

Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Some Smuggling. NOTHING perhaps chilled enthusiasts at the recently held First Opium Conference in Geneva more, than the attitude taken up by the British Empire on the reduction of raw opium supplied to Far Eastern countries for providing their considerable Chinese population with opium prepared for smoking. As will be remembered, the British delegates refused to entertain any idea of reduction, until China had effectively stopped her clandestine export of opium. That this is not simply a subterfuge for putting off the evil day—a natural suspicion perhaps—was brought home to us once more on reading in the last *Malay Mail* to hand (of April 23rd) that a haul of not less than 1500 lbs. of smuggled opium had just been made on two ships from China lying in Singapore. This quantity, the export value of which at Calcutta would be about Rs. 50,000, represented at Singapore a value of two lakhs of dollars—which gives one an inkling of the money there is in this contraband trade. "Some idea of the scale", continues our contemporary, "on which smuggling of opium is conducted through the medium of vessels running from the China coast, may be gathered by the fact that something like 2500 lbs. were seized during March, whilst for the first 17 days of April the figure is already nearing 3500 lbs." At this rate and taking into account the quantities not seized, the illegitimate imports of opium into British Malaya must already very nearly equal the imports received by the Government Monopoly. For the latter to close down, as Prohibitionists desire, would therefore have no other result than that of at least doubling the annual income of "Chinese Smugglers Unlimited": not exactly a consummation devoutly to be wished.

In fact, it is to our mind almost becoming a question whether, in order to meet this competition of Chinese smuggled opium, the Straits Monopoly should not lower the price of opium, to make smuggling financially less attractive. Yet what howls there would go up from certain amiable persons, if a British Colonial Government did such a thing!

WHAT was anticipated in the Labour Law in Kenya. SERVANT OF INDIA of April 17, 1924, has now come to pass. At the instance of the Colonial Office the Government of Kenya has repealed the clause in the Master and Servants Ordinance which made desertion a cognisable offence. That is to say, the police will no longer have the power to arrest, without warrant from a magistrate, a labourer who leaves work without obtaining first a discharge certificate from his employer. The employer will now have to lay a complaint before a magistrate in the ordinary way and it is only when the magistrate has issued process that the police will be able to effect an arrest. This means that the relation between master and servant will hereafter be treated in Kenya as elsewhere as one of private contract and the State will not intervene in it unless the aggrieved party makes a complaint. Till now desertion was regarded by the Kenya Government as a serious offence directed more against the State than against an individual, and the State was bound on its own behalf to prosecute every deserter on whom it could lay its hands. The employer for whose sake the law was really being set in motion appeared only at the last stage as a witness and was paid out of public funds for giving evidence in his own case. This will now cease.

In fact from the very first the provision making desertion a cognisable offence was intended to be temporary till the Registration of the Natives Ordinance could be brought into operation. This Act provided for the compulsory registration of all male natives above the age of 16 and required every native to carry on his person at all times of day and night an identification certificate so that the tracking of deserters could be facilitated. This legislation was passed in 1915 and could not be put in force immediately because there was not a sufficient staff of officials available. It was felt that since a warrant from the magistrate had to be obtained, the delay that would be caused would make it easy for labourers to abscond and that in the absence of a general system of identification, they could never be traced.

The provision was therefore added to the Master and Servants Ordinance, making desertion an offence cognisable by the police, but continued even after the Registration Ordinance was given effect to. Thus the change that has now been effected, was long overdue, but even so strenuous opposition was offered to it by white settlers. So hectoring was their attitude that they had to be told that the Colonial Secretary had sent down instructions to the Governor to see that desertion would be made a non-cognisable offence, and the official *bloc* had to be used. For no ameliorative measure in the interest of the native has the least chance in Kenya unless the Government makes up its mind to employ its bludgeon powers.

In order to assess the importance of this change at its proper worth, we must remember that breaches of the contract of service between white and black are governed in Kenya not by the law of civil contract, but by that of the criminal law, and this position will not be affected in the least by the amendment now made in the Master and Servants Act. Labour offences are in no civilized country except India still punished criminally and yet in Kenya desertion will continue to be a criminal offence just as before. Again, the requirement to carry the identification certificate that is enforced under the Registration Ordinance still remains, and this certificate natives rightly regard as a badge of slavery. When these two major grievances continue, it is a matter of comparatively little importance to have the provision making desertion a cognisable offence struck out from the Master and Servants Ordinance. Because the Registration Ordinance gives the white settlers such a complete hold over the natives that they need not very much mind if they have now to take out a warrant for the arrest of their labourers and launch their prosecution, provided their employees can still be awarded criminal punishment for their offences. They have not really lost much by the change and if they make a complaint now, it is perhaps because they wish to pose as the aggrieved party. But no substantial change will really come about in the labour conditions in Kenya till the preposterous Registration Ordinance is repealed and the criminal punishment of labour offences is done away with.

BY the courtesy of the writer, Sir Malcolm Watson, M. D., C. M., D. P. H., LL. D., we have now received a reprint of the proceedings at the Meeting of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, held on October 23rd 1924, when he read a paper on "Observations on Malaria Control", from which we made abstracts in our issue of Jan. 15. This reprint however gives us also a full report of the discussion which followed the paper and we find in it a number of important references to the position in India. Dr. Watson had summed up the attitude of the Indian Government as that of the Commission of 1910 (*à propos* of anti-Malaria operations at Lahore), viz "that the problem of malaria control in India was one of great complexity and that large and costly schemes, such as had been carried out in other countries, were beyond the resources available in India;" and his comment was that "in the light of what we know of malaria control today, were an experiment on such lines carried to a conclusion, the present rather pessimistic view of the future of the malaria control in India would disappear." Sir Ronald Ross thoroughly agreed and said that he had "strongly advised the Indian Government not to own to the defeat of mankind by the

mosquito, though the mosquito kills in this world something like two million people a year at a low estimate." Dr. Andrew Balfour complained of the "very severe malarial outbreak in Bombay, due very largely to neglect. Why do these things occur in the British Empire? If Gorgas could have the might of America behind him, surely Sir Malcolm Watson should have the might of the British Empire behind him." The last speaker also mentioned the effect of soapy waters on *Anopheles* breeding, which Major E. R. Austen confirmed by conclusive experiments made by him in Palestine. This point of course is of importance: unfortunately, with us here, "the great source of *Anopheles* is the well within the private house", as Sir Malcolm Watson remarked. But we are inclined to believe that the fact of main importance is the need—in Dr. Andrew Balfour's words—"to send to these places apostles of hygiene like Sir Malcolm who will get into touch with the people on the spot." When will Bombay, not to speak of Calcutta or of us here in Poona, wake up to this first and obvious need of inviting a man like Sir Malcolm Watson to come over from Malaya on a visit and of giving him a chance of telling us how he would solve our malaria problem? But then as he said himself: "Perhaps nine-tenths of my effort in life has been spent in fighting the men who were preventing me from fighting the mosquito." It's a queer creature, is man.

Swaraajist Conference.

EVEN the admirers of Mr. Das are unable to explain the circumstances which have made Mr. Das so frightfully anxious to embark on his new Negotiatory Policy, as it has come to be called. These circumstances of course remain obscure, but one cannot help recalling the fact that some time ago Mr. Das opined that Mahatma Gandhi had blundered in not taking advantage of Lord Reading's offer to convene a Round Table Conference. He must have taken a vow at that very time never to miss an opportunity, if any such would offer to *him*, of constituting himself India's ambassador. Mr. Das is telling himself every moment that he is about to be sent for by Lord Birkenhead. Earl Winterton no doubt has negatived the idea, but the London correspondent of *Forward* tells Mr. Das in confidence that despite all official contradictions, an invitation to him is still not altogether unlikely. Nor do Mr. Das's terms err on the side of being too stringent; only a declaration like that of 1917, to be followed by the "foundation of Swaraj"—a demand which Mrs. Besant naturally felt compelled promptly to repudiate. No one in India will at this time of the day be content with only the first step in self-government. All of us, we thought, were united in insisting on almost full, if not quite full, self-government such as is embodied in the Commonwealth of India Bill. In the circumstances it is gratifying to see that a resolution was adopted by the Swarajists of Maharashtra at a conference held in Satara on the subject of the Bill. The mover of the resolution was at great pains to tell his audience that the resolution was of a non-committal character, but even such non-committal support is much better than the contemptuous neglect with which Pandit Nehru and Deshabandhu Das treat this important measure. Within four months of their agreeing to the yarn franchise, the Deccan Swarajists have now been working for its abolition. Such is the co-operation that they are affording to Mahatma Gandhi when they persuaded him to depart from his non-co-operation principle and recognise the Swarajists as Congress agents in the Councils. Mahatma Gandhi finds that he has been made to surrender his principle only to find spinning being discarded everywhere.

THE COLOUR BAR IN S. AFRICA.

THE Colour Bar Bill introduced in the Union Parliament by the Nationalist-Labour Government has passed its second reading. The Bill affects mainly the natives of South Africa, and in regard to them it does nothing more than to give legality to regulations which were declared *ultra vires* by the Transvaal Supreme Court, forbidding non-whites to hold certain positions on mines and in works. These regulations were promulgated by the South African Party which is now in Opposition, and therefore the new Bill which is to take the place of the old regulations will encounter no opposition from any of the three parties which represent the differing shades of the white man's politics in South Africa. The Christian Churches all over the country and some politicians from the Cape Colony have no doubt expressed very strong disapproval of the policy of imposing disqualifications on any people on the sole ground of colour and race, but their voice unfortunately falls on deaf ears in South Africa and the progress of the Bill to the Statute Book is not likely to be arrested or even delayed by these expressions of opinion. In a sense we are glad of this Bill, because the disabilities to which non-whites were subjected till now in an indirect way, i. e. under regulations, will hereafter be provided for by legislation of an avowedly discriminatory character. The only differences that have so far arisen between the Pact and the South African Party relate to this point, whether the differential treatment, which it is the cardinal tenet of all parties in that country is necessary for the preservation of a White South Africa, should be sanctioned by statute or by subsidiary legislation under statute. If a policy of colour discrimination is to be followed, it matters little whether the policy is embodied in law or in mere regulations; but in one respect it is much better to have specific legislation giving sanction to this policy rather than keep up an appearance of equality in the laws of the country and provide for every kind of distinction in regulations, to which public attention is not so easily drawn. Since the best means of obtaining redress of an injustice is to expose it to the scrutiny of the world in all its nakedness, the native of South Africa will lose nothing but gain something by having the colour bar inserted in the very laws of the country instead of wrapping it up in regulations. Already the conscience of good Christian men has spoken out very strongly against this idea of keeping out natives from certain occupations merely because they wear black skins, but the idea has nothing new about it; it is being consistently put in effect for several years past. Yet the main point in the denunciation of the Churches is that the measure is "a disastrous innovation," etc. It is new only in the sense that it has attracted attention now in quarters where it had so far escaped notice.

Asiatics too are specifically mentioned in this legislation. They may be excluded just like natives from any of the occupations which the Union Government wish to keep as a preserve for the whites.

General Smuts has curiously enough espoused the cause of Indians on this point and has already earned the encomiums of superficial observers. But any one who carefully reads the speech which General Smuts made on the Bill in the Union Parliament will see that he is not opposed by any means to discriminating against Asiatics if such discrimination is necessary in order to maintain white supremacy in South Africa. All that he objects to is that Indians or Asiatics should be mentioned *eo nomine* in the legislation. General Smuts has no doubt consistently avoided a reference to Asiatics as such in all the anti-Asiatic legislation that he promoted. The Class Areas Bill, for instance, which was directed specially against Indians and which was infinitely more drastic in its reaction on them than the present Colour Bar Bill, still did not directly mention Indians. Is it seriously meant that our opposition should be less strong to this Bill which does not mention Indians by name but the very object of which is to drive Indians out of the country by making it impossible for them to trade in important centres than to the Colour Bar Bill, which makes a direct mention of Asiatics but which after all will not be so injurious to Indian interests as the other Bill sponsored by General Smuts? We for our part would much prefer a law which is discriminatory both in form and substance to another law which is non-discriminatory in form and discriminatory in substance, for the reason that one can appeal to the conscience of disinterested persons more successfully against the former than against the latter. General Smuts urged the Hertzog Government repeatedly to avoid wounding the feelings of Indians, as if Indians' feelings are hurt only if the disqualifications that are in any case to be imposed upon them are introduced by specific legislation and their feelings are spared if introduced by regulations. What Indians resent is that they should at all be subjected to disqualifications merely by reason of their colour, and if General Smuts is as insistent as General Hertzog and Col. Creswell are on imposing disqualifications, he need not be over-tender to Indians in the selection of the means of applying this racial discrimination policy.

Indians of course have every reason to feel aggrieved at the Colour Bar Bill, but the one thing we cannot put up with is the plea that, in being bracketed with the natives of South Africa, Indians are being degraded. If that is the sentiment our fellow-countrymen cherish towards natives, if they regard themselves as racially superior to the Negroes, they cannot of course complain if they are not admitted to a position of equality with the whites but are regarded by the latter as racially inferior to themselves. Indians will prove by this argument that they are not such lovers of race equality after all as they try to make out when contending against white domination. It will show that they too believe in race hierarchy as do the whites and that both agree in placing the natives at the bottom, the only difference being as to which of the two, the whites or the browns, should be at the top.

Indians will forfeit the sympathy of all just-minded people if it is found that what they are sticking out for is not equal justice for all races but merely an equal share in the spoils won by the stronger party from the weaker in virtue of the main force. This is the impression that is likely to be created by those who make a grievance of the fact that Indians are classed with natives in this Bill. If their inclusion in this Bill will induce Indian settlers in South Africa to make common cause with the natives and fight, not merely for justice as between Europeans and Indians but as between Europeans and non-Europeans, i. e. between the oppressors and the oppressed, this Bill will really have served a useful purpose. We cannot believe that the average South African Indian thinks that a slight has been put upon him because he is ranked with the native, but such an impression is apt to be formed by the use of an unwary expression on the part of an over-zealous champion of their cause. At any rate we have no manner of sympathy with this type of advocate. Our attempt in South Africa must always be to wage a combined war on behalf of Indians and natives on white aggrandisement. It will increase our material strength, but, far more important than this, it will add enormously to our moral force, which alone counts in the long run.

E. S. MONTAGU.

BY "ONE WHO KNEW"

EDWIN SAMUEL MONTAGU was richly endowed by nature. To an assured social position and worldly means that placed him above need he added talents of a high order. Had he not entered Parliament he would have made his mark in business. Indeed, when circumstances enforced his retirement from public life it was to business that he turned. But history will remember him not for the promise of distinction in the world of commerce and finance which a premature death cut short but for his achievement in the sphere of England's relationship with India.

Critics, no doubt, will quarrel with the use of the word "achievement" to describe his work for India. The reforms that he sponsored have been the theme of heated controversy. Circumstances which none deplored more than he, but over which he had no control, have thrown them into perilous jeopardy. The apostles of reaction, no less than the protagonists of progress, have condemned them. But neither prejudice nor calculated misrepresentation can cloud the merit or true character of what he accomplished. It is fashionable now-a-days to describe every innovation, especially if it be political, as an experiment. The reforms, at least by their cavillers, have been described as an experiment. Now the essence of an experiment is its transitoriness. It is a stage in evolution which has neither permanence nor independent value. If the reforms be judged by the political mechanism which they have set up, their transitory character will have to be admitted. But their essence is to be found not

in the detailed provisions of the Government of India Act but its preamble. That preamble embodied a declaration of policy which is neither unimportant nor ephemeral. And the spirit of that preamble constitutes Mr. Montagu's principal claim to the recognition of history and the gratitude of India and, one might add, of the British Empire.

Its significance is not to be measured merely by the sanctity that attaches to statutory declarations. In the first place, it substitutes for a soulless efficiency the nobler ideal of endeavour dedicated to the establishment of freedom. In the second place, it marks the extension to an eastern and an alien people of principles of government which, until the 17th August 1917, had been considered as the exclusive heritage of European communities. In the third place, it sought to imbue British imperialism with a spirit of responsibility and service for which the resolute and lofty idealism of Wilson secured the homage of the victors of world war. For the basic principles of the system of mandates inaugurated under the Covenant and the preamble to the Government of India Act are identical.

But it is not enough to analyse the significance of the preamble. To-day we have to view it less as a contribution of profound importance to the art of government than as an index to the heart and mind of a man. It helps to reveal Mr. Montagu as a person of rare courage, sympathy, understanding and vision. It also establishes his claim to rank, not with Durham but with one greater—Disraeli. Durham—and this implies no disparagement of that great man—had to contend against a tradition of government which the loss of one empire had already shaken. Montagu set out to destroy a tradition of autocracy which past history seemed to justify, and which was menaced by nothing more formidable than the nascent aspirations of a comparatively small intelligentsia. Durham advocated self-government for people whose kinsmen had given ample proof of their capacity to manage democratic institutions. Montagu proposed the conferment of a similar privilege on people who, except in a distant and perhaps apocryphal past, were not accustomed to such institutions. He was up against deeper prejudices and could invoke no precedents. The difficulty of his task was amply demonstrated during the passage of the Government of India Bill through the House of Commons. It also provided the test of his rare courage as a statesman and his skill as a parliamentarian. The history of that episode in his career is a classic of bold, resourceful and ardent advocacy. We have reason to know that it extorted the admiration of that consummate master of parliamentary tactics, Mr. Lloyd George. But we are digressing, for the comparison with Disraeli is the immediate theme. That is suggested by more than mere affinity of race. Disraeli made Toryism democratic; Montagu sought to make imperialism Liberal. The latter's attempt deserves to be placed almost as high as the former's achievement, for while Disraeli lived long enough to complete his work, death cut off Montagu in the very prime of life.

It is idle to speculate on what Mr. Montagu would have been able to accomplish if fortune had once more placed him in a position of responsibility *vis a vis* India. His devotion to this country, however, stands above challenge or censure. Service of India was the dominant passion of his life. It is an open secret that, before he fell into disfavour with Mr. Lloyd George, he could have chosen the post in the Cabinet that ranks next in dignity and power to that of Prime Minister. His decline, which set in with his Amritsar speech, was due entirely to the growing hostility of a powerful section of the House of Commons which, but for his unfaltering faith in the wisdom of his Indian policy, he could easily have overcome. And it was his endeavour to ensure the acceptance of the Indian view in regard to Turkey that cost him office and caused his withdrawal from public life. It is difficult to think of a political career so completely and selflessly dedicated to a cause.

In one sphere his services to India do not appear to have received adequate recognition. We refer to his endeavours to secure for her equality with the dominions in affairs of international and inter-imperial concern. But for his powerful advocacy, it is doubtful whether India would have found a place in the League of Nations or in imperial and international conferences. While domestic problems crowd the view of our public men, it is easy not to see in true perspective the advance registered in this direction. Its importance, however, is more than sentimental and will become increasingly apparent as India moves forward towards the goal of internal autonomy. It has provided a firm foundation for our claiming the right to negotiate direct on a footing of equality with the dominions in matters of mutual interest. *Vis a vis* the outside world it gives us the status of a dominion. It should prove of great value in defining our external relations when India attains political majority.

It has been said of Chatham that greater than the orator was the man. The dictum is true of most men of eminence in the world's history. Their objective achievement has less psychological interest than their personality. Mr. Montagu was no exception to this rule. Ostensibly reserved and aloof, he was to those who knew him well the most kindly and courteous of men. Political misfortune had saddened but not soured him. A smaller man would have come to regard India as the source of all his troubles. But his love for her never lessened or wavered. To the end she held his thoughts. There is a romance in this fidelity which is now alas! too rare in politics. May his example be an inspiration to all men and, most of all, to Indians! If they can learn to live and labour wholeheartedly for the ideal to which he dedicated his life, its attainment should be assured.

EDWIN SAMUEL MONTAGU.*

OPINIONS have always differed as to the mutual influence and relative importance of individuals and

* An address delivered by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri at Bombay on May 14 on the occasion of his unveiling a statue of the late Mr. Montagu.

impersonal forces in the actual shaping of human affairs. It would in any case be a shallow and partial view to leave out the contribution made by great personalities. There can be no doubt that the recent political history of India would have been very different if Mr. Montagu had not been in power in Whitehall during the later years of the war. It has been stated that not only Mr. Austen Chamberlain, but even Lord Curzon, had a share in the authorship of the declaration of policy made in August 1917. Only when cabinet secrets are revealed can we know the exact truth of the statement. It is known, however, that before Montagu assumed office the first reform proposals of Lord Chelmsford's Government had been turned down by Mr. Chamberlain on the ground that they contained no suggestions for a real transfer of power to the people of India. One has only to read again the speech made by Mr. Montagu in the debate on the Mesopotamian scandal, to see that three of the most important points in the declaration are already adumbrated there. First, a liberal policy had to be clearly laid down; secondly, the first instalment must be given at once; thirdly, the people of India should be given a measure of responsible government. Critics, if they please, may even read into the language employed by Mr. Montagu a clear germ of the idea of dyarchy. The declaration itself was only the beginning. His subsequent mission to India, the negotiations with officials and non-officials of all sorts, the formulation of the reform proposals and then the drudgery of the Bill and the Committees and in conclusion its piloting through Parliament afforded at every stage an example of a rare type of patience, ability and parliamentary strategy. So consummate a master of these attributes as Mr. Lloyd George has himself borne eloquent testimony to the marvellous skill and resourcefulness with which Mr. Montagu managed this extraordinarily difficult business through a period of two years and a quarter and accomplished what indeed should be regarded from every point of view as the greatest and most momentous step that has been taken by Britain towards the constitutional position of India in the Empire. No doubt the conditions of a world war and the fact that Great Britain was ruled by a coalition under the unquestioned sway of Mr. Lloyd George were powerful favouring circumstances. Still, which of us does not feel that these powerful forces could not have been wielded to such good purpose on behalf of India by one who loved her less than Montagu or had not his ability and driving power?

Take next our dominion status. Mr. Montagu was sleepless over this question. He has told me how he would lie on the watch for every opportunity of getting India in wherever in diplomatic or political matters the dominions were mentioned. When he took the chair at the Financial Commission in connection with the Treaty of Versailles, it was as a member of the Indian delegation and not as a member of the British cabinet. Our admission to the League of Nations was not secured without a

struggle, in which again it fell to him to carry our point. Unfortunately a certain influential section of our press took to deriding and decrying such things, and even today India as a whole is very far indeed from understanding the importance of this status of a dominion which we have acquired in international affairs and how it helps us materially in our struggle for the same status in internal affairs.

Another thing, not, it is true, of the same order of consequence, was the appointment of a public commission to conduct a thorough enquiry into the Punjab atrocities. It will be remembered that the Government of India had suggested a restricted inquiry of a private and departmental nature into the conduct of certain officials concerned in the administration of martial law. Mr. Montagu himself was inclined at first to take this view, but when the demand for a full and public enquiry was pressed on him by a majority of the liberal deputation of 1919, he saw the propriety of the course and ordered accordingly. Nobody now disputes the great advantage that not only the Punjab, but the whole of India, obtained through inquiry. But I now venture the proposition, and trust it will be generally admitted, that we might not have won the point but for the fact that Montagu happened to preside over the India Office.

Why, the weight of his personality and enormous impetus that it gave to the growth of the reforms day by day in India were so marked that his resignation was felt as a mighty relief by those sections who chafed under the new regime; and many non-officials stated in their evidence before the recent Reforms Enquiry Committee that the moment when the reins fell from his hands marked the dividing line between the success and the failure of dyarchy.

Long before he became Secretary of State Mr. Montagu had acquired a great mastery of Indian problems and taken more than once a bold and unconventional line in advocating India's progress. One such occasion deserves to be recalled. About the end of 1911 was published the famous despatch of Lord Hardinge, with the apparent concurrence of the Secretary of State, promising provincial autonomy in a federated India as the immediate goal of advance. The paragraph instantly became famous and gave rise in one quarter to great hopes and in another to great fears. The Marquess Crewe, then Secretary of State, being assailed by Lord Curzon and other reactionaries, thought it prudent to explain away the paragraph and to declare that no departure in the nature of a new constitutional move was intended, but that it was only Lord Curzon's own policy which would be faithfully fulfilled. The disappointment in India was acute and became vocal. Though Under-Secretary at the time, Montagu went to his constituency in Cambridge, interpreted the provincial autonomy paragraph as intended to satisfy the growing aspirations of India, and thus restored our drooping spirits. For this act of seeming indiscipline he was subsequently blamed in Parliament, but he did not budge an inch. What I said publicly at that

time will bear repetition now:

"Mr. Montagu starts his official connection with India with a vivid perception of the ideas and tendencies of the present time. It is a rare joy to find emerging now and then from the liberal ranks a young politician of his stamp, endowed with imagination to understand, and courage to welcome openly, the struggles for constitutional freedom of a people held in political dependence."

After the inauguration of the reforms he had a clear vision of his next task. He put it compendiously to me, "I must hereafter abolish myself." He was in earnest about transferring as rapidly as possible his ultimate power and responsibility to the authorities in India by conventions and rules framed under various sections of the Act. In the changed atmosphere after his resignation there seems to be a consensus of opinion that devolution by this process would be attended with difficulty. But I cannot resist the feeling that if the author of the scheme had had the time to apply himself to the task before the original momentum was exhausted, the technical objections would somehow or other have been swept aside.

The growth of India was many-sided in his time, and he was constantly engaged in tussles of one kind or another. Kenya and Churchill were not the least of these. Whenever he received a check in these encounters he would exclaim, "I will resign on this issue and appeal to India." The idea generally tickled me to laughter. But he would seriously admonish me that India was his constituency, and by constitutional usage he must seek the support of Indians when he was balked in championing their interests. That is how, stripped of forms and technicalities, the situation appeared to him in essentials. His usefulness was to be measured by the moral support that we gave him. How bitterly he was disappointed in this expectation I need not say. Except a certain section—weighty, it is true, considering quality, but comparatively small in number and without influence—the country as a whole pronounced the reforms worthless, boycotted the Prince of Wales, and decreed non-co-operation with the unrighteous Government. In our consuming anger we rejected the advice even of such friends as Col. Wedgwood, destroyed our auxiliary organisation in London, and resolved that we should rely so exclusively on ourselves as not to care for the aid of any individual or party in England. And we wonder, after all this, that we have no genuine well-wishers or champions among Britishers. It was Montagu's deliberate judgment that, if we had not decided on these suicidal plans, he might have continued in office and taken India another stage or two along the road of advance by this time in anticipation of the ten-year period. Truly, misfortune has befogged our wits and wrought confusion in our counsels. Consider also for one moment why he published the Viceroy's cable about the Turkish negotiations at the risk of his own appointment. Controversy has distracted our attention to some

extent from the central feature of the case. It was the right of a dominion, and therefore of India as well, to state publicly her point of view in a matter where she was vitally concerned. There was no danger which he was not prepared to face, no opposition which he was not ready to brave, in pushing India's claims forward. Some of his personal friends and admirers have written to me expressing their profound grief that Indians have not realised the full extent of their indebtedness to Montagu. Alas! this is only too true. He neglected his position in British public life and devoted himself entirely to the service of India. It is sad that such a wholehearted and selfless worker should have been insufficiently appreciated. Some clever people among us hold that in political bargaining you must never seem pleased and that you must repudiate your negotiators; and there are tacticians who believe that you can best strike terror into the hearts of your enemies by scowling at your friends and occasionally chastising them.

Not that I am a blind partisan of Montagu. I condemned his policy of reverse councils and strongly disapproved of his consenting to the Rowlatt Act and other measures of repression. But let us recognise, on a calm survey of the facts, that our affairs are so disorganised and tangled that friends find it impossible to do us good without at the same time doing some harm. It seems to be the price exacted of all reformers. Lord Morley could not get his reforms through, without deporting a number of our leaders. Look at Lord Olivier, our Labour Secretary of State. He has burdened us with the Lee proposals to the tune of a crore and a quarter, and he has sanctioned the Bengal Ordinance. What have we got in return? The price has been paid, but the goods are not in sight yet.

I speak from personal knowledge of Montagu's character and work. I remember the days of hard thinking and anxious deliberation in the cold months of 1917 in Delhi, when he had to win over the members of Lord Chelmsford's Government and the heads of Provincial Governments. Just imagine what it must have meant for him. Do you wonder that he now and then threw up his hands in despair? The plans changed from day to day, and ground patiently gained would be lost in a moment. Mr. Bhupendra-nath Basu, who was intimately associated with him in that strenuous period, has told me how again and again they wiped the slate clean and started afresh. Nor did the troubles come from officials only. One day Montagu paced across his tent excitedly and said, naming a certain leader of Indian thought, "What am I to do with this gentleman? He is my despair. I tell him the position reached at a certain moment. He says it won't do and asks for more. I make an effort with my official colleagues and meet his wishes. Hardly has he thanked me before he puts up his demand. I find it very hard this time, but somehow manage to bring my colleagues to agree. I tell him of my success expecting to be congratulated, but all I get is a higher demand and a settled look of dissatisfaction." Our interviews in London were frequent. As soon as I

appeared in his office he would draw a big chair near the fireplace, and with his large long legs sprawling about, and crossing and recrossing each other frequently, would motion me to the sofa near and start talking on all subjects under the sun with such freedom and cordiality that I assure you I never felt that there was a barrier between us of either race, status or official reserve. He had some abrupt ways too, and I can imagine one who did not know him intimately feeling that his conduct was strange. Once something in our talk brought a very urgent matter to his recollection, and he suddenly got up and resumed his seat at the table, hiding his face from me with his right hand in his characteristic way, and though I stood for a minute or two trying to say goodnight, he simply took no further notice of me. After his resignation I once went to urge him to stand for his constituency again. I did not succeed. "I am yet young," he said, "and can afford to go out of public life for some years and re-enter it when I choose. I am poor—" and seeing a look of incredulity on my face, he added, "I am a poor member of a rich family and must earn enough to support a growing family." Almost the last occasion I saw him was after the McCardie judgment in the O'Dwyer-Nair case. The judge had blamed the Secretary of State for India at the time without caring to acquaint himself with the facts of that aspect of the case. Montagu felt the sting of it—from the Indian point of view—and writhed under it like a man in physical pain. He thought that, if Mr. Lansbury's motion were slightly amended, it had every chance of being accepted by the House. He grieved that neither Mr. Asquith (as he then was) nor Mr. Ramsay MacDonald took that view. His parting words were so tender that I can never recall them without emotion: "Forgive my talking like this. Everybody tells me that you are nowadays so dispirited that I must try and cheer you up. But here I have been talking for the last hour of nothing but my troubles and woes."

Of the many British statesmen that have served India, only two deserve by their eminence to rank with him—Burke and Morley. In the lives of both of them India was but an episode, and neither visited India or knew many Indians. Burke had his warm Celtic blood roused to passion by the tale of India's wrongs and employed in her defence his vast knowledge, exuberant imagination and gorgeous eloquence. But the sum of his gigantic efforts was only to establish that in India Europeans had obligations and Indians had rights. Morley brought an immense reputation and great personal influence to bear on his task in Whitehall. And though his reform was substantial for his day, he shrank from the full application of liberal principles to the case of India and ruled out parliamentary institutions as almost unthinkable. It is the unique glory of Montagu to have cherished from the beginning faith in the capacity of the people of India to bear the burden of responsible government. His liberalism possessed the rare quality of courage and comprehended Asiatics in its range. He had bold

plans for binding India to the Commonwealth of Great Britain. He devoted his great talents solely to the furtherance of these plans and did not hesitate when the time came to sacrifice himself in the cause. Whether we test his record by intention or measure it by actual achievement, he stands a clear head and shoulders above all other benefactors of India. Here was a Montagu, when comes such another?

REVIEWS.

PRODUCTION IN INDIA.

PRODUCTION IN INDIA. By RAJANI KANT DAS, M. SC., PH. D. (Viswa Bharati Book Shop, Calcutta.) 1925. 8½ × 5. pp. 180.

THIS volume is a comparative study in national productivity and as such is mainly statistical. There is very little discourse but we are glad to see that the author has checked the temptation to theorize and fill up pages by empty conjectures and long-winded ratiocination. We have had too much of the so-called constructive economics in the past and little of descriptive economics, which latter requires more labour and statistical research. Till we have more first hand information and adequate data it is better to devote more energy to the sort of work turned out by Dr. Rajani Kant Das in the volume before us than to the construction of the treatises of the orthodox pattern.

The figures relating to productive land area and to the increase of population show that the per capita share of land in India is very meagre and the "question of food is the vital issue with the majority of the people". Even Russia, which is famous for its land-hunger, has got 1.7 acres of arable land per head compared with 1.5 acres in India. In the matter of coal and petroleum resources India is rather poorly endowed; but as a set-off India stands very high in water-power resources and stands second only to the United States. In the next place all the industries are reviewed and their salient features noticed.

With all our talk about the iron industry in India it is disconcerting to be shown that India is at the bottom of the list of the principal countries producing iron ore, Germany producing 12 times as much, and the United Kingdom and U. S. producing 24 times and 134 times as much.

The number of joint stock companies in 1920 was 4283 compares as compared with 1309 in 1890. The growth of factories is still more marked. In 1892 there were 653 factories whereas in 1922 there were 3957, showing an increase of 506 per cent. The growth of the cotton industry during the last twenty years has brought India much higher in the list of cotton-manufacturing countries occupying the sixth place with regard to spindles and the seventh place in respect of looms. It is gratifying to learn that the amount of hand-loom production in yards of cloth has increased from 643 million in 1900 to 1176 million in 1921.

In respect of the total length in kilometres India occupies the fourth place in the world but taking into consideration the freight per head it stands almost at the bottom. Progress in Banking is far from satisfactory. From 1870 to 1920 the total capital has increased from 6 crores to 108 crores only, which considering the growth of trade is a very inadequate basis for the superstructure of credit. With regard to commerce it is gratifying to note that out of the total exports the percentage of manufactured goods has increased from 22 to 36 between 1914 and 1922. The growth of inland trade between 1890 and 1920 has been in proportion of 1 : 3.

Taking all industries together, the total productivity of India between 1890-1920 has increased about 6 times. In this connection the author points out that the great drawback of Indian production is wastage. All the available resources are not utilized through inefficiency and lack of enterprise. As a result there is not enough food produced. The food required by one man during a year is 1 million calories, whereas India produces per capita only 0.83 million calories. "Out of this production a large part is exported to exchange for other necessities and for the payment of Home Charges."

The author concludes that it is insufficient production to which India's poverty is due. As to the causes he does not believe that scarcity of land is one of the causes. Insufficient capital is a cause and may in his opinion be remedied by adequate banking organization. But the most fundamental cause in his opinion is inefficient labour and lack of capacity on the part of the leaders or entrepreneurs to mobilise the physical, intellectual and moral forces of the country and to organize production. We think his diagnosis is quite correct so far as economic analysis is concerned. The author has laid under contribution a large mass of statistical material in all countries and the result is an eminently useful statistical publication bearing on a vital problem in Indian Economics.

V. N. G.

INFANT WELFARE.

AN INTERNATIONAL YEAR BOOK OF CHILD CARE AND PROTECTION. (Longmans-Green & Co., London.) 9124. 7½ × 5. pp. 448. 7s. 6d.

THIS is a "record of state and voluntary effort for the welfare of the child, including education, care of the delinquent and destitute child, and conditions of juvenile employment throughout the world." The information is collected as far as possible from official sources and relates to "350 or more sovereign states, colonies and dependencies which politically go to make up the world in which we live." Under education the book gives comparatively detailed information. It pertains not only to what concerns the child, but to all education. Thus we are told how many students and institutions of various kinds there are in each country and also the amount spent on education. Again it

contains information about the minimum age, if any, for marriage, the law regarding divorce, legitimacy, &c., and the names of prominent voluntary societies interested in maternity and child welfare. It is only within the last two decades that the welfare of the child has attracted public attention. It is therefore particularly gratifying to find that in almost every civilised state commendable efforts are being made in that direction. The United States of America are behind no country in this respect and the results achieved speak for themselves. In the poorest and most unhygienic quarters of Boston and New York the proportion of miscarriages and still-births among women receiving ante-natal care is only half of that in the general population. It is estimated that in these cities infantile mortality has been reduced by 33 per cent. for babies under one month and 40 per cent. for babies under one year. In England infantile mortality was 130 per 1000 births in 1901, but in 1923 it was no more than 70. But the happiest country in this respect is New Zealand where the rate in 1923 was as low as 47. How we stand compared to it is easy to guess with our estimated infantile death rate of 200 per 1000 births in the first year, "while practically half the children born do not survive the fifth year of life." We have however made a beginning of child welfare work in our cities and there is no reason to suppose that, despite our special difficulties such as premature marriages and general ignorance, we shall not achieve as striking results as other countries. We are not aware of another handy reference book which is likely to be as serviceable to the social worker as is this one.

V. V. S.

A SPIRITUAL LEADER.

LIFE OF SHRI RAM KRISHNA. Published by SWAMI MADHAWANANDA. (Advaita Ashram, Mayawati Almora,) 1925. 8½ x 6. pp. 768. Rs. 5. RAM KRISHNA presents so many apparently conflicting elements that it is almost impossible to form a correct estimate of his life. "He has been variously called a maniac, a good and sincere soul, a saint, a man of the highest realisation and an incarnation of the most high." In these circumstances the publisher has presented the actual facts as they are and has left it to the reader to form his own judgment.

The present work combines the essential facts of all the authentic books on the subject. The special feature of the book, however, is the free introduction of the supernatural element. This is inevitable. The story of the life of Ram Krishna Paramhansa is a story of religion in practice, and as such it is full of supernatural visions which will naturally appear to the general reader as pure myths. Hence the publisher asks the reader to remember that every one of these visions is a fact.

The hero of our book was born in 1836, and took his Mahasamadhi in 1886. During these fifty years he showed by his life to the inhabitants of the land of his birth—a land of many gods and of many reli-

gions—that God alone is real and that this world with all its wealth and splendour is an illusion. His life was a living example of divine love which knew no distinctions whatever. Even when he suffered from illness involving intense suffering, Ram Krishna never refused to give spiritual consolation to those who went to him overcome by worldly afflictions.

He was born of parents who were deeply religious and noble-hearted. Of a fair complexion, handsome and always smiling, Ram Krishna was a joy to all. His personal magnetism was very profound. As an infant he drew everyone towards himself. He lost his father when he was seven years old. This made a deep impression on him. He became grave and began to show signs of an unworldly attitude. As a boy he took particular delight in making clay-images of gods. He spent hours in listening to the stories of saints. By the time he was nine years old, he was invested with the holy thread. Even at this tender age he displayed his genius by solving subtle metaphysical points which had led to an animated debate among learned men.

When Ram Krishna reached his 17th year, the idea flashed in his mind that he had been born with some mission. He felt that the realisation of God must be the aim of his life. But his tender heart reminded him of his duties towards his mother and brothers. With the foundation of the Kali temple at Dakshineswar (four miles away from Calcutta) there begins a new chapter in the life of our hero. This temple was founded in 1855 by Rani Rasmin, the gifted and highly pious wife of a powerful Zamindar in Bengal. Shri Ram Krishna becomes the priest of this temple. Now the yearning to see God becomes too much for him. For full 12 years Ram Krishna practises his strenuous Sadhana. We are told that during half this period he did not close his eyelid! Being under the influence of nationalism, we read the first two hundred pages without much enthusiasm. But the moment we began to peruse the pages that beautifully depict the unparalleled Sadhana of Shri Ram, we forgot ourselves and were overcome by an irresistible impression of the honesty, sincerity and above all the selfless devotion of this God-intoxicated personality. The most remarkable feature about his Sadhana is his endeavour to realise God through all forms of worship. He realised God even as a Mahomedan. He was painfully conscious of the wide differences in view and temperament between the rival faiths of Islam and Hinduism. By his realisation of God in the Mahomedan form of practice, Shri Ram Krishna has proved that there is unity underlying all religions. God is the God of all and therefore there is no justification for intolerance.

A sympathetic perusal of the book is sure to lead the reader to the conviction that Ram Krishna Paramhansa was a specially commissioned personage. His spiritual achievements were for the sake of suffering humanity. His commission in life was to help people to realise God. Wherever he found a person really aspiring after God, Ram Krishna would be fired with a divine fervour to push the es-

pirant onward towards his goal either by precepts or by rousing his spirituality by his touch. He did this disinterested and whole-hearted service till the end of his life. Through his celebrated disciple Narendranath, popularly known as Vivekanand, Shri Ram Krishna communicated the splendour of his spiritual realisation to the people of the west.

We cannot conclude this brief review without referring to the conversation between Shree Ram Krishna and Babu Kristodas Pal, editor of the "Hindu Patriot" and one of the pioneers of the national movement, respected alike by the government and the public (p. 412). The conversation is full of light for those who are working in the cause of Indian Nationalism. Ram Krishna asserts with a glow of religious fervour that a person who has not realised the presence of God, has no right to talk of helping others. Man qua man is utterly insignificant in this vast universe. Unless a man is purged of all egoism, both individualistic and altruistic, he has neither the authority nor the magnetism to bring about the amelioration of the social whole to which he belongs. Indeed how poor our achievements are in this direction!

K.

MISCELLANEA.

FRANCE AND COLOUR.

[THE following is an extract from a remarkable article by Mr. W. E. B. DuBois, the leader of the Negro cultural movement in America, entitled "Worlds of Colour," appearing in the April number of the American quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*. Mr. DuBois reviews the attitude of all European countries having Negro subjects, with special reference the influence of labour on the problem. For want of space we are obliged to be content with reproducing only a portion of the article in this number.]

I know two black men in France. One is Candace, black West Indian deputy, an out-and-out defender of the nation and more French than the French. The other is Rene Maran, black Goncourt prize-man and author of "Batouala." Maran's attack on France and on the black French deputy from Senegal has gone into the courts and marks an era. Never before have Negroes criticised the work of the French in Africa.

France's attitude toward black and coloured folk is peculiar. England knows Negroes chiefly as colonial "natives" or as occasional curiosities on London streets. America knows Negroes mainly as freedmen and servants. But for nearly two centuries France has known educated and well-bred persons of Negro descent; they filtered in from the French West Indies, sons and relatives of French families and recognized as such under the Code Napoleon, while under English law similar folk were but nameless bastards. All the great French schools have had black students here and there; the professions have known many and the fine arts a few scattered over decades; but all this was enough to make it impossible to say in France as elsewhere that Negroes cannot be educated. That is an absurd statement to a Frenchman. It was not that the French loved or hated Negroes as such; they simply grew to regard them as men with the possibilities and shortcomings of men, added to an unusual natural personal appearance.

Then came the war and France needed black men. She recruited them by every method, by appeal, by deceit, by half-concealed force. She threw them ruthlessly into horrible slaughter. She made them "shock" troops. They walked

from the tall palms of Guinea and looked into the mouths of Krupp guns without hesitation, with scarcely a tremor. France watched them offer the blood sacrifice for their adopted motherland with splendid *sang-froid*, often with utter abandon.

But for Black Africa Germany would have overwhelmed France before American help was in sight. A tremendous wave of sentiment toward black folk welled up in the French heart. And back of this sentiment came fear for the future, not simply fear of Germany reborn but fear of changing English interests, fear of unstable America. What Africa did for France in military protection she could easily repeat on a vaster scale; wherefore France proposes to protect herself in future from military aggression by using half a million or more of trained troops from yellow, brown and black Africa. France has 40,000,000 Frenchmen and 50,000,000 Colonials. Of these Colonials, 845,000 served in France during the war, of whom 535,000 were soldiers and 310,000 in labor contingents. Of the soldiers, 440,000 came from north and west Africa. The peace footing of the French army is now 660,000, to whom must be added 189,000 Colonial troops. With three years service and seven years reserve, France hopes in ten years time to have 400,000 trained Colonial troops and 450,000 more ready to be trained. These Colonial troops will serve part of their time in France.

This program brings France face to face with the problem of democratic rule in her colonies. French industry has had wide experience in the manipulation of democracy at home but her colonial experience is negligible. Legally, of course, the colonies are part of France. Theoretically Colonials are French citizens and already the blacks of the French West Indies and the yellows and browns of North Africa are so recognized and represented in Parliament. For towns of Senegal have similar representation; but beyond this matters hesitate.

All this, however, brings both political and economic difficulties. Diagne, black deputy from Senegal, was expelled from the Socialist Party because he had made no attempt to organize a branch of the party in his district. And the whole Colonial bloc stand outside the interests of home political parties, while these parties know little of particular demands of local colonies. As this situation develops there will come the question of the practicability of ruling a world nation with one law-making body. And if devolution of power takes place what will be the relation of self-governing colonies to the mother country?

But beyond this more or less nebulous theory looms the immediately practical problem of French industry. The French nation and French private industry have invested huge sums in African colonies, considering black Africa alone. Dakar is a modern city superimposed on a native market-place. Its public buildings, its vast harbor, its traffic are imposing. Conakry has miles of warehouses beneath its beautiful palms. No European country is so rapidly extending its African railways—one may ride from St. Louis over half way to Timbuctu and from Dakar 1,500 miles to the Gulf of Guinea.

The question is, then, is France able to make her colonies paying industrial investments and at the same time centres for such a new birth of Negro civilization and freedom as will attach to France the mass of black folk in unswerving loyalty and will to sacrifice? Such a double possibility is today by no means clear. French industry is fighting today a terrific battle in Europe for the hegemony of reborn Central Europe. The present probabilities are that the future spread of the industrial imperialism of the West will be largely under French leadership. French and Latin imperialism in industry will depend on alliance with Western Asia and northern and central Africa, with the Congo rather than the Mediterranean as the southern boundary. Suppose that this new Latin imperialism emerging from the Great War developed a new antithesis to English imperialism where blacks and browns and yellows, subdued, cajoled and governed by white men, form a laboring proletariat subject to a European white democracy which industry controls; suppose that

contrary to this, Latin Europe should evolve political control with black men and the Asiatics having a real voice in Colonial government; while both at home and in the colonies democracy in industry continued to progress; what would this cost? It would mean, of course, nothing less than the giving up of the idea of an extensive White Man's World. It would be a revolt and a tremendous revolt against the solidarity of the West in opposition to the South and East. France moving along this line would perforce carry Italy, Portugal and Spain with it, and it is the fear of such a possible idea that explains the deep-seated resentment against France on the part of England and America. It is not so much the attitude of France toward Germany that frightens white Europe, as her apparent flaunting of the white fetish. The plans of those who would build a world of white men have always assumed the ultimate acquiescence of the colored world in the face of their military power and industrial efficiency because of the darker world's lack of unity and babel of tongues and wide cleft of religious difference. If now one part of the white world bids for dark support by gifts of at least partial manhood rights, the remainder of the white world scents treason and remains grim and unyielding in its heart. But is it certain that France is going to follow this program?

I walked through the native market at St. Louis in French Senegal—a busy, colorful scene. There was wonderful work in gold filigree and in leather, all kinds of beads and bracelets and fish and foods. Muhammadans salaamed at sunset, black-veiled Moorish women glided like sombre ghosts with living eyes; mighty black men in pale burnouses strode by, it was all curious, exotic, alluring. And yet I could not see quite the new thing that I was looking for. There was no color line particularly visible and yet there was all the raw material for it. Most of the white people were in command holding government office and getting large incomes. Most of the colored and black folk were laborers with small incomes. In the fashionable cafés you seldom saw colored folk, but you did see them now and then and no one seemed to object. There were schools, good schools, but they fell short of anything like universal education for the natives. White and colored school children ran and played together, but the great mass of children were not in school.

As I look more narrowly, what seemed to be happening was this: the white Frenchmen were exploiting black Africans in practically the same way as white Englishmen, but they had not yet erected or tried to erect caste lines. Consequently, into the ranks of the exploiters there arose continually black men and mulattoes, but these dark men were also exploiters. They had the Psychology of the exploiters. They looked upon the mass of people as means of wealth. The mass therefore had no leadership. There was no one in the colony except the unrisen and undeveloped blacks who thought of the colony as developing and being developed for its own sake and for the sake of the mass of the people there. Everyone of intelligence thought that Senegal was being developed for the sake of France and inevitably they tended to measure its development by the amount of profit.

If this sort of thing goes on will not France find herself in the same profit-taking colonial industry as England? Indeed, unless she follows English methods in African colonies, can she compete with England in the amount of profit made and if she does not make profit out of her colonies how long will her industrial masters submit without tremendous industrial returns? Or, if these industrial returns come, what will be the plight of black French Africa? "Batonala" voices it. In the depths of the French Congo one finds the same exploitation of black folk as in the Belgian Congo or British West Africa. The only mitigation is that here and there in the Civil Service are black Frenchmen like Rene Maran who can speak out; but they seldom do.

For the most part, as I have said, in French Africa educated Africans are Europeans. But if education goes far and develops in Africa a change in this respect must come. For this France has a complete theoretical system of education

beginning with the African village and going up to the college and technical schools at Goree. But at present it is, of course, only a plan and the merest skeleton of accomplishment. On the picturesque Island of Goree whose ancient ramparts face modern and commercial Dakar I saw two or three hundred fine black boys of school rank gathered in from all Senegal by competitive tests and taught thoroughly by excellent French teachers in accordance with a curriculum which, as far as it went, was equal to that of any European school, and graduates could enter the higher schools of France. A few hundred students out of a black population of nineteen millions is certainly but a start. This development will call for money and trained guidance and will interfere with industry. It is not likely that the path will be followed and followed fast unless black French leaders encourage and push France, unless they see the pitfalls of American and English race leadership and bring the black apostle to devote himself to race uplift not by the compulsion of outer hate but by the lure of inner vision.

As yet I see few signs of this. I have walked in Paris with Diagne who represents Senegal—all Senegal, white and black—in the French parliament. But Diagne is a Frenchman who is accidentally black. I suspect Diagne rather despises his own black Wolofs. I have talked with Candace, black deputy of Guadeloupe. Candace is virulently French. He has no conception of Negro uplift, as apart from French development. One black deputy alone, Boisneuf of Martinique, has the vision. His voice rings in parliament. He made the American soldiers keep their hands off the Senegalese. He made the Governor of Congo apologise and explain; he made Poincaré issue that extraordinary warning against American prejudice. Is Boisneuf an exception or a prophecy?

One looks on present France and her African shadow, then, as standing at the parting of tremendous ways; one way leads toward democracy for black as well as white—a thorny way made more difficult by the organised greed of the imperial profit-takers within and without the nation; the other is the way of the white world, and of its contradictions and dangers English colonies may tell.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- PROHIBITION: MODIFICATION OF THE VOLSTEAD LAW. By LAMAR T. BEMAN. (The H. W. Wilson Co., New York.) 1924. 8 x 5½. pp. 380. \$2.40.
- INFORMATION ON THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE. By J. W. WHEELER-BENNETT. (Association for International Understanding, London.) 1924. 8 x 5½. pp. 75. 1s. 3d.
- A HISTORY OF THE MARATHA PEOPLE. Vol. 3. From the Death of Shahu to the end of the Chitpavan Epic. By C. A. KINCAID & D. B. PARASNIS. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 354. Rs. 7.
- AUTHOR AND PRINTER. By W. H. WARREN. (The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.) 1925. 8½ x 5½. pp. 120. Rs. 2.
- E. S. MONTAGU. A study in Indian Polity. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) 1925. 6½ x 4. pp. 84. 8 as.
- SREE KRISHNA'S MESSAGES AND REVELATIONS. By BABA BHARATI. (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.) 1925. 6½ x 4. pp. 79. 8 as.
- REPORT OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM, 1924. (Women's International League Washington.) 1924. 9½ x 6½. pp. 178. 75 cents.
- TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE REPORT, 1925, 9½ x 6½. pp. 466.
- REPORT ON THE BEGGAR PROBLEM IN MADRAS CITY. 1925. 12 x 8. pp. 40.

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