

The NEW REVIEW

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FROM THE WORLD OF JOURNALS

The Party System in India

A healthy two-party system appears to be almost impossible in this country. Nor will there be any use if Party is allowed to divide the people as well as the legislature. The existing communal divisions will tend to become the starting-points of a party system. Parties based upon caste, creed, or race, on provincialism or linguistic differences, will only deepen the communal divisions, such as Hindu, Muhammadan, Sikh, or Christian, and will make them even more rigid than they are to-day. The staggering success of the Congress at the last election, though in part due to its popularity in having fought the prior bureaucratic regime, was principally due to the dissatisfaction with the system of parties as it was functioning under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. It was returned as a National party intended to liquidate all party differences. In some provinces communalism is still the basis of party, and in others,

though it may be veiled for the moment, its dangerous potentialities cannot be overlooked.

For a party system, it is necessary to have clear and honest differences on great questions. The disintegration of parties in England is due to the absence of any such differences in these days. In India, Prohibition, Swadeshi, reduction of land assessment, and even temple-entry (apart from the methods of implementing it) are common to all parties and communities. Even on such a controversial question as Education, which acutely divided political parties in England, we have no such firm convictions as would compel us to divide into parties. No genuine divisions of Conservative, Liberal, and Radical are possible in India. The Congress and the Muslim League are agreed as to India's final goal. There is no active section or effective party which holds a different view.

Nor are economic interests likely to afford a stable basis for the division of

An Autobiography in the Realm of Ideas

Where religion is concerned there are many experiences which are shared in common by all people. The Author has set down in these notes his own thoughts, misgivings, sufferings, and inspirations which eventually led him to embrace the Catholic Faith. The reader is not, therefore, asked to debate but to understand.

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parties in India. Neither zemindars and landholders nor merchants and bankers nor the professional classes can form distinct parties which could be both stable and effective. The overwhelmingly large agricultural population in the country makes it impossible for the emergence of any party permanently opposed to it. Nor is there any new serious antagonism between the agricultural community and labour. The issue of Socialism will perhaps divide the people in the future; if it does, it will either be ineffective (as in England) or it will destroy the present structure of society in India and replace it by a new one where there will be no parties.

The evils of the party system in England have been mitigated by the strong sense of racial identity and an active public opinion. In India the former is still in the making, and the latter exists only when there is no party government. The common tendency to follow the opinion of a majority party and the dearth of minority courage make it difficult to create or maintain a large middle opinion, which would be strong and effective to restrain a majority party from an unfair assertion of its strength, heedless of criticism or opposition. While the spirit of accommodation and compromise is the keynote of English political life, a strong majority party in India can seldom be expected to show accommodation, and a minority party instead of fighting will start with a compromise and end by surrender.

These features, which are due to India's long subjection to indigenous autocracy and foreign rule, cannot be obliterated without a long spell of non-party democracy.¹

Hitler and Propaganda

Hitler has completely changed the technique of revolution. He revolted in 1923 and failed; in *Mein Kampf*, which was written immediately after that, he advocated the conquest of opinion by means of propaganda in order to achieve the conquest of power.

His leading ideas on the technique of propaganda may be reduced to five:

(1) Propaganda is meant not for intellectuals but chiefly for the masses:

¹ S. Srinivasa Iyengar's Sastri Lecture, August 9.

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1919-20 he noticed that the more frequently he addressed them the bigger the audiences grew.

(5) Propaganda supposes *leaders*. Hitler believes in the *Führer-prinzip*: 'An agitator who can spread an idea among the masses . . . will always be a better leader than a theorician meditating far from men. For leading means moving the masses.' 'The aim of propaganda', he adds, 'is not to dose out the truth of different parties but to insist only on the right of the party one represents.'

Finally, Hitler points out the difference between propaganda and organization: 'Propaganda should come first and win the human material to be later organized. Hence I don't like a too quick or showy organization . . . Propaganda inculcates an idea on the masses to prepare them for victory; organization actually works, through a chosen body of men, for victory. Propaganda can never be too wide, but organization can be; for there can never be too many partisans, but there may be too many members. The victory of an idea will be the easier as the propaganda for it has been wider and the organization more exclusive, stronger, and more solid.'¹

Malaya and India

Confirmation of a conclusion which ran counter to generally accepted opinion, as to the archæological possibilities of Malaya in the study of early cultural development in south-eastern Asia, has been afforded by the results of a fourteen months' archæological investigation undertaken by the Greater India Research Committee during 1937-38. Excavations were carried out in Kedah, Perak, and Johore under the field direction of Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales, by whom the results have been described recently, and with the financial assistance of the Governments of the States interested.

The most extensive and important of the excavations were in Kedah, some thirty sites, ranging in date from the fourth to the thirteenth century of our era, being thoroughly examined. The earliest remains are scattered and do not suggest any very large settlement before the sixth century. The oldest

¹ L. Terrenoire in *Univers* (Lille).

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site found was on an isolated hill on the Sala river, some twenty miles north of Kedah Peak. Here was found the massive laterite basement of a *stupa* and a small stone inscribed with a Buddhist formula in a South Indian script, not later than the second half of the fourth century. Another *stupa* site to the south on the Bujang stream produced a sun-dried clay tablet, inscribed with three stanzas of a Mahâyâna text in Sanskrit, which previously was known only in Chinese. This antedates previous evidence from Sumatra of the introduction of Mahâyâna Buddhism into Indonesia by more than a hundred years.

Excavation of mounds on the site of the ancient city of Lankasuka revealed remains of Siva temples and established the Pallava affinities of the colonists in the seventh and eighth centuries, while foundation deposits from temples excavated on Kedah Peak consisted of caskets which, though undoubtedly Indian in character, are of a type unknown in India and are explicable only by reference to Java. The ruined state of the temple buildings made it possible to excavate the foundation more thoroughly than is usually possible, with the result that much valuable information as to dating and cultural relations with southern India was obtained from this source. Especially noteworthy is evidence of a revival of Hinduism between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries. These results, as well as those of earlier expeditions of the Greater India Research Committee, for which Dr. Wales has been responsible, suggest that the criticism directed against the projected exhibition of the art of Greater India are outweighed by the advantages which will accrue to Indian cultural studies from the enhanced knowledge and interest in the art and archæology of Greater India which such an exhibition must arouse. By tracing and exemplifying local developments of Buddhistic and Hindu art, the exhibition should in itself supply the unifying link whose absence has been imputed as one of the gravest defects of the proposal.¹

The Ukraine's Future

It seems to me that the self-determination process will crystallize inside

Poland and Soviet Russia and produce a form of healthy nationalism amongst the so-called 'national minorities'. A co-operation of free and independent States around the Black Sea is a question of great importance for the peace of Europe. It must be remembered that revolutions have always been stemmed by the coming to the fore of the middle classes, the *tiers état*. It gave France a healthy nationalism and a strong instinct for private property protected by legislation. In North Russia there has never been a *tiers état*; there was instead a heterogeneous body called the 'intelligentzia', a sort of 'Opposition to His Majesty', which when the Crown was swept away lost their bearings and their *raison d'être*; they had their chance in the provisional Government but failed to do anything constructive. All efforts to build up such a *tiers état* (NEP) in Russia to-day are nipped in the bud by the revolutionaries of the Kremlin.

In the non-Russian territories of the Russian Empire the place of the *tiers état* was always held by the farming yeoman stock, especially among the Ukrainians and Cosaks, and partly among the Caucasian people. Similar strata of society saved Poland and the border States from the onslaught of Bolshevism, which first tried to conquer them *manu militari* in 1918-1919, and then, not having succeeded, tried to achieve its ends by 'peaceful' penetration, through subversive propaganda, a propaganda which is still going on and which is now concentrated chiefly not so much on them as on Britain and France. Bolshevism now works in the West by the Trojan-horse method, and in the disguise of an ally is brought into European affairs.¹

Le Livre Français

The title of John Charpentier's latest book, *Héloïse: Amante d'Abailard*, clearly indicates the spirit in which this new biography of the celebrated Scholastic philosopher has been written. The rise and fall of the man whom his own century admired as a profound dialectician are here studied in the light of the violent love with which he inspired a maiden of seventeen. The author tells us in graphic language the tale which has become

¹ Vladimir de Korostovetz in *The Dublin*

¹ From *Nature* (London).

part of the classic literature of the love-theme, and spares us none of its details. It is the work of an historian conversant with the philosophical and theological controversies of the twelfth-century schools, acquainted with the idiosyncrasies of the students and the bourgeois of the time, and equally familiar with the streets of Paris and the highways of Champagne and Bretagne; but the mutual love of Abelard and Héloïse is the chief thread in the decorative pattern of the book. Of its literary merit it is enough to say that John Charpentier has been awarded the 'grand prix de la critique littéraire' for 1939. (Paris: Tallandier; 20 francs)

M. Pierre Varillon was in the War. Less than twenty-one at the time of the Armistice, he bravely faced 'the to-come and all the dark o' the world', convinced that enduring peace would naturally result from the sacrifice of the thousands who had paid the price. The unrest in Europe and the feverish preparation for war during the last few months have led him to look back into

the twenty years that have elapsed since October 1918 and to record his impressions in a new novel, *Le massacre des innocents*. We are in January 1916, and seven students of the Lycée are about to leave the school-room for the front, from which three of them are destined not to come back. The novel tells of the various ups and downs which befall the four survivors who, with the odds against them, seem to be as many failures. The bitterness of disappointment is responsible for a few surprising and disquieting remarks; but the book is not the work of a pessimist, and it ends with the consoling and encouraging assurance that though the reward of sacrifice may not always be spectacular it is nevertheless real. The author excels in the delineation of characters who are all true to life, whatever their avocation; but if asked to choose from among the rather large number of them, I should unhesitatingly single out the unobtrusive college professor, so humble and yet so noble and so lovable. (Paris: Emile-Paul)

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THIS SIDE AND THAT

I

THREE HUNDRED YEARS

THE tercentenary of Madras, which was celebrated from August 4 to 6, is a cause of joy to all India. For Madras is the oldest modern city in India : it was a nursery of India's foreign trade, the first training-ground of the army in India, and the mother of much that is admirable in Indian music and architecture. It was the first city to start a hospital (1664) ; and one of the first institutions started in Fort St. George was a free elementary school which was soon thrown open to all communities. It had a Telephone Exchange in 1881 (before most European cities) and was the first city in India to have a fully automatic Exchange in 1926.

Neither is Madras just a

withered beldame

Brooding on ancient fame,

as Kipling described her. Her modernity is less showy than that of her two sisters : she is more spacious and therefore less crowdedly urbanized, but keeps a higher level of cosiness in her garden-houses and an unequalled stretch of Marina. Madras at sunset from the sea is a daily feast of silhouette and colour.

The population of the city was 647,230 in 1931, and may have risen by a lac since then. Its intellectual standards are proverbial : the all-India services are the safest proof. Politically slower and more cautious than the north, Madras has in recent years won by sheer

tenacity and constructive work, and its present Government is recognized to be about the best in India.

Well, then, may the City remember with gratitude the day in August 1639 when Damarla Venkata, 'Lord General of the Carnatic', handed to Francis Day a cowl conveying to the East India Company a piece of waste land (*narimedu*) lying between the Kuvam (Cooum) almost where it debouches into the sea and the Egmore river.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

When Dr. Khare sent Mr. Bose a telegram of sympathy last May on the 'similar fate' which had overtaken him, he could not have foreseen that he would have still more reason for sympathy on August 11 when Mr. Bose would be 'disqualified as the President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and to be member of any elective Congress committee for three years'.

To take such a step against a recent, young, twice-elected President of the whole Congress must have cost the Working Committee, anxious as it has often shown itself to prevent a breach at a time when unity is more than ever necessary, many a secret pang. But nothing less was expected of any self-respecting Executive whose President has been openly disobeyed in spite of explicit and previous warning. Whatever the Congress may lose by this decision, it would have lost more by not taking it.

Mr. Bose claimed the right to protest against two of the A.-I. C. C.'s resolutions, because 'it is my constitutional right to express my opinion regarding any resolution passed by the A.-I. C. C.', and because 'it is open to the minority to carry on propaganda with a view to converting the majority to its point of view'. But though there is something in his contention, he failed to

distinguish between 'expressing an opinion' or 'carrying on propaganda' as a *private member* and doing so as an *executive official*. No organization, however 'democratic' or broadminded, can allow its decisions to be publicly criticized by those subordinates who have to *carry them out*: the Provincial Congress Committees are not legislative but executive bodies, and therefore have nothing to do with the shaping of Congress policy. And the President of a Provincial Congress Committee is a purely executive officer. If such an officer does not approve of an order, two ways are open to him: to appeal *privately* to the A.-I. C. C. for a reversal or suspension of that order, or to resign his office and then win the A.-I. C. C. or the general body over to his view.

Though these principles could not have been unknown to Mr. Bose, we would not say that his intention was to court 'disciplinary action' by taking a different course. It is true that already in his *Indian Struggle* of 1934 he foresaw a Right-Left rift in the Congress lute; but he need not have caused or hastened it for that. • Nor need his Forward Bloc be described as his way of coming forward. Some Opposition in a voluntary organization of 4,500,000 persons united neither in race nor religion nor language nor even political convictions, is not only inevitable but even healthy; and if there must be a Left to every Right (if for nothing else, at least to keep the Right right), there must be some *gourab* to lead it.

But no party has ever succeeded in *doing* good unless it had some *positive* creed: an antithesis cannot lead to a synthesis if it has no thesis of its own. The Swaraj Party of 1922, which Mr. Bose seems to consider as his model, had a clear constructive programme; if it had contented itself with protesting against the 'Constitutionalism' or 'Fascism' (though the word was not yet born)

or 'Reformism' of the then 'Old Guard', it would have gone the way of all *protesters*. So far the Forward Bloc, popular as it naturally is especially with the young, does not stand for any positive programme—not even socialism, which it reserves for a future stage. It wants non-violence *and* 'direct action' (whatever this may mean), the Congress *and* itself.

THE WAR RESOLUTION

While the Wardha decision on Bengal has found fairly general support outside that Province, the 'War Resolution' has met with severe criticism especially outside Bengal. Some Indian troops were moved into Egypt and Singapore without consulting the Central Legislature, or at any rate without the consent of the Congress; and the Working Committee in a pet orders all the Congress members of the two Houses in Delhi to boycott the next session. It reminds the Provincial Governments 'to assist in no way the war preparations of the British Government', thus going against India's own interest no less than Britain's.

The Working Committee must have been aware of this obvious charge. They no doubt knew that the Legislature was not sitting, and troop movements have sometimes to be secret and quick. Neither could they have been under any illusion about India's having no *right* to be consulted on these matters as long as she is not a self-governing Dominion. Still they had somehow to protest against what they could not prevent, and to show that the 'Old Guard' was not becoming 'imperialistic'. Perhaps this was sentiment. But who that goes below the surface can say that sentiment plays a humbler part than reason in human relations, or that tact is less important in personal as well as international dealings than justice?

II

CHINESE ARITHMETIC

The first months of the third war year find China as optimistic as ever and prophesying that Japan will beg for peace by 1941. Japan has one million men in China distributed in 33 divisions ; three divisions in South China, 14 in Central China, 16 in the North ; the Japanese army is engaged in guarding communications and garrisoning towns. Without sending more men Japan cannot marshal at any point sufficient reserves to carry out any important offensive. In the meantime China is improving her defence ; a batch of planes and motor trucks is on its way from the U. S. A., an airplane factory has been brought over the hills into the interior and is being assembled ; the regular army is recovering town after town and the guerilla bands are doing wonderful work.

There are ten guerilla regiments spread over the ten war areas, and General Chou En-lai estimates that each regiment snipes off ten Japanese soldiers a day ; with this rate of 1,000 Japanese deaths daily or 365,000 yearly from guerilla warfare, the General foretells an early retreat of the invaders. General Chiang Kai-shek puts the Japanese casualties in China at one million, some 940,000 more than is officially admitted by Tokyo.

A bad omen for China is the fall in the value of her dollar ; but Japan is in a bad way, too ; she cannot get any victory to speak of, and starts blaming everybody else, the British especially. She may now turn her wrath against Germany : the Nazi-Soviet Pact is a very bad blow to her.

THE U. S. A. IN DOUBT

For the last eight years the U. S. A. are wondering what to do to stay out of war. In 1931 the Kellogg-

Briand Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty seemed to guarantee peace in Europe and China. But in September the Japanese marched into Mukden ; by January 1932 a U. S. note to Japan and to the other Powers called attention to the necessity of keeping to the peace system. Britain showed herself lukewarm. A new note came after the bombing of Chapei ; Sir John Simon kept as cold ; the U. S. A. withdrew into their isolation. A campaign for neutrality was started ; the Chaco dispute led to a first hurried embargo on arms, and on August 31, 1935, the Neutrality Act was voted, which was meant to last six months ; the embargo covered 'arms, munitions and implements of war', and the President explained that it included airplanes and various chemicals, but not cotton, oil, scrap iron, or trucks.

A month after the Act Italy invaded Ethiopia ; though no declaration of war was made, the President declared it a war and applied the Act. In February 1936 the neutrality law was made to prevent the issue of loans in the States on behalf of belligerents and to exempt the countries of South America from its provisions. Then the Civil War began in Spain ; the Act was extended to civil wars and to prevent the sale of airplanes and airplane parts.

In May 1937 another Neutrality Act was passed ; in addition to the previous measures the President was empowered to forbid the export of any goods to belligerents except on a 'cash-and-carry' basis ; he never used that power, and it has now lapsed. Three months after this third Neutrality Act, the Japanese bombed Shanghai ; they did not declare war, they were waging peace. This time the President did not declare that there was a war in China ; and since there is peace, China has had loans from the U. S., munitions, planes, motor trucks ; Japan has been given equal facilities ; both

sides fancy it is advantageous, and neither declares war, and the U. S. are obliging both.

America has grown wise in the ways of neutrality, but she has not yet realized unanimity of views. Three schools dispute the control of policy. The 'sanctionist' school, led by Col. Stimson, N. Murray Butler, Prof. J. T. Shotwell, and Bishop W. T. Manning, aims at penalizing the aggressors and depriving them of any access to American resources whilst giving facilities to their victims. The 'isolationist' school (young B. Champ Clark, young La Follette, Vandenberg, and some forty senators) take it for granted that the U. S. A. have not to pose as judges of international morals and want them to have nothing to do with any nation at war ; Senator Borah and Hiram Johnson favour this school, though they fight shy of rigid legislation. Finally, the 'classicist' school, or the school of 'historic neutrals', dream of going back to the international law of the pre-1914 period which allowed a neutral nation certain rights in the matter of trading with belligerents ; at the head of this school we see J. Bassett Moore and E. Borchard with 68 representatives in the House. President Roosevelt, who was a strong Wilsonian during the Great War, veered round to a position more or less acceptable to isolationists and classicists, but as early as 1937 spoke of 'quarantining aggressors' ; Mr. Cordell Hull is frankly backing the policy of his predecessor, Col. Stimson.

At the present time America has not yet made up her mind ; after the last tussle between the Senate and the President, the legislation which is in force is the 1937 Neutrality Act *minus* the cash-and-carry clauses. The question will be debated again at the reopening of the Congress session ; whatever the U. S. A. may decide will have a deep influence on the balance of world power ; with half the steel capacity of the world, with immense

reserves of oil, cotton, and wheat, their decision on war-time shipments must make a profound difference. They may wish to be legally neutral; they will always be extremely influential. The U. S. A. have, more than many others, a world-responsibility.

WAR

Astrologers and fortune-tellers are making money hand over fist; they work havoc in the homes and on the stock exchange; yet not even Madame Tabouis had dared to prophesy what we hinted two months ago: the pact between Nazidom and Sovietdom. Germany leaving the Axis or Russia joining the Anti-Comintern Pact will be a lesson to those politicians who have the mania of invoking European models, ideologies, and programmes at every corner of the political road. The news, however, is not staggering: it is a dogma with Hitler that only what is advantageous to the Teutonic race is moral; it is a dogma with Stalin that only what is advantageous to the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat has an ethical value for Communists. •

World opinion is taking war as inevitable; against the popular will which shuns war in all countries, we have the declared ambitions of impulsive Führers; we have also the greed of munition-makers and international financiers, the revengeful spirit of exiles and refugees, the relentless determination of Communism to bring about a world-wide social war. Which will prevail is left undecided, and the coming days will be tense with anxiety; yet optimism seems to be in the ascendant just now; President Roosevelt's intervention, King Leopold's radio speech, the Pope's appeal, and—why not add?—the realism of the Duce may avert a catastrophe.

THE MUNDAS AND THE SIDOLI FEAST OF THE KORKOOS

ON THE TRACES OF THE ANCIENT ĀSVAMEDHA

BY W. KOPPERS

THE Korkoos are the westernmost Munda tribe of India. Their dwelling-places are mostly in the western parts of the Satpura mountains, belonging partly to the Central Provinces, partly to Berar. They number about 150,000. Thanks to their woody and inaccessible mountains they have up to now preserved more or less intact not only their old language but also their original customs and traditions.

As I intended to study more thoroughly the ethnology of the 'Bhils, it occurred to me that I should also pay due attention to their neighbours. I therefore spent two months—January and February 1939—among the Korkoos at Chikalda (near Ellichpur in Berar) and was able to collect a good number of interesting anthropological data on the Korkoos.¹ In the present article I shall cite only those facts from the collected material which relate to the worship of the dead. In this the carving and the erection of the memorial pole, called a *Munda*, play an important role. The performance itself is known as *Sidoli*. An account of this Sidoli feast will be the more welcome to scientists as these roughly carved

¹ This was largely due to the help of Frs. E. Thevenet, M. S. F. S., and S. Fuchs, S. V. D., both of whom are familiar with the language and conditions of this part of India.

mundas, often in the form of horsemen, have attracted an ever increasing attention these last years but could not be studied for lack of exact data.

As the celebration of a Sidoli feast among the Korkoos is a relatively rare event, for which reasons will be given later on, I could not get an opportunity of attending such a performance. Every detail had thus to be obtained from eye-witnesses among the Korkoos themselves. But as these were numerous and reliable men, I am quite sure of having got to the real facts as to all the essential features of this performance.

The erection of a munda is possible only to a well-to-do family, for the expenses of this celebration are considerable. The Korkoos also believe that this honour of a Sidoli feast should be paid only to a person who in his lifetime was a man of importance or considerable wealth, like a village headman or a magician (*Bhagat*). One of the closest relatives of the deceased, generally the eldest son, makes the vow of performing a Sidoli feast with the erection of a munda. Up to now it has been impossible to find out the exact meaning of the words *Munda* and *Sidoli*.¹ A comparative analysis of these and similar rites among other tribes may throw light on this problem in the future.

It may also be mentioned that this feast goes far beyond the borders of the village, thus making a striking exception among such festivities. When the characteristic sounds of the drums are heard announcing a Sidoli feast, the Korkoos gather from far and near without any

¹ The word *munda* naturally makes us think of the Munda tribe. It is not impossible that these mundas of the Korkoos are in some way linked with the name of the Munda tribe. I may quote here what R. V. Russell (*The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, Vol. III, p. 502) says about the name *Munda*: 'The word *Munda*, Sir H. Risley states, is the common term employed by the Kols for the headman of a village, and has come into general use as an honorific title, as the Santals call themselves Manghi, the Gonds Bhoi, and the Bhangis and other sweepers Mehtar. *Munda*, like *Mehtar*, originally a title, has become a popular alternative name for the caste.'

other invitation. Luckily for the host, the guests do not expect him to feed them all during the celebration.

Not every Korkoo is able to carve a munda. But there are some skilful men among them who specialize in this carving and are approached in case of need. The fact that also the Gonds, neighbours of the Korkoos, erect such memorial poles, might point to the probability of the Gondian origin of this custom. But this question cannot be treated here.

At the right time, after sunrise, the carver of the munda and the man who is responsible for the performance of a Sidoli feast go with some fellow-villagers to the jungle. There they stop near the tree which the carver of the munda points out as fit for his work. It must be a teak tree (*Boswellia serrata*) because of its weather-tight wood. The men bring with them a bottle of country liquor (*daru*) produced from the flowers of the Mahua tree (*Bassia latifolia*), a black chicken, *haldi* (yellow colour), *kuku* (red colour), a burning piece of dry cow-dung, a coconut, and the other ingredients of an offering. All these things they first place on the ground near the teak tree. Then they put red and yellow colour on the tree. They break the coconut and burn incense kindled with the burning cow-dung. They sprinkle some drops of *daru* over the offering. Then they cut off the head of the chicken and worship the tree. They do this by joining their hands, touching the ground with them, and then raising them to their foreheads. After that the men cut the tree, remove all its branches, and place the trunk in a shady spot where the carver may start his work.

In the afternoon of the same day the organizer of the whole feast calls the men and women of the village together. They all march to the jungle, where they cut a bamboo. They split it and prepare a basket, putting

aside seven small pieces. These seven splints remind them of the bones of their deceased relative whose memory they are going to celebrate. Others say that these seven splints are to remind them of the seven bamboo-sticks which form the funeral-stretcher on which the deceased was brought to the burial-ground.¹ To the seven splints of bamboo they add seven blades of grass, representing the grass which was put on the bier. Then the basket is taken with the usual ingredients of an offering to the nearest river or pool. On a dry spot or stone in the water they draw a chauk with kuku and white flour. The chauk, as is well known, plays an important part in the religious ritual of the Hindus. The Korkoos call the chauk *Mandra*. Now every one present takes a leaf of the Palâs tree (*Butea frondosa*) and rolling it together fills it with a kind of boiled peas (*mazur ki dal*) and puts his little bag on the chauk. Then they sprinkle *daru* over it, cut off the head of a chicken, and put its liver and parts of its head on the chauk with the other offerings.

Then one after the other approaches, takes some kuku mixed with water in the hollow of his hands, and the seven blades of grass with the seven splints of bamboo. He puts both hands together and rubs them so that the water drips down. If this fluid is of a very red colour, they say that the deceased felt a great love for this person ; they draw the opposite conclusion if the water dripping down is rather colourless.

After this ordeal they put the bamboo basket on a brass plate. The seven splints of bamboo and the seven blades of grass are tied together and enclosed in the basket, which is covered with a white cloth. This they do to prevent the splints from falling out of the basket and also because the deceased was covered with a white

¹ The Korkoos bury their dead.

cloth when put on the bier. A burning lamp is placed on the brass plate beside the basket.

Now all start singing wedding-songs. After a while the host begins to weep, remembering the deceased relative. Others, especially the women, join in and start a general loud lamentation, which sounds quite pathetic. These lamentations cease when the banquet, which has been prepared in the meantime, is served. It consists of rice and chicken. But before they start eating, they make an offering, as above mentioned, on the *chauk*. Then *daru* is served, even the women taking their share. Before drinking, every one spills a drop of *daru* on the ground, saying : 'Ram ! Ram !' Then only do they sit down and begin to eat.

After the banquet all return to the host's house, taking with them the basket and the burning lamp. The lamp, called *diwani*, is anxiously protected against any blast of wind which might put it out. Arrived at home, the organizer of the whole feast sits down with his wife as a newly married couple do on their wedding-day. The corner of the husband's loin-cloth is tied to the tip of his wife's *sari*. Thus they have to sit till about midnight, while the others sit round them and sing wedding-songs.

About midnight the performance abruptly changes its character. This change is introduced by the organizer of the feast and his wife who untie themselves, place themselves in opposite corners of the house, and start abusing each other. This consists in using such filthy language and licentious expressions that our informants would not repeat to us even the mildest of them. As soon as the host starts abusing his wife, all the others fall in and the most dissolute expressions are shouted to and fro. Our informants always insisted that it is the old ritual, handed down from their forefathers and piously and reverently pre-

served, which demands this. Predominating in all this sexual abuse, which comes from the men's side and goes to the side where the women and girls sit, and returns from there in still grosser expressions (if possible), is the invitation to sexual intercourse and also the reproach of incestuous actions. There is, of course, no evidence that such things really happen. But it is no wonder that the excitement, helped by the intoxicating influence of liquor, goes so high that the people seem almost mad. The official ceremonial, however, demands, under threat of punishment, that the men and the women keep apart. The men usually sit on the front veranda while the women occupy the back of the house, shouting through the open doors and holes in the walls. But people do not always keep within these limits, and though respectable men try to keep the young folks in order, they do not always succeed.

At dawn (when the cock crows) the carver of the munda goes to the jungle and continues his work. Two hours later (about 8 o'clock) a crowd of big boys and girls, with some older people to guard them, march to the jungle, still bandying licentious words. They search for a Sauri (cotton tree) of such a size that it can be cut with a single stroke. They are also particular that this tree must have three main branches in the shape of a trident. They cut the tree and carry it to the spot where the carver of the munda is working.¹ He is supposed to have nearly finished his work by this time. When the crowd arrives, one of the boys takes the munda on his shoulders, and another carries the tree. They then return to the host's house singing and dancing and using abusive words all the way.

¹ Later this tree is placed in the centre of the village before the *Mutwa Deo* who is its protector.

On arriving, they are received by the sister or other near female relative of the host, dressed in a white *sari* and covered with *haldi* (yellow colour), in which especially the end of her *sari* is soaked. She is made to sit down and take the munda on her lap. The munda too is sprinkled with *haldi*.¹ Then a white cloth is spread before the house, and the munda is placed on it. The carver of the munda now gets some *daru* to drink, so that he may hurry up and finish his work of art. When he does he will be paid according to its quality from Re. 1/4 up to nine rupees. Now and then a generous host gives even a bullock, but very seldom a horse. After the last finishing touch the munda is wrapped in a white cloth whose ends are tied together. The munda and the basket with the seven bamboo splints are now brought into the house. As soon as this is done one of the women starts trembling as if in a trance (shaking her head, as the sorcerers usually do). The Korkoos believe that the deceased for whose benefit this feast is performed speaks through this woman, saying : 'I am the father' or 'I am the one in whose honour this feast is celebrated'.

It is now the third day of the Sidoli ceremonies, and at noon or a little later a good lunch is served to all. *Daru*, of course, has to be given. In the afternoon some young men who want to make a big show go to the nearest market and buy sweets and fruit. Coming home they throw all these good things among the women and children, who catch them and throw them eventually back to the boys.

Towards evening on this third day the host of the Sidoli feast takes the munda on his shoulders and

¹ This yellow colour plays an important part in the nuptial ceremonial. It is a symbol of the inner cleanness and purity which the bridal couple should possess when entering the married state.

carries it in solemn procession, under a kind of red canopy, to the place where the Holi festival is usually celebrated. The Korkoos call this place Kharkia. There they kill a male goat. This should be done with a sword, according to ancient custom ; but as the Korkoos of to-day are not allowed to wear swords, they use an axe or a big knife. As soon as the blood pours out all the people rush to the spot and dip their sticks in the blood. Not one drop of blood is lost. These sticks which have been dipped in the blood are used on the occasion of a dance called *danda*. Instead of sticks the Korkoos originally used spears, their old weapon ; but now even spears have been taken away from them.

At the same time an earthen pot is brought, containing half-boiled germinating seeds of millet. The pot is thrown on the ground and goes to pieces, and its contents are scattered about. All the people again rush to the spot and try to pick up some seeds or fragments of the pot, to be used as a hunting-charm, for they believe that these seeds, tied in little bags to their hunting weapons, will entice their quarry to approach them. The abusive shouting, however, does not stop even during this ceremony.

The basket with the seven bamboo-splints wrapped in a white cloth is now also brought to the Kharkia and hung from a tree. Late in the evening there is a banquet for all present, when goat-meat, millet, etc., are served.

The next morning at about 8 o'clock the munda is brought to the place where it is to be set up for good. This is generally under a large shady tree where other memorial poles have already been erected. The Korkoos say the mundas, which represent their forefathers, do not like solitary places but want company. They also wish

to be seen by their descendants passing by. That is why the mundas are often erected near the road, though outside the village. The passers-by often put some tobacco before them, 'in loving memory'.

After the munda has been put up, the basket is taken to the nearest river and hidden in a crab-hole. It often happens that the boy who carries the basket trembles all over and even gets into a fit. The sorcerers (*Bhagats*) have to call him back to consciousness by *mantras* and other means.

All now return to the place where the munda was erected. There the last banquet, called *mund-bhojan*, is to be served. After this banquet they return to their ordinary daily life ; but before leaving they embrace one another and beg pardon especially for the licentious abusing which they have exchanged. They did not mean anything bad but had to observe the law of their traditions.¹

If the deceased, whose memory is to be kept green, was a sorcerer in his lifetime, his descendants take a simple flat stone instead of a munda. As the deceased Bhagat sometimes receives the sacrifice of a chicken or even of a goat, for this sacrifice they use a stone, as such a bloody offering could not be performed on a wooden munda. This stone is brought from the river and placed without artificial shaping on the intended spot. The Korkoos often put a hut over this stone or at least a roof of bamboo-splints.

At the beginning of this article I said that with the Sidoli feast we are 'on the traces of the ancient Indo-Aryan horse-sacrifice'. Every scientist acquainted with this sacrificial rite will agree with this connexion.

¹ It is said, however, that the more decent people do not like this feast very much and keep away if possible.

I am, however, not going to discuss or to prove it here at length. It will suffice to mention only a few points which show a certain resemblance between the *Aśvamedha* of the Indo-Aryans and the Sidoli feast of the Korkoos, without saying anything about a probable common origin. Methodologically, however, this probability has to be taken into consideration: the custom may have come from the Indo-Aryans to the Korkoos (directly or indirectly) or *vice versa*. This much is certain, that there are evidently non-Aryan elements in the *Aśvamedha*, some of which may have been developed or taken over only very late in India.¹

Only a rich and powerful king could undertake an *Aśvamedha*, since it was very expensive. Among the Korkoos, too, the organizer of the Sidoli feast and the erection of the munda must be a wealthy man. Again, the feast of the *Aśvamedha* has been compared, with good reason, to a Potlatch of gigantic dimensions.² Some traces of the Potlatch can also be found in the Sidoli feast of the Korkoos with its lavish banquets and meals.

It is also well known that the *Aśvamedha* ceremonies were interwoven with erotic rites. Especially in this feature the Sidoli feast reminds one very strongly of the *Aśvamedha*: in both there is abuse in very dissolute terms, and in both the traditional law demands that the final consequence, sexual intercourse, be prevented. In the *Aśvamedha* feast the principal wife of the king had to try cohabitation with a choked stallion lying under cover; so too the munda is wrapped in a white cloth and placed in the lap of the sister of the celebrating host.

¹ Cf. W. Koppers, 'Horse-sacrifice and Horse-cult of the Indo-Germans', in *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, IV, 1936, pp. 279-411.

² Celebrations of the same kind and the same name are well known among the Red Indians of north-west North America.

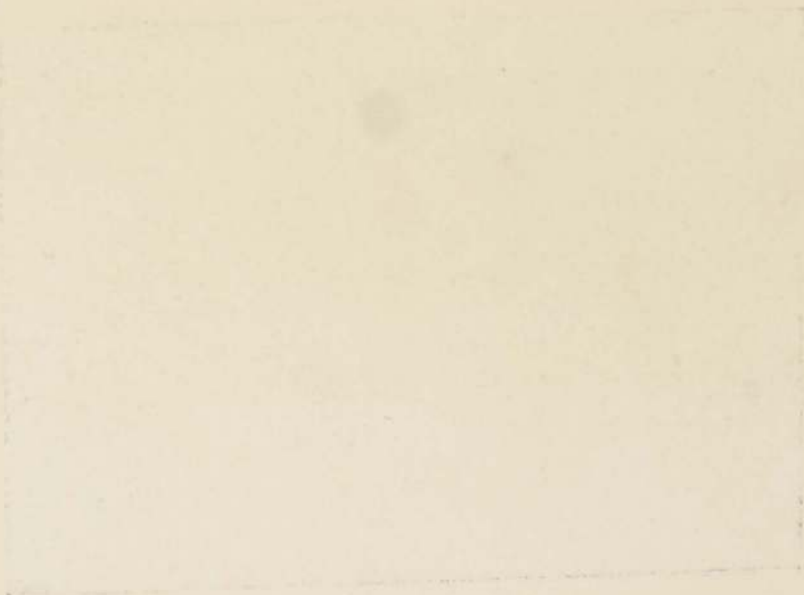


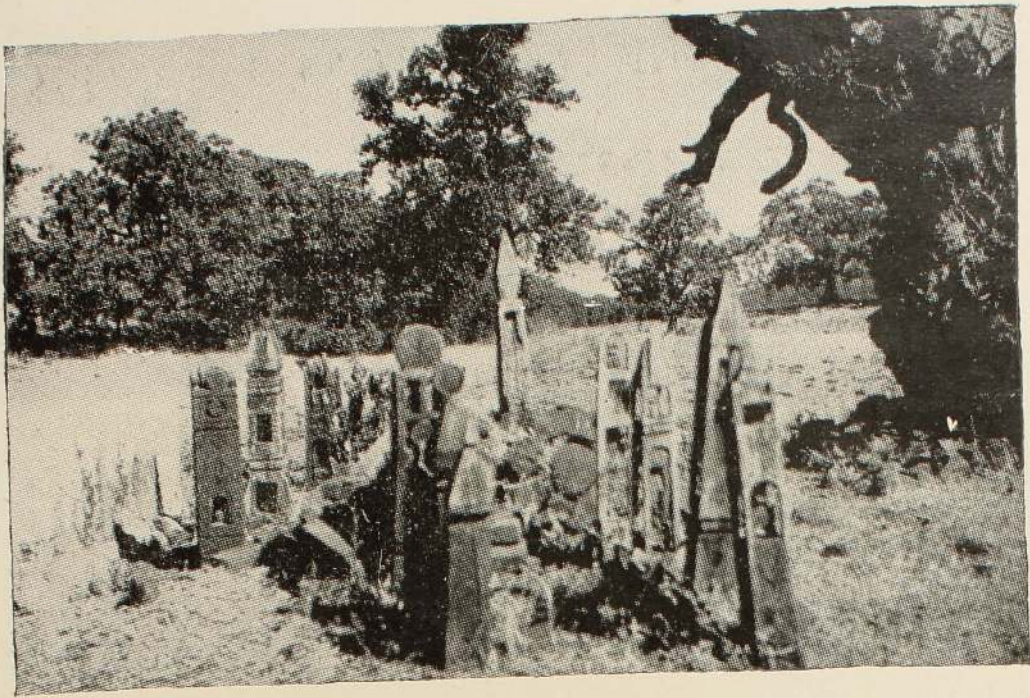
Figure 1



Figure 2

Figure 3

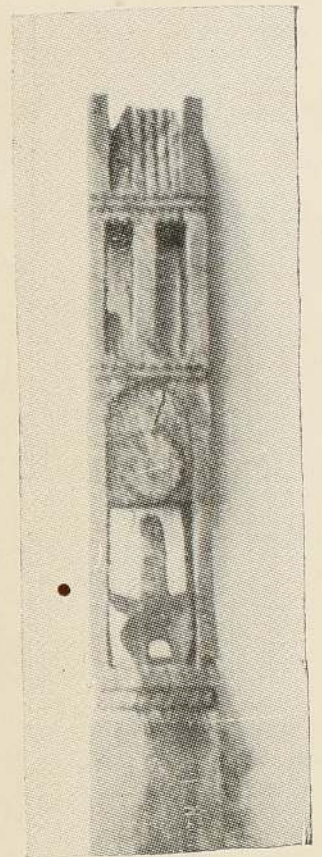




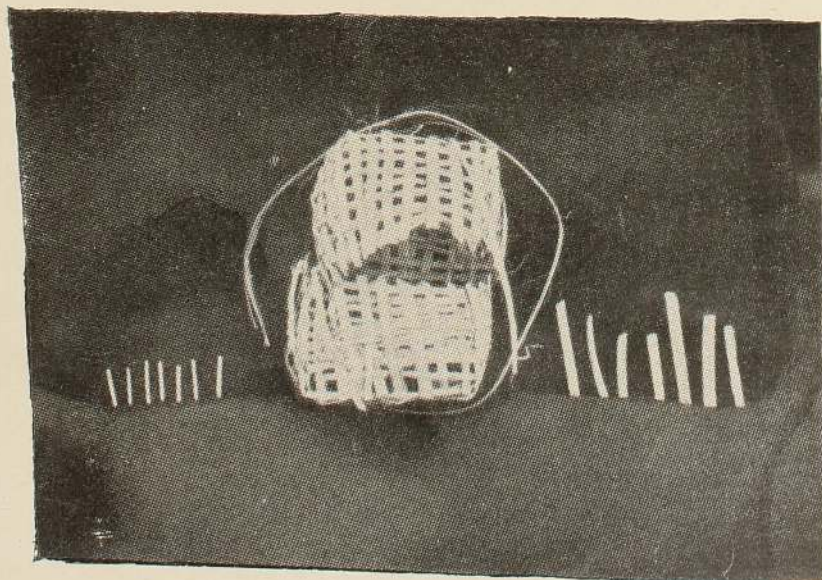
Mundas near a Korkoo village



Stone-memorials (*gatas*) of the Bhils



Wood-carved munda



Basket, bamboo splints, etc. used at a Sidoli feast

The munda itself often, though not always, bears the carved figure of a horseman. This reminds one of the glorification of the horse in the *Aśvamedha*. The 'noble' man, for whom the celebration is intended, is represented on horseback, because this looks respectable, even though he may never have sat on a horse during his life. The horse is not an animal domesticated by the Korkoos. And it was not different in the times of their forefathers, as an analysis of their culture clearly shows. As regards the horse, therefore, it seems quite clear that it began with the Indo-Aryans and led directly or indirectly to the Korkoos. But this one element, of course, cannot solve the problem independently of the other facts.

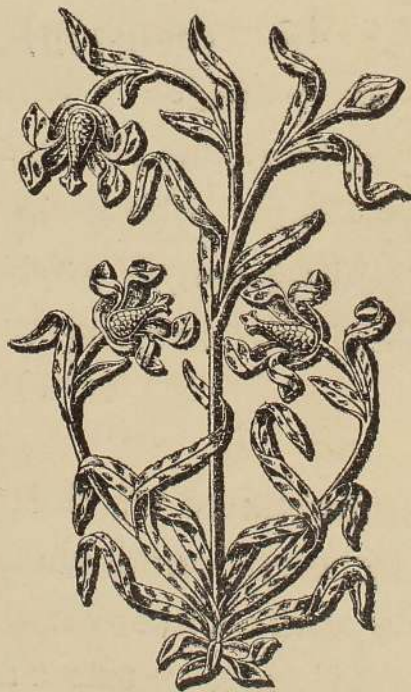
External peculiarities, to be found on every munda which I could examine, were the figures of the sun in the form of a circle and of the moon in the form of a sickle. It is to be noted that also the clothes and trousers of the Bhagats show the same symbols. Often, though not always, the top of the munda has the shape of a marriage-hut (*mandap*). The marriage-hut consists of nine posts under a roof of big leaves. It is always erected in front of the house and most of the wedding-ceremonies take place in it. Remembering the singing of wedding-songs during the Sidoli feast, we can easily explain the carving of a marriage-hut on the munda.

To show the importance of the problems we have discussed, it may be mentioned that the mundas of the Korkoos also have their counterpart in the so-called *Gatas* of the Bhils. These are memorial stones representing important personalities and are erected only by wealthy relatives of the deceased. As the mundas of the Korkoos are carved in wood, so the *gatas* of

the Bhils are always of stone ; they also have the figure of a horseman. I have so far found no exception to this rule. This is the more remarkable as the horse is bred neither by Bhils nor by Korkoos. There is certainly some real connexion between the mundas of the Korkoos and the gatas of the Bhils. But this question cannot be treated here, the more so as the examination of this problem is still going on.¹

Indore.

¹ This article was ready for publication when Fr. L. Jungblut, S. V. D., who is well versed in the ethnology of the Bhils, gave me the following surprising details : (1) In bringing the gata to the place where it is to be set up, the Bhils sing wedding-songs on the way, 'because of their great joy, similar to the joy on the occasion of a wedding'. (2) The gata-stone is wrapped in a white cloth while being brought along. The Bhils say this cloth reminds them of the funeral shroud, called *zaganathi*. (3) Before the horseman the figure of a woman is often carved on the stone, representing the wife, not the servant, of the deceased. This figure is called *Mundi*. The term *Mundi* is used only in this connexion and has no resemblance to the term 'woman' in the Bhil language. The man on horseback is called *hawar* (horseman), not *mando* !



THE NEW PORTUGAL

BY A. CORREIA FERNANDES

PORTUGAL has recently become the subject of very interesting political and economic literature, and many luminous studies of Salazar's personality and achievements have appeared. The principles on which Salazar has based his activities are derived from many sources. American individualism showed him the danger of powerful Trusts and the inefficiency of the policy of super-production and superabundant credit and of artificial valuations. The gigantic public expenditure of France and England's policy of excessive consumption combined with an intensive development of the credit system had not given economic stability to these countries or provided a cure for unemployment and trade depression. The excessive and aggressive nationalism of Germany and Italy did not suit the taste of a thinker whose mind had been moulded on the *Rerum Novarum*. The success of corporative life in the Middle Ages, the principle of the social responsibility of the wealth-owning classes, the responsibility of the State towards labour, and the utility of the institution of private property and private enterprise are some of the ingredients that make up the Salazar ideology, unfortunately tinged only too clearly by the cult of the race and by the dogma of class distinctions which are visible in his colonial administration.

It has often been said, particularly in Liberal countries, that Salazarism is on all fours with German Nazism or

with Italian Fascism. This is not true. In the first place, there are important, and in some cases even fundamental, differences between Nazism and Fascism, though they have, particularly in the economic and political fields, many principles and ideals in common. They even have a striking similarity in financial and administrative technique, but the differences are clear.

Portugal has at least outwardly and formally a democratic Constitution, with its President elected by a very extensive electoral college and its Parliament representing the voters. Apart from this democratic feature—which, it must be confessed, is somewhat unreal—Portugal has a fully written Constitution, while Fascist countries have no fundamental Statutes to regulate the life of all the departments of the State and to control the political obligations and rights of the citizens within the State. Besides, there is in Portugal a far more extensive individualism, economic and social, than is visible in Germany or even in Italy. There is less militarization. In fact, Army organization is confined to the defence forces of the country and has not yet invaded other spheres of national life. The citizen is considered as a unit by himself and the State as a large mutual-service organization rather than a military Leviathan organized and equipped for violence, fed on excessive nationalism, and capitalized by intense individual sacrifices, like Germany and (in a smaller degree) Italy. Capital, as well as private enterprise and initiative, is much less controlled in Portugal than it is in Germany and Italy. State intervention in the economic field has been recently increasing, but it has not assumed even half the proportion it has taken in Fascist countries. Though there is censorship, the Press has not been militarized, regimented, and controlled to the extent to which this is being done in some other countries. In the

moral field, the principles of Christian ethics find in Portugal an extensive acceptance. The Church is recognized as a beneficial institution worthy of support and respect, whereas under Nazism the cult of political mysticism has assumed the dimensions of a new religion. The revolt against reason is distinctly visible in Portugal, but it has not yet permeated all the fields of national life, as in Germany. The cult of violence, too, is absent in Portugal.

There are many other important differences in outlook, methods, and achievements between Salazarism and Fascism, but a discussion of them would take us too far afield. But like the Fascist countries Portugal has censorship of the Press, the suppression of multiple political parties, the organization of a single-party government, reduction of individual liberty in the field of political association, political action, and political propaganda. Individual freedom, however, in other walks of life—religious, social, and economic—is far more extensive there than it has ever been in the Fascist countries.

I shall refer in this article to the main features of the new Constitution which has attracted considerable attention in many countries and which is watched with much interest by students of political ideologies and constitutional experiments.

The recently amended Constitution of Portugal is in many respects a document of peculiar political and constitutional interest. It is neither parliamentary nor presidential, neither unitary nor federal, neither completely democratic nor essentially despotic. It has for its basis the principle that Governments are ultimately responsible to the people from whom they derive their power and sovereignty. At the same time, the principles of parliamentary government and liberal technique have

been profoundly modified in their application to the reconstruction of the leading organs of the State. The Constitution is a semi-rigid document, but its amendment does not require any special constitutional machinery or any excessive formality. Even recently it was amended with the same ease with which the Portuguese Parliament passes any ordinary legislative enactment.

The Constitution opens with the rights of the Portuguese citizen. These rights follow the lines of liberal democracies like France, Switzerland, and Belgium. The right to life, to reputation, to liberty, to the free expression of thought, to contract, to property, to public meeting, to association and worship are common to the Portuguese Constitution and every written constitution of democratic countries. What is peculiar to it is the importance which Section 4 gives to the family :

'The State shall ensure the constitution and protection of the family as the source of the maintenance and development of the race, the parliamentary basis of education, discipline and social harmony, and by its association and representation in the parish and the town, the foundation of all political and administrative order.'

The rights of the family, which have thus been given a definite political, juridical, and even economic status, consist of the right to marriage and legitimate offspring, equality of the rights and duties of husband and wife between themselves and towards their legitimate children, and such protection in the civil and criminal law of the country as is essential for the healthy growth of family life throughout the nation, based on the principle of service to the country and nursed by the ideals of the Catholic religion. Accordingly the Constitution undertakes

(i) to encourage the establishment of separate homes under healthy conditions, and the institution of the family household ;

(ii) to protect maternity; (iii) to adjust taxation in accordance with the legitimate family obligations and to promote the adoption of the family wage ; (iv) to assist parents in the discharge of their duties of instructing and educating their children, and to cooperate with them by means of public institutions for education and correction, or by encouraging private establishments destined for the same purpose ; (v) to take all precautions likely to avert the corruption of morals.

In a memorable speech explaining the basis of the new Constitution and its moral and social background, Dr. Salazar vigorously attacked the myth of the citizen as an abstraction on which the political liberalism of the nineteenth century had been based with such disastrous consequences to the moral and political heritage of the world. 'The citizen', he said, 'wrested away from his family, from his class, profession, and life, is an enormous fiction, an unfortunate myth.' On the contrary, the living reality, the eternal verity is the family, which is not only the cell of the social organization, but also the original nucleus of the parish, of the district, and therefore of the nation itself. 'It is for this reason', he added, 'that the Constitution must guarantee the effective formation, the full preservation, and complete right of all the members of the family as a distinct unit on which the very nation is based.'

The next important unit to which the new Portuguese Constitution devotes considerable attention is the corporative organization of the group as a distinct, independent, complete, and co-ordinate organ of federal society, which is a great human reality as opposed to the abstract general will on which the whole of political Rousseauism has been based. The corporative system was defined by the Catholic Union of Freiburg in 1884 as

'a regime of social organization having for its basis groups of men and women held together by the natural and common interest, by their social functions, and therefore having as a

D

natural corollary the right to public representation in the different political and other organs of the State'.

Article 16 of the Constitution says that it shall be the duty of the State to authorize corporative organizations for intellectual, social, and economic purposes, and to promote and assist their formation. Such organizations may have for their object scientific, literary, artistic, or physical activities, relief work, charity, technical improvement, trade-union spirit, and other common interests in which groups of citizens are involved in their legitimate social functions.

Several decrees passed either by the executive or the legislature have implemented this Article of the Constitution by elaborate regulations governing labour organizations, national syndicates, people's houses, importers' and exporters' organizations, fishermen's houses, social insurance, and other forms of group life to which at one time Follett had given significant importance in her criticism of liberal democracies.

Commenting on this principle of corporative organization of the New State, Dr. Salazar admits that Portugal was exceedingly backward in her group life and in her trade unions because the economic conditions of the country were almost primitive. Whereas, therefore, in Germany and Italy corporative organization aims at the suppression of trade-union feeling and the removal of unfriendly and hostile relations between capital and labour, the Portuguese Constitution seeks to build up what did not exist before and to base the social and economic functions of the State on the creation of strong, healthy, autonomous groups working harmoniously together for the common weal :

'The thought which should dominate the corporative organization is to co-ordinate the corporations, unions, and federations of an economic character both of labour and of capital, existing

either spontaneously or created by the State, so as to remove them from the slippery path of internal competition and struggle, and harness them to the higher and nobler interests and services of the State.'

At the same time the State should protect the moral and material rights of the working classes and recognize that, since labour is a great factor in the creation of wealth, it has a right to be associated with all wealth-creating activities. It is on the realization of this principle that progress and social peace will depend. But the State reserves to itself the right to regulate in the way it thinks best the interrelations between capital and labour and between these two and society. But it does not interfere with the normal economic activities of the citizen unless they are of a dangerous or excessively acquisitive character. Art. 35 of the Constitution says :

'As long as property, capital, and labour fulfil a social duty in a system of economic co-operation and in accordance with the national interests, the State will leave them alone.'

But any exploitation of one by the other will call forth the State's active interference so as to redress a grievance or injustice. Collective labour contracts with a minimum wage also have a place in the Constitution.

Portugal is the fourth largest colonial Power in the world. Three large slices of Africa and a colonial population of over ten millions encompassing an area of about a million square miles, form her Colonial Empire. She has important colonies in East and West Africa and smaller ones in India, the Atlantic Ocean, and China. These colonies have been attached to Portugal for several hundreds of years and have formed part of the Portuguese Empire more or less as equal members, since Portugal, a little over a hundred years ago, liberalized her constitution and introduced parliamen-

tary institutions. The establishment of the Portuguese Republic in 1910 saw the development of semi-parliamentary institutions in the colonies with considerable administrative and financial decentralization.

Unfortunately, however, the new Corporative State has in a large measure reversed these traditions of liberal government. There is now a very close financial and administrative control. Previous to the establishment of the Portuguese dictatorship, Portuguese finances in the colonies were in a perilous condition. Financial disruption, administrative inefficiency, the system of spoils, political jobbery and corruption, recurring deficits, inefficient and dishonest financial administration were rife since the end of the last war. Salazar's administration selected Dr. Armindo Monteiro, the present Portuguese ambassador at St. James's, as the first Colonial Minister to visit the colonies and personally supervise the financial reforms which he decreed to meet colonial deficits and purge the administration of its most obvious defects.

But these measures of financial hygiene were followed by colonial legislation of a racial type based on the principle of superiority-complex and unequal treatment. The Colonial Act tore away the fine tradition of Portuguese liberalism and promised to Portuguese colonies a perpetual tutelage under the guidance and control of Portugal. It also invented a number of citizenships, thus creating two broad divisions among what had always been considered as citizens of the same empire—Continental citizenship of Portugal and Colonial citizenship of the Empire. In addition, the military law and organization has given a subordinate place to the inhabitants of the colonies, whether they are descendants from Portuguese families or indigenous inhabitants. In Portugal itself the atmosphere in political and adminis-

trative circles has not been quite friendly to those people from the colonies who in virtue of their education, industry, and activity are able to compete successfully with the Portuguese in their own homeland. The local administration in the colonies is excessively centralized, and the Colonial Councils of Government have very few legislative functions. They are advisory bodies with restricted legislative powers subject to the veto of the Governor and then to the veto of the Colonial Minister.

Such a political situation, having for its basis an inferior status even for those colonies which, like Portuguese India, compare very favourably not only with other colonies of Portugal but even with Portugal herself, has naturally created widespread discontent and accounts for the want of enthusiasm in the colonies for the great achievements of the Portuguese dictatorship in the mother country. Corporative principles of economic organization have not been in any way implemented in the Portuguese legislation dealing with the colonies. And thus it happens that though the colonies have achieved financial equilibrium, their economic progress has been insignificant and their colonial status has suffered a decline.

Besides this unfortunate illiberalism which has flowered forth in racial legislation and excessive centralization, there are other points which deserve notice. Portugal's statesmen, and particularly Dr. Salazar, have recently repeated with all the emphasis at their command that Portuguese colonies are bits of Portugal herself and that they are merely an extension of the mother country, living on a footing of perfect equality with its own citizens. In practice, however, this sound principle has suffered many breaches. Besides, it is not entirely a wise principle even if accepted as one of the corner-stones

of Portuguese liberalism. Different colonies have their own problems, economic, administrative, financial, and cultural. The unification of colonial legislation produces anomalies and acts as a deterrent to their economic and even cultural progress. For colonies like those in India are equipped for a larger measure of decentralization—administrative, political, and financial.

The organization of the educational system, too, is unitary and common to the whole Empire. This system has created a divorce between the intelligentsia and the people of the country. It has stunted the growth of the mind and narrowed the outlook of the people. It has not produced regional literature, culture, and thought deriving its strength and inspiration from the soil. On the contrary, it has acted as a disturbing factor in the organization of agricultural and everyday life. The study of local problems—economic, financial, political, and educational—is neglected in favour of an omnibus system based on the honest belief that 'what is good for Portugal is also good for Portuguese colonies'. The mobilization of local intelligence for the solution of local problems requires an educational and intellectual technique which can be produced and developed only on a local basis.

The introduction of uniform measures, economic, financial, or administrative, for all the colonies has been one of the greatest defects of recent Portuguese administration which deserves the serious attention of Portuguese statesmen. There is a vast field for the inauguration of a policy of adaptation of principles to the requirements and conditions of the people in the colonies.

Bombay.

BASIC FOR INDIA

BY T. N. SIQUEIRA

THE use of the word *Basic* in connexion with the Wardha Scheme of primary education and with Dr. Laubach's method of attaining adult literacy is characteristic of this decade. The recent search for a universal language was followed by the search for a method which would find out what is fundamental or essential and teach that first, leaving the student thus trained to build up the rest by himself. The universal language has not yet been invented, for the sufficient reason that the universal man has not yet been born ; but the *basic* pedagogic in language as well as other subjects is fast developing step by step with experimental child and adult psychology, linguistics, and grammar.

In India there is a special reason for the advocacy of Basic. Besides the accelerated *tempo* of modern life there is the poverty and the backwardness, the urgent need of economy in time and money if India is to make up for lost time and fulfil her organic evolution into *swaraj*, and the unequalled heterogeneousness of her people. There is therefore more than a superficial appropriateness in the advocacy of a basic education for India. It is for this reason that a recent book on *Basic and the Teaching of English in India*¹ deserves more than the usual notice.

We need not here enter the lists in the controversy whether the *Basic Way* books are better than Dr.

¹ By Adolph Myers. Pp. 375. Bombay : The Times of India Press. Price Rs. 5. A wise and practical, though somewhat repetitious book.

Michael West's *New Method Readers* or Faucett's *Oxford English Course* or Tipping's *Rapid Readers*. This controversy has gone on for some years with a gain in heat rather than in light, and need not end unless there is agreement on the starting-point and the terminus of the teaching in question. We in India are more concerned with the usefulness of the Basic method in the present circumstances of elementary and adult education in this country ; to this small field we shall therefore confine our discussion.

Here, however, the difficulty of choosing a language at once presents itself. Both primary and adult and even secondary instruction should be imparted through the medium of the mother tongue : and there are so many of these in India. We shall therefore speak of English *as a second language*, so that the principles here enunciated may be applicable to English as well as (with the necessary adaptation) to the Indian living languages in primary, secondary, and adult schools.¹

I

Every child begins to learn a *second language*—i. e. one that is not his mother tongue²—with certain unavoidable handicaps. He has no start of vocabulary or usage. The Indian child has the same handicap in learning English : while his seven-year-old English brother has a start of about 5,000 English words, which he has heard used (more or less correctly) and some of which he can himself use, he has to begin with an English capital of *zero*. His mind-age is 7 ; his Bengali or Tamil or Marathi word-age is 7 ; his English word-age is no more than at birth. This handicap cannot be made

¹ These principles are so fundamental that they are true also of non-language subjects and even of handicrafts.

² By mother tongue is meant the language (or dialect) which the child continually hears and speaks at home.

up without putting an intolerable strain on the child's constitution or sacrificing his progress in other subjects—indeed, it can never be made up, for the disparity between mind-age and word-age increases instead of lessening with time and experience. The difference between the Indian child's English word-hoard (to use a favourite Anglo-Saxon compound) and the English child's, which was 5,000 at the age of 7, becomes 7,000 at the age of 11, 9,000 at 15, and 16,500 at 21.¹

It is thus a hopeless race, for the best time for acquiring the sounds and idioms of a language is between the ages of 3 and 7. Language-learning is not just a question of remembering words—which an adult could do better than a child by dint of stronger will. It is a perception of shades of meaning, *nuances* of difference between what the dictionary considers as synonyms, occasions when one word is used (without knowing or being able to say why) rather than another, idioms, etc.—which may be summed up as the 'idiosyncrasy' (in its Greek sense) or personality of a language. As the child grows up, his perception of these fine distinctions gets blunted, or at any rate he needs much more effort to develop it and can never quite outlive his initial handicap. The English child of seven, for instance, has already heard and used many words which the dictionary lumps under 'noise'—din, clatter, roar, uproar, rattle, racket, hubbub, clang; words for 'great' which certainly cannot be used indiscriminately (big, huge, vast, large, immense, gigantic, enormous, portentous); words which express the same idea of communication but are as different in use as can be (tell, say, state, assert, narrate, declare, mention, observe, remark, inform, announce);

¹ I do not claim more accuracy for these numbers than such computations possess. Incidentally, they explain why foreigners who begin to learn a language as adults can never (except in extraordinary cases of genius) know it as well as those who have learnt it from childhood.

even in a more limited sphere, verbs like reply, answer, retort, which cannot be used alike though they convey the same *idea*.

What is required, therefore, for those who start with a handicap is a pedagogical method by which they may, not make up for their handicap (for this is impossible), but not suffer too much by it. This can only be done by a *selection* of the vocabulary they are to read, speak, and write, for they cannot acquire the whole vocabulary with profit. To learn words and idioms out of dictionary or phrase-book without at the same time seeing them used in their right context and practising their use in one's own speech and writing under competent supervision, may be a service done to *Punch* but not to the ambitious learner.

Selection, however, can be made on diverse principles. West, Thorndike, Palmer, Faucett, Tipping proceed on the principle of counting the number of individual, independent words which may form a 'minimum vocabulary' for an educated man. In the latest edition of Professor Thorndike's *Teacher's Word-List*, for example, 20,000 words are counted as necessary on the basis of the frequency with which they appear in current literature. Palmer's list is only 1,000, West's 1,400, Faucett's 2,500, Tipping's 5,000.

These lists may not be excessive in number, but their usefulness depends on whether they are enough to enable the student to speak and write for himself; for words are not learnt for memory-training or parrot-display but for practical use, and practice requires time and opportunity. The longer the minimum word-list, therefore, the less likely it is that the student will be able to turn it from a dead weight on his memory into a living weapon with which to express his own thoughts. Hence the test of a word-list is whether while being as short

as possible it contains truly key-words—which can be made to do the most work and all the work.

II

By this test, however, the word-counting methods represented by West, Faucett, Palmer, Tipping, and Thorndike are less satisfactory than the Basic. The characteristic of this system is panoptic elimination—i. e. the elimination of all those words which, looked at from central word, appear in some relation to it which can be briefly expressed. 'Dog' being the centre, for instance, 'bitch' and 'pup' are unnecessary because their sex- and time-relation to 'dog' can be expressed without distinct words; 'desk' is eliminated, since 'writing table' does quite as well. Thus only those words are kept in the Basic list which are the most inclusive in meaning—having a literal as well as one or more metaphorical senses. In this respect 'branch', for example, is more basic than 'bough', and 'watch' than 'clock'.

Panoptic elimination has led to the discovery that 850 words are enough to express all the ideas normally covered by the 25,000 words used by the average adult Englishman. Out of these 850, 600 are names of things, or nouns (400 general and 200 picturable), 150 are names of qualities, or adjectives (of which 100 are pairs of opposites, like *sweet-bitter*, *hot-cold*), and 100 are either operators (like *go*, *have*, *be*) or directives (like *if*, *on*, *here*).¹ This classification looks complicated, but the words themselves are simple, concrete, and elastic. By adding the suffix *-er*, *-ing*, *-ed* they can be stretched without ambiguity (e. g. *mover*, *moving*, *moved*); they can be compounded (e. g. *birthday*, *overland*); they can be

¹ To be exact, there are 10 operators, 3 operator-auxiliaries, 2 auxiliaries, 3 verbs, 20 directives; and the remaining 62 are comprising pronouns, articles, qualifiers, conjunctions, and words like *where*, *why*, etc. Cf. Adolph Myers, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

extended to include other meanings (e. g. letter, lift). For purposes of science a short additional list (of at most 50 words) may be supplied which will be much shorter and simpler than any other system can find.

The advantage of Basic over other systems is that it really fulfils all ordinary needs, while even with a 'defining-list' of 1,400 words Dr. West finds himself short of 91 words and 63 usages, besides 357 double-definition words. With only 850 Basic words to start with, the student can devote much more time to practice *at the same level* before rising to a higher level—having a smaller denominator, he can divide the numerator much oftener. Instead of learning a large number of words without knowing how to use them, the beginner has only a few to manage and can thus gain suppleness and accuracy in using them to express all his thoughts.

The difficulty, however, is that the Basic Way presupposes books and papers similarly made of all-Basic material. It does not open the lock of literature, still less of science: it even, in so far as it restricts itself to 850 words, closes the wide world of writing to Basic students. It is a cotton-wool jacket which, the longer it is worn, the more difficult it makes exposure to the cold free air.

This is the only serious argument against the Basic Way—that it is a narrow way. It must be admitted that it is meant only for beginners or those who lack either the time or the ability to proceed further to the integral language. It is a *way*, not a *goal*. The members of the Orthological Institute are aware that this method is only a second best; and in advocating it for India we do not intend to oust the real full-blooded languages to which it is only a first step. With its 850 words the *beginner* (whether

child or adult) can express all his own ideas—which is the primary object of language—and understand most (not all) ideas expressed by others.

This is all that is claimed for Basic. It has the advantage of being, not a new language, but a simpler form of the complete language of which it is the basis. It is therefore not an obstacle to the later, fuller stage of study, since nothing in it is to be unlearned or renounced, much less denounced, in further study. If it were an artificial language (like *Esperanto*), different from that of common and literary use, it would be a hindrance to progress. But, like the basic education proposed by the Wardha Scheme, it claims to be only a foundation, allowing for and even leading to the complete superstructure.

Another point in Basic's favour is that it is purer, more native than the complete language : basic English, for example, is genuine, crisp, salty Anglo-Saxon, free from ugly sprawling borrowings ; basic Hindi, Gujarati, Bengali, Tamil would rejoice the hearts of the pundits, now bleeding at the sight of unholy foreigners in disguise. This means that Basic is closer to the spoken, *living* language, and therefore more real, simple, concrete, picturesque, coloured, than the language of literature and science.

But the limitations which Basic imposes cannot be denied. The student who knows only Basic English, for instance, can appreciate

Making the green one red

but not the magnificent line before it :

The multitudinous seas incarnadine.

Whether it is better to know a few words perfectly or more words imperfectly, is not easy to decide, for it depends on the object in view, the state of development of the subject, and the circumstances in

which he is placed. But like all simplifications Basic does, in trying to overcome one handicap, impose another. It makes a literature of its own necessary, at least during the stage at which it is adopted. And this is not just the usual inevitable graduation of Readers and Steps but a *change* of vocabulary, grammar, and syntax which for those children or adults who do not go beyond the Basic stage will be permanent. Mr. Adolph Myers gives a comparison of the first sentence of Lamb's Tale of 'The Merchant of Venice' according to the Oxford English Course and the Basic system, which is worth reproducing to drive home the point I am making :

<i>Lamb</i>	<i>Oxford Course</i>	<i>Basic</i>
Shylock the Jew lived at Venice. He was an usurer who had amassed an immense fortune by lending money at great interest to Christian traders.	Shylock the Jew lived in Venice. He was a money-lender of the worst kind. He would wait until a merchant was in trouble and needed money badly ; then he would lend the money at a high rate of interest.	Shylock the Jew had a house in Venice. He was a money-trader. He let Christian traders have the use of his money at a high rate of interest and in this way he had become very well-off.

Apart from the loss of euphony in 'The *Trader* of Venice', the roundaboutness of the 'simpler' versions is obvious. But to one who reads them for the first time and has no literary fondness for Lamb it is not at all obvious that they will mean a loss either of sense or even of power. Perhaps Lamb is too idiosyncratic a writer to be taken as a test-case. Still even in this example the inferiority of the Basic to the *Oxford Course* vocabulary or even to the original will be difficult to prove. If, however, we leave art out of consideration and think only of the language of utility—journallese or business speech or even scientific description—Basic is immensely clearer and briefer and nearer to the reality, and educationally sounder than

the unnecessarily difficult language of even ordinary books and papers to-day. There is no doubt, for instance, that the following rule for railway engine-drivers :

'If in consequence of a fog or storm or for any other reason the view of signals is obstructed, the driver shall take every possible precaution especially when approaching a station or junction so as to have the train well under control.'

bears no comparison with the Basic

'If a driver has not a good view of his signals, he will go as slowly as necessary to keep out of danger.'

III

Basic is thus an excellent training in *précis*-writing, in clear and simple thought and direct expression. Its limitation to a small vocabulary may lead to a certain monotony and circumlocution ; but the total gain to the student outweighs the loss.

Basic is also an unconscious training in the use of idiomatic inflexions and constructions. The direct method of teaching English has failed in India because the Indian child does not hear and speak English at home and therefore cannot learn the use of the constructions he sees and hears at school. The result is the confusion of different idioms, phrases, and constructions into a polychromatic language which deserves tears rather than laughter. Basic restricts him to just 3 verbs, 2 auxiliaries, and 20 directives. This may produce the inelegance and slight inaccuracy of

I have got the door shut

for

I have shut the door

but, after all, as Dr. Henry Bradley shows,¹ the Old English way of expressing the perfect or pluperfect tense, which continued till the fourteenth century, was 'I have the

¹ *The Making of English*, p. 67.

door shut', where *have* was used in its primary sense and *shut* was a participle agreeing with the object, *door*. Hence the clumsiness of some Basic constructions can be excused on the ground of the qualitative simplification they effect. To quote Mr. Adolph Myers :

'Just as in learning the Basic words (the *simplest* words) first, he (i. e. the Indian student) is following the same line of linguistic development as that of the English child ; just as in learning the Basic words (the *Anglo-Saxon* words) first, he is following the same line of linguistic development as that of the English vocabulary ; so in practising with the Basic (*historically earlier*) constructions first, he is following the same line of linguistic development as that of the English language as a whole.'¹

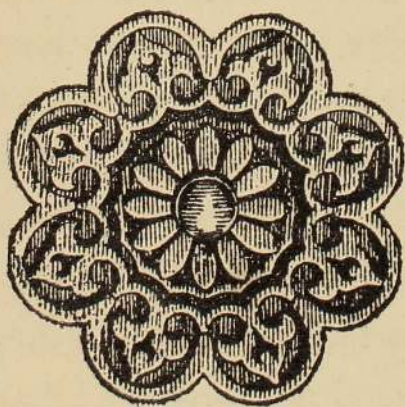
So far I have had English in mind as a second language to be taught in India through the Basic way. This, however, was only an example. The method can be applied to any Indian language as well. All that is required is that a group of scholars who know both the literature and the grammar of that language should form a Basic Institute and apportion the work of choosing the minimum vocabulary and compiling a Grammar, a Dictionary, and a series of books and papers on the Basic plan. Out of the hundreds of synonyms found in our classics for elephant, lotus, woman, tank, water, bee, house, and other favourite words on which the memory and resourcefulness of *vidwans* and *mahâmahopâdhyâyas* has so long been exercised, they should choose one ; instead of slapping their thighs in the ecstasy of weaving clause within clause and piling simile on simile, they should chain themselves to the simple subject-predicate-object construction ; instead of keeping a haughty aloofness and putting their pride in purple patches from the Sanskrit and other ancient languages, they should rather put it in making their learning accessible and use-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

ful to their unlettered countrymen. The compilers of Lexicons in various Indian languages and the members of the Oriental Faculty in our universities could usefully imitate the example of their Cambridge and London brethren and blaze the Basic trail to Hindustani, Bengali, Tamil, Malayalam. Literacy and adult education will then—and not till then—be within measurable distance of reality in this immense and poor country.

Still, Basic is by its very nature a low diet—not the hard red meat of the strong. It is intrinsically a concession, an admission. And herein lies its only weakness. As a pedagogical method of tempering the wind to the shorn lamb it is useful and even necessary. But it can never be a substitute for a real living language. India needs it in her present slow convalescence from illiteracy and poverty. Whether applied to English (as in Hyderabad) or to any living Indian language (as Dr. Laubach is trying to do), it will speed up elementary and adult education and (within the limits I have pointed out) will serve as a safe and useful half-way house—but not a terminus—in the education of India.

Calcutta.



F

EDWARD BENEŠ

BY O. FORST DE BATTAGLIA

EDWARD Beneš has left his fatherland, cursed by a few and regretted by many ; it is around him that the attempt to build a new Czechoslovakia will centre and Czech patriotic aspirations will crystallize. He shares in the universal sympathy which goes to his country ; yet an impartial historian must admit that he has not only been the leader and mouthpiece of his people but also the chief architect of their present misfortune. The part he has played in the past and his mistakes should help to prevent future mistakes ; and the actual underground movement for the resuscitation of Czechoslovakia gives his career a very special interest.

In mind and temperament Beneš belonged to a world that no longer exists ; he preached to the Czechs a doctrine that could not, or should not, have been theirs. This learned sociologist, who could talk half a dozen languages with great ease but with a wretched accent, was fit to rule over the Republic of Laputa and possibly over Plato's or Aristotle's Republic, but certainly not over Masaryk's republic surrounded by Hitler's Germany, Pilsudski's Poland, and Horthy's Hungary. One might fancy him administering a free Ireland, or rather some lucky island protected by the sea and the British Fleet, and making his wards marvel at his many-sided knowledge and his fervid humanitarianism. Beneš was an Anglo-Saxon glowing with sentimental optimism, a spiritually-intentioned modernist, a bourgeois socialist, with the

mentality of a non-conformist minister running a Sunday school. But by an irony of history this Britisher was indirectly let down by those other representatives of Anglo-Saxondom, the men of Oxford and Cambridge, of Canterbury and Windsor.

Had Czechoslovakia been a country apart and well guarded against its neighbours, he would have been an ideal leader and ruler ; simple and learned, aiming at an elegance of his own, with a modesty which hid a notorious vanity, he would have appealed irresistibly to the Czech ideal of a ruler. When the Slavs of the Austrian monarchy first dreamt of independence in 1848, a certain peasant aspired after the Presidentship ; when he saw his wife scrubbing the floor, he rebuked her with : 'Get up, thou shalt be Lady President.' The little Edward Beneš was educated in a similar atmosphere.

He was a poor peasants' son, and owed to Masaryk his university career. As a young *Privat-dozent* he published books that attracted considerable attention and secured for him a university chair and a charming middle-class wife. Instead of being satisfied with this, he fancied he had the soul of Huss and of Zizka and the vocation of a conspirator as well as the talents of a statesman. He shared with Masaryk and Ernest Denis, with his masters of Prague and Dijon, Vienna and Paris, the conviction that Austria must disappear, that monarchies would make way for social republics, and that Czech independence would be part of this general movement.

He became one of the leading lights of the Maffia. He has recounted his activities during the Great War in his *Confessions*. Shorn of all literary and patriotic ornament, the story comes to this : won over to the idea of breaking up Austria-Hungary probably as early as 1912, Masaryk and his friends organized a vast plot to wreck the defence of the Habsburg Empire and to help its

enemies. The Austrian police, well-informed but very hesitant, gave Beneš a chance of escaping court-martial. He was warned of his impending arrest and ran away to Switzerland. Geneva and Paris were the two main scenes of his comfortable exile ; but he and his friends soon won the favour of their hosts, and played the part of high-class spies in which blackmail, bribery, and purloining were not unknown.

In a review he then edited called '*La Nation Tchèque*', the future President of Czechoslovakia taught an original kind of history and geography : he spoke of the unity of the Czech people which nobody had yet suspected, and of wonderful frontiers which could be drawn in the name of nationalism and self-determination. Publicists like the Denises and the Seton-Watsons supported these claims at a time when almost all the Czech representatives, bourgeois as well as socialist, did not aspire after any more than autonomy within the Habsburg Monarchy.

Beneš and Stefanik succeeded in creating an atmosphere of revolt and passive resistance which brought about mass desertions of soldiers, bourgeois discontent, workers' strikes, and parliamentary obstruction. When the hour struck at the end of October 1918, the Maffia could reap what four years of patient effort had sown. The Czechoslovak State was born under the high patronage of Freemasonry, of which the Czech conspirators were either members or tools. Beneš was not to blame if the frontiers of his Republic did not touch Berlin or include Vienna and Budapest. He really tried his best and claimed the whole of Bohemia, the whole of Moravia, the whole of Silesia (consisting of Czechs, Germans, and Poles) ; he did demand, on the national principle, the whole of Slovakia—Slovak, Magyar, and German ; he even, in the name of a treaty signed by mandataries without mandates, annexed Subcarpathian Russia (Ruth-

enian, Magyar, German, and Jewish) ; he held Budapest and Vienna under the range of the Czech guns ; and in spite of his Hussite pacifism and his discipleship of Komensky, he gave his countrymen a taste for army life and advocated disarmament only for Germans, Magyars, and Poles.

But soon the State he had built up was not enough to occupy his creative energy : he began to think in terms of continents. As his country's permanent Minister for Foreign Affairs (he was President of the Council for only a brief space) he little by little undertook the real direction of Danubian politics and became the guiding spirit of the Little Entente. The Quai d'Orsay fell under his spell ; a politician of the French Left even said that the French Foreign Office looked out not on the Seine but on the Vltava (the Moldau). Soon Beneš was directing the politics of all Europe. At Geneva he ranked with Briand and Stresemann, Titulesco and Paul-Boncour ; he was the champion of collective security and of the *statu quo*.

Feeling the strength of his position he opposed any attempt at genuine collaboration between the Danubian States. He believed in the strength of the Weimar Republic and foretold the fall of Italian Fascism ; he used all his power to prevent the restoration of the Habsburgs and any vindication of Hungary. This foreign policy had its counterpart at home : Beneš's friends would not give the minorities in the country (though they were fifty per cent of the population) any share in government, or the autonomy which the malcontents were claiming the more insistently as European conditions became more favourable to them. Beneš showed himself one of the warmest champions of a unitary Czechoslovak State, which can be defended neither on moral nor on military grounds. This citizen of the

world, this great humanitarian had inherited from his Hussite ancestors a fanatical messianic chauvinism ; but he also owed to them that stubborn confidence in the victory of the good Czech cause, that strength which nerves small oppressed nations (also ready to oppress others), that quality which Viennese wits called *böhmischer Dickshädel* (Bohemian pigheadedness).

The confidant of Masaryk and in fact the joint head of the State, Beneš incessantly professed his optimism. All was well ; all would be better. The Little Entente would hold together ; the murder of Alexander was a misfortune, but politically a trifle ; the Nazi threat to Austria was not to be taken seriously, given the attitude of Mussolini and the Anglo-French decree. The Third Reich was a venture without a future ; there would even be a provisional compromise with the NSDAP. Let all proletarians and emigrants from all countries come to Prague, unite and make their propaganda at a quarter of an hour's flying distance from the German frontier. The Sudeten Germans were a fine lot who would be satisfied with a few representatives in a republican coalition Government ; Henlein was an obscure agent of Hitler's ; the Sudeten Party, a crowd easily won or scattered. For the eye of the Lord watches, through a triangle, over the one and indivisible Czechoslovakia. To every lord, to the League of Nations, to the two protective Powers, France and Britain, all honour. Honour also to His Majesty Carol II, guest and ally of Czechoslovakia, to Mr. Ievtitch in Belgrade, to the priceless (price-less ?) Titu, to the glorious U.S.S.R. at last converted to Slavism and democracy. But let fire from heaven fall on the legions of the Carnival Caesar which ravage the Abyssinian hills.

Beneš left Geneva in high dudgeon but found a sweet promotion waiting for him at home. Masaryk had always

marked him out—his favourite pupil—as his successor. But even Masaryk's influence did not disarm all opposition to his candidate. The nationalists of Karel Kramár's group hated him as the friend of Communists, the cosmopolitan, and above all the rival who had so far thrown into the shade their great man, the undisputed chief of the Czech people, the martyr to Austrian justice. The Agrarians had long claimed for one of themselves the honour of succeeding Masaryk ; their leader Svehla would certainly have been elected President of the Republic if a tragic death had not overtaken him after a long and painful agony. These Agrarians, the most numerous Czech group, had little sympathy for an ex-Marxist who had turned a radical bourgeois of the Popular Front type. Finally, the Catholics saw in Beneš, if not the atheistic materialist of old, at any rate an apostate, a fervent Hussite, a smasher of 'l'Infâme', a dutiful son of the 'Widow'. As to the Germans, three-fourths of whom belonged at this time to the Government majority, they had not forgotten Beneš's attitude during and immediately after the War. Even the Communists had no tender feelings for him : was he not just a socialist patriot ?

But Beneš's diplomacy won a great triumph—his most brilliant, but also his last. Kramár's party was defeated in the Presidential election ; the Agrarians agreed to a compromise ; their leader, M. Hodza, who would later succeed Beneš (when he became President of the Council), was entrusted with the formation of the Government. Moreover, the Agrarians and the other bourgeois parties were placated with the promise of a non-socialist programme. At the same time Beneš managed to win the good graces not only of the Second International but even, for motives of foreign policy expressly dictated by Moscow, of the Czech communists. And the Catholics were won over with a promise to respect the Church's

rights and a vague profession of the Christian faith. Beneš secured a crushing majority consisting of Czech nationalists and Germans, Catholics, and Communists, Henlein's party holding aloof.

Beneš's rule was successful enough at home as far as the Czechs were concerned. He quietly did away with the remnants of socialistic tendencies (the so-called Czech Communism is a piece of Nazi propaganda); he kept on good terms with the Church, he co-operated more sincerely than one would have expected with M. Hodza. But in foreign politics he repeated as President his errors as Foreign Minister: he deluded himself into the same naïve optimism; he did not learn any lesson from what was happening in Germany; he welcomed the Front Populaire in France, and failed to foresee the outcome of the Blum experiment. At the decisive moment he declared his preference for the Austrian *Anschluss* rather than help the Emperor Otto to return; he neglected to come to terms with Italy, Poland, and Hungary. Like his countryman Count Taaffe in Austria, he let things, men, and catastrophes come.

We need not retell the recent crisis of Czechoslovakia—the refusal of the claims of M. Henlein and Mgr. Hlinka, the inexcusable hesitations and backslidings, for which Beneš was primarily responsible. Yet he did not deserve all the insults the Führer heaped upon him; never did the stolid humanitarian, the dreamy pacifist, the admirer of Chelcicky, Komensky, and Masaryk, intend to unleash a war or even persecute national minorities. His mistake was that he cradled himself in the hope that Germany would never dare to use force and, if it did, would be prevented by France, Britain, and Russia combined. Like Schuschnigg he underrated the irresistible force of National-Socialism and the resourcefulness of its followers. He failed to gauge the chic-

anery and the vexatious police and economic measures taken against Magyars, Poles, and Germans ; and he failed to read the Slovak soul. Such was the fault, we may even say the crime, of Beneš. He has paid for it with his political death ; we hope the expiation will stop there ; but we need not turn into a hero an unwilling victim who has merely yielded to force.

Some writers, mostly in France, surround him with a halo ; they picture him as one who willingly retired in order not to be an obstacle to his country's resurrection, a kind of Cincinnatus whom his weeping compatriots would accompany into his Sezimovo Usti exile. The truth is very different. Beneš had hoped that Hitler's attacks would make him the symbol and centre of a united Czech resistance. That is why he substituted General Syrový for M. Hodza. Syrový is no Communist, as Nazi propaganda would make him ; he is not even a Sovietophile ; he is a ferocious Czech patriot, an ambitious man and a soldier little given to political or moral subtleties. Professor Krofta was to be in charge of the Foreign Department—Prof. Krofta was in Prague called 'His Master's Voice', and was at any rate the right hand and even the brain of Beneš. But Syrový would be Premier. General Syrový had his own strategy in the political field ; he became famous with his Siberian *anabasis* where he executed one of his temperamental *volte-faces*. Admiral Koltchak was overthrown, captured, and executed, thanks to the readiness of the Czech Commandant to change his opinions. Syrový lost Koltchak, but he saved his life and even a goodly sum of Bolshevik money which he brought into the Czech treasury. This was the second time the Communist Russians paid the price while Germany won the victory.

The Munich Agreement showed Czechoslovakia that she could no longer rely on the protectors of Beneš but

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was at the mercy of the Third Reich. The Agrarians were the first to realize this ; and General Syrový agreed with them. Berlin, Rome, and Warsaw all urged a change of foreign policy—which meant the dismissal of M. Krofta. Syrový went with him. One would have expected Beneš to resign at once ; but he would not abandon his country. Summary means were necessary. General Syrový himself led the attacks throughout the 4th and on the morning of the 5th October. First there was a revolution in Beneš's own party, the national-socialist group (which must not be confused with the Czech Fascists, the deadly enemies of Beneš). M. Zenkl, mayor of Prague and minister under General Syrový, begged Beneš to resign ; then the Czech Youth delegates requested him to resign ; finally General Krejčí, Commander-in-Chief, forced him to sign his resignation. He did so in the early hours of October 5, and the public were informed of it by General Syrový in a radio talk at 5 p.m. Beneš, retired to private life, left for Sezimovo Ústí, his country house, after taking leave of his countrymen in a last speech.

His has been a full career : three years planning the destruction of the Habsburg Monarchy, three years shaping Czech foreign policy, three years presiding over the republic he had planned and created with Masaryk. The fate of this man who was extraordinarily intelligent, dangerously clever, and incurably optimistic should be a lesson for future generations. It will teach them that every political mistake bears within itself the seeds of its own punishment : the destruction of monarchical and 'clerical' Austria-Hungary necessarily led to the final fall of the Masonic Anti-Austria-Hungary which took its place. The story of Beneš also proves that 'Better late than never' is not always true, for one may be *too* late.

The old materialist socialist was too late in dissociating himself from Communism and preferring to it not merely the vague and deistic Christianity of Masaryk but even genuine Catholicism. This relentless enemy of the Habsburgs, this wrecker of every Danubian Confederation, this merciless minister who denied the Magyars any concession came one day to realize that almost any other policy would have been better than his stubborn ideological illusions. He befriended the Weimar Republic and prophesied an early collapse of the Third Reich, without understanding the unchangeableness of Germany. He has learned much about Stalinia. He may now mourn the lost occasions of conciliating Poland, Hungary, Italy, and of saving an independent Austria. His doctrine, his temperament, his people deserved a better fate ; but why did they follow the ancient philosopher's advice that philosophers should rule over States ?

If Czechoslovakia has been punished for her harsh treatment of Austria-Hungary, she has passed on to her tormentors the same legacy of ill-acquired goods. Let the Germans remember the *Ring of the Nibelungen* or the saying of their poet :

Das ist der Fluch der bösen Tat,
Dass sie forzeugend Böses muss gebären.¹

Has Beneš, himself both godfather and undertaker of the first Czechoslovakia, understood the harsh lessons of recent history ? We hope so, but we venture to doubt it. The conception of the Czechoslovak State ignores the teaching of history and geography. We believe that the Czechs will rise again ; possibly Beneš will bring about their resurrection ; but we also foresee the disasters that will attend it.

Brussels.

¹ Cursed be an evil deed, for it *must* beget a line of evils.

THE HYDERABAD FRANCHISE

BY M. RUTHNASWAMY

THE Hyderabad Reforms Committee has suggested a new kind of electoral system. It is not an attempt at originality so much as the product of an honest desire to suggest a system of constituting the representative legislature of Hyderabad that will be in keeping with the circumstances of the country and the political condition of the people. It is born also out of a thorough dissatisfaction with the system of territorial constituencies so common and widespread in modern times. This system has led to the representation of numbers rather than of the organic life of the people, of the people counted by the head as atomic units, not as members of living associations of men. Modern individualism has reduced the people of a State into so many atomistic individuals having little or no spiritual or organic connexion with one another. And it is the sum of the votes of these atoms that make up the representation of a people in a national legislature. At the same time modern industrialism has vastly increased the population of cities and added to the numerical and inorganic character of modern representation. And as this system of inorganic representation has been taking place in the *campus* of the old historical, territorial constituency, a recent opposition—such as is illustrated in the findings of the Hyderabad Reforms Committee—has begun to be raised.

The territorial constituency is not only historical, but it is based on sound principles. As soon as the world

grew out of the city-State into the larger country-State, representative assemblies had to be created if the people were to have any share in the business of government. And the units of representation were the villages or towns or boroughs or counties or communes or provinces or estates. All these were local units. They were natural divisions of the country. And they, on account of the small numbers and the organic unity of the life in each, were good constituencies for representation. The men that these constituencies elected as their representatives belonged to them and to the social life lived in them. In England, for instance, the counties elected their knights, and the boroughs their burgesses. The modern carpet-bagger would have been hooted out of these medieval constituencies—his very existence would have been inconceivable.

The territorial constituency of those days made real representation possible—representation not only of the people but of the life of the people. And it had the further political merit that as it ensured representation of locality it brought home to the minds and hearts of people the fact of land as the basis of the life of people in a State. Local life, local patriotism, local loyalty based on local land, was a preparation and education for the larger life, loyalty, and patriotism of the State. The local, territorial constituency strengthened the territoriality of the State. And as land varied from place to place, and as towns and villages were notable for a rich variety of life, occupation, and mood, the system of local representation made the representative assembly a replica of the life of the people as well as representative of the people. The territorial constituency, therefore, was built on sound principles and served a political purpose. It ceased to be sound when it ceased to be organic. Numbers and atomism made it useless and

harmful as a means of national representation. What is wrong with the territorial constituency is not its territoriality but the loss of the organic character which it once possessed.

The Hyderabad Reforms Committee in its justifiable dissatisfaction with the modern territorial constituency has tried to lop off its soundest part—its local character. It attempts to turn representation away from land and locality—thus twisting the new and richer political life which it wants to introduce into the State, from that strong foundation of political life, the land of the State. It has turned to a new principle of representation—the representation of economic interests. 'Political constitutionalism', we are told, 'if based on territorial representation, does not give to economic interests in a State as true a representation as that based on such interests themselves.' A greater degree of realism, it would seem, is imported into legislation and politics as a result of this shifting of emphasis to the economic *motif*. Even ethical, linguistic, and religious divisions may be obliterated in the processes of representation if economic interests rather than people are represented.

It is a praiseworthy attempt to make representation real and organic. But economic interests are not the whole reality in political life. Economic interests are not the only interests of political man nor is the national legislature a producer of economic goods. It is good to bring into prominence the economic side of a people's life and to devise means for the promotion of their economic progress. But economics does not and cannot account for the whole life of man. There are other things, like religion, morality, culture, political progress, which a national legislature must provide for and promote. It is good that in a country and among a people like ours economic interests are given such a

place in political representation. But to constitute a representative assembly through a representation of economic functions rather than of political life is hardly a political proposal. It is an economic interpretation of politics which is hardly supported by history or contemporary developments. Even the electoral systems of the New State, which pays so much attention to economic life and motives, give no support to the Hyderabad franchise. For both in Fascist Italy and Corporate Portugal there is a National Assembly beside a Chamber of Corporations representative of economic interests. And the National Assembly is elected by the direct vote of the citizen though without the intervention of political parties or the division of territorial constituencies.

Finally, a danger of eventual potency may lurk in the division of a national assembly into representatives of the different classes. These representatives of classes rather than of the people or of the State may acquire a class-consciousness and a class-loyalty which may prove detrimental to the peace and progress of the State. It is not the least merit of the local or territorial system of representation that the representatives come into the national assembly as representatives of all the classes that live in the locality, which is a sample bit—a cross-section—of the State and its people. What is wrong with the territorial constituency is its modern inorganic character. What the Hyderabad Reforms Committee should have done, therefore, was to have made the territorial constituency more organic than it has become.

Fortunately the Committee and the Government which has passed orders on its proposals have been better than their political creed. In the proposals for the distribution of seats in the Legislative Assembly, provision has been made for the allocation of seats

to district boards, district municipalities, and town committees, and to the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation. These can by no stretch of the imagination be called economic interests. But for the district boards and municipalities of such a large State the 6 seats allotted seem to be inadequately few. Nor can the 16 seats allotted to agriculturists be filled up except through territorial constituencies. It would be difficult to gather the agriculturists into associations or corporations and get their representatives elected through them. But this is not necessary. The bulk of the agriculturists are to be found in villages, and they could well be elected through village panchayats—another sample of an organic territorial constituency. Nor can the legal and the medical professions be said to represent separate economic interests. Graduates, one should suppose, are meant to stand for the teaching profession ; otherwise one cannot understand the inclusion of graduates as a class that might be represented in any legislature.

Thus the Hyderabad reformers have in practice been better than their theory. While providing for such economic interests as Labour, Industries, Commerce, Banking, they have tried to make territorial constituencies more real and organic by giving the right of election to living bodies like district boards and municipalities. And if the agriculturists' constituencies were the village panchayats, they would make a large set of territorial constituencies live organisms.

The Hyderabad franchise proposals constitute an interesting experiment in the art of legislative organization. They will be politically useful to the extent to which they depart from the economic theory on which they have been founded.

Madras.

INDUSTRIAL LABOUR IN INDIA

By BENOYENDRA NATH BANERJEA

IT has been estimated that out of 154 million persons in all occupations in the whole of India, about 56·5 millions are wage-labourers. Of these, 25 million persons are classified as non-agricultural labourers. Deducting 7 million general labourers, the total number of persons who work for wages in some branch of industry would be 18 millions. The census of 1931 omitted to collect statistics relating to persons engaged in organized and 'regulated' industry : but the total number of workers described in the category of 'Industrial Labour' is only about 5 millions. The proportion of the Indian population which is engaged in wage-earning in the plantations, mines, factories, and communications services is thus not very large. Yet even a casual reader of a newspaper in India knows that, for good or evil, industrial labour is a force to be reckoned with by the legislator, the economist, the business man, and the various provincial Governments.

Students of Indian labour conditions can have a detailed view of the situation from the volumes of evidence placed before, and the Report published by, the Labour Commission presided over by Mr. J. H. Whitley, which have been described as representing 'the results of what was probably the most thorough investigation into industrial conditions that has ever been made in any one country'. Since the Whitley Report was issued (1931), significant developments have taken

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place in the Indian labour world as well as in the constitutional position *vis-à-vis* labour. The Calcutta University Readership Lectures, delivered in January 1937 on 'Principles and Problems of Indian Labour Legislation' by Dr. R. K. Das, and recently published by this University, give a lucid exposition of the principal problems of Indian labour legislation and particularly of their social significance for the present as well as the future. The International Labour Office has also issued a volume,¹ containing a comprehensive survey of Indian labour conditions and legislation, which is not merely informative but stimulating.

I. L. O. CONVENTIONS AND INDIA

The influence of the International Labour Organization in forcing the pace of regulation of labour conditions in India is gratefully acknowledged by all interested in the welfare of labour in this country. Two difficulties, however, have to be reckoned with. It is often contended that at the present stage of India's industrial development some of the provisions of the 'Conventions' are found unsuitable in practice. The obvious remedy is to insert special provisions in the Conventions, and this entails not only a thorough study of local conditions but also the institution of regional I. L. O. conferences in Asiatic countries—a proposal which has often been made and was approved by Mr. Harold Butler when he visited India as Director of the I. L. O. some time ago. But a still more formidable difficulty arises out of the non-inclusion of the industries and workers of the Indian States, as they are not subject to the legislative jurisdiction of British Indian legislatures. It is true that

¹ *Industrial Labour in India*. Issued by the International Labour Office, Geneva, 1938. (Studies and Reports, Series A, No. 41). Pp. VIII+324 and an index. Price 7s. 6d.

there is a 'growing realization, at least in the larger States in which industrialisation has begun, of the need of regulating labour conditions'; but it is well known that the obvious possibilities of escaping, though for a short period, the rigours of labour legislation have led to the proposal of shifting industrial establishments from British Indian territory to States territory. As has been repeatedly emphasized, the need for co-ordinating economic relations throughout India in this as well as other matters has been one of the main motives of the proposals for Federation in India. As the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform (1934) observed :

'The existing arrangements under which economic policies, vitally affecting the interests of India as a whole, have to be formulated and carried out, are being daily put to an ever-increasing strain as the economic life of India develops.'

LABOUR UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Until the introduction of the system of 'provincial autonomy' and the application of the provisions relating to the distribution of legislative powers in the Government of India Act of 1935, the Government of India was the supreme authority on labour legislation for the whole of British India, and labour subjects which were 'assigned' to Provinces by the Central Government were 'reserved' under the control of an Executive Councillor. Under the new constitution labour subjects are classified in three lists : federal, concurrent, and provincial. Exclusively provincial subjects include plantation labour, labour in small mines and oil fields, unemployment, compulsory acquisition of land for housing, etc., public health, and sanitation. Concurrent subjects, over which both the federal and the provincial Governments have control and jurisdiction relate to factory labour, labour

welfare, social insurance, and industrial relations (including trade unions and industrial disputes).¹

This brief enumeration is enough to emphasize the great possibilities for good and the consequent responsibility for industrial labour which has devolved on the provincial Governments. Studies like the volume under discussion therefore come at a most opportune moment and should be read by India's legislators, labour workers, and publicists to secure, in the language of the Congress's election manifesto of 1937,

'a decent standard of living, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity, as far as economic conditions permit, with international standards, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness, and unemployment, and the right of workers to form unions and to strike for the protection of their interests'.

The whole world is watching how far this policy is being implemented, for that would have far-reaching effects on the course of the world's trade and industry.

EFFICIENCY OF INDIAN LABOUR •

Labour legislation in India was started in the thirties of the last century to regulate the recruitment, forwarding, and employment of Indians under the indentured system to the various British colonies, where an insistent demand for cheap labour developed as a result of the abolition of slavery. Legislation on similar lines was soon required to regulate the contractual relations between planters and indentured labourers: the plantation industry was thus the first organized industry in India to have special legislation. The chapter in the International Labour Office's Survey dealing with labour legislation is exhaustive. It contains not only an

¹ Cf. Section 100 and Schedule VII of the Government of India Act, 1935.

account of the development of legislation relating to plantations, factories, mines, communications services, trade unions, workmen's compensation, etc., but also a clear analysis of the provisions and the methods of enforcement of the laws. Our only regret is that this survey of labour legislation relates to the period anterior to the introduction of 'provincial autonomy'.

The management of labour in India is beset with a number of special difficulties. The migratory habit and the illiteracy of Indian workers largely account for their excessive absenteeism and mobility as well as for their inefficiency. Again, though industrial unemployment is not yet an important problem in India, and

'the problem of numerical supply generally has largely disappeared except for periodical sabotages when industrial workers who are primarily agriculturalists return to their villages for the sowing and planting of crops, or when workers are impelled to leave their improvised housing in some industrial centres during seasons of intense heat or epidemics of disease, the problem of the supply of skilled labour remains a difficult one'.

The poverty and comparative inefficiency of Indian labour have been proverbial. But the Survey has some sensible comments to make on the subject. After noting the various contributing causes, like lack of such essential factors as vigour and vitality, education, regularity, skill, safe and sanitary conditions of work, attention is drawn to the 'growing inefficiency in management and supervision, including better organisation of industrial undertakings, with special reference to machinery, power and material on the one hand, and labour supervision on the other'. Mention is made of so-called attempts at rationalization, but 'little is known about the forms it has taken except in the case of the cotton mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad, where it has

mainly meant increasing the number of machines in the charge of one worker, either in the spinning or the weaving or both departments'. It is noteworthy that even in this limited form rationalization has favourably reacted upon wages, employment, and hours of work, 'showing that under better organisation and provided with better equipment and working conditions, Indian workers are able to increase their efficiency'.

STANDARD OF LIVING

Detailed chapters dealing with health and safety, hours of work, wages, housing, and welfare bring into relief the great distance still to be covered in India. This will be evident from the illuminating statistics marshalled in a chapter on the standard of living. The average size of working-class families varies from 4 to 6, and the proportion of earners to dependants from 37 to 43 per cent. The average *monthly* earnings of such families range between 40 and 52 rupees, and the analysis of family budgets and personal budgets shows how ill-balanced, meagre, and harmful is the consequent expenditure. Welfare activities undertaken by the workers, public organizations, or employers can scarcely cope with the intricacy and magnitude of the problem.

The State has a heavy responsibility in the matter of positive as well as preventive measures relating to labour. No planning or protectionism without a proper consideration of labour cost in terms of human labour and welfare can be regarded as scientific. Herein also lies the supreme necessity of a proper survey and appraisal of the sociological issues which industrialism and the employment of labour in Indian industries have emphasized. The time is ripe for evolving a comprehensive programme of legislation and action, on regional and provincial data, so far as

is necessary, but always linked and inspired by a determination to face the problems after concerted study, discussion, and co-ordination on an all-India scale, i. e. on the foundation of a national labour policy.

Calcutta.

MEMORIES

Memories remeasure
 Our trodden life again,
 Sometimes recalling pleasure,
 And sometimes bringing pain.
 Perhaps, like evil powers,
 They darken happy hours ;
 Yet they can cheer like flowers
 And sunshine after rain.

Though they may stifle laughter
 And choke us while we sing,
 And haunt our lives hereafter,
 Distressing everything ;
 They wear a charm that eases
 At times, a joy that pleases,
 Like blossoms strewn on breezes
 Or linnets on the wing.

But whether joy or sorrow
 Their recollection brings,
 They press us past to-morrow,
 Beyond remembering.
 They hover softly o'er us,
 And, wistfully decorous,
 They bid us gaze before us
 And hope for better things.

F. WEST.

Hazaribagh.

INDIA AND CEYLON

BY S. J. K. CROWTHER

TO judge by the rapturous welcome given to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, one would say that there was no point at issue between Ceylon and India. Thousands of Ceylonese as well as Indians awaited his arrival at the airport. Reception followed reception. He was smothered in garlands. He was expected to speak wherever he went, and his words were listened to with respect and approval.

It was known that he was making no headway in his negotiations with the Ceylon Ministers. Of his inner feelings, of his own disappointment, he showed not a trace in his speeches which were designed to lift the whole controversy to the plane of idealism. Those who are able to look at the question in a spirit of detachment recognize with gratitude the service Mr. Nehru has done by raising it above petty partisanship. He might easily have mishandled the controversy. As it is, although his mission was a failure, he has left behind an example of inspired leadership.

It is not easy to define the precise nature of the matter at issue between India and Ceylon. The discontinuance of the 11,000 daily-paid Indians in Government employ is only a symptom. There is more behind this move than meets the eye, and to understand it aright one must cast a glance backwards and forwards.

Ceylon has been populated from India. Wave after wave of Indians has swept over Ceylon from the most

ancient times, and the process is still continuing. There were times when this invasion was resented, as when the Indians came bent on conquest. There were times when it was welcomed, as when the Kings of Ceylon went to India for their Queens. The Kings—the last dynasty came from Malabar and we are still paying a pension to the scions of this line—went to India for the skilled artificers whose works in stone still remain objects of wonder and admiration.

In more recent times the British planters went to India for the labour forces needed for the opening up of the vast tracts of virgin forests which they converted into coffee estates and, when coffee failed, into tea, and more recently rubber, estates. The splendid system of roads which is a feature of Ceylon was driven through the malaria-infected hinterland of this country with the help of Indian labour.

Thus was the connexion first established. With the passing of time circumstances have continued to strengthen it. While the majority of Indians who came in recent times belonged to the working classes, others were attracted to Ceylon by the prospects of trade. There were the petty shopkeepers who traded with the Indian immigrant labourers and later enlarged their business by securing a connexion with the estates on which the labourers worked. Their business grew. They or their descendants bought land. They opened up estates. They spread to the towns and set up small places of business which also grew with the years. Hindus and Muhammadans engaged in this trade. Bharathars have been successful as grocers and haberdashers. Sindhis have almost a monopoly of the silk trade. The British Exchange banks found in the Natucottai Chettiars a convenient medium for money-lending to the Ceylonese. Borahs, Khogas, and Memons are wholesale importers

and exporters. Ceylon gets fifty million rupees worth of rice, not to speak of large quantities of curry-stuffs, from India. Practically all this business is in Indian hands.

In a word, the Indian merchant plays a large part in the economic situation in Ceylon. He controls it to almost as large an extent as the European. The Ceylonese is not in the same field with him.

This state of affairs has roused resentment among the Ceylonese who have suddenly awakened to the fact that economically the Indians have become a power in their land not easy to depose. A deputation from the Ceylon National Congress waited on Mr. Nehru the other day and drew his attention to the extent of the economic bondage of Ceylon to Indians. There was a time, they pointed out, when the shops in Main Street, Colombo, the chief Ceylonese shopping centre, were owned by Ceylonese. Now the majority are owned by Indians—Bharathars, Sindhis, and Memons. Many of the largest mansions built by rich Ceylonese of the last and previous generations have passed into the keeping of Indians, who are the biggest landlords in Colombo. The evidence taken by the Banking Commission, of which Sir Sorabji Pochkanawala was Chairman, disclosed that 75 per cent of the coconut estates owned by Ceylonese were mortgaged to Indians. Many of these properties have been taken over by the creditors in satisfaction of debts.

This is admittedly a deplorable state of affairs. But can the Indians be fairly blamed for it? The fact is that not by wicked design but almost as it were by accident the Indians find themselves masters of the situation. The Ceylonese, and particularly the Sinhalese, have no genius for trade. Trade rules the world to-day, and the Sinhalese as a race have never had a liking for the sordid details of commerce. As a people we have

preferred the more cultured occupations. Government service has been our chief industry. The highest ambition of the Ceylonese father is to see his son safely installed in a Government post. Failing there, he would like to see him enter one of the learned professions.

To these ends the best brains of the Ceylonese have been diverted generation after generation. Thus we have produced brilliant lawyers, eminent doctors, and distinguished Civil Servants. We have also produced a large number of briefless lawyers and mediocre doctors, and a vast crowd of young men who would do almost anything to enter the public services.

While this over-production has been going on, the country has become steadily impoverished. Trade, despised by the futile intellectual, passed into the hands of Indians. If ever Ceylon had a commercial tradition, it is wellnigh lost. Salesmanship is an unknown art among the Ceylonese, while it seems to be a natural instinct with all classes of Indians. Ceylonese thus like to deal with Indians rather than with Ceylonese. Otherwise it is difficult to imagine how the Indians could have come among a strange people, speaking a different language, and won their custom to the exclusion of Ceylonese traders. Handicapped as they were, the Indian traders have beaten their Ceylonese rivals at every turn.

The progressive domination of the economic situation by Indians rouses the resentment of Ceylonese ; but whose fault is it ?

To some extent this resentment is fostered by the aloofness of Indians. Going out all the way to please their Ceylonese customers, the Indians, with rare exceptions, have set certain bounds beyond which they will not pass and within which they will not give admission to others. In this respect they are, it is true, not more

exclusive than the Ceylonese. To be sure, the Indians mean no offence. They are as much restricted in their dealings with fellow-Indians as in their dealings with Ceylonese. There is no reason for Ceylonese to be resentful, because even among themselves the people of Ceylon are restricted by considerations of caste and race. But greater understanding would undoubtedly be promoted if there was a closer social relationship between Indians and Ceylonese. It is perhaps for the Ceylonese rather than for the Indians to make an advance in this direction. In any case, social relations are a ticklish subject.

Where, however, the Indians show their exclusiveness to a marked degree is in their employment of Indians in preference to Ceylonese. There are exceptions, but as a general rule Indians are chary about giving employment to Ceylonese. They prefer their own countrymen ; and perhaps they cannot be blamed, since, as I have remarked above, they have a genius for trade, a quality in which Ceylonese are deficient. But the spectacle of flourishing Indian concerns run almost exclusively by Indians, making big profits out of Ceylonese, is not calculated to promote feelings of affection among Ceylonese who are conscious of rapidly going down the economic scale.

Another thing which makes the Indian remain a stranger and a sojourner in Ceylon is his intense attachment to his country and kindred. He constantly looks to India as his home and final resting-place. This, again, is a perfectly natural sentiment, but it also serves as a distinguishing mark, which emphasizes the fact that in the Indian we have a stranger whose home is elsewhere and who makes his money here in order to take it there. Ceylonese would not have minded if the Indians were content to remain in Ceylon as hewers of wood and

drawers of water. Moreover, they would have served as convenient objects for the display of our superiority. But now that from being servants they have become masters, we object. At bottom it is envy of the success of the Indians that underlies the growing prejudice against them.

This jealousy lay latent till politics got mixed up with economics. When the Donoughmore Commissioners with one stroke of the pen and in the face of the avowed opinion to the contrary of the Ceylon National Congress enfranchised every man and woman in Ceylon, power passed into the keeping of the masses who are still largely illiterate. Among those enfranchised were the Indians over whom the local politicians as a measure of self-protection tried to place certain restrictions. Here we see the beginnings of the policy of exclusiveness manifested in the Land Development Ordinance which expressly keeps out Indians from obtaining leaseholds from the Government, and in the Village Communities Ordinance in which an attempt was made to discriminate against Indians.

Side by side with these developments has come the exacerbation of feelings caused by the failure of the Indians to embrace the creed of a local labour organization. It thus became easy to hold the Indians up to the illiterate masses as enemies to their well-being.

The fact that there are so many Indians employed in every branch of industry is cited as proof that they have robbed the Sinhalese of their livelihood. The truth is that the Indians have gained entry into many of these occupations because the Sinhalese did not care for them. This is particularly true of estate labour to which the Sinhalese have shown a marked antipathy except in the coconut districts. Despite inducements held out by planters and by the Government to Sinhalese to engage

themselves as estate labourers, little progress has been made. But the conviction is growing that if the large numbers of workless Sinhalese are to earn a livelihood they must take up estate work and other occupations which have hitherto held no attraction for them.

There are between 650,000 and 700,000 Indian immigrants employed on tea and rubber estates. There is little prospect of Ceylonese ever replacing all these or even a fair proportion of them. Unless, therefore, the Government of India interprets its embargo on emigration to Ceylon in a liberal spirit, rendering it possible for those Indians and their dependants who are already in Ceylon to move freely between India and Ceylon, it will go hard with Ceylon and its people, whose prosperity depends on the tea and rubber industries.

There are about 200,000 non-estate Indian workers in Ceylon. Of these the number in Government employ is about 11,000, and these with certain exceptions are to be discontinued. There is nothing to compel them to leave Ceylon except the inducement of compensation paid on arrival at their Indian destination. They cannot be compulsorily repatriated unless they become vagrants. The Colombo Municipal Council has refused to follow the Government's precedent and dismiss its Indian employees, the reason being that in certain departments of work they cannot be replaced. Nevertheless the fact remains that there is a considerable number of Ceylonese who are out of work. The readiness of many of them to take up occupations against which caste and race prejudices once acted as a deterrent, is evidence of the seriousness of their plight. In the face of their distress the Ministers hold themselves justified in sending away Indians in Government employ in order to provide work for their own. There are, on the other hand, a fair number of Ceylonese who consider it wrong in

principle to throw a person out of work merely on account of his race.

A deplorable feature of the situation is the anti-Indian agitation kept alive by a few irresponsible politicians who feel that the exploitation of racial prejudices is a safe passport to power.

Responsible Ceylonese feel that India will readily understand and sympathize with the efforts Ceylon is making to provide a livelihood for her own people. These must naturally be her concern, and India cannot object to preference being given to Ceylonese. In 1934 a resolution was passed by the State Council to this effect. If the Government had acted according to that resolution and given the first choice to Ceylonese, there would have been no need for the drastic measures now adopted, savouring so much of racial discrimination.

As regards Indians in private employ and in trade, the prevailing tendency in political circles is to discourage them. The State cannot dictate to private employers whom they shall employ or not employ. It must be left to their discretion. If, then, employers realize what is due to the people around them and if would-be employees realize what is expected of them, a simple and satisfactory solution can easily be found.

As for trade, the disappearance of the Indian from the Ceylon market would be a calamity. The loss to India would be negligible, but the damage to Ceylon would be irreparable.

Colombo.

RANCHIPUR

BY MARY FULLER

RANCHIPUR, a Native State of India, sweltering in the heat of Summer; a few foreigners there, missionaries, workers in hospital and school, officials; Indians of varying creeds and culture; Tom Ransome, Anglo-American man of leisure; Lord and Lady Heston, he, a self-made industrialist peer, she, beautiful, fashionable and promiscuous in her love affairs. With these interesting groups acting and reacting on one another, Mr. Bromfield shows us Ranchipur when tragedy overtook it, when the dam burst and thousands were drowned. . . . *The Rains Came*¹ shows us not the glamorous India of hazy popular imagination but a group of individuals living in the harsh glare of a reality that is not stranger but is far more exciting than fiction.'

That is the Publisher's description of the book, and this is the Dedication: 'For all my Indian friends—the princes, the teachers, the politicians, the hunters, the sweepers, and for G. H. but for whom I should never have known the wonder and beauty of India nor understood the Indian Dream.'

There is not much of this wonder, beauty, or Dream in the book; nor is its India the India of 'reality'. It is rather the India which Mr. Bromfield, in Matthew Arnold's lines quoted on the title page, conceives as

Between two worlds—one dead,
The other powerless to be born.

¹ By Louis Bromfield. Pp. 578. London: Cassell, 1938. Price 8s. 6d.

It is an old conception, and Mr. Bromfield very likely brought it to India with the rest of his mental luggage, a good deal of which is no more original, and even more unwholesome. He expatiates often on 'the cruelty that is India', and throughout the book either he or one of his characters describes India in various ways as a horrible country, where the sun is 'vicious and hateful' and the climate of a variegated damnability. He sees the people of India as 'swarming' millions breeding like 'maggots', starving, diseased, puny, dying as easily as flies; nevertheless, India is so full of 'fierce surging life' that Africa is 'empty and sterile' beside it!

Mr. Bromfield is fond of this trick of exaggerated contrast. He reminds one of those mothers who cannot coddle one child without smacking another. 'You're a dear boy, Harry, always such a help to me. Not like you, Tom, who never do a thing for your mother.' Next time Tom is the paragon and Harry a little wretch.

Ranchipur, says Mr. Bromfield, 'was a State more civilized and more advanced than many parts of England and America—the Midlands or Pittsburgh'; but *The Rains Came* will not make many, if any, Midlanders or Pittsburghers want to shift to Ranchipur, nor does it show in what the State is superior. The Maharajah says he has no starving poor, but Mr. Bromfield considers most of the Hindus undernourished and so full of superstition that the Maharajah and his helpers, 'who were fighting to bring light to these people', had to struggle with 'problems' that were 'hopelessly tangled'. To be sure, the capital has a palace, a delightful school of Indian music, an ordinary college of European engineering, some schools, a hospital, and a cinema; but the uncivilized Midlands and Pittsburgh are innocent of these marvels, and though they might furnish plenty of people to staff

and run the Ranchipur hospital, the engineering college, even the cinema, and set up a school of Western music and other schools besides, if only they could be persuaded to leave their benighted bush, nevertheless they are not so 'advanced' as Ranchipur.

There are any number of these exaggerated contrasts springing out of sudden enthusiasms and aversions. If Mr. Bromfield finds Indians a good-looking race, which they obviously are, he must make Miss MacDaid say that 'Indians are the most beautiful of races' and that 'when one had lived long among them even the most beautiful Western face seemed like a boneless anæmic pudding'; and this absurd dictum is quoted and requoted in the book, though not a single European character in it is both podgy and pale.

Mr. Bromfield likes Mahrattas—and the people of Gujarat must pay for it. 'Gujerati', as he likes to call them collectively, are poor stuff, though even so they beat Midlanders and Pittsburghers. Gandhi, says Miss MacDaid (and it is his only mention), is 'puny and tricky', partly because he is 'a Gujerati by race and a Bunya by caste', but mostly because the poor man has never had a 'proper diet', by which she means not so much his crushed almonds, fruits, and goat's milk, as his abstinence from meat. Vegetarianism made people 'rickety, spindle-legged, malarial creatures with swollen abdomens', and the practice of it among most high-caste Hindus 'exasperated' her so much that she 'would have liked to slay all the priests' in India. She hated their 'silly superstitions'. And yet she wrote Lady Heston's name on a bit of paper and burned it in a candle flame to make her die, and when she did die felt uneasy lest her magic had killed her. Yah, Hindus should give up religion and eat meat; then they would have good bones, nice figures, lofty ethics, and a little sense.

But the Mahrattas! The Mahrattas, you see, eat meat. They are 'tough little terriers' (always 'little'—perhaps an endearment—from the Maharajah of Ranchipur down); in fact, they are 'the toughest people in the world, bred in a burning desert upon hardship and catastrophe and disaster' (that sentence, by the way, shows one reason why the book runs to 578 pages). And where is this 'burning desert'? Not in Rajputana or Sindh, but the Deccan—latitude and longitude not given. But if deserts breed toughness, what of the Sindhis, and the warrior Rajputs with their Scythian ancestry? Well, Mr. Bromfield saw a Rajput, a Jemnaz Singh who was a wonderful singer and musician but 'a small man of delicate build' and 'extraordinary beauty', and so Rajputs, generally, have a delicate chiselled beauty' but they are not *tough*. As to Arabs and Tuaregs, let us wait until Mr. Bromfield makes a winter tour to Arabia or the Sahara. Then we shall know all about them.

Of the Deccan Mr. Bromfield writes with airy familiarity. It is not only a desert but a 'wild, dusty red plateau', with 'barren dusty hills' and full of 'dusty little villages', out of which had come the Maharajah and Maharani to Ranchipur. But *her* dusty little village must have been in the Ghats, for she began life as a 'savage' or 'half-savage hill princess'. However, the Ghats too must be toughening: at sixty-seven the Maharani had a 'perfectly lineless, vivid mobile face, not only beautiful but extraordinary'. She was 'savage', apparently, because she could not read or write until she was thirteen.

The book abounds not only in exaggerations but blunders, the cocksure misinformation of tourists, the superficial opinions and prejudices they pick up ready-made from people they meet, or form from chance

impressions. His ignorance never troubles Mr. Bromfield. Two or three hours spent on an encyclopædia would have taught him much, and one marvels how any one could have the industry to write 578 pages about a fortnight's happenings in a Mahratta-ruled State without ever bothering to find out such simple things as the name of the court language, the language of all those tough millions in the dusty Deccan. Mr. Bromfield everywhere calls the Marathi language 'Mahratta', and seems not to know that Poona, which he calls a hill station (and at hill stations, by the way, there is 'no mildew nor any snakes and insects'!), was once the capital of the Mahratta empire and is still the home of the purest Marathi; for although one of his chief characters is a 'Poona Brahmin', he allows him to know 'Mahratta' only 'by adoption' and not as his mother tongue! Also, his Poona Brahmin, who with his fair skin and blue eyes is evidently a Konkanasth Brahmin, has the curious name of Safka, which does not sound like a Marathi name and is certainly not Konkanasth. Konkanasth surnames are all registered and number less than three hundred.

As to 'Untouchables', when I read some of Mr. Bromfield's ideas about them to a clever young 'Untouchable'-born Catholic, he listened with sparkling eyes and ironical *Wah-wahs*, drolly wagging his head and chuckling at the best bits, and wondered at last how such things got printed. There is a proverb, Arabic they say, about the kind of person who 'knows not, and knows not that he knows not'.

Blunders, snap judgments, bland ignorance, patronizing miscomprehension may be amusing or at worst irritating, but this book's great length makes it very tiring. It is a quite unnecessary length, being due to much tedious repetition, many superfluous details, and

carelessness. If Mr. Bromfield had gone through his rough draft and cut out some thousands of words, phrases, and repeated descriptions, and a good number of whole paragraphs and even pages, his book could have been a comfortable 300 pages, much better written and much more interesting. He is one of the omniscient writers who are not content to let their characters speak and act for themselves but must be always explaining them. Nearly all his people have a tiresome habit of long introspections. He knows all their thoughts and feelings, all their memories; in fact, he 'knows too much' in a number of ways, leaves far too little to his reader's imagination, and credits him with a very poor memory.

Mr. Bromfield appears, from the last page, to have commenced this book in Cooch Behar in January 1933 and to have finished it in New York three and a half years later. This may explain why he forgets his characters' ages from time to time, why Mr. Simon's Christian name changes at long intervals from Burgess to Homer and then to Elmer, why Miss Murgatroyd's taffeta *robe de style*, which is mentioned at least seven times in 258 pages, changes its colour from blue to pink and black to blue, why Lord Heston swollen with plague is forever being put back in his teakwood and mother-of-pearl bed or else wrapped in his wife's pink *crêpe de chine* sheets to be cremated, why Miss Hodge's aberrations, with which Mr. Bromfield entertained himself greatly, are dismissed twice on one page and in nearly identical words. He himself seems a little tired of the book when at last he ends where he began, with John Baptist's flute under the banyan tree; and it is very evident that he never troubled to re-read it.

When Lady Heston says that she would 'really like to . . . know what Indians think and what they are like

inside', one feels that it was Mr. Bromfield's own desire, and yet that he no more than she ever got really inside any Indian, not even Major Safka. The good simple old Maharajah, the beautiful, queenly, clever, proud wild, and cruel Maharani are for the most part lay figures put together from the royal and 'oriental' properties at the disposal of the world's writers. The other Indian characters all interest Mr. Bromfield, but he never gets inside them, as he does Ransome and Lady Heston, though he paints their outside with plenty of colour. Jemnaz Singh in his brilliant dress playing his 'lute' on a lit stage makes a picture one remembers; but it takes the gilt off the gingerbread to have him sketched in again, twice perhaps, in the selfsame poison green and candy pink, and especially to be told that his song was 'in the tongue of the Rajput warriors' and nevertheless 'thousands of years old'.

Mr. Bromfield is lavish with his millenniums. They are always a part of the Indian scene when writers lack exact knowledge. He is very airy, too, about Indian gods. He knows the names of five and tosses them about without any apparent idea of their significance. Krishna and Kali are both thanked for rain by the Rajput singer, and the watchman on the dam 'called upon Shiva and Krishna and Rama and even Kali the Destroyer' (Mr. Bromfield loves his *ands*) before he was swept away in the flood. The book is full of foolish and meaningless details.

It is because of his own ignorance that Mr. Bromfield can talk of the idea that East and West can never understand each other as 'the nonsense of the Mystics' (whatever that may mean), 'and of the doggerel, "East is East", of all Kipling who knew only the India of cantonments and clubs and provincial newspapers'. Mr. Bromfield seems to know his Kipling even less than his

encyclopædia. If he would only take the trouble to read Kipling's 'doggerel' instead of snapping up the stale nonsense of people who certainly are not mystics, whatever else they are, he would find that the whole point of that 'doggerel' is in its last four lines :

But there is neither East nor West,
Border nor breed nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth !

It is one of the many things Mr. Bromfield tries to say in his book ; but as he did not say it in four lines of rememberable doggerel, not many people will long remember that he ever said it. Kipling was only a boy when *he* said it, and people have been quoting him these fifty years. When he was a very little boy, not yet five, he joined an Indian ploughman ploughing near the Kiplings' house and walked along with him as he drove the wooden share behind the slow bullocks. They were deep in talk when his mother found him, and when she asked him what he was doing he said happily : '*Main mere bhâike sât chaltâ hun*' (I am walking with my brother). That little boy had got inside a number of Indians before he was sent away to school in England ; besides that, he had a father who was Principal of an Indian art school, who later on became the curator of the museum at Lahore, and who knew more about India than has ever entered Mr. Bromfield's dreams.

Mr. Bromfield has a long way to go to catch up with that little boy, to say nothing of the man who wrote *Kim*, *The Jungle Books*, *The Counsels of the Gods*, and many another short story that has nothing to do with 'cantonments and clubs and provincial newspapers'. A foolish son of Solomon the wise boasted that his little finger was thicker than his father's loins. It was not, and he lost his kingdom. But it is very certain that in

knowledge of India Kipling's little finger is thicker and a lot longer than the whole of Mr. Bromfield. If Kipling wrote 'doggerel', at least he never wrote anything so silly as the Gujarati 'poetry' that Mr. Bromfield makes Miss MacDaid say to a dying woman. Mr. Bromfield knows nothing about the poetry that permeates Indian village life. One cannot learn *everything* in a short visit to India, not though one keep the fattest of notebooks—and stuff it all into a still fatter book.

In craftsmanship, too, Kipling is Mr. Bromfield's master. There is not a waste word in *Kim*. There are people who have read *Kim* twenty times and always lay it down sighing that it is not twice as long; but *The Rains Came* is drowned in the spate of its own words, and I regret the time it cost to read it once. Life is too short for such waste. After reading it I read *The Salt of the Earth*, a short story by Rebecca West, and kept noticing how much more skilful its technique, how much more workmanlike and revealing.

In all this I have said little about Mr. Bromfield's good points. He has them, of course, but enough has been said about them by others. The book has had large sales and is now to be filmed. The film will leave out most of the words, and the flood will make an exciting picture, a less unwholesome one, let us hope, than the book itself.

Sangamner.

SOME RECENT BOOKS

INDIA'S INCOME

India's National Income, 1925-1929. By V. K. R. V. Rao. Pp. 173. London : Allen & Unwin, 1939. Price 6s.

It is no easy task to evaluate with accuracy the national income of any country ; but it is all the more difficult for India because we have no reliable data on several of the items that go to constitute our national wealth. Mr. Rao has made a bold attempt in the book under review to evolve a fairly satisfactory method of computing our national income out of the inadequate material found scattered in Government reports and statistics compiled by private agencies.

A study of the previous estimates of the Indian national income made by eminent men like Dadabhai Naoroji, William Digby, Atkinson, Shah, and Khambatta has enabled Mr. Rao to avoid the mistakes which pioneers in the field are likely to make. The defect of Dadabhai's estimate is undervaluation, which is the inevitable consequence of excluding from the national wealth incomes not directly derived from agriculture and manufacture. The arbitrary methods of assessing agricultural and industrial incomes on the basis of land revenue and factory wages have vitiated some of the other estimates.

Mr. Rao has taken pains to correct these mistakes, but has not fully succeeded in arriving at accurate figures owing to lack of data. The figures for industrial income are subject to a considerable margin of error because, in the absence of reliable statistics, the value of cottage industries is arrived at on an arbitrary basis of Rs. 15 for a worker per month. It is a pity that the special officer who was appointed some time ago to make a survey of cottage industries in the Madras Presidency did not include in his report statistics of output or value. As regards transport, no reliable information can be had of income from road transport. To make up for the deficiency Mr. Rao has adopted a flat rate of 20% of the goods transported over road to represent the cost of the services of road transport, assuming that one-half of the agricultural and livestock produce and two-thirds of the industrial produce are transported by road. Making a deduction of 15% to cover the cost of repairs and the use of petrol for motor transport, the net income by road transport works out as 17 crores of rupees. Though the figure may not be improbable, one has to acknowledge that it is not quite accurate.

For these and similar inaccuracies Mr. Rao is not to blame. On the contrary, he deserves praise for his resourcefulness in

surmounting obstacles due to lack of reliable statistics and for breaking new ground by his comprehensive survey of income from livestock. The chapter on income from agriculture is full of statistics of yield and value for the most important commercial crops of the country, and the conclusions arrived at are verified by the independent figures contained in the different provincial Banking Enquiry reports. Eagerness to arrive at the real national income of India is in evidence throughout the book, but it is particularly noticeable in the chapter entitled 'Deductions' where necessary modifications are introduced, making allowance for the cost of upkeep, for depreciation, etc. After a careful study Mr. Rao arrives at a *per capita* annual income of Rs. 77'9 for British India.

The value of the book rests chiefly on its freedom from any political bias and on its matter-of-fact method in arriving at impartial conclusions. If Mr. Rao could complete his study and obtain reliable information on the national income of Indian States, he would render a distinct service to Indian economists and statesmen.

T. T. Adisayam.

Madras.

GERMANY'S CLAIMS

Germany's Claims to Colonies. By F. S. Joelson. Pp. 343. London: Hurst & Blackett, 1939. Price 8s. 6d.

Germany's claim to colonies is a vital issue in international politics; it is not a question of mere readjustment, nor even of a transfer to the German people; it is a matter of entrusting Hitlerism with the task of administering foreign territories. Colonial countries are not vacant spaces to be populated, but the homes of millions of men who have a tradition of their own and who are actually making the present British administration part and parcel of their daily outlook. However restless and discontented they may be, have they a better chance with the Nazi regime to which they would be subjected? The settlers of East Africa would rise in arms (pp. 165, 301); East Africa and Rhodesia did not even prove loyal to the Kaiser (pp. 100-103); it would be worse if the colonial Nazi programme were carried out (pp. 115-117) or if the colonial official took after the Nazi model, Karl Peters (pp. 112-114). Whatever contribution the Third Reich could make to science or humanitarian progress can be made under the present mandate system; their technicians have had free access to the colonies (p. 108); their medical help has been at its best under British protection (pp. 108-110).

Consequently, in the author's view, no valid reason can be urged for a change. What needs changing is British foreign

policy. British Governments have proved so irresolute, so vacillating, so weak that they have caused unrest and fostered ambitions in Nazi hearts; a chronological record (pp. 235-237) of the German reactions to Britain's sayings and doings is sufficient proof that a firm and clear policy would have prevented much rancour and provocation. The author spends one full chapter (pp. 235-327) on 'the fruits of indecision', and he concludes that the Tanganyika territory or the Cameroons are as essential to the British Empire as Aden and Gibraltar (p. 331). It would be folly to seek 'to surrender our security in the name of appeasement'. 'Hitler cannot be by-passed by the Colonial road, which does not end, as he imagines, in dumps of raw materials, but in free communities destined to enjoy ever-expanding responsibility in local administration.'

This last sentence of the book betrays that idea of colonial trusteeship which underlies the author's study of the colonial problem and which has become so fashionable in colonial circles. This preoccupation with the motherland's duties to the mandate, protectorate, and colony is most praiseworthy; it shows an improvement on the rough-and-ready theories of pirates and mercenaries; it is even so nice that it deserves to be sincere. But the educated citizens of many subject countries have too rarely experienced the benefits of such trusteeship; they feel that it is more in evidence on festive occasions than in the details of daily administration; and they will be little impressed with the author's labouring that point. The cynics may even retort: Why not allow Nazi colonies so as to have a contrast with the benefits of trusteeship?

The value of the book, however, appears to lie in its wealth of information and its comprehensive character. It will be welcome to students of international politics and tell them much about Germany's dream of a *Mittel-Afrika*.

A. Lallemand.

Calcutta.

MUHAMMAD IQBAL

Iqbal's Educational Philosophy. By K. G. Saiyidain. Pp. 202. Lahore: Arafat Publications, 1938. Price Rs. 2-8.

This book is not a new catalogue of recipes for child-education addressed to school teachers. It has a wider outlook because it considers education 'in its correct signification. . . (as) the sum total of all the cultural forces which play on the life of a person or a community'. (p. 4)

The author does not describe Iqbal's system of education; the Barrister-at-Law of Lahore had no such system. But if Iqbal had no particular system of education, he time and again stressed the principles which should guide man in the training

of his personality. Education for him meant living the philosophy of life which he had crystallized in imperishable poems. Mr. K. G. Saiyidain has with great skill restated those principles and tried to explain all that they imply. Numerous quotations from Iqbal's writings add weight to the thesis.

Education, we are told, deals primarily with individuals. Hence the important question: What is an individual? In what does individuality consist? In the reality of Self, answers the writer of *Reconstruction*: 'Only that truly exists which can say "I am". It is the degree of the intuition of I-am-ness that determines the place of a thing in the scale of being.' (p. 15)

This basic axiom of Iqbal's philosophy would be the fundamental principle of education. If a being, indeed, is only in so far as it shares in Selfhood, its perfection must lie in the strengthening of that Self, in the development, the unfolding of its *Khudi*. For the modern Muslim thinker there is no losing of one's Self in the Infinite or the Absolute; he unhesitatingly rejects both the Buddhist doctrine of Nirvana and the ideal consummation in God of the Sufi.

Having proved this, Mr. Saiyidain studies the conditions required for a normal unfolding of Self. They are, besides others, Freedom and Action.

Freedom, political no doubt, but above all intellectual: 'Our educational system', says the author, commenting on a poem of Iqbal's, 'with but few exceptions is mainly based on borrowed ideas, on the intellectual resources of a foreign culture, on the slavish and cramping use of a foreign language—in a word on "asking". . . . When Education is organized under the inspiration of a new and healthy ideology, it will aim at the strengthening of people's individuality, at the re-vitalizing of the sources of their national culture and using its resources to quicken their creative activity'. (p. 34)

Freedom, however, would be useless without Action:

Feast not on the shore, for there
Softly breathes the tune of life.
Grapple with the waves and dare!
Immortality is strife. (p. 54)

Man must throw himself wholeheartedly into the affray of life and make every attempt—pleasant or painful—to contribute to the enrichment of Self.

All this can be best achieved by placing the individual in his proper surroundings, in the society of his brethren to whom he must unreservedly give himself: 'The individual who loses himself in the community reflects both the past and the future as in a mirror, so that he transcends mortality and enters into the life of Islam which is infinite and everlasting.' (p. 76)

These are the essentials of the philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal from the educational standpoint. Mr. Saiyidain completes his study with a chapter on creative evolution where we are

shown the ideal man working out his destiny. Next come some interesting notes on Iqbal's attitude towards Intellectualism, the 'evil of our days' when wrongly understood, his conception of a good character, and his views on the Social Order of Islam.

The book is pleasant to read and offers an illuminating synthesis of the philosophy of the Muslim thinker. But can we accept without qualification the philosophy of Iqbal?

There seems to be something fundamentally wrong in his system of thought: its starting-point. Iqbal makes man the centre of the universe, whose perfection consists in the actuation of all his potentialities, an effort which begets immortality (p. 12). What is the work of God in this process? He seems to be not much more than a benevolent onlooker. God—'to whom we must return', as the *Qur'án* says; the 'End of man', to use Christian terminology—is no more the Absolute Bliss to be possessed one day by man and after whom he craves with all his energy. The God of Iqbal is outside the universe which He rules through a vice-regent, man.

There is a great danger in exiling God from the heart of man, and that is to make of man a demi-god. Have Iqbal and his commentator kept clear of this danger? Man, we are told, 'equipped with a concentrated and fully developed individuality, with his faith not in the idols of gold or iron but in *himself* and his God, man becomes an *irresistible* power for good *sharing in the creative activity of his Maker*' (p. 135; italics mine). Perhaps we should not take these words at their face value; but then they had better not be used.

Mr. Saiyidain has given us a good study of Iqbal. We share his love and respect for the life-stirring poet of Lahore; but we prefer to reserve our judgment as to the objective value of his philosophy.

V. Courtois.

Kurseong.

THE WORD OF LIFE

Das Wort des Lebens. By Ivan von Kologrivoff. Pp. 404. Regensburg: Pustet, 1938.

It is with deep satisfaction that the reader will close this magnificent book on 'The Word of Life'. It is true that many good books on Jesus Christ have in recent years appeared in Germany. But most of them seem to approach the subject from the *human* side—an attitude which is perhaps to a certain extent congenial to the Western mind. Fr. von Kologrivoff, however, a Russian convert, follows a different method, which might be called Johannine (after St. John) and which seems at all times to have appealed more to the Eastern mind. Right in the beginning he introduces us to the '*in principio . . .*'—the eternal life of the

eternal Word in the bosom of the Blessed Trinity. It is from here that he proceeds to contemplate the mystery of the personal union of God and man. The full meaning of the Incarnation appears in the following chapters on sin and redemption. It is only then that the author studies our Lord in the more conventional manner as the Teacher, the Light, and the High Priest of mankind. A final chapter deals with the fulfilment of the Incarnation (the 'becoming-man') of God, by our deification ('becoming-God') in Jesus Christ. The author, however, insists on showing that this deification is at the same time our true *Menschwerdung* (a play on words, as *Menschwerdung* can be translated 'Incarnation' as well as 'to become man'). And as the Incarnation of the Word was not possible without suffering—*exinanivit semetipsum*—so our 'becoming-man' cannot be realized except by joining the God-man on His royal way of the Cross.

Two features characterize this book. The first is the exceptionally ample use made of Tradition—Eastern as well as Western, Patristic as well as Scholastic and modern. Every single proposition is corroborated by the authority of some outstanding theologian. It is true that the author's predilection seems to lie with the Greek Fathers, and among modern theologians it is especially French and German writers that are quoted—such as Lebreton, Prat, de la Taille, Rousselot, etc.; or Moehler, Scheeben, Karl Adam, Guardini. But also the Eastern liturgy, the sayings of some Orthodox Russian theologians, and even Dostoievsky and Tolstoy occasionally help to throw some light on the mystery.

The second peculiarity of this book is that it is very personal. The author, in a magnificent letter which serves as an Introduction, calls it a *Bekenntnisbuch*, a book of confessions. Though on the whole he follows the same lines as most manuals of Christology, there is nothing manual-like about this book. Every phrase is felt and comes from the heart, and therefore finds its way to the reader's heart. There is not a word of controversy throughout the book: it is not meant to convince those who do not believe, but to give those who do believe in the Word of Life a deeper understanding of the riches of their faith.

Thus Fr. Kologrivoff's book reflects what theology really ought to be: Tradition and Life.

Poona.

Felix Löwenstein.

EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY

Éléments de Psychologie Expérimentale. Vol. II: Orientations définitives. Psychologies profondes. By J. de la Vaissière, S. J. Pp. 212. Paris: Beauchesne, 1939. Price 45 frs.

There has been, during the last fifty years or so, an enormous output of psychological research—it has even created

the impression that Psychology is a *modern* science. It was thought, and in some quarters many still think, that this *modern* science with its analytical methods and its first-rate laboratories would finally succeed in dissecting, so to say, the human soul: reduce everything in it to quantitative measurement, and reveal to the material senses its obscurest recesses. But the soul has refused to unfold itself under the microscope: a desire has no 'size', and we fail to express quantitatively the amount of energy exerted in an act of knowledge! Psychophysics and the methods of quantitative Tests have all come and gone—the soul still keeps its mysteries.

Neither could an exclusively materialistic conception lead to more satisfactory results, and the Behaviourism of Watson has met with no better success than Weber's or Fechner's Psychophysics.

The so-called 'totalitarian' Psychologies (which, of course, have nothing in common with or at least bear no relation to totalitarian politics) have tried another method of approach. Taking it that the soul is not an atom or a molecule, that its parts are one with the whole, and that any attempt at considering these parts separately gives a wrong perspective on the whole, they have gone a long way towards the final goal. But their soul is perhaps too much of an abstract reality. *Ganzheit*, *Gestalt*—as a description of those concrete perceptions, tendencies, affections, all palpitating with life, which constitute our psychic world, such words sound much too metaphysical. The reaction against atomistic materialism has overshot the mark; Köhler and Koffka have gone to another equally regrettable extreme.

Material and immaterial, ideal and sensible, abstract and concrete—our psychic being implies all these at the same time; a psychologist who ignores this diversity takes a wrong start. It remains, however, that it is chiefly the invisible element in us that counts. And it is by trying to sound the wellnigh unfathomable depths of this invisible that the *Denkpsychologie* and personalism, the Characterilogues and the Psychoanalysts have nearly succeeded in piercing the mystery of the soul. A mania for exaggerated systematization may have led astray these very interesting currents in psychological thought; but their original orientation was good. A more comprehensive view of things might have taken Freud or Adler back to that Aristotelean *philosophia perennis* which also formed the fundamental laws of all true psychology when it laid down the principle of the unity of the human person within the framework of its intrinsic dualism.

Fr. de la Vaissière's new book, of which the above is a very broad outline, presents us with an interesting synthesis of modern psychology. This synthesis—rather schematic perhaps, supposing as it does a first-hand knowledge of the numerous psychological publications of modern times—represents an enormous amount of labour. It is chiefly a standing testimony to

the power of a clear and disciplined mind. To those acquainted with the previous writings of Fr. de la Vaissière the *Eléments* offer chiefly the exhaustive bibliography at the end of every chapter. Those who do not know him already will find in him a most reliable and suggestive guide through that wild but luxuriant jungle rich with glorious new vistas on old horizons—modern psychology.

E. Ugarte.

Shembaganur.

NUTRITION IN INDIA

Health and Nutrition in India. By N. Gangulee. Pp. VIII+337. London: Faber & Faber, 1939. Price 15s.

The difficult problem of nutrition and more particularly the intricate methods of successfully tackling it, have been engaging the attention of eminent authorities all over the world, and very valuable contributions have already been made which have considerably increased our knowledge of the subject. The problem appears to be more acute in this country because of the fundamental difficulty of a definite shortage of food in relation to the population. The other difficulties appear to be the lack of agricultural occupation, lack of initiative for the proper development of dairy products and fisheries, and the social and economic condition of the people. Though the author is not a medical man, he is to be congratulated on his attempt to find a solution of this difficult problem. His object—to explain to the reader in suitable language the fundamental principles of nutrition and the ways and means of tackling it—appears to have been fulfilled, for the essential facts of nutrition as described in the book will, we believe, be easily understood even by those who have had no special training on the subject.

The author's aim has been to provide the reader with an adequate knowledge of the essential facts of nutrition and of the nutritive values of various foodstuffs, so that he may apprehend their importance in adjusting his own as well as the nation's dietary to the best advantage.

The present volume will serve as an excellent guide to Indian students as regards the problem of nutrition in India. Certain fundamental principles upon which the science of nutrition is based are dealt with in clear and simple style in Chapters II and III. The next chapter gives a brief account of the prevailing conditions of public health in India, and is followed by a survey of Indian foodstuffs. Chapter VI deals with the salient features of the diets of different Indian communities. Though this account is by no means complete, the author has endeavoured to emphasize the fact that the problems of nutrition cannot be divorced from the economic problems of the country.

In the last chapter the author deals with the nutritional problems of India and gives valuable indications as to how a substantial advance may be made towards the solution of these problems. He suggests that the agricultural industry must be run on scientific lines and made alive to the urgent need of adjustment to the optimum national requirements of the people. He further suggests that considerable attention should be given to the exploration of the possibilities of production of new food crops which are cheap and at the same time of high nutritive value. Horticulture should be given a substantial push on scientific lines in regard to seed selection, cultivation, and marketing of the produce. Animal husbandry should not be ignored as it has hitherto been, but active methods should be adopted for its improvement by determining how the nutritive value of pastures can be improved and what methods may be adopted to offset the widespread mineral deficiencies which lead to malnutrition and disease in cattle. The author also lays great stress on the necessity of planning and developing our dairy industry as well as the urgent need of development of Indian fisheries.

We welcome Prof. Gangulee's valuable suggestions for remedying the evils of malnutrition in India and the improvement of the Indian dietary. We recommend that the book should be read by all interested in the future well-being of India, particularly those responsible for the administration of the country.

J. P. Bose.

Calcutta.

INDIA

KRISHNA-LILA, ou *Mystères de l'Avatar de Krishna*. By SACTIVEL. Pp. XII+182. Paris : Geuthner, 1938. Price 30 frs.

The legendary life of Krishna took centuries to arrive at its present shape. It is indeed an interesting subject for the study of the rise and development of hero-worship in India. Following an interpretation of *Rigveda* VIII, 85, 13-15 by Sâyana, some think that Krishna is already there mentioned as a powerful chief fighting against the Aryan invaders of the earlier days. There is, again, in the *Chândogya Upanishad* a reference to a Krishna, son of Devaki, who was a pupil of Ghora Angirasa. Colebrooke pointed this out long ago as a possible source for some of the legends concerning the Krishna of the Puranas. The earlier *Mahâbhârata* itself is silent about the many adventures fully detailed in the *Harivamsa* and the *Vishnu* and *Bhagavata* Puranas. In the *Mahâbhârata* he is no more than a great hero and a worshipper of Siva, from whom he received the chief boons he enjoyed.

The present work is derived from the very much enlarged *Mahâbhârata* as it is found now, even more detailed, in its southern recension which was lately translated into Tamil and beautifully printed in Madras. Mr. Sactivel gives a good summary of the stories of Krishna's birth and boyish tricks with the cowherds, his youthful sports among the Gopis, and his killing the demons which infested the cow-settlement. He has not, however, successfully eliminated the morbid pruriency for which the legendary life of Krishna is noted. The very title of the book, *Krishna-lila*, recalls to the reader's mind nothing but

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the amorous sports of the Indian Hercules and Apollo combined; and a description of those scandals is in no way calculated to inspire noble thoughts or noble living.

S. Gnana Prakasar.

EASTERN RELIGIONS AND WESTERN THOUGHT. By S. RADHAKRISHNAN. Pp. XIII+394. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939. Price 15s.

There is much in this book that is first-rate, and a good deal else that is good. The rest is second-rate because it is mostly second-hand.

The defence of Hinduism and especially of the Vedânta of Saṅkara against various Western misrepresentations is certainly brilliant. Professor Radhakrishnan is here at home, a home that he loves and whose every nook and corner he has investigated. If the Saṅkarâchârya of a *peth* had jurisdiction to confer the title of *Defensor Fidei*, he could not bestow it on a worthier recipient than Sir Sarvapalli.

The views put forward on Greek and medieval or modern European history and philosophy are correct in general, although already here one feels that the author is exploring a foreign land. When, however, he comes to the history and interpretation of Christianity, Professor Radhakrishnan is at the mercy of his chosen guides. He is obviously not in love with Christianity: he mentions, with no more condemnation than that it is a 'profitless speculation', the opinion of Nazis and other neo-pagans that it might have been better for Europe if the persecutions of Marcus Aurelius had exterminated the Christian creed (p. 8). He would 'not consider it by any means a triumph, divine or human, if atheistic Communism of Russia were to be overcome by the dogmatic religions'. 'Opposition to both these extremes is perhaps the greatest tribute that a mind of any spirituality can render to God' (p. 290). And of course dogmatic religion means mostly Christianity, and especially Catholicism. Catholicism can do no right. When, for instance, it absorbs pagan beliefs, it 'obscures the simplicity and rationality of the faith of Jesus' (p. 276); whereas when Hinduism does the same, it 'adapts itself with infinite grace to every human need'. (p. 313)

This attitude towards orthodox Christianity explains the Professor's choice of his guides, or even the choice of his quotations from them. Harnack is quoted as doubting the genuineness of the text about the Father alone knowing the Son; his scathing condemnation of those who alleged Essenian influences on Jesus is not even alluded to. Otto Pflleiderer, Edmunds, Winternitz, and others are quoted in support of Buddhist borrowings by early or late Christianity; not a word is said about what de la Vallée Poussin, surely a greater authority on Buddhism and Christianity than any of these, wrote on this subject. The orthodox historical position goes undefended: most readers will probably therefore conclude that it is indefensible, and accept instead such 'historical' statements as the following: 'John the Baptist was an Essene' (p. 159); 'Before His appearance in Galilee, Jesus worked as a disciple of John, and He practised (*sic*) baptism' (p. 160); 'The conviction of the exaltation to God through death was the basis of the possibility (*sic*) that Peter and the rest believed after Jesus' death that they saw Him in spiritual vision as living with God. It does not seem to be a question of an empty grave or bodily resurrection' (p. 176); 'For Paul, Jesus is only the Lord and not God'; etc., etc.

G. Dandoy.

NYAYAKULISA, or *The Lightning-Shaft of Reason*. By ATREYA RAMANUJA. Edited with Introduction and Notes by R. RAMANUJACHARI, and PANDIT K. SRINIVASACHARYA. Pp. XXXIV+39+212. Annamalai University Philosophy Series-I, 1939.

All Sanskritists will be grateful to the learned editors and to the Annamalai University for bringing out this splendid edition of a valuable *visiṣṭâdvaita* treatise. One has only to read the clear summary (in English and Sanskrit) which the editors have prefaced to realize the importance of the work. All the

central theses of Râmânuja's system are discussed there and maintained with great force and subtlety against their various opponents. The text is magnificently edited and printed with full indexes and a table of contents. Truly an ideal edition. May it be followed by many similar ones from the young and vigorous Annamalai University!

G. Dandoy.

TESTAMENT OF INDIA. By ELA SEN. Pp. 286. London: Allen & Unwin, 1939. Price 7s. 6d.

This book comprehends in a comparatively narrow space the political, ethical, and philosophical minds that are being fused in the struggle for national independence. It is a defence of India's right and competency; it supports quite candidly a political party, the National Congress, but breathes a spirit of restraint which has not dulled the verve and colour of the author's writing.

The book begins with a chapter on Gandhi and ends with the Future of India. In between are neat sketches of Nehru, Tagore, Subhas Bose, Jinnah, Sarojini Naidu, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Malaviya, Rajendra Prasad—the star politicians of varying magnitudes. The chapter on Terrorism has many a salutary lesson for those underlings of bureaucracy who love to play the fiddle while India burns. 'Women's Movements' and the 'Peasant Movement' show which way the wind is blowing. The India of to-day has shed many of the crudities of a former age. Fashions may come and go, but there are certain things in the life of a race that never change; the author has tried to show what part *they* have played in the making of modern India, though, as to the unpredictable future, she doesn't hazard a prophecy. The book is none the worse for being opinionated, though some of the opinions are unsound and sweeping. To take a single instance: the hit at the Anglo-Indian community in 'Most of them are devoid of culture and education and come from the lowest strata of both nations' (p. 280) is a careless half-truth.

Nevertheless, the cumulative effect of this stirring, cautious, subdued, and outspoken book is great.

H. P. Chattopadhyaya.

CANADA AND INDIA. By SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON. Pp. VIII+140. Oxford University Press, 1939. Price 4s. 6d.

The High Commissioner for India was invited by the National Council of Education in Canada to visit that country last year. He did so, and was accompanied across Canada from Ottawa to Victoria by Mr. Frederick Ney. In his many broadcasts in Canada Sir Firoz's aim seems to have been 'to bring the hearts of the Canadian and the Indian people closer together'.

He therefore compares the two countries as regards taxation and trade, transport, government, education, and—that *burning* topic—prohibition. His thesis seems to be that India is not so badly off compared to Canada, in spite of want of freedom, though he suspects that his countrymen in India might accuse him of overdoing the praise of his British masters, for he hastens to add: 'My effort has been to expose the beautiful side of the picture'. One cannot but admire this attitude. But it may have the disadvantage of giving the Canadians the impression that India is half-way to heaven. Sir Firoz's admiration for our democratic system of government, our 'provincial autonomy', our inexpensive army, our incorruptible services has just a suggestion of distance lending enchantment.

His knowledge of the Punjab is certainly first-hand, though not quite up-to-date. As a member both of the legislature and of the executive of that Province he came in contact with all sorts and conditions of men. But with the rest of India—especially these last fast years since 1935—he does not seem to be equally familiar. When he assures Canada that nobody in India wants to go 'beyond an honourable and equal position within the British Empire' (p. 51), or that there is not the least doubt that in the event of a war India will 'stand by her King as she did during the last war', and even more enthusiastically because to-day 'the government of the country is in our own hands' (p. 3), Indians might well rub their eyes.

But the book is informative to both nations and will help towards mutual admiration, which between two distant countries has not its usual drawbacks. Some remarks about schools in Canada, and especially about the Fairbridge Farm School where the last three years of the course are entirely given to Agriculture and Domestic Science for girls and Agriculture and Manual Work for boys, may be useful to Indian educational planners; but Sir Firoz's optimism about co-education (even in the Punjab during his Ministership) might not be shared by those who were actually in touch with students.

T. N. Siqueira.

INDIA'S NORTH-WEST FRONTIER. By SIR WILLIAM BARTON. Pp. XIII+308. London: Murray, 1939. Price 10s. 6d.

This book makes no secret of the British policy of 'peaceful penetration' in the tribal areas which separate Afghanistan from British India, or more particularly the country between the Durand line and the British Administration. Tracing the ethnological and historical affinities of the tribes to Afghanistan and depicting the hardihood of a people who see no meaning in any restraint on their 'wild independence', the author suggests the practical solution of the problem which the Simon Commission unhesitatingly and realistically called an 'international frontier of the first importance from the military point of view for the whole Empire'.

There is no lack of candour in the criticism he metes out to the Congress and the two brothers, Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib; nor is there any mincing of matters when it comes to the survey of the British administration. Lost opportunities of Border pacification, the defects and the expense of military strategy, British aloofness in the social life of the country come in for exposure as often as 'the baneful influence of Indian politics'. Such judgments obviously doom the book to a 'mixed reception'.

Of constructive value are the suggestions of giving self-government and opening out schemes for the economic betterment of the tribes. These deserve the careful consideration of Whitehall and Simla.

A. P. O'Brien.

THE LAW OF MAINTENANCE AND ALIMONY IN BRITISH INDIA. By K. S. R. APPARAO. Pp. XXXIII+183. Madras: Law Journal Press, 1939.

The Law of Maintenance and Alimony in British India is both personal and statutory: there is the Hindu and the Muhammadan Law on these subjects, besides the relevant sections of various Acts including the summary Chapter XXXVI of the Criminal Procedure Code. All these have been duly collocated with an explanation of the principles involved and the citation of cases. The volume is a brief conspectus of larger texts and is thus handy and useful.

A. P. O'Brien.

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE CONGRESS. By C. F. ANDREWS and GIRIJA MOOKERJEE. Pp. 304. London: Allen & Unwin, 1939. Price 7s. 6d.

This book gives within a fairly narrow compass the story of the Indian National Congress from the date of its inception right up to the year 1920 which marked the launching of the Non-Co-operation Movement by Mr. Gandhi. It takes us to the root of things and shows that the political movement in India was preceded by a religious awakening. It is most interesting to notice the gradual transition from the mendicant attitude of Congress to one of self-reliance which makes it claim for India the right to self-determination. The circumstances responsible for this transition have been clearly outlined.

It is hoped that the authors will continue their story to the present time by bringing out the second volume promised in the Preface to the first.

Robert Gomes.

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION. By M. R. PALANDE. Pp. 506. Oxford University Press, 1939. Price Rs. 3.

This is the eighth edition of a popular textbook first published in 1926. Not only has the text been considerably revised in order to bring the matter up to date, but the lucidity of the subject has been definitely enhanced by a 'complete overhaul of the plan' of the work. Its chief merit lies in its omission of unnecessary details, references, and quotations so tiresome to the beginner. Special mention should be made of the appendix summarizing recent changes in the Government of India Act and Part VI summarizing the enactments and statutes affecting the government of India from 1600 to 1935.

The bibliography, however, is neither full nor indicative of the subject-matter of the text to which works are related. In view of the absence of reference to source-books in the text, such well-arranged 'hints to further reading' should have been incorporated.

Benoyendra Nath Banerjea.

A HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By SRIMATI AKSHAYA KUMARI DEVI. Pp. 172. Calcutta : Vijaya Krishna Bros., 1939. Price Re. 1/8.

This is intended to be a manual of Sanskrit literature for the more general public. The author shows great erudition. But what she gives us is a series of short notices on the various Sanskrit literary productions, with a somewhat overwhelming mass of quotations, rather than a constructive historical description. Puranic and epic chronologies are mostly taken for granted. The choice of quotations is greatly influenced by the author's own 'philosophical' views which are repeatedly advocated in the text. Religion is summarily dealt with as mere magic, priest-craft, and obscure superstition. 'Hunger and love are the basis of material and moral advancement' (p. 129). The English is not seldom faulty, misprints abound, and one is often left to hunt for footnotes several pages back or ahead.

J. Bayart.

ECONOMICS

POPULATION : *To-day's Question*. By G. F. MCCLEARY. Pp. 222. London : Allen & Unwin, 1938. Price 6s.

The declining birth-rate in Western Europe has given rise to many speculations among economists and statesmen. The net reproduction rate of England and Wales is now about 25% below the rate required to maintain the present numbers of the population, and it has been shown by the application of modern statistical methods that unless there is a marked increase in fertility the population will reach a maximum within the next few years and will then begin to diminish. At first the decline will be small, but about 25 years hence a rapid decline will begin. Some persons view this state of things with disquiet. Others welcome it as tending to reduce unemployment. The third group, which is probably the largest, is made up of those who wish to know more of the question before forming a definite opinion one way or the other.

Mr. McCleary's little book is addressed to the last group. He gives a graphic account of the growth of population in England and Wales in the early part of the 19th century, and shows how the birth-rate has been declining since 1870. Nor is the decline confined to Great Britain ; it is true of the whole British stock. Even in the 'new' countries of Australia and Canada the net reproduction rate is now below the replacement rate. The writer thinks that by framing a proper population policy Britain and British dominions may be able to maintain enough numbers. But he is unable to give any definite idea of such a policy.

According to J. M. Keynes, a stationary population may be accompanied by a rising standard of living, provided consumption can be increased through a more equal distribution of income and the rate of interest be forced down so as to

make profitable a substantial change in the length of the period of production. But these conditions are not so easy to bring about. A reconstruction of the moral fibre of the nation seems to be an essential condition for any improvement in this matter. The Western nations seem to be drifting to chaos, and the decline of population is only one of the signs of impending disaster. Only a thorough moral regeneration will save the Western world; Mr. McCleary, like many other authors, seems to shrink from unpleasant conclusions.

P. J. Thomas.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER IN INDIA. By B. SHIVA RAO. Pp. 263. London: *Allen & Unwin*, 1939. Price 10s. 6d.

The author has taken a leading part in the Trade-Union movement in India from its very inception; he was delegated by Indian Labour to the Round Table Conferences and to the Geneva International Labour Conference; he was President of the National Trade-Union Federation: such rare distinctions show the authority he enjoys in his country on labour matters. A study of his book reveals his competent way of dealing with the many problems of Indian labour. He knows the life, needs, and aspirations of the industrial worker; more especially, he has a personal knowledge of conditions in southern India, though he surveys the whole field of Indian industry.

The point of view he takes is the one traditional with the British Trade Unions; he is little interested in politics, and insists on the economic and social approach to the solution of the labour problem. The remedies he proposes have rarely anything very original or heroic about them, as when he appears satisfied with the cowardly Malthusian escapism. But he is at his best when he describes the misery, struggles, and hopes of the labourer.

What seems to be new in Mr. Shiva Rao is his many-sided information on the origin and development of the Trade-Union movement in this country; he might perhaps have treated the bearing of the various political parties on the movement more in detail, but he possibly wanted to shun running into political considerations and preferred to adhere to the social and economic trend of the movement. Yet it is patent that one crying deficiency of the Indian Trade-Union movement is the excessive influence and membership of non-workers and the want of competent leadership among the labourers themselves.

A. Lallemand.

ECONOMICS OR POLITICS? By P. VAN ZEELAND. Pp. 56. *Cambridge University Press*, 1939. Price 2s. 6d.

This booklet reproduces a lecture delivered at Cambridge last October by the Belgian Premier. It is a sober and complete analysis of the main world problems which centre round the question of free trade and autarky, which is partly economic and partly political; in contrast with so many wild denunciations of rival interests, it is studiously impartial, sympathetic to all, and patiently moderate in its conclusions. Dr. Van Zeeland presented his hearers with no cut-and-dry reform; he merely intended to create a mentality which would discover and apply the reforms which might be needed in detailed instances.

A. Lallemand.

HISTORY

A SHORT HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS: 1920-1938. By G. M. GATHORNE-HARDY. Pp. X+474. *Oxford University Press*, 1939. Price 8s. 6d.

This is a revised and enlarged edition of the contemporary history issued in 1934 under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. In it the author claims to bring into play the art of the historian without any 'undue bias and tacit hypothesis'. The result is a useful collection of facts and inferences, though there lurks the danger of getting a blurred perspective when one looks from so near.

The book is divided into three parts: The Period of Settlement (1920-1925); The Period of Fulfilment (1925-1930); and The Period of Collapse (1930-1938).

1920-1925 was a period of evolution through a series of experiment, imposition, and a nexus of treaties. The author traces these throughout Europe, with its impolitic division since the Treaty of Versailles, and the Islamic world, with its internecine wars and outbursts of self-determination.

The years 1925-1930 appear structurally like a *dénouement* in a Greek play. Bitter incidents marked by intransigence and sieges work their woe till nationalism emerges in a sort of *deus ex machina*. This is seen in South America, particularly in Central America where the hegemony of the U. S. A. heretofore forborne is eventually resisted; in Arabia, Asia Minor, and Egypt a like discountenance of interference is shown, though the author infers the necessity of a Western Power.

1930-1938 have been years of sudden aggrandizement, violation of treaties, *coup*, murder, and sinister propaganda. These tend to a despairing outlook, and Mr. Gathorne-Hardy expresses it by changing the original title, 'The Period of Crisis', into 'The Period of Collapse'. Studying the economics of the Reparation Problem, War-debt and Currency instabilization, the book traces the growth of German National Socialism and its more macabre irredentism. There are, in addition, interesting summaries of world events which revive the memory rather than modify understanding. A timely Postscript ends the volume, for one does feel in a task like this the incompleteness of the narrative,

A. P. O'Brien.

THEY ALSO SERVED. By CECIL THOMAS. Pp. 383. London: Hurst & Blackett, 1939. Price 8s. 6d.

Involved in the fighting line of the Great War, in what seemed to a sensitive stripling an interminable and ruthless 'game of forfeits', Mr. Cecil Thomas and his comrades are captured on Vimy Ridge. They share for two and a half years the lot of prisoners of war, first in a German camp, then in a coal mine. At the outset they make up their minds to show their pugnacity; hunger, privation, and punishment leave them undeterred, for they also served their country in a dangerous and peculiar type of warfare which meant keeping their fists clean, 'their shoulders square and their buttons bright'.

There is much that is ironical and revolting in the book; but it is interspersed with pictures of the camaraderie of war which makes enemies kind. Beyond the booming of the guns and with the scars of war, the British soldier realizes—as would most combatants—that after all the enemy is not what narrow patriotism or publicity makes him.

A. P. O'Brien.

HISTOIRE DE L'ÉGLISE depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours. Vol. V. Grégoire Le Grand: les États barbares et la conquête arabe (590-757). By LOUIS BREHIER & RENE AIGRAIN. Pp. 576. Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1938. Price 75 frs.

Who but a few scholars will care to know the detailed developments of the early Germanic kingdoms, or the intricacies of Byzantine blue and green dogmatic quibbles, or the ups and downs of its policy of Unity of Creed shattered at one blow by the first onslaught of Islam? The book is eminently readable. No mean merit, being given its subject-matter.

This may seem a side issue, for what is aimed at chiefly in this well-known series, now in course of publication, is to place at the disposal of university or seminary professors an up-to-date documented account of Church affairs which will allow them to do research work in their turn, not at random, but carrying on where the latest workers have just left off.

Even so, it is but fair to single out the work of art and the art of composition where it occurs. The book reads as easily as Wells's *Outline*, but the documentary

references are so copious that a separate table for each volume is becoming more and more imperative.

P. Turmes.

THE VATICAN AS A WORLD POWER. By JOSEPH BERNHART. Pp. 456. London ; Longmans, 1939. Price 15s.

The death of Pius XI and the election of his successor have brought into greater prominence than ever the world influence of the Vatican. The present book, which has been done into English by G. N. Shuster, was designed as an historical interpretation of this world power ; it traces its growth through the centuries so as to make its development accessible to the average reader.

One cannot expect from such a book erudite references or bibliographies or learned discussions about the many moot points of Papal history. Yet we must regret that many inaccurate expressions are met with and many details supplied which a more mature talent would have left out or softened. Is the author not unduly anticipating the language of the nineteenth century when he ascribes to Sixtus V 'the European concept of the Balance of Power' ? Is he fair to the memory of Gregory XIII when he charges him with 'recommending that brutal murder serve (*sic*) as the instrument by which the Church could win against the Queen' of England ? Is he not indulging in rhetoric when he states that in the days of Pius IX 'the Jesuits took over the propaganda for Papal centralism and in the Neo-scholastic movement set up a rival to modern philosophy' ? And worse could be quoted.

The task the author undertook was not an easy one ; we cannot say that he has answered our expectations. Though the book is written by a Catholic, it is not a Catholic book.

A. Lahuri.

THE JACOBAN AGE. By DAVID MATHEW. Pp. 354. London : Longmans, 1938. Price 15s.

This book, for its profound learning, patient and courageous research, and particularly for the somewhat picturesque employment of the hitherto unpublished Hatfield Papers, places Dr. Mathew in the first rank of historians in general, and in a class by himself among the historians of the Jacobean period.

Gifted with the true historical sense, Dr. Mathew describes persons and movements in an era of confused loyalties with a sure and delicate touch. He has a rare capacity for summing up characters, whether of individuals or parties, in phrases that for their brevity and lucidity stand out like the Homeric epithets and designations.

The aspects of English life, the cringing behaviour of the nobles, the workings of the Puritan mind, the difficulties of the Yorkshire Catholics, the eccentricities of the rich travelling 'milord' are excellently described, and are like delightful and refreshing oases scattered along the arid reaches of an otherwise uninteresting period of history.

H. B. Bampton.

WORLD WAR IN SPAIN. By ARTHUR LOVEDAY. Pp. XXII+206. London : Murray, 1939. Price 6s.

There are already many histories of the war in Spain ; Mr. Loveday's brings the reader down to the end of the Catalan offensive. It is written with sympathy for General Franco, which is a rare distinction in the English world ; its appendixes will be found valuable : not only the Labour Charter and the Falangist programme but also the secret documents whose discovery hurried the military to forestall the Communist insurrection. The style is clear, simple, and attractively informative.

A. Lallemand.

THE PAPACY IN POLITICS. By JOSEPH MC CABE. Pp. 196. London: Watts, 1939. Price 1s.

Undiluted bunkum, unduly expensive.

A. Lallemand.

REDEN DER EINWEIHUNG. By CYRIL OF JERUSALEM. Pp. 57. GEISTLICHE BRIEFTE. By CHARLES DE CONDREN. Pp. 90. DER TRAUM DES GERONTIUS. By CARDINAL NEWMAN. Pp. 50. BIBLISCHE BETRACHTUNGEN EINES CHRISTEN. By JOHANN GEORG HAMANN. Pp. 75. Freiburg: Herder, 1939. Price RM. 1.20 each.

These are four volumes of the *Zeugen des Wortes* series recently started by Herder with the object of popularizing masterpieces of Catholic literature. Each is edited and introduced by a specialist, who explains its importance and meaning. Thus Dr. Ludwig Winterswyl edits St. Cyril's catechetical discourses, Dr. Bertha Kiesler introduces the doctrine of de Condren's letters, Theodore Haecker translates and annotates the *Dream of Gerontius*, and Dr. Isabella Rüttenauer explains the Biblical commentary of Hamann.

The whole series, which includes such gems as St. Ignatius of Antioch's Epistles, Newman's sermons, St. Augustine's sermons on St. John's Epistles, and selected works of Gratry, von Hügel, St. Bonaventure, St. Hildegard, is admirably suited to the layman's needs and corresponds to Sheed & Ward's *Essays to Order* or *Shilling* series.

T. N. Siqueira.

DE SACRAMENTIS. By FELIX M. CAPPELLO, S. J. Vol. III. DE MATRIMONIO. Two Parts. Pp. XI+675, VIII+605. Turin: Marietti, 1939. Price L. 25 each.

This is a revised and enlarged issue of the fourth edition of an indispensable book. Fr. Cappello's rare gift for completeness and as much clearness as is possible on the intricacies of marriage is well known to students of Canon Law and Moral Theology. Besides revising several details in the light of recent decisions and explanations, he has now added a useful appendix on the law according to the Eastern Church and quoted in full the Encyclicals of

Leo XIII and Pius XI on Christian marriage.

MISSALE ROMANUM. HORÆ DIURNÆ. Turin: Marietti, 1939.

This pocket Missal is an up-to-date, light, and clear-type volume; the *Little Hours* is a trifle larger than Mame's but more comfortable. Both are very cheap.

ACTA PONT. ACAD. ROM. S. THOMÆ AQUINATIS ET RELIGIONIS CATHOLICÆ: 1938. Pp. 210. Turin: Marietti, 1939. Price L. 15.

The Academy of St. Thomas keeps its standard of both theoretical and practical usefulness. Last year's *Acta* record able dissertations on causality, personality, analogy, the knowability of the outer world, as well as on such topical subjects as Rosenberg's *Myth*, the indivisibility of the human species, and social duties according to St. Thomas. The second part is a short chronicle of the Academy's doings during the year—the members, their works, and the Roll of Honour.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION: a bibliography. By G. W. SKEET. Pp. 36. Oxford University Press, 1939. Price 9d.

This bibliography is not meant to be complete but practically useful to school teachers of religion according to the Church of England. It divides the subject into Scripture (Old and New Testament), Geography, History, Science, Missions, books for discussion groups, plays, periodicals, etc.

LE PARADIS BLANC. By PIERRE VAN DER MEER DE WALCHEREN. Pp. 152. Paris: Desclée, 1939. Price 15 frs.

This is an enthusiastic description of Carthusian life especially at Valsainte (in the Alps) where the author spent some time. After a short account of its antecedents as far back as the Fathers of the Desert, he portrays the Order as St. Bruno made it—its daily round of prayer and manual labour, its ideal of contemplation and penance (explained by one of the monks), its usefulness to others. One cannot help feeling, as one closes this book, some of the 'nostalgie de la Valsainte' which Maritain in his Introduction says he shares with the author.

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