's policy is to raise a loan of about a crore of rupees for capital expenditure on this account, and so provide the Province with a ready water supply for all time. It is estimated that Rs. 7½ lacs will meet the charges for a Sinking Fund and interest charges for the loan, and another Rs. 2½ lacs will be required for the maintenance of the capital works. The Government will contribute Rs. 2½ lacs annually towards the cost of the first head, and the District Boards Rs. 5 lacs, besides the whole of the maintenance charges, which will mean a net saving of Rs. 2½ lacs a year for them. The scheme has been referred to the District Boards to ascertain their needs for capital expenditure. But it is reported from the mofusil that Swarajist members of these Boards are not too willing to assist. It is just schemes of this nature, which are things quite outside and above the particular constitution of the country for the moment, that are blindly obstructed. That is the whole point at issue viz, Whether the Province is to go forward with beneficial measures of this sort, or continue to stagnate and blame the Meston Settlement, and the constitution.

A BLOW TO CONGRESS REGIME.

Yesterday the Congress regime in the Corporation came to an end with the defeat of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in the Mayoral election, his successful rival being Mr. B. K. Basu. This is a hard blow for the party, but it is only another manifestation of the reaction from the Congress creed. The defeat of the Congress candidate was a foregone conclusion. The record of the party in municipal administration has not been such as to inspire confidence. In fact, as one paper alleges, "the Corporation under it became instead of a body looking after Calcutta's municipal requirements, a subservient but lucrative annex to the, B. P. C. C." The most recent example of the party's favouritism as the appointment of the Deputy Executive Officer, on which question, incidentally, they suffered defeat. Mr. Sen Gupta's star has been declining steadily, and he hastened its descent by high-handed and unconstitutional conduct during the recent scavengers' strike, when he went over the heads of his executive, and has all but saddled the rate-payers of Calcutta with an extra Rs. 2½ lacs for sweepers' salaries. His action in disregarding the executive is not without a motive, for by discrediting the Chief Executive Officer in the eyes of the public, and getting him out of the way, the road would be clear to offer the post to Mr. Subhas Bose, and so be rid of a dangerous rival. But Mr. Bose was evidently not to be content with anything less than the mayoralty. He has achieved neither. Here, too, there were scenes of hooliganism among the spectators in the Corporation gallery, which all the efforts from their leaders on the floor failed to check. The Swarajists would appear to have also lost their tempers with their loss of good fortune

REVIEW SECTION.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

OCCUPIED HAITI. By EMILY GREENE BALOH.
(The Writer's Publishing Company, Inc., New York.) 1927. 7½ × 5¼. pp. 186.

BY Haiti is meant the Western third of the large island of Saint Domingo, second in size among the islands of the West Indies. For over a hundred years this section, Negro with French tradition and a large admixture of French blood, maintained itself as an independent republic. Largely through the efforts of patriots such as Toussaint L'Ouverture, the island had, unaided, gained its independence. Revolutions, however, became frequent, and in 1915, the United States, in order to stabilize finances, undertook to oversee the collection of customs, and in a short time "took over" the administration of government. This administration is still going on.

In 1925, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom decided to send a Committee of its members to investigate conditions in Haiti and to place their findings before the American Government. In 1926 Haiti was visited by this Committee of six, of whom five were women, two among them being American Negroes. They left fully convinced of the need of early withdrawal, to be preceded by immediate steps towards self-government.

The evils which they found existing they attributed not so much to individual acts of aggression or cruelty, but to "the fundamental fact of the armed occupation of the country. Any good done by high-minded officials does not touch this bottom fact." While believing that the present administration is honest and capable and that many abuses that existed at certain periods have been stopped, yet the fact that it is undesired and rests on force rather than on the will of the governed, makes it repugnant to all Haitians of independent mind.

Some of the political difficulties that exist are a variety of dyarchy, by which Haitian officials are responsible to their American overlords and which makes it possible for each wing of Government to place responsibility for mistakes on the other; a great discrimination in salaries; and the fact that the most important posts are reserved for Americans.

Educationally conditions are extremely bad. Only five per cent. of the population is literate; and one hears even of schools where the teacher can neither read nor write! The Haitian and American ideas of educational objectives are quite opposite. The Haitian looks back to the aristocratic educational tradition of Europe, which has been passed on to him with his French ancestry. The American desires to found schools like Hampton or Tuskegee that will give education of a vocational or agricultural type. The fact that the American idea is economically sound is not of much advantage, since it only rouses opposition among the people whom it is intended to help. The only way out of the *impasse* seems to be to send promising young Haitians abroad, where they

will themselves come in contact with new views of educational theory and practice.

The economic standards of life are generally low. The average income among the peasantry is only about Rs. 60 per annum. Under-nourishment is common. Although they make simple furniture, hats, baskets, and earthenware, the arts of spinning and weaving have been lost. "The Haitian peasants are doubly disinherited. The African tradition was to a large extent broken off short by slavery; the European tradition was not passed on to them except in a very limited degree." Like all people of slave or serf origin they have a deep dislike and contempt for all forms of manual labour.

Racial relations are bad. Americans, especially those attached to the military occupation, came with the usual colour prejudices of their caste, prejudices that were deepened when white women also began to arrive. The former connection of the Haitians had been with France, where almost no colour feeling exists. The upper classes of Haitians, who are proud and sensitive, find intermarriage taboo and social intercourse, such as membership in white clubs, denied. Naturally these conditions are bitterly resented. Meantime they complain of an increase in prostitution and venereal disease, such as is sure to follow long occupation by an army.

One or two paragraphs from the chapter on the land situation seem to give the best summing up of the question:

It is an inevitable result of the way in which the United States came into control in Haiti that it must work against an opposition which, if it is partly factious, is also animated by some of the most powerful and enduring of human motives.

It is the Nemesis of governments that do not rest on the consent of the governed that what they do with the best of intentions may be as harmful as bad actions.

The whole situation . . . can be solved in only one way, by the withdrawal of American control, not with inconsiderate suddenness but just as soon as may be consistent with giving the Haitians a chance to prepare for the change.

A. B. VAN DOREN.

ENGLISH COTTON INDUSTRY.

THE ROMANCE OF THE COTTON INDUSTRY IN ENGLAND. By L. S. WOOD & A. WILMORE. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 288. 5s.

ROMANCE is not the monopoly of a particular age or a particular people. If the Middle Ages had their romance in chivalry, the modern times have their romance in the conquest of the air or in the new Ford being put on the market. Cotton industry is one of the biggest industries of the world and its evolution and development form material for a good romance. Such a romance has been well described by Messrs. L. S. Wood and A. Wilmore in the book under review. It is a tragedy that a romance which should have been written of this country has come to be written of England, for the industry which was indigenous to India came to be transplanted to the cold region of Lancashire. England had its woollen

Industry well developed and both social convention and the State policy had a well recognised place for it in the national economy. Just as every girl about to become a bride in Assam is expected to be familiar with silk spinning and weaving, the importance of wool spinning and weaving in England was also very great and one English writer (William Harrison) declared that Jason would never have gone to Coletis in search of the Golden Fleece, if he had known what English sheep could do. This fine state of the woollen industry in England was the foundation upon which the structure of the cotton industry was reared. Beginnings of the latter are shrouded in mystery but it appears from the *Victoria County History of Lancashire* that the manufacture of cotton was in existence in the neighbourhood of Manchester at the close of the fifteenth century. It is mentioned in the book that cotton was very early used for clothing in Egypt and in the East though it did not penetrate into China till the fourteenth century. It was manufactured and grown in Europe from the tenth century. It is curious however to note that Christian Europe which was a self-contained community preferred to get its cotton requirements from Eastern countries rather than from Spanish Moors and other Mahomedans in Europe.

The cotton industry began to be developed as a cottage industry in England under the system known as the domestic system from 1500 onwards and legislation was passed in 1700 prohibiting introduction of Indian silks and printed calicos. The domestic system lasted for nearly three centuries from 1500 to 1780. It had its disadvantages in the shape of sweated child labour, hard hours of work, etc, but its advantages in the comparative freedom and the absence of supervision and regulation. Several poets had sung in praise of it as when Southey refers to "Contentment spinning at the cottage door" and even Shakespeare immortalised the independence and freedom of the domestic spinners, knitters and lacemakers of his day singing over their work :

"The spinners and knitters in the sun,
And the free maids that weave their threads
with bones."

The loss in freedom involved in the change to factory life was taking place in Wordsworth's day under his very eyes. He felt it deeply and described it thus :

"The habitations empty | or perchance
The mother left alone--no helping hand
To rock the cradle of her peevish babe ;
No daughter round her, busy at the wheel
Or in dispatch of each day's little growth
Of household occupation ; no nice arts
Of needlework ; no bustle at the fire,
Where once the dinner was prepared with pride ;
Nothing to speed the day, or cheer the mind.
Nothing to praise, to teach, or to command."

A close similarity may be traced between these poetic ecstasies in praise of the cottage textile industry and those in this country in the past in favour of the same subject and the prose poems which Mahatmaji has been writing on the same question. The doom was however to be led in Europe at least for the domestic system and the various inventions which succeeded each other rapidly ushered in the factory system. There were protests and revolts from workers with the introduction of every new invention, but the factory system took its course like a Juggernaut car silencing all the protests, breaking different homes and dragooning all the workers into the machine era with the relentless and ruthlessness of a giant machine. Alfred Toynbee in his *Industrial Revolution* well describes the revolution which took place :

"The slowly dissolving framework of mediaeval industrial life was suddenly broken in pieces by the mighty blows of the steam engine and the power loom. With it disappeared like a dream those ancient habits of social union and personal affection which had lingered in the quiet homesteads where master and apprentice worked side by side at the loom and in the forge. Industries were dragged from cottages into factories and cities ; the operative who laboured at the mill was parted from the capitalist who owned it, and the struggle for the wealth which machinery promised withered the old hands of trust and made competition seem a new and terrible force".

The new machine age was then untrammelled and uncontrolled and all its rigours and cruelties were felt the most. Slowly came the adjustment when labour began to come to its own though not before hundreds of thousands of human beings had offered themselves or their comforts and happiness as sacrifices at the altar of industrialism. Our authors do not unfortunately trace the course of industrialism or its human side later on and do not show the steps taken to undo or at least reduce to a minimum the evils of the machine era. In the meanwhile the other countries of the world like India are also being drawn into the vortex of industrialism. This is civilisation as it is understood and we follow industrialism, and then take steps to prevent its evils !

There are other problems also connected with the rise and growth of the cotton industry. Thus all the chimneys spouting forth smoke all over Lancashire must be fed in two ways. They must have their raw material of cotton and they must have markets for the disposal of their products. Our authors refer to the first in their chapter on the Cotton Famine and quite unconsciously blurt out a great truth when they say that assurances of a continuity of the supply of cotton is "a matter of sea power upon which the very life of an island like Great Britain necessarily depends" and that "it should never be forgotten that the Lancashire cotton industry depends, far more than upon any one source of supply, upon the British Navy". Thus do politics and business appear to be intertwined. Similarly retention of the markets for British goods is a political factor which is referred to in the last chapter where the vision which actuates the modern worker is given, "the law of wanting more and ever more, and of demanding, in consequence, from one's work the greatest possible profit". A law of ruthlessness and dissatisfaction unlike the laws of Khaddar and yet most likely there is or can be no going back.

J. K. MEHTA.

WESTERN CIVILISATION.

A SHORT HISTORY OF WESTERN CIVILISATION. By A. F. HATTERSLEY. (Cambridge University Press.) 1927. 7¾ x 5. pp. 246.

WHAT are the influences that have moulded and formed that complex of material culture and political idea which is influencing, for better or for worse, the whole world? And how far are the two, material culture and political idea, connected? Mr. Hattersley, after a brief notice of primitive and patriarchal society, goes straight to Greece. Here were laid the foundations of the scientific view of life, and here also was conceived the idea of a Free People.

But, as it pointed out, the City State of the Greeks was a very different thing from a modern democracy. For one thing, the leisure of the citizen, devoted to politics and the arts, was made possible by the institution of slavery; and for another, the "state" or unit was a city and nothing larger; there

were no nations, and though there was Greek and non-Greek it was more like the attitude of rather snobbish University men among villagers, or that which gave rise in India to the sobriquet "M'lech".

Rome, indeed, in throwing open her citizenship to outsiders was more liberal than Greece, but the Middle Ages saw the establishment of the system of Feudalism, and it appeared as if the Greek ideas were completely buried. It was, however, Greece that provided the starting-point for the modern conception of the State, not by any surviving institution but through the "Politics" of Aristotle, a work far in advance of any contemporary Greek practice, which was taken up by Dante in the "De Monarchia," and so influenced the succeeding centuries.

But what of the other outstanding feature of Western Civilization, the scientific standpoint and the inventions that have resulted from it? Here again we have the same phenomenon of a start made by the Greeks, and a long sleep till modern times. It is usual to blame the authority of the Church for the gap, but in point of fact the Church was not in general opposed to new scientific discovery or theory unless she was hard pressed by novel theological theory. For some reason, the intellectual energies of the time seem to have spent themselves along fruitless channels, and when the creative period came, it expressed itself in art rather than in science.

Then came the Renaissance and the Reformation with the break-up of the old united Europe, and the rise of Sea Power and French Revolution and Napoleon's invention of Modern War, and the modern idea of Nationality arose. And then with the Industrial Revolution came a certain uniformity of the manner of life which makes the upper classes of France and Germany and England and Italy almost indistinguishable until they speak; and this has overflowed Europe, and Japanese and Indian and Egyptian conform as closely as may be to the type.

Is it worth while? Or how long can it last? Is not the spread of a higher standard of living a menace to the humble food-producer who has to carry the non-producers on his back? Such questions may be asked: but while we may deplore or despise Western Civilization we cannot ignore it, and many may be glad of a book which so clearly traces it to its origins. For, in point of fact, it will be found to consist of very much more than a mere standard of living—a heritage of amazing richness and variety, which cannot be assessed or judged except in its own surroundings.

WALTER O. FITCH.

EAST AFRICAN FEDERATION.

EAST AFRICA—A NEW DOMINION. By A. G. CHURCH. (H. F. & G. Witherby, London.) 1927. 9 x 5 1/4, pp. 315, 185.

MAJOR CHURCH who as Labour member of the East Africa Commission visited East Africa in 1924, is all in favour of a unified native policy for the whole of British East Africa. He visualises this being accomplished through a new British East African dominion, comprising the five territories, with Tanganyika as its centre. Tanganyika, he holds, is favourably situated to become the pivot of the new dominion, and for orientating a new policy. For it is comparatively unhampered by mistakes which have been made in other territories, and by fulfilling the obligations of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, ultimately it will be in a position to impose an enlightened policy upon the other constituents. He lays great store by the doctrine of native trusteeship as enunciated in the White Paper of 1923 ("Indians in Kenya") and the recently issued statement by the Government of

Tanganyika, setting forth its considered policy on native administration. In fact he would like to see this doctrine of native trusteeship applied through the League of Nations Mandates Commission to all the parts of tropical Africa governed by European powers. This would be a great step forward in Colonial development. But in view of the most recent White Paper on the subject, it sounds like a counsel of perfection. I wonder what Major Church would have to say about it. In 1923, it was the considered opinion of His Majesty's Government that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that in case of a clash with the interests of the immigrant races, the former should prevail. His Majesty's Government regarded themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population, and they were unable to delegate or share this trust. The paramount duty of trusteeship would be carried out under the supervision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the agents of the Imperial Government, and by them alone. The doctrine of trusteeship was paramount, and very little was then heard of the "dual policy". Now it is the latter which would appear to hold pride of place. No one need quarrel with the desire for a closer union between the five territories, for on the face of things, it holds out better prospects, and, to mention only one, a unified native policy can be applied. The same cannot, however, be said of the possibilities of providing for the "increasing association of the immigrant communities in the responsibilities of government." There is the inherent fear that the "dual policy" may have only one side to it. Despite the talk of trusteeship, there has been exploitation of the African. What is to happen when the exploiter himself becomes a trustee? In the present state of development of the African native, it is essential to have a higher authority standing above the possible conflict of interests between him and the white population; or, should it be, standing between? It is therefore, with feelings of uneasiness that one contemplates the departure from the policy of 1923. If the present policy is to go forward, then we must advocate with Major Church a Charter of Native Rights. The doctrine of trusteeship will become too nebulous under the stress of the new policy, and will need to be embodied in a Charter.

One cannot say that the author has been as happy, or as statesmanlike in the other chapters of his book dealing with detailed problems. His treatment of them is, to say the least, myopic. He seems, too, to shirk conclusions. For instance, dealing with the density of population in some agricultural districts he says that it is too great for the maintenance of a decent standard of living, even for the African native. He cites two instances of native districts where the population presses heavily on the soil, and both districts are in Kenya. In comparison the adjacent Kenya highlands, a European preserve, appear to be sparsely populated. And he feels it imperative to state that the natives have not been driven out from their lands, but that the greater part of the area now occupied by the white settlers was "practically empty of people" in 1900. Now, when Major Church was in Africa, there was presented to the Commission on which he was serving a memorandum from the Kikuyu (Native) Association (the Kikuyu reserve being one of the districts he cites as having a very dense population), from which the following is extracted: "When the White men first came we did not understand that we were to be deprived of any of our land... Then from about the year 1902 increasing numbers of White men arrived, and portions of our land began to be given out to them for farms, until large areas in Kyambu, Limoru, Kikuyu, Mbagathi, about Nairobi, and at

Rairu and beyond, had been disposed of in this way. *These lands were not bought from their Kikuyu owners, and any compensation they received was quite inadequate.* One can only infer that the Commission, or rather Major Church, was not impressed by this piece of evidence.

The author acknowledges that the biggest problem that the future holds for East Africa is the colour problem: "the determination of the relative functions of its white, brown, and black peoples in the development of its sources and the control of its destinies". He admits the discrimination against the Indians which he says is with the acquiescence of the Imperial Parliament, and is following the South African precedent. One justification that he offers is the difference in the standards of living of the white and brown communities. It is time this hollow excuse was exploded. Its implications are that only when the standard of the Indians reaches the level of that of the Europeans (a thing as remote as one of the geological ages when we consider that whole communities have to be raised) then the latter will fraternize with the former on a footing of equality. Major Church is more frank when he acknowledges the racial argument. For the Asiatic question is nothing but a clash between two cultures, which their respective adherents have not tried to reconcile. The solution, therefore, is not to be found in economic science so much as in charity. But it will not be found if one culture persists in treating the other as totally inferior, and to be exterminated. Major Church is so obsessed with the superiority of his own imperialistic brand that he can see no solution to his thorny problem except a continuance of British domination. Yet he waxes hot with Lord Delamere because the latter maintains that the standard of the African must always be kept below the level of that of the European.

Major Church devotes a whole chapter to Lord Delamere. One cannot say whether he intends to hold him up for our admiration. If it be well for one man to be powerful enough "to expect all men—and women to do his bidding"; if it is a healthy thing for several men to owe their fortunes to one man; if it be right for a private and unofficial individual to direct the destinies of a country in his private capacity: then Lord Delamere is entitled to our admiration. Major Church has managed to tell us a good deal about Lord Delamere and some of the European settlers. But he could have told us very much more—if he chose, e. g. about the political ferment over the Wood-Winterton Agreement, and the plans for an armed rebellion; but he has told us that the federation of the five East African territories and self-government for Kenya are two of Lord Delamere's chief ambitions. By a strange coincidence, the lines on which the new African policy is to develop accord more or less with his ambitions. It is an excellent testimonial to his political sagacity which is able to anticipate such developments,—a quality which Major Church did not fail to notice.

However, these are matters of detail, on which there is room for an honest difference of opinion. That one is able to differ from the author only goes to show what a stimulating book he has written. One thing is certain. If every Britisher took his responsibilities for the British Colonies as seriously as Major Church, there would never be any fear, either for the future of the Colonies, or for the honour of the British Empire,

H. STANTON.

AN INSIGHT INTO JAPANESE MIND.

JAPANESE TRAITS AND THE FOREIGN INFLUENCES. By INAZO NITOBÉ. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., London) 1927. 8¾ × 6. pp. 216.

Dr. NITOBÉ, Professor in the University of Tokyo, is a Japanese Christian, well-known to students of Japanese culture as the author of *Bushido*, that gave a striking exposition of Japanese ideals of chivalry about twenty-seven years ago when the world was all curious to know the hidden talisman that brought Japan victory. He was for some time Under Secretary General to the League of Nations Secretariat and is a great draw on European platforms. In 'Japanese Traits and Foreign Influences'—a sheaf of lectures and essays on diverse oriental subjects delivered and written in Geneva and elsewhere—Prof. Nitobé seeks with all the resources of his erudition and the vantage of native insight to cross-light the Japanese mind from different angles. This is a task for which the Professor is eminently fitted, for he has a personality that resembles a binary system of which the component stars, East and West, lie so close and revolve round each other so as to appear a single orb of light. There is hardly a page of the book that does not bear witness to the author's range and variety of reading in literature, history and philosophy, European, Chinese and Japanese,—ancient and modern! The writers he cites are a legion, including among others Aristophanes, Aristotle, Plato, St Augustine, the Talmud, Boethius, John of Salisbury, and Bergson on the one hand, and Confucius, Mencius and Wang Yang Ming on the other. In one place he quotes from Ogden and Richards' *Meaning of Meaning*, in another from Keyserling's *Reisebuch eines Philosophen*, in a third from Sir Edward Strachey's *Jewish History and Politics*, and elsewhere from *Hsiao King*, the Chinese classic of filial piety; and the references are all made jauntily with a pleasing nonchalance.

Yes, the book is learned, but not profound in thought, nor yet thought-provoking; and indeed, some of the quotations are trite like the one from Pope (which is incorrect) while many others are superfluous or lugged in to illustrate either commonplaces or exploded commonplaces like 'the divinity that doth hedge a king'—'the dread and awe of kings'. In the chapter on 'The Moral Basis of Monarchy', after glancing at the obvious drawbacks and perils of democracy, the author ends, somewhat too late in the day, as the apologist of monarchy. In another chapter his tendency to idealize oriental character entraps him into such a generalization as this: "In the occident it is the people who fight for their liberty and wrest it by force from the usurper. In the Orient it is the ruler who of his own accord shares it with those who had no part in it." Thus does a brilliant antithesis bathe in soft lunar light and mellow out of view the ravines and craters of historical facts! We confess to stark ignorance regarding the existence of any single ruler, Eastern or Western who voluntarily exchanged his absolute position for that of President or Prime Minister of a democratic country, making himself completely responsible to a popular chamber created by himself.

In the same context we are presented with the trite contrast between the Eastern and Western mind: "Logic is the strength of the one, intuition that of the other,"—one of those stock-in-trades of the platform which seldom fail of prompt approbation from Oriental audiences. But people familiar with the character and variety of Western mysticism from Plotinus onwards, those who have seen what great part intuition has played in the scientific dis-

coveries of Europe may find the antithesis far too crude. The Light of God has been no respecter of latitude or longitude. The author, however, brings his own corrective in another chapter ("Can East and West ever meet?") where with true wisdom he says: "If one be scratched only deep enough he will show a common humanity" . . . "Scratch the soil of Europe and America deep enough and it will reveal Asia and Africa." Can there be a more complete turning of the tables on oneself?

There is a little confusion of terminology in the discourse on 'Traits of Oriental Mentality' when the author illustrates perception by citing instances of sub-conscious inference from cumulative experience. Elsewhere he says that Spinoza accords no place to either pity or compassion in his scheme of ethics, which is far from true. What Spinoza condemned was, as Joachiam points out, the 'passion' of pity divorced from the direction of reason: "The knowledge and love of God unite all men in their pursuit. So far as any man lives the life of reason, power, virtue, or freedom, and sets knowledge before him as his 'good,' he must—by the nature of the case—endeavour to further the attainment of the same good in other men; and the more, the more he himself has attained" (p. 272, Joachiam's *Study of the Ethics of Spinoza*).

But it is time we returned from these minor blemishes of the book to its real excellence. It is very readable, the style, in spite of few verbal vagaries, having an individuality, ease and attraction of its own, while the thoughts are those of an international mind, noble in its outlook, quite at home in the thought of the East as well as that of the West.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.

A REPLY TO MISS MAYO.

A SON OF MOTHER INDIA ANSWERS. By DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.) 1928. 6½ × 4¼. pp 112. 50 cents.

IN view of the recrudescence of anti-Indian feeling in the United States, it is not surprising that book after book should be issuing from the pen of self-respecting Indians who cannot allow the calumnies of an unbalanced writer about India to penetrate the minds of Americans without letting them know that they are baseless. Here we have in this booklet an attempt of this description. Mr. Dhan Gopal Mukerji, the author, avoids the method of *tu quoque* as well as that of invective and we give him high praise for resisting such an easy temptation. And now for the real fare. Considering that there are not half a dozen pages of appreciation in the whole of Miss Mayo's book, the title, he says, is a misnomer. "As for her statement, that wives become mothers between the ages of 8 and 14, the author quotes vol. I, page 151 of the Census of India which proves that until puberty the "wives are not wives at all for practical purposes." Mr. Mukerji in addition quotes the evidence of Dr. Balfour who says that among 304 cases well-known to her, only three mothers were aged 14 at the time of their having the first child. Reports from the Madras Maternity Hospital for 1922-24 also show an average age of 19.4 among 2,312 mothers. The Census of India (1921) Report clearly shows that 60 p. c. of the Indian girls cross the age period 10-15 in an unmarried state. With regard to the raising of the age of consent Mr. Mukerji, by analysing the votes cast in 1926 in the Assembly, arrives at the conclusion that Sir Hari Singh Gour's amendment raising the age to 15 was defeated by the official and non-official European vote and not by Hindu politicians as Miss Mayo makes out. As for the general and anonymous statements in Miss

Mayo's book Mr. Mukerji says rightly: "Our author-ess owes it to her own sense of public decency to reveal to the world the exact sources of her knowledge." To talk of a certain barrister and a famous mystic and a doctor who is the highest medical authority in connection with grave charges against all Indian mothers is vile taste if not sheer mendacity.

As for the spirituality and intellect of Indians Mr. Mukerji quotes Sir Michael Sadler who at Leeds said: "In a very true sense the people of India are nearer to the spiritual heart of things than we in England are; as for brain-power there is that in India which is comparable with the best in our country." And this as against Miss Mayo who thinks that Hindus have no virtues at all. Most of her statements, says the author, go to fortify the idea that the Hindus belong to a degenerate race and that this degeneration is based upon their sex life and for this untenable thesis no accurate scientific data are given but only tall affirmations.

Mr. Mukerji does not believe that the Christians are standing behind "Mother India" and he quotes Mr. Cavert: "We have read her much-discussed book with a sinking heart . . . because of the painful failure of Miss Mayo to approach her subject in that spirit of sympathetic appreciation which alone gives one any moral right to criticize the evil in others." The unverity of Miss Mayo is proved beyond doubt by the fact that Mahatma Gandhi, Sir Rabindranath Tagore and Miss Bose have denied the statements and opinions attributed to them in her book. With regard to Miss Mayo's strictures on the Indian apathy towards cruelty to animals the author is right in warning Miss Mayo to "sacrifice all the offensive and sweeping statements from her work and reduce it within such desirable limit as the strict facts of her observation would permit." We think Mr. Mukerji is too charitable when he says that we can believe that she really desires to serve those who suffer most in this world.

The author makes out a recipe for a new edition of Miss Mayo's book. The method underlying this recipe is that before bringing round Indians we must give them credit for what they have actually done and for the virtues they undoubtedly possess. It is not by hectoring and nagging that large nations can be brought to the path of reform, but by gentle remonstrance; this is the author's main recommendation to Miss Mayo if she is really anxious to remove the miseries of the Indian people. The great lacuna of Miss Mayo's book is, according to Mr. Mukerji, the complete absence of any appreciation of reformers like Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Debendra Nath Tagore, Ranade and others who set themselves against deadening and time-worn customs and tradition. There is some truth in what the author says about Miss Mayo's book having caused a great deal of anti-Western agitation in India and his appeal is quite timely: "In the present state of world-affairs can we afford to speak and write so that instead of bridging, we widen the gulf between man and man?" In the end Mr. Mukerji does not believe that the purpose for which she wrote the book, viz. to maintain her thesis that sex is at the bottom of all India's woes and to urge a speedy amelioration of the condition of the Indian people, has been accomplished. We are glad that Mr. Mukerji has carried out to the end the promise he made to himself not to use invective, for he believes "that it ought not to be the way of India to reply in kind."

V. N. GODBOLE.

EDWARD VII AND INDIA.

KING EDWARD VII—A BIOGRAPHY. VOL. II.

By SIR SIDNEY LEE. (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London.) 1927. 8½ × 6. pp. 769. £1 11s. 6d.

FROM the Indian standpoint the reign of King Edward VII (1901-10) was very important. It witnessed some changes of far-reaching importance introduced in the administrative system and the constitutional machinery of this country, like, e. g. the admission of Indians to the executive councils of the Governor-General and provincial Governors, and to the India Council, the promulgation of the Morley-Minto reforms, etc. The King's position as a constitutional monarch is, as everybody knows, peculiar. He can only act on the advice of his Ministers who are nominally his servants; but "in point of fact they are his masters." (p. 31.) In Bagehot's words which very pithily and correctly describe his position, "he must sign his own death warrant if the two houses unanimously send it up to him." The late King's biography furnishes many instances in which he had to do things, which, left to himself, he would not have done or at any rate would have done differently. Whatever his personal feelings, the King dares not go against his Minister's advice, which is of course not to say that he yields meekly and without a struggle. The fact is that "the constitutional monarch reigns, but does not govern; he has little power although great influence; and he respects the laws and customs which deprive him of arbitrary power of action." (p. 32.)

Sir Sidney Lee's biography—we mean its second volume—does a good deal to remove the general public impression about Edward VII that his pleasure-seeking left him little time either to prepare himself for the arduous responsibilities that were to devolve upon him one day or to attend to affairs of state after he came to the throne. In explaining how the late King was not quite new to the task, his biographer tells us: "For wellnigh forty years before his accession he had followed with eager interest and intelligence the course of European affairs and had made the personal acquaintance of wellnigh every ruler and statesman of influence. It was not however generally known that for some fifteen years every important foreign dispatch had been placed at his disposal, and that for some nine years the reports of the proceedings of the Cabinet had been regularly submitted to him." (p. 36.) As King, Edward VII, we are assured, did his best to keep himself in constant contact with his ministers and used to resent anything done by them either in home or foreign politics without his being informed beforehand. This meant much hard work and made the King sit up at his desk sometimes till very late into the night. But it was clear that he looked upon this, not as an inescapable drudgery, but as a source of considerable interest.

Edward VII held very strong views on the question of the appointment of "native members" to the Viceroy's Council, upon which the then Secretary of State for India, Morley, had set his heart. The idea had received the Cabinet's approval as early as May 3, 1907, but had to wait for two years for its translation into effect, mostly because of the King's opposition. To Morley it was "the linch-pin" of his reforms and his correspondence with the King as published in the present volume shows how hard Morley had to fight to gain his point. On March 11, 1909, at his instance, the Cabinet unanimously approved Sinha's appointment as legal member of the Viceroy's Council. In communicating this fact to the King, Morley emphasised its importance to the peace and contentment of the Indian Empire and warned Edward VII that the failure to

appoint him would result in throwing the waverers into the arms of irreconcilables. The King regretted that "he cannot change his views on this subject and has thought it over quite as much as Lord Morley has. He remains however of opinion that this proposed step is fraught with the greatest danger to the maintenance of the Indian Empire under British rule... He however wishes it clearly to be understood that he protests most strongly at this new departure. God grant that the Government of India may not suffer from it. Beyond that the King can say no more." (p. 385.) But as both the Secretary of State and the Viceroy united in asking for it, the King had no alternative but to signify his approval to the appointment of "a Mr. Sinha". But Morley was not quite happy at the King giving his unwilling consent to the arrangement, and wanted him to appreciate that the step for which he was asking the King's approval was dictated as much by political considerations as by those of principle. When all his other arguments were exhausted, he used as his trump card the promise given to Indians by the King's revered mother, Queen Victoria, that race and colour should constitute no bar. But it had a contrary effect upon the King, who, Sir Sidney Lee tells us, added the pungent marginal note: "This is the answer to my letter! Why he should bring in the name of Queen Victoria I cannot see, nor how it bears on the question. I myself do not think she would have approved of the new departure. I have had to sign the objectionable paper." (p. 386.) The King's opposition was based on the fear that Indian princes would object to the presence of a native in the Viceroy's Council, that Mahomedans would not be slow in pressing their claims and that valuable confidential information would be disclosed by the native member to his people. So exaggerated was the importance attached by the late king to this last point that when incidentally Minto informed him that even secret papers were copied by Indians in his office, the King characterised it as "a most dangerous and objectionable practice", and was amazed that it should exist. We have no means of ascertaining whether the King later changed his mind on this point as a result of the successful working of the new departure. What we do know is that the Viceroy informed him in 1910 how the reforms had brought about "a happier feeling throughout the country" and how Mr. Sinha had been of "the greatest use to the Viceroy and his Government,"—so much so that in his opinion "no Government of India has possessed a stronger, more level-headed and loyal member than he is". (p. 709.) This was while the symptoms of the illness which was to end his life had set in; and though the Viceroy's letter was marked "answered" by the king, no copy of the answer was apparently kept. Another important tussle the King had with his Indian secretary was when Minto's time in India was soon to be up and a successor had to be chosen. The King was pressing the claims of Lord Kitchener for the Viceroyalty; while Morley held the view, as he wrote to Minto at the time, that "the impression made in India by sending your greatest soldier to follow reforms makes them look a practical paradox." (p. 711.) And if the perpetration of the paradox was eventually avoided by the appointment of Lord (Sir Charles as he then was) Hardinge, the credit must go for the most part to Morley.

There are several other episodes of special interest to us Indians in the late King's life, to the more important of which only a passing reference is possible within the bounds of a review. The "wander-lust" of Indian princes which has become such a scandal in recent years was not quite unknown even during the reign of the late King. It was the subject of prolonged correspondence between Lord Curzon and himself.

Lord Curzon was not much in favour of Indian princes staying for long periods in foreign countries, which made them lose touch with their people; and wrote to the late King in that sense. In doing so he had especially the Gaikwad in mind, who in 1905 wanted to absent himself during the visit of the Prince of Wales to this country. King Edward VII, while considering the Indian princes' "lengthened absence" from their States "undesirable", remonstrated with the Viceroy for the use of certain strong expressions about them and "strongly held that his (Gaikwad's) liberty should not be hampered by Viceregal action." (p. 365) As regards the strong language used by the Viceroy, Lord Curzon assured the King that though it occurred in his letters to the King, he never employed it "to any one else, least of all to the princes themselves."

At the Delhi Durbar held in 1902 the Viceroy wanted the King to announce some remission of taxation, and was so keen on the point that he even threatened to resign in the event of the suggestion not being acted upon. The idea eventually failed to commend itself to the Cabinet, and therefore to the King, who begged the Viceroy to withdraw his proposal and assured him that its rejection did not mean the withdrawal of his or his Ministers' confidence in the Viceroy. This seems to have pacified Lord Curzon who thereupon withdrew his treat of resignation. The Viceroy was desirous that the Prince of Wales accompanied by his wife should visit India in the following year; but this idea too was vetoed on the ground of additional expense to the Indian princes who only the year before had entertained the Duke of Connaught with much lavish hospitality.

The genesis of the message which the late King sent to the princes and people of India on Nov. 1, 1908, is also interesting. The original idea which was started by Edward VII himself was that the 50th anniversary of the Indian mutiny, which, by the way, is dignified by his biographer as a "war" should be celebrated by "a judicious distribution of honours." The proposal failed to commend itself to the King's advisers on the ground that if carried out it "might render Indian unrest even more marked than before." (p. 383.) It was thought however that a better cause for rejoicing would arise when in 1908 the Crown would complete fifty years of its taking over the direct government of India. This proposal met a better fate and we had the historic message,—a draft by the way of Lord Morley—"repeating and confirming the declarations and assurances contained in Queen Victoria's famous message of 1858." Though we have for reasons of space mostly confined ourselves to the late King's dealings with India, there is much in the present volume which would repay perusal.

D. V. AMBEKAR.

FAR EASTERN PROBLEMS.

- OUR FAR EASTERN ASSIGNMENT.** By FELIX MORLEY. (Association Press, New York.) 1926. 7¼ × 5. pp. 185 + ix.
- CHINA AND BRITAIN.** By R. O. HALL. (Edinburgh House Press.) 1927. 7¼ × 5. pp. 175. 1s. 6d.
- SANCTIMONIOUS** unscrupulousness is the basis of Imperialist policy and nowhere has it been more fully displayed than in the attitude of the Western powers towards China. But it is only very few writers of Imperial countries that condemn the Imperialistic attitude of their governments and write with a sympathetic understanding of the subject peoples. Such distinguished exceptions are Mr. Felix Morley and Mr. R. O. Hall. In his illuminating book "Our

Far-Eastern Assignment," Mr. Morley exposes very fully the absurdity and the hollowness of the claims over China made by Imperial Jingoos. Mr. Felix Morley was requested by the Baltimore *Sun* to go to the Far East to study its problems on the spot. During his five months' travel in the Far East he has been able to study the political, social and economic problems of Japan, China and the Philippines in such a thorough way that he may well be regarded as an authority on Far Eastern affairs. Mr. Morley is an American and his book is written for the Americans in the main, though all the Powers that prey upon the resources of China have to hide their heads in shame for all their actions in China, in the past and at present. The greatest merit of the book is that it is written with a sympathy for subject peoples rare in the countrymen of Miss Mayo and their elder cousins across the Atlantic. So outspoken are some of his remarks that the Hon. Henry Morgenshaw in his introduction to this excellent book says that "he does not agree with all of Mr. Morley's conclusions".

Mr. R. O. Hall is an Englishman and in his rather discursive book "China and Britain" he puts forward a vigorous plea for a changed attitude of mind on the part of the British people towards China. As a Christian he vigorously advocates the application of the teachings of Christ to the manifold problems of China. We recommend this book to the British Foreign Office.

As Mr. Morley's book is an interesting and impartial study of the Far Eastern affairs we would like to give a small sketch of the book. The first 47 pages of the book are devoted to an examination of Japan and her problems. The author speaks of the constitutional changes effected in Japan, of the industrialisation of Japan, and the consequent rise of the Labour party. Perhaps the most interesting chapter on Japan is that with the caption "Japan in Manchuria" where the author rightly points out that the really absorbing issue in Japanese foreign policy at present is the steady progress of economic penetration in Manchuria. This is what the author says at p. 45:—

"In Manchuria Japan is playing for a tremendous stake—the solution of all her pressing economic problems. The agricultural potentialities of the country are enormous. . . Animal husbandry of every type, from chickens to camel, is well developed. There are millions of virgin forests containing practically every type of tree known to the temperate zone. Manchuria is very rich in mineral deposits; gold and iron and coal being most abundant, while silver, gypsum, asbestos and sodium salts are all found in considerable quantities."

Perhaps the most interesting chapters of the book are those devoted to China. The author very ably—and rightly too—points out that the Chinese Revolution of 1911 was due to the foreigners. The Manchu Court at Peking was sufficiently influenced by foreign powers to give the latter many concessions—concessions which impaired national sovereignty. The result was that the Manchu Court lost all its previous prestige and influence. The foreign encroachments on Chinese national sovereignty led to the Boxer rebellion. The author rightly says that though the Boxer rebellion was an insane and terrible outbreak, it was foreigners that provoked it. The rebellion was crushed and the Powers imposed on China an indemnity of over 300,000,000 dollars. "The Central Government at Peking which had shown itself helpless to check shameless foreign aggression was forced to increase tax levies and otherwise interfere in local affairs at the very moment when the inherent Chinese dislike for the foreigners was beginning to harden." The Revolution of 1911 actually broke out over the issue of centralisation *versus* provincial rights. When in

1911 the Manchu Government—acting under foreign advice—floated the Hukuang Railway Road Loan designed to complete trunk Railroads in South China, the Chinese feared that local self-government would be interfered with, and that foreign interests would secure an economic stranglehold through the agency of Peking. Hence the Revolution of 1911. This is what the author aptly remarks: "The implicit connection between foreign encroachments and the Chinese Revolution is not imaginary, but real. The natural tendency toward local self-government in China has been greatly strengthened by the accumulating evidence that relinquishment of sovereignty to Peking is a long step on the road of relinquishment of sovereignty to foreigners." (p. 57.)

The author disputes the popular belief that there is chaos throughout the length and breadth of China. He points out the model province of Shansi where Governor Yen Hsi-Shan has established an excellent government, and the Kwantung Province where, thanks to the Kuomintang or People's National Party, a strong and popular government has been established. The popular impression about this Canton Government is that it is Bolshevistic. True, the author says, the Canton Government has requisitioned the services of Russian officers like Borodin, but if this be so—and here the author is in agreement with Mr. R. O. Hall—Russia treats China as an *equal*.

The chapter entitled "Shanghai" gives a splendid description of the unscrupulous way in which foreigners have secured 'Rights' in China. China therefore wants now the rectification of the situation in Shanghai, tariff autonomy and abolition of foreign extra-territorial privileges so far as they interfere with Chinese national sovereignty. The author very rightly points out that if tariff autonomy be given to the Chinese, the Chinese Government can have financial stability. He also meets the objection that is often raised by the Powers that if China be given tariff autonomy, she would devote the increased revenue to building armies, in this way:—

"But after all, that is not our business . . . what would be our attitude if China should by force take over our customs administration and limit our tariff rate to 5 per cent. *ad valorem* on the argument that if we get any more revenue from imports, we would be likely to spend it on building battleships (p. 115).

The last three chapters of the book deal with the problem of the Philippines. The author advocates the grant of Dominion Home Rule to the Philippines in view of the dangers besetting the grant of independence. We are in entire agreement with this compromise scheme of the author.

Both books under review—Hall's and Morley's—plead for a changed attitude on the part of the powers towards the peoples of the Far East. But as we said above Mr. Hall's work is discursive and philosophical and does not contain much historical matter. On the contrary, Mr. Morley's work is a brilliant exposition of the salient problems of the Far East. We congratulate Mr. Hall and Mr. Morley on giving an impartial account of the Far Eastern problems.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

SHORT NOTICE.

ALL FOR THE GOLDEN AGE OR THE WAY OF PROGRESS. By G. F. WATES. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London.) 1928. 7½ × 5. pp. 223. MR. G. F. WATES attempts, with an unprejudiced mind, to review the present state of human society,

its tendencies and its developments. Happy is he to find that we are on the road to a golden age. He makes a careful study of several important subjects, such as religion, language, industrialism, individualism, nationalism, internationalism, science, etc. and he feels that with a little exertion on the part of all, our cherished hopes could be achieved. His views on all nations of Europe are unfortunately blinded by an egoism—a group egoism which passes for patriotism or national spirit—and even in these days when the whole world is "one neighbourhood" and we talk so much of a League of Nations, there is little love lost between any two nations. But whether we will or not, we are being forced by circumstances to be friendly towards each other. Again, in religions we find that the inconvenient and by no means fundamental questions are being dropped from all of them. This indeed is a happy sign. Fortunately the greatness of religions is now being gradually accepted. If now all are allowed ("induced" Mr. Wates would say) to accept the best from any of them then slowly a world-wide religion that would appeal to our reason, our conscience and our enthusiasm for humanity would spring up. In the matter of language also, there is an earnest attempt being made to popularise one tongue. Capitalists are trying to meet the Laborites half way and the latter are trying to hold themselves up. The signs on the whole are such that Mr. Wates thinks that this is the golden opportunity when a united attempt at adopting a Golden Mean, avoiding any extremes whatsoever, would surely secure for us the Golden Age. We would agree with him in many of his arguments and conclusions except perhaps where he is too Christian and too European to take a comprehensive and an unbiassed view of human society as a whole. But our own reading of the situation makes us feel that the greatest obstacle is that false sense of racial—sometimes political—superiority of certain nations to others.

K. V. SANKARAN NAIR.

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- SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION.** By C. C. NORTH. (The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.) 1926. 9½ × 6½. pp. 343. \$2.50.
- HUMANITY AND LABOUR IN CHINA.** By ADELAIDE MARY ANDERSON. (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1928. 8½ × 5½. pp. 285. 10s. 6d.
- SECOND CHAMBERS: AN INDUCTIVE STUDY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE.** By JOHN A. R. MARRIOTT. (Revised Edition). (The Clarendon, Press, Oxford) 1927. 9 × 5½. pp. 250. 10s. 6d.
- INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION.** By MANLEY O. HUDSON. (The Calcutta University, Calcutta.) 1927. 7 × 5. pp. 149.
- POSTPONING STRIKES.** By BEN M. SELEKMAN. (Russell Sage Foundation, New York.) 1927. 8 × 5½. pp. 405. \$2.50.
- STUDIES OF AN IMPERIALIST ON WAR, INDIA, SOCIALISM.** By LORD SYDENHAM OF COMBE. (Chapman and Hall, London.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 348. 18s.
- THE BRITISH WEST AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS, 1750-1821.** By EVELINE C. MARTIN. (Longmans Green and Co., Ltd., London.) 1927. 8½ × 5½. pp. 186. 7s. 6d.
- CHINESE POLITICAL THOUGHT.** By E. D. THOMAS. (Prentice Hall, Inc., New York.) 1927. 9½ × 6. pp. 317. \$5.
- DENMARK, 1927.** (Dyva and Japanese A. S. Copenhagen.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. 279.