

Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

ONE is glad to see the signs of re-
 turning sanity among the C. P. Swarajists. After a long discussion the Executive Committee of the Swaraj Party has appointed a sub-committee to go into the special circumstances of the C. P. and to recommend the direction and extent of any change of policy that may be necessary there—of course consistently with Swarajist principles. The sub-committee consists of nine persons, of whom all but Messrs. C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru are local Swarajists, whose preparedness for accepting office is now an open secret. What is more remarkable is that the resolution appointing this sub-committee quotes at length the appeal made by Sir Frank Sly in his farewell durbar at Nagpur on the 10th, in which he announced that the new budget would be framed on the assumption that the transferred subjects would be looked after by Ministers and expressed the earnest hope that the 'Legislative Council would embrace this last opportunity of working the Constitution.' As Sir Frank Sly pointed out, the blind obstructionist policy of the C. P. Swarajists coincided with a remarkable improvement in the provincial finances, and the Governor had not the legal power to utilise the available money for the expansion of beneficent services. Now that these facts are sufficiently known to the people, if the Swarajists do not change their policy, they will have to be content with becoming a minority party from being the majority party. If not patriotism, let common sense at least guide them.

A Dramatic Council Session.

THAT leave for the introduction of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill would be refused was known. The majority was in fact expected to be greater than it proved, as the Ordinance which the Bill sought to place permanently on the statute book has evoked nearly universal opposition, and before the Council met numerous meetings all over the province were held calling upon the representatives of the people to oppose the Bill. The setting of the Council meeting was highly dramatic. It was a special session called only for introducing the Bill. An attempt made in Christmas week by the leading Mussalman supporters of Government ended in a comic failure. An all-Bengal Muslim conference was called but the president proved a Tartar to the organisers, and as he was delivering his speech denouncing the Ordinance the address was snatched away from his hands and the conference ended in a fiasco. On the eve of the Council meeting the Mussalmans met again under the same president but with other organisers, and with only half a dozen dissentients, among whom was the ex-Minister Mr. Fazlul Huq, gave a sort of mandate to the Muslim members to oppose the Bill. Not a visitor was allowed to attend the Council meeting and extraordinary police protection was arranged for Government supporters, as if the terrorists against whom the Bill was directed were known to be in the Council itself. Mr. C. R. Das heightened the effect by attending in a critical state of health, disregarding medical advice. Then Lord Lytton delivered an earnest, eloquent and impressive address, making dramatic use of the confession of an anarchist who had been tried and acquitted in 1915. And Mr. C. R. Das being ill, the opposition was led not by a Swarajist but by a Liberal, an ex-Minister, one who was a member of the Rowlatt Committee and therefore knew more about anarchists than any other non-official member. The emotional atmosphere of Bengal could not have been rendered more electric. All the same, there was no doubt about the result of the voting.

Lord Lytton's
 Speech.

ADMIRABLE as Lord Lytton's speech was in many respects, it was not convincing on the main point, which is the popular fear of abuse of power by the executive instruments of Government. He set out to vindicate the character of the latter. "They have been accused of fabricating false charges, of planting arms upon innocent men and of trying to secure convictions by perjured evidence." These charges, it will be remem-

bered, were made recently by no less a person than Sir Sankaran Nair. Lord Lytton traces "these general and in that from wholly undeserved charges" to a single case—the Mussalmanpara Bomb case of 1914. We are not sure that Sir Sankaran Nair would admit that to be the case. Lord Lytton then made the dramatic revelation that the accused in that case, who was acquitted by the High Court, had confessed his guilt to him and permitted him to make it public. This was no doubt a case of "error of our imperfect human justice" as Lord Lytton described it, but it does not vindicate the methods of the police. Under the British system of justice, it is not at all rare for the guilty to escape. Such cases occur daily. That is because the system is based on the principle that it is far better that a hundred guilty persons should escape than that one innocent person should be wrongly convicted. That the accused in this case was really guilty does not show that the evidence collected by the police in this and other cases was all genuine. Lord Lytton made a really touching appeal to the Council, offering co-operation "with both hands," to turn the energies of misguided youths from destructive to constructive plans. But made on this particular occasion, it sounded incongruous and was wholly ineffective.

* * *

Lack of Confidence. SIR HUGH STEPHENSON, who moved the proposition on behalf of Government, made a cogent speech and put his case at its best. He proved the existence of conspiracy beyond doubt and gave some idea of its organization. He explained also why open trials were in Government's opinion unsuitable for such cases. It was essential that the terrorist organisation should not know directly or indirectly the extent and sources of information and the methods of working of the Government agency. That knowledge could not be kept from them if ordinary judicial methods were adopted. The question therefore is one of confidence in the executive, which unfortunately the people do not possess now. Sir Hugh quoted the verdict of the Rowlatt Committee and of Justices Beachcroft and Chandavarkar to show that confidence was deserved. But he weakened his case much more than he knew when he admitted that "the Bengal Government asked for the use of Regulation III of 1818 in the case of Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt because of his whirlwind campaign of anti-Government speeches, etc." That is exactly why people have no confidence in the executive: legislation meant for one purpose is easily abused for another purpose whenever it suits executive convenience. The main problem is how to promote confidence and trust between Government and the people. For that it is necessary that Government should take the legislature or at least the trusted leaders of the people into full confidence and avoid all methods that rouse suspicion. The representatives of the people also should realise the difficulties of Government and not proceed on the assumption that it was necessarily a tyranny constantly encroaching on popular liberty. Sir P. C. Mitter went as far as any non-official dare go, when he suggested that Part I of the Rowlatt Act may be re-enacted, and if Government be very apprehensive some portions of Part II also, but nothing beyond. He made it clear that it was not the opinion of the Liberal party but his own individual suggestion for which the justification was his exceptional knowledge of the anarchists. It is doubtful if public opinion will support him, but is Government prepared to go even so far in meeting popular wishes?

* * *

Lynching Mr. Gandhi!

AT last the necessity of saving Hinduism from the heresies of Mr. Gandhi has occurred to some people. They are prepared to lay down their lives in the defence of their religion. One naturally wonders what occasion so sincere a follower of *ahimsa* or non-violence as Mr. Gandhi is can give for the exercise of such heroism on the part of these defenders of Hinduism. It is his zeal for the removal of untouchability! We are sorry that a person of Mr. Manmohandas Ramji's standing in public life should have put himself at the head of these people. Presiding over a meeting in Bombay, he declared that Hinduism was in danger of extinction at the hands of Mr. Gandhi and they should save it even at the expense of their lives! Another speaker at the meeting said that if Mr. Gandhi had made such statements in another country he would have been torn to pieces and the time had come for them to lynch him should he make such statements again publicly. This naturally created an uproar, but the chairman came to the rescue of the speaker by suggesting that all he meant was that he was prepared to die for his religion and not that he would lynch Mr. Gandhi. Finally the meeting appointed a committee to investigate the alleged aspersions of Mr. Gandhi and to recommend what steps should be taken. We never expected so much crudity to find expression in the Indian Piece-goods Merchants' Association rooms. No one will be deceived by such silly froth, though so far as Mr. Gandhi is concerned, he would like nothing so much as being lynched for the cause of untouchables and he said so in Bhavnagar.

* * *

Future of Anglo-Indians.

IN the course of an interesting speech at the Calcutta Rotary Club, regarding the future of Anglo Indians, Col. Gidney strongly recommended the following policy:

"That whilst retaining their communal distinctiveness, they declare themselves as 'citizens and sons of India,' prepared to associate entirely and whole-heartedly with all other communities, both European and Indian, and work for the common good of India, their Motherland, whose welfare and development and prosperity should be their first and foremost duty."

Leaders of Anglo-Indians should not have required so many years to discover that they are citizens and sons of India and of no other country. But on account of the special privileges enjoyed by Europeans, Anglo-Indians have always emphasised the trace of foreign blood in them rather than the fact of their being Indians. They have always desired a favoured position, and in this very speech Col. Gidney wished that England had followed the same policy as France, Holland and other countries and conferred special privileges—social, legal, political and economic—on its subjects of mixed descent. This hankering after special treatment does them no good. Privileged classes are an anomaly in democratic countries. Moreover, not competing on fair terms with others, they do not develop their capabilities to the full. It would be best for them to give up their communal consciousness and get absorbed among Indian Christians. In any case they cannot call themselves "sons of India" and yet not be "Indians". If they thus separate themselves how can they blame those Indians who out of prejudice or ignorance look upon them as aliens? They are Anglo-Indians, it is true, but not in order to enjoy all the advantages of Europeans and Indians and none of the disadvantages of either. If foolishly they wish to be classed with Europeans, they must forego appointments in the railway and telegraph and other departments. If for the purposes of public service they wish to be Indians, they must be prepared to compete fairly with other Indians and not desire any privileges.

THE LEAGUE'S FIRST LUSTRUM.

ONE is only too well aware of Nov. 11th, 1918, being celebrated—not so much as the anniversary of the Armistice, as the cult day of "The Unknown Soldier"; one knows also of July 29th or Aug. 4th, 1914, the beginning of the War, as being annually emphasized by 'No More War' demonstrations: but one has yet to hear of any general commemoration of January 10th, 1920, the day on which the War came *de jure* to an end and peace, at least on paper, was restored in Europe. True the 'peace' was that of Versailles: and one may well understand and appreciate the feeling of shame which has prevented the coming into force of that treaty, signed as it was at the point of the bayonet, from being made the subject of any public rejoicing. But it so happens in this curious world of ours, which refuses to correspond to any facile classification into devils and angels, that Part One of the Versailles Peace Treaty represents the Covenant of the League of Nations and that January 10th therefore marks, not only the coming into force of that treaty, but also the birth of the League of Nations.

On January 10th, 1925, the *League* was five years old. We have no intention here to recapitulate what during these five years the League has done or not done. But to those who are inclined to disparage its achievements during that period, we would just put this question: whether or not, in the opinion of these critics, the European situation would have been better than it is, if the *League* had not existed and if its function had been carried out—as needs would have been the case—by, say, 'The Big Five' (or 'Four', or 'Three') or the 'Ambassadors' Conference' or some such body. The very existence of the *League* has made the *League* indispensable: that really even its enemies cannot but admit. Whether on the other hand the *League* during these first five years has realized all its inherent potentialities, is of course a question, which its staunchest partisans cannot answer in the affirmative. On the whole however it is undeniable that the last five years have seen a great step forward in the direction of international peace and justice. Only a year ago M. Poincaré still delivered his hebdomadal Sunday orations on his *non possumus* text; his 'peaceful mission' was still terrorizing the Ruhr and other German districts; the 'reparations' demand was still in a chaotic state, fit emblem of the economic and moral chaos into which it had plunged the *Reich*. Today M. Herriot cultivates a human approach to Germany; he has agreed to leave the Ruhr next August and has materially mitigated the burden of French occupation, the Dawes plan has taken 'Reparations' out of the realms of the Never-Never Land and Germany is, for the first time since five years, beginning to hope. Best of all, the Prime Ministers of France and England have gone in person to Geneva and proclaimed *urbi et orbi* that theirs is a *League*, and not a nationalist policy, in pledge whereof they put forward a famous Protocol for the pacific settlement of *all* international disputes; and Germany, the last of the ex-enemy

States, was formally invited to join the *League*. Five years was also the time foreseen in the Peace Treaty when the first zone of occupied Germany was to have been evacuated: everything therefore pointed to it that January 10th, 1925, would mark the real close of 'the war after the war.'

And it is Mr. Baldwin, that has disappointed one's optimism. January 10th has come and gone, and the British troops still garrison Cologne. Let it be frankly admitted that the withdrawal of that army is not the simple matter it seems. For since Versailles there has taken place the invasion of the Ruhr; and M. Herriot, to humour the fears of those deluded by Poincaréism, only last August stipulated that the complete evacuation of the Ruhr need not take place until August 1925. But the Cologne zone is the corridor connecting France and the Ruhr: hence, if the French are still in the Ruhr, Cologne evidently cannot be evacuated—i. e. if the British did, the French would promptly march in. If England or the Allies had put this to the German Government, there is no doubt that its concurrence would have been obtained: but even if with German obstinacy the *Reich* had refused to agree, the German people could not have felt sore at the British continuing in Cologne a few months longer. As it is, the British Foreign Office, instead of being frank, has resorted to a technical subterfuge: evacuation will not take place, it says, because Germany has not completely disarmed. That is very likely; but is it inferred that Germany will be more ready to disarm still further and in the only direction that matters, viz. morally, if the victors go on violating in spirit, if not in letter, all pledges given to their beaten foe from November 11st onwards? The British and Allied notes fortunately demolish the preposterous contention of M. Poincaré, that the 5—10—15 years' periods set by the Treaty have not yet begun to run: but, at the very least, they are an inexcusable blunder, which will but help to reinforce in Germany all the forces for reaction, Monarchy, Nationalism and "revenge."

If Mr. Chamberlain has proved clumsy on the Rhine, he has shown himself even in very much more sinister a light at the last meeting of the League Council at Rome. One of the points to be settled there was the taking over by the League of the supervision of the ex-enemy States in regard to disarmament. Needless to say, the passing of this control from the hands of the victors into those of an impartial body would mean the possibility of that festering sore healing up at a long last. But what was settled at Rome? That the *League* Commission for Germany was to be presided over by a Frenchman and that for Austria by an Italian! Hardly ever has the moral authority of the *League* received so dangerous a wound. Almost as bad was Mr. Chamberlain's demand for postponing consideration of the *Protocol*. Under the plea of conferring with the Dominions (a desire not reciprocated by the latter, by the way!) Mr. Chamberlain has now managed to make impossible the holding of the Disarmament Conference in June next, which there was only time enough to prepare, as long as all the Council members

remained as keen as were Messrs. MacDonald and Herriot. In view of the palpable *sabotage* thus practised by Mr. Chamberlain, it really was nauseating for Mr. Baldwin to pretend that Mr. Chamberlain had been sent to Rome, to show how highly his new government esteemed the *League*. Had Mr. Baldwin talked less of his love for the *League* and sent Lord Robert Cecil instead of Mr. Austen Chamberlain, more people might have believed in the genuineness of his attachment to a *League* policy.

The naked fact is that Mr. Baldwin and his party are not Internationalists but Imperialists, and that therefore they cannot *ex animo* consent to a genuine *League* policy. The very first thing that the new government in England did, was to restore provision for the Singapore scheme: because they rate the importance of creating an international storm-centre in the Far East very much lower than the discountenancing of the Imperialists of Australia. No sooner was Mr. Chamberlain installed at the Foreign Office, than the Boxer Indemnity Committee, which was to have spent the money extorted from China on Chinese education, was told to promote Imperially valuable schemes in China instead—members like Mr. Lowes Dickinson and Mr. Bertrand Russell incidentally being curtly dismissed from the Committee. The Russian treaties of course are scrapped and the money, instead of being lent to Russia, is spent on subsidizing Dominion imports. And the new era of "Open Diplomacy" inaugurated by Mr. Ponsonby in April last is brought to an abrupt end on December 15th by Mr. Chamberlain declaring that the new Government would not continue the practice of laying all treaties on the Table of the House—because, forsooth, it clashed with the right of the Dominions to a share in the Empire's foreign affairs!

There remain the questions of Egypt and Ireland. We will here not enlarge on the Mussoliniesque sum of half a million as the ransom to which England has held Egypt; on the demands for unlimited water rights in the Nile on behalf of a British financial group with cotton growing interests in the Sudan; on the case for a British mandate for the Sudan at the hands of the *League*; on the duty of the *League* clearing up the untenable international relationship of Egypt and England; on the propriety of the Suez Canal being placed under *League* auspices. We here will only refer to the letter, despatched well before the Stack murder, by Mr. Chamberlain to the Secretary General of the *League* declaring that Anglo-Egyptian affairs are deemed by England to be the sole concern of England and outside the *League's* purview altogether; and Mr. Chamberlain's twin protest dated November 27th against the registration by the *League* of the Anglo-Irish Agreement of December 6th, 1921; in which protest Mr. Baldwin's Government has committed itself to the policy 'that the *League* Covenant is not intended to govern the relations—*inter se*—of various parts of the British Commonwealth.' Now it is evident that the Government of the Irish Free State cannot but take up that challenge. That country either is or is not a member of

the *League*. If it is, it is one of 55 members, all with the same rights and duties towards each other. If such equality is excluded, membership must cease also. Already, the fact that the British Empire at the *League* has through its Dominions and India a sixfold polling strength is being continuously watched with anything but friendly eyes at Geneva. Hitherto the other *League* members have consented to this curious British prerogative, because they have been aware that Great Britain and the Colonies are not infrequently at cross-purposes. But let once the British Empire put up the pretention that heads it wins and tails the other members lose—and it is inconceivable that the present "Imperial" arrogation will be allowed. The Irish delegates are bound to put the matter before the next Assembly: they are not the kind of Dominion *à la* India, which is "represented" by an alien ex-Viceroy, nor the "loyal" brand *à la* New Zealand, which would not think of making itself inconvenient. They are going to have it out, as to whether there is a second-class membership in the *League* or not: and somehow, one does not visualise Australia, and certainly not Canada, voting for the English interpretation in this matter. What then? The ultra-Imperialists may yet be hoist by their own petard.

What then will happen? Will the *League* make shipwreck on the rock of British Imperialism—or the British Empire on that of the *League*? Whatever the prognosis, the completion of the first lustrum of its life certainly does not seem to betoken to the young *League* a continued existence less assailed by all the forces in the world, whether within the British Empire or outside it, which make, not for international peace and justice, but for imperial plunder and domination.

MAHATMA GANDHI ON INDIAN STATES.

IN his presidential address to the Kathiawad Political Conference held at Bhavnagar last week, Mahatma Gandhi expressed the fear that to many his speech would appear incomplete and even insipid. Frankly, to our thinking, it is very incomplete and insufferably insipid. It is worse: it gives an entirely wrong lead in so far as it attempts to give a lead at all and would be positively harmful if the workers in Indian States followed the line of policy recommended in it. But, fortunately, there is no such danger. Mahatma Gandhi himself is conscious of the "wide divergence" that exists "between his own views and the views held by many on political questions," and however high a place he may hold—and justly hold—in the affections of the people, few there are at this time of the day who will allow their political course to be swayed by the Mahatma's advice.

So far as the Indian States are concerned, the practical problems with which their subjects are face to face are not so much as touched upon by Mahatma Gandhi. Is the so-called "non-intervention policy" of the British Government in the internal affairs of the States good for the subjects? Should the demand made by the Princes for an extension of their prerogatives and relaxation of control by the British

Government be supported or opposed by the subjects? What steps should the latter take to induce the Princes to institute responsible government in their States? These and such-like subjects are agitating the public mind at present, but Mahatmaji gives the cold shoulder to them all, which makes his speech incomplete. It is insipid, because to the subjects of Indian States he has nothing better to recommend than the charka, &c., over which he is crying himself hoarse, to no purpose, in British India. The message of the charka is particularly inappropriate in Indian States, for the greatest merit of hand-spinning in the eyes of those few who have faith in it is that as destroying foreign trade in cloth, it is the best available means in our hands of destroying the power of our foreign rulers and of enforcing the concession of Swaraj. Whatever the efficiency of the charka may be in British India, it cannot have any application in Indian India, where the rulers are not affected either way by the charka movement. But in Indian States the charka is recommended on a quite different ground: there the "Sudarshan charka" is recommended not as undermining the power of the Satanic Government, but just because "there is no conflict possible between a Prince and his subjects in this khadi work!" One can only marvel at the extent to which the propagandists of the spinning wheel presume on the inability of the people to think for themselves!

Our chief quarrel with the Mahatmaji's address, however, is that it holds out false ideals before the people and it makes quite an unwarranted discrimination between Indian and foreign rulers in treating the essentially identical subject of wringing responsible government from unwilling hands. "I am anxious to see only the good points of the States," he says at one place in his address. This is indeed the spirit which permeates the speech throughout. But imagine him speaking thus about British rulers! He is not quite blind to the wrongs which the Princes are doing to their subjects, but he is much too tender in noticing them. He is almost as indulgent to the Indian rulers as he would be severe in dealing with the British rulers. This partiality is no doubt subconscious, but it obtrudes itself in a most unpleasant way on those who can summon up just as much indignation against swadeshi oppressors as against those of the foreign brand. The principal vice of the Indian princes which meets with Gandhiji's condemnation is the too great frequency with which they visit foreign countries and the consequent waste of people's good money. This is no doubt an evil, but certainly not the worst evil. As for extravagance, those who keep their eyes wide open know that some Princes who have never crossed the seas have proved themselves capable of spending more on themselves than those who have. And we are not so sure either that the subjects would not prefer a ruler spending their money abroad to one who spends the money no doubt in this country, but who interferes too frequently in the State's administration. We rather think they would regard the money he would spend in a foreign country as none

too heavy a price to pay for saving the administration from the blighting effects of personal rule. Mahatma Gandhi also condemns the Abkari policy and the vicious revenue system in force in the States, but he can only condemn them as "an imitation of the British system." But is this attitude at all fair? Does Mahatma Gandhi not know that in an average Indian State, which is free to manage its affairs, the effects of the Abkari policy are much worse than in the adjoining district of British India? That a most serious difficulty of temperance reformers in British India at present is that on the border of their district an Indian State plants too many pubs which they cannot control? That in an average State the tax-burden imposed upon the people is much heavier than in British India? Is there any use denying that the subjects of Indian States, we mean the masses of people, not the upper classes, have to pay much more than in British India, while the services rendered by the State are meant only for the richer classes? A writer brought the fact to light in these columns some time ago that in Jaipur, e. g., while the revenue paid by the subjects, is at least double that in British India, the money spent on education there is barely a pie in the rupee, the corresponding amount spent in British India being many times over. Another writer revealed the fact that in Kolhapur the State actually made a profit on the primary education of the people, saving up for the ruler a portion of what was taken from the people for imparting primary education. In fairness to the British Government, it may be said that such things are impossible in British India.

But, Mahatma Gandhi pleads on behalf of the Indian States rulers: "the Princes have no independence." Does Mahatma Gandhi wish the Princes to have complete independence? Are the abuses and injustices found in Indian States due to the subservience of the Princes to the British Government or the British Government not keeping a vigilant lookout over the Princes' misdeeds? Mahatma Gandhi bewails the lack of "will and ability (on the part of the Princes) to protect the subjects against the world." What the subjects desire is not so much protection by the Princes as against the Princes. They do not want the Princes to protect them against the world, but the world, and especially the British Indian subjects and British Indian rulers, to protect them against the Princes. And in this the Mahatma is not willing to lend a helping hand. "At a time when the people of British India are fighting for their own freedom," he says, "for them to interfere with the affairs of the Indian States would be only to betray impotence." Thus he justifies the present Congress policy of non-interference in questions affecting Indian States. His message therefore to Indian States subjects is no other than what he has delivered to oversea Indians: "We are not competent to give you any help: wait till we attain Swaraj: things will automatically mend themselves then." Many people are puzzled about the future of Indian States under Swaraj: Mahatma Gandhi's mind is not assailed by any such doubts. He definitely holds that "all will be

well if one of the component parts of India becomes self-governing." It is remarkable that with all his tenderness for Indian Princes, Mahatma Gandhi cannot imagine Indian States to show the way to British India in the attainment of self-government. British India must be self-governing first and then it will be in a position to help Indian States. Indian States subjects will not be cheered by Mahatma Gandhi's confession of inability to assist them till swaraj is established in British India. In the meanwhile Mahatma Gandhi counsels Satyagraha to the subjects of States, not indeed as a practical line of policy, but as some far-off thing to be kept in view. He warns them against launching upon satyagraha without adequate reason and points to its dangers if initiated without due preparation, but has not a word to say as to whether the conditions prevailing in Indian States at present are bad enough to warrant embarkation upon this course.

Curiously enough, Mahatma Gandhi does not even advise Indian Princes to establish a popular Government within the borders of their States. Indeed, one fears that he has little faith in representative government, for he seems to fancy a benevolent despot much more than a constitutional ruler. His beau ideal is Rama as he ruled in ancient times: "Rama did not need the very imperfect modern instrument of ascertaining public opinion by counting votes. . . . He knew public opinion by intuition as it were." People however do not long for the return of Rama Rajya. Instead of desiring a perfect ruler who does everything for his subjects, people have now taken a fancy for a ruler who will let his subjects do all things for themselves, without let or hindrance. "The race of Rama is not yet extinct," Mahatma Gandhi assures us. It may be so; but we consider it wiser not to depend upon our having a ruler who will know of the complaints of the people by intuition, but to have a system of government whereby the people can make the rulers remove all their just complaints. Whether the race of Rama is extinct or not, it is clear that the present degenerate race of men has not much use for the Mahabism even of Rama.

The Mahatma Gandhi's address will thus strike all workers in Indian States as extremely disappointing, inasmuch as it emphasizes points which had better be left in the background, slurs over the really important matters and places before people an ideal which is not adapted to modern times.

AMERICA IN THE PHILIPPINES.*

III

EVER since the White Man took the Black Man's burden on his broad and devoted shoulders it has been an exceedingly difficult task for the Black Man to convince his chivalrous carrier that if left to himself he can manage to walk, though he may falter and even tumble in the beginning and that his initial ungrainly carriage need not excessively hurt the rhythmic sense of the modern Atlas, the White Man. Often the Black Man is asked to prove his humanity,

to prove that what grows on his head is hair and not wool, to prove that he also has his human needs, physical and spiritual, which refuse always to be satisfied in accordance to superior alien dictations. Often enough he is asked to learn the noble art of walking by assiduously kicking his doubtful legs in the air to the accompaniment of the various tunes of 'Sphere of influence,' 'Protectorate,' 'Colony,' and 'Dependency'. He may and even is allowed, as an act of especial favour, to be carried about in a political pram under White chaperonage, with continual threat of reversion to the security of White shoulders, for any misbehaviour. In the Hades of political nonage the Black Man is condemned to the joint sufferings of Tantalus and Sisyphus.

So when the irresistible American logic, after having liberated Cuba, became inoperative as soon it reached the Philippines, the Filipinos naturally became anxious about their final disposition by America. The Republicans as a party were for retaining the Islands 'for ever and ever.' 'We will give you,' they said 'a good and efficient government, bridges, harbours, roads, schools, hospitals, and what not; only accept our sovereignty for all time.' There were also the Anti-imperialists, mostly of the Democratic party, who were definitely against any territorial aggrandizement. The Republicans said: 'What we have done was inevitable because it was in accordance with the laws of our being in the disregard and defiance of which lie ruin and retreat' (Senator Lodge). The Democrats on the other hand were of opinion that 'the Filipinos could not be citizens without endangering our civilization, they could not be subject without imperilling our form of government' (Mr. Bryan). They declared against seizing a country more densely populated than their own country and to force a government for which there was no warrant in the American Constitution or laws. During the Presidential campaign of 1900 the 'paramount issue' of imperialism was swamped in the coinage questions and resulted in the victory of the Republican candidate, Mr. McKinley. To the Filipinos the significance of the Republican victory was unmistakable. It might mean, as in fact in a great measure it did mean, good government, but certainly not freedom. The Republicans were willing to give the Filipinos 'the largest measure of self-government which shall be consistent with their welfare and our duties.' They said frankly: 'While we regard the welfare of these people as a sacred trust, we regard the welfare of the American people first.' The heart nerves of the American were atingle with philanthropic fervour, but his pocket nerves were by no means numb. America would reclaim large land and human mass to commerce and civilization. 'Lincoln, Jefferson, and Constitution,—yes, of course,' said the American within himself, 'but what of Manila hemp, sugar, the laws of being of the American nation, the American destiny, the Nordic mission, a foothold in the East, a place in the tropical sun?' Fortunately for the Philippines the imperialistic furor, 'the sudden imperialistic impulse of 1866-1900' as Bryce called it, gradually subsided

* Continued from the issue of 1st January.

and mellowed into benevolence for the Filipinos. "The Philippines are ours, not to exploit but to develop, to civilise, to educate, to train in the science of self-government. This is the path of duty which we must follow or be recreant to a mighty trust committed to us." In February 1900 President McKinley appointed a Philippine Commission with Mr. W. H. Taft as chairman 'to continue and perfect the work of organizing and establishing civil government already commenced by the military authorities.' In the same year the Commission assumed the legislative functions of the central government and in July 1901 the executive authority was also transferred from the military governor to Taft who was made civil governor. In September 1901 an Act was passed providing an organization for the departments of interior, of commerce and police, of finance and justice and of public instruction.

In governing the Philippines the U. S. A. had from the beginning tried to build from the bottom. The Spanish despotism had destroyed all forms of self-government in the Islands. Rigid centralisation, corruption among the civil servants, and caprices and intrigues in the government had made the Spanish administration utterly disregardful of public welfare, brutalizing the public life and stifling public opinion. It was a wholly inefficient government with intervals of violence and cruelty. To bring together the disintegrated corporate life of the Filipinos, it was necessary to revive municipal life, to invest it with responsibilities, and reduce the control over it to a minimum compatible with reasonable efficiency. The Municipal Act of 1901 provided for a system of fairly autonomous and democratic municipal government, with elected presidents and vice-presidents.

The general Provincial Act passed by the Philippine Commission in 1901 provided the form of provincial government. 'The Act provided for a provincial board consisting of the governor, the treasurer and the supervisor (director of public works) of the province; and for a provincial fiscal (prosecuting attorney) and a provincial secretary.' The governor was elected biennially by the municipal council in convention. The rest of the officials were at first appointed by the Commission but were later, with the exception of the fiscal, selected under civil service regulations. In the beginning the treasurer and the supervisor, constituting the majority in the provincial board, were usually Americans and were subsequently replaced by the Filipinos.

Of far greater importance as a legislative measure for the government of the Philippines was the Organic Act of 1902. The Act contained a bill of rights, provided for the establishment of a popular assembly, after the completion and publication of the census consisting of not less than fifty and not more than one hundred members to be apportioned among the provinces according to population. The members were to be elected for a term of two years by the Act. "A voter must be of twenty three years of age, must have been a resident of the municipality for at least six months, must not be citizen or

subject of any foreign country and must possess one of the following qualifications: have been an office-holder under Spanish rule, own real estate worth 500 pesos (peso=50 cents), pay taxes amounting annually to 30 pesos or be able to speak, read and write either Spanish or English." The first Philippine Assembly was opened in October 1907 with 80 members.

The Organic Act was passed with not a little opposition. Exception was taken to the provision of a popular assembly, for it was contended (the contention proved later to be a stupid suspicion) that the Filipinos were not fit to exercise democratic rights and use democratic institutions. On the other hand, efforts were made to move amendments in the form of a bill declaring the American sovereignty as only temporary and its withdrawal after a specified period, giving the Filipinos absolute and unqualified independence. The efforts however proved fruitless.

The sympathy of the Democratic party with the aspirations of the Filipinos had made the American election an event of some importance to the Filipinos. After the assassination of McKinley in September 1901, vice-president Roosevelt succeeded him. In the election of 1904 in the topsy-turvydom of party issues and the 'motion show' of party differences, Roosevelt emerged victorious. In the presidential campaign of 1908 Roosevelt threw his whole weight on the side of Taft, who won by defeating Bryan. During the Republican regime of 1899-1913, the foundations of a modern democratic government were laid in the Philippines. The election of 1912 placed the Democrats in power in Washington. This inspired new hopes among the Filipinos. On receipt of the news of Mr. Woodrow Wilson's election fifty thousand Filipinos paraded the streets of Manila.

J. B. SEN.

(To be continued.)

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

LONDON, DECEMBER 25th.

THE news that the Governor-General of South Africa has assented to the Natal Boroughs Ordinance Bill, forbidding the adding of further Indians to the municipal electoral role, has called forth most vehement protests from the Indian community there. Resolutions have been passed by the South African Indian Congress endorsing a plan for bringing a test case to the Privy Council and should that fail, once again to resort to passive resistance. Urgent cables have been sent to London appealing to the Imperial Government to advise the King to disallow the ordinance, and so save the Indian community in Natal from helotry and doom. Unfortunately nobody is in London during the Christmas week, so no word of hope can be got from anybody just now, but a big fight will have to be put up to prevent so unjust and retrograde a measure to be allowed. Nothing must be left undone that can be done, and one can only hope that even now it is not too late to avert such a tragedy as the allowing of this Bill will certainly bring about and to work with what patience one can.

This week's *Sunday Times* had a long article containing a special statement made to it by Baron Hayashi, the Japanese Ambassador in London, on the Japanese-American relations. The Ambassador ridiculed the idea that the alleged refusal of Japan to agree to a visit of the American Fleet after next year's manoeuvres could betoken any ill-will. It may not even be true that the American Fleet's proposed visit has been refused by Japan. "I am certain," the Ambassador is reported to have said, "that the only reason for Japan not receiving the American Fleet is because she has no port able to offer the necessary accommodation. How preposterous it is to assume that there is any real feeling of antagonism between the two countries only those at the head of affairs in both states can say. Relations between Japan and the United States have never been more cordial than they are today nor has the outlook been more promising." In dealing with the Singapore Base, Baron Hayashi said he thought his country's leaders recognised that the ultimate construction of the Singapore naval base was inevitable. Japan realised that the plans for this project were discussed many years ago. "Great Britain," he said later, "had always gone out of her way to explain her need for a base in the East. I am sure we understand that explanation. She has to do her duty in the best interests of her scattered Empire." Such statements by Baron Hayashi present quite a different story of Japan's feeling towards America and Great Britain than some of our papers would have us believe is the case. Baron Hayashi condemns what he calls the Jingo Press of all countries, which he says makes not for peace but antagonism and enmity, and deploras the fact that they can influence the relationship of great nations.

The official announcement that has just been made that the Government are in communication with the Governments of the Dominions and India with a view to ascertaining whether it will be possible to arrange a special meeting of the Imperial Conference early in March 1925, to discuss the questions arising out of the Geneva Protocol for the pacific settlement of international disputes, is very welcome. It proves that for the future questions of more than national importance will have to be examined and decided upon by not only the British Cabinet, but also by all the Dominion States. The meeting together of the various representatives of the Empire to take joint decisions and actions in big affairs must add to the understanding not only of the questions under discussion, but to the individual point of view of men representing the far away parts of our great commonwealth. It also makes the family bond tighter and adds strength to the whole. Such conferences seem as though they might pave the way towards the realisation of a dream some of us have had of an Empire Parliament. The conception of such an idea is a mighty one filled with immense possibilities, but could only be put into practical form after much hard and intense thinking and a knowledge of Empire problems that at present no one body of people possesses. In a small measure the Wembley Exhibition did some-

thing towards the possibility of such an Empire Parliament. At least it taught us how little we know of our brothers in other lands, of their resources and difficulties, and how much we could know and gain from each other.

REVIEWS.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF THE RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI. (G. A. Natesan & Co, Madras.) 1924. 7½ × 5. pp. 598. Rs. 3.

THIS is none too late, the publication of the speeches of a great leader of Indian political thought, whose superb eloquence and irresistible power of argument and appeal have held audiences in diverse parts of a vast Empire in rapt attention, evoking involuntary applause from even fastidious Imperial statesmen. From men most eminently fitted to judge, the supreme excellence of these orations has received testimony in words which might sound extravagant to those who have not come under their spell. Wherein lies its secret? one asks, for mere specimens of verbal thaumaturgy, admirable as it may be in itself, do not touch our soul, much less touch it to such noble issues as these speeches do. Theirs is the spontaneous language of a mind, in outlook lofty and international, in temper critical and finely poised, in judgment sober and judicious to a degree; they are the natural throb of a heart in which the ardour of patriotism does not glow the less for its being blended with a larger humanity. The words with which Mr. Sastri closed his exhortation to the English on the occasion of the conferment on him of the Freedom of the City of London—an exhortation which, for its dignity and apostolic fervour of earnestness, closely recalls the *Areopagitica*—strike the keynote of an exalted ideal:

"Rather let this be said of your country in regard to India: England took charge of a people divided from her by colour, by race and by culture. She fitted them for the tasks of Empire, and when the time was ripe she gladly admitted them to be full and equal partners in the glory of Empire and the service of humanity."

If only for this catholic note of humanity heard here, there and everywhere as an underchord in these speeches, they are destined to take rank with imperishable literature,—let alone the immaculate diction and the vigilant sense of art which govern them.

The qualities which would strike a stranger on first hearing Mr. Sastri, or coming in contact with the man himself are slightly different from, though akin to, this master quality of humanity. The stranger would mark even on the first flush Mr. Sastri's quick understanding of the other man's point of view, which enables him to interpret his interlocutor's position with astonishing correctness and fidelity; his readiness to recognize aught there may be of worth and consideration in the opponent's standpoint; his alert fair-mindedness even in the heat of fulmination; his sensitive regard for others' feelings; and above all the innate modesty and thoughtfulness which make him indulge in some of those profound pauses, familiar to his friends in

private conversation,—pauses more eloquent than words. Nor can the stranger fail to remark in him the attitude of the listener and learner which never completely deserts him except on the platform. But more prominently than all these traits would stand out that inexhaustible charity which forgets and forgives unkind words flung at him by opponents under the heady sway of passion. These same are the qualities that greet the reader, at every turn, in Mr. Sastri's speeches and writings too; they are everywhere, a "presence not to be put by," wooing him with the aroma of a noble nature and the magic of a great personality. Take for instance the *éloge* on the late Mr. Kasthuriranga Aiyangar (regrettably absent from the book under review), which closes with a sentence of infinite pathos and infinite charity:

"It is much to be wished that the sense of awe and irrevocableness which prompts us to ignore the unpleasing and dwell lovingly on the pleasing in the contemplation of a life which has just closed, should shed its beneficent influence even during life, so making public burdens somewhat less heavy and public duties somewhat more attractive."

Mark again the complete rapport of sympathy with which he states the philosophy underlying the N.-C.-O. movement in a sentence of incisive brevity:

"By suffering, by inflecting it on himself, by leaving the other side to trample on himself and to use him as chattel, by submitting to this with the divinity of resignation, the Non-co-operator says he will convert the tyrant, first into a commiserator, then into a penitent and then into an ameliorator and finally into a loving brother."

A more telling and clinching statement of the basic principle of N.-C.-O. has not come, even from non-co-operators themselves. Again, that singularly penetrating study of "Gandhi the Man," is not more remarkable for the pitiless clarity of understanding which plays like a search-light on the analysis of the Mahatma's ideals than for the reverent and subtle sympathy which, pervading the whole sketch, wells up at the close in a pearly jet of noble homage to his saintly character.

In this same exquisite pen-picture the chasteness and purity of language, so pre-eminent a feature of Mr. Sastri's speeches and writings, seems to attain almost their *ne plus ultra*. Open the book anywhere and read, and you at once drink at a "well of English, pure and undefiled,"—a well whose waters have always served the growth of justice and fair-play. In vain do we search for what Oliver Wendell Holmes calls "the Macaulay-flowers of literature,"—patches in which speakers often burst

"Into glossy purples that outreddened
All voluptuous garden roses."

Never has Mr. Sastri attempted to carry the audience away on billows of stormy eloquence or to play on them as on a harp in the manner of the 'wild west wind' playing on the forest. That may be the business of other speakers, not his. Springing from a level of broad commonsense he rises often to serene heights of thought suffused with a steadily controlled emotion, and a speech varied by felicitous dramatic surprises, enforced by graceful, winning gestures, and

scintillating in places with sallies of fine humour, closes in the calm manner of Athenian tragedies. To speak in terms of Greek orators, Mr. Sastri is Demosthenes, not Isocrates. Facts are connected with principles; thought is penetrated by feeling; and the whole is fused together by the fire of a powerful and ardent mind. Like Burke he is the representative of impassioned reason. But occasionally, when the heart of the Titan is torn by anguish at the thought of the 'Kenya betrayal,' the sentences begin to thrill with righteous indignation and words come winged with lava-flames. And yet, even here—so masterful is the curb of reason over passion—nowhere is the limit of constitutional utterance infringed. An invincible sense of art, a classical sense of balance and proportion, a subtle charm of insinuating manner, and a fine eclecticism in regard to ideas, are the dominant qualities of the Sastrian type of oration.

There is a deep-running melody in the sentences which, in delivery, receive the enhanced effect of a voice remarkable for its power of rivetting attention. Mr. Sastri's pat felicity of phrase and diction has been the wonder of veteran speakers in England. From the point of view of clause construction, skilful alternation of periodic and loose structure, and variation of sentence-length these speeches and writings constitute a splendid study in style. These stylistic graces challenge attention all the more because Mr. Sastri always minds the thought first and foremost, and language only subconsciously perhaps, and still it is often so triumphantly inevitable.

Yes, as Lord Morley says somewhere in *Gladstone*, "the statesman who makes or dominates a crisis, who has to rouse and mould the mind of senate or nation, has something else to think than the production of literary masterpieces." How few are the political orations which have stood the test of time! The whole sheaf of them including Pitt's on the slave trade, Fox's on the Westminster scrutiny, Sheridan's on the Begums of Oudh, Plunket on the Catholic question—Burke of course excepted—could be comprised in quite a handy volume; while, according to Sir Leslie Stephen and others, even the lustre of Burke is beginning to fade a little—though a wee little—with time.

And yet we venture to think that these speeches and writings of Mr. Sastri (like his master Gokhale's) are destined for permanence, if not immortality, as well by reason of the presence in them of what the Greeks call *kalokagathos*, as of the embalming literary finish and grace; but not by reason of what they do not pretend to be, namely, a mine of facts and figures drawn to illuminate material conditions,—the *forte* of the master, not of the disciple. Even if these speeches were to be regarded as having only an historical value they deserve to be read gratefully by posterity in that they are so many valiant blows in the cause of justice, so many radiant milestones on the road to colonial *Swaraj*. For this publication Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co. deserve the thanks not only of the friends and admirers of Mr. Sastri, but also of the literary world in India.

R. SADASIWA AIYAR.

TWO GERMAN PUBLICATIONS.

IM DEUTSCHEN REICH. By Dr. O. LEOPOLD.

(J. Bielefeld, Freiburg, Germany.) pp. 175. 2s. 6d.

THIS handy pocket volume, written interestingly in up-to-date German, is just the thing for the student who has mastered the elements of the language. While increasing his vocabulary, he can gain real insight into modern German life from within. Not only will he find comprehensive information upon public instruction, the professions, religion and the administration of justice in Germany, but he will be enlightened as to the social life with its many points of etiquette. The book will make a special appeal to those proceeding to Germany. The mere phrase-book invariably fails the foreigner in the hour of need, but Dr. Leopold's chapters on German travelling provide a key to that complex publication, the German "Kursbuch" (Bradshaw), and, if studied *beforehand*, will relieve the traveller of much nervousness.—A descriptive book of the right kind, reasonable in price.

THE LITTLE LONDONER. By R. Kron. (J. Bielefeld, Freiburg, Germany.) 1924. pp. 198 2s. 6d.

THE "little" refers to the size of the volume, and not to that of the Londoner. We strongly recommend this volume to every Indian student of English, for a book written from the point of view of a non-English visitor to England will give him many a new sidelight. The only signs of its having been "Made in Germany" are its thoroughness and its cheapness. The chapters on the forms of address and on letter-writing should prove a boon to the Indian student. He need no longer say, "I take *your* leave" or "You may go now". He will not now address an English woman as "Sir", or choose "Venerable Madam" as a suitable appellation for a young lady, for it is the lamentable truth that an Indian *student of philology* only recently inflicted this title on a perfectly harmless young woman language-teacher of Poona.

H. Kohn.

MISCELLANEA.

MALARIA CONTROL.

SIR MALCOLM WATSON'S EXPERIENCE.

THERE was a crowded audience to hear a paper—"Observations on Malaria Control, with special reference to the Assam tea gardens, and some remarks on Mian Mir, Lahore Cantonment"—which was read before the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene by Sir Malcolm Watson, M. D., C. M., D. P. H., LL. D., on October 23, 1924, the eve of his return to the Far East. Rear-Admiral Sir Percy Bassett-Smith presided, and Sir Malcolm, who showed some interesting lantern slides, spoke as follows:—

Early this year I visited a large group of tea estates in upper Assam for the purpose of advising on the control of malaria, which was prevalent in the gardens. During my stay of three months I had also an opportunity, through the courtesy of the medical officers, of seeing a number of other gardens and inquiring into their health conditions. From what I saw myself and also from what Professor C. Strickland told me, malaria is spread widely throughout Assam. Along with other diseases and the generally insanitary conditions which formerly prevailed, the death-rate of the labour forces was high. But,

thanks to the admirable work done on the various gardens, the very high death-rates are things of the past. I was much struck by the excellence of the work done on the gardens, and I think the medical officers of the tea gardens in Assam have reason to be proud of the record of their work. To-night I propose to discuss briefly, illustrating my remarks by lantern slides, the general nature of the work, which has lowered the death rates of the gardens, and then to discuss the light this throws on the present feeling towards malaria control in India generally, and of malaria in Mian Mir, now called Lahore Cantonment, in particular.

Before considering the conditions seen in Assam, I should like to show a few slides illustrating the methods of malaria control in the Federated Malay States. These illustrated: (1) The tide gates and deep drainage of the mangrove swamps, illustrated by Port Swettenham and Coney Island. On the island over 20 sq. miles have been cleared of jungle, and drained with practically the complete abolition of malaria. The spleen-rate of over 900 children is 0.9 per cent. The carriers of malaria were "Anopheles umbrosus" and "A. ludlowi." (2) The open drainage system of the coastal plains. Malaria was carried by "A. umbrosus." It and the malaria disappeared with the drainage and cultivation of the land. (3) In the coastal hills there was malaria from the presence of "A. umbrosus" when the ravines were covered by jungle, and from "A. maculatus" when the ravines were cleared. We escaped from the dilemma by putting the springs and streams in subsoil pipes and refuse oil. In Singapore the health officers have saved some 35,000 lives since they began the work in 1912. In Kuala Lumpur it was the best residences in the town, those belonging to the highest Government officials, which were most severely attacked. Quinine and general sanitation failed. Salvation came by a direct attack on the mosquito. (4) To Dr. Strickland we owe the observation that the inland hills are free from malaria when they are under jungle, because "A. umbrosus" does not breed in them. They become malarial only when cleared, for then "A. maculatus" appears. (5) Our inland plains are not large in extent; they are, however, more or less malarial, depending on the extent to which "A. maculatus" and "A. minimus" (syn. "albirostris, aconitus") find the local conditions favourable. (6) On the coastal plains, rice-fields are generally healthy, while in the valleys they are generally unhealthy. On the plains the "Anopheles" are "A. rossi, sinensis, barbirostris, kochi;" while in the valleys, "A. minimus and maculatus" are added. In the last twenty-four years a good deal of work has been done in Malaya, and the results may be summarised pretty fairly as above.

EFFECT OF HIGH RAINFALL.

Now Malaya is a land covered by an evergreen jungle, in a moist climate, with a high rainfall, and temperature which ranges roughly between 70 deg. F. and 90 deg. F. every day of the year. Some months are much wetter than others but long periods of dry weather are unknown. If we have three weeks of day weather we are all grumbling. From the combination of temperature and rainfall, you will readily understand that Malaya has a rich anopheline fauna, a fauna, which reaches up into Assam, for the countries have a direct land connection through Burma, and, as Colonel Christophers has pointed out the conditions in Assam and Eastern Bengal approximate, perhaps, more closely to those of Malaya in the past than they do to-day in rainfall and, therefore, in jungle, etc.

In Assam originally the flood plains were under jungle; with the opening up of the estates, the coolies have cleared away the jungle to plant rice. The river plains were too wet for planting in some places, e. g., along the edge of the high bank or "oud," especially where the river was at the opposite side of the plain; and in the dead rivers before they had been filled up. In these places I found "A. maculatus" and "A. minimus" in abundance, and I was not surprised to find much malaria. On land such as I describe, I examined various groups of children, totalling 9,146. Their spleen-rate was 60 per cent. Of these 2,416 were children of two years and under and among them 61 per cent. had enlarged spleens, so we were evidently dealing with intense malaria.

The estates which I was advising are universally regarded as amongst the very finest in Assam. They are wealthy, well managed, and have spared no pains to make their labour forces healthy, happy and contented. The coolies are well housed. The old groups of coolie lines are being steadily broken up, and the people given individual houses, each with its garden. Some of the gardens have good piped water supplies; others brick wells. Some have latrines of a good type; others buckets. A few have none. The pregnant women are given full pay or food for some months before and after their confinement, and are not allowed to work. The children are given one full meal free of charge each day. Any adult who is not fit for a full day's work, or who has recently been discharged from hospital, is put into a "Challan." He does only such work as the medical officer prescribes, and is given pay and food. Practically everything anybody could think of to strengthen the coolies in their fight against disease is being done and the result has been a notable diminution in the death rate. But the fact remains that all these measures fail to prevent the coolies becoming infected with the malaria parasite. It helps them to acquire immunity; and I gathered the impression that, to a certain degree, immunity was inherited by the children. Nevertheless, 69 per cent. of the children on the gardens had enlarged spleens.

DIRECT ATTACK ON MOSQUITOS NECESSARY.

In Assam, as in the Malay States, no amount of quinine and general sanitation or education of the people is of any avail to stamp out the disease. Nothing but a direct attack on the mosquito can give the desired result, and that I recommended. There were two ways of controlling the insects. One was to remove all coolie lines to a central spot, and to abolish all breeding-places within half a mile. This would have been very expensive, for it would have cost a large sum to remove and rebuild the coolie houses, and an even larger sum in loss of profit from cutting out 100 acres of tea in each 1,000 acres.

The other method was to leave the coolies where they are on the edge of their rice-fields, and to strike at the two dangerous "Anopheles," namely, "A. maculatus" and "A. minimus." Before deciding on this, I examined a number of estates to ascertain if healthy rice fields existed in Assam, as they did in the Malay Peninsula, Java, British Guiana, and other parts of India, and generally what the nature of malarial land was in Assam.

The physical features associated with malaria were River valleys, whether large or small, but not when as large as the Brahmaputra at Dibrugarh; swamps and "bils" in dead river beds, or in the flood plains of living rivers; natural hollows or water channels, may be dry in the dry season; narrow rice-fields under certain conditions in land above the 400 feet level; wet waste land, "Kurkani land" and some-shatch land. The physical features not associated with malaria were: Broad, flat rice fields; old, broad, dead river channels, dry in the dry season; dry thatch land, if not "Kurkani" bamboo clumps; some brick-fields. Generally speaking the lower and flatter the land the lower the spleen-rate. As in the Federated Malay States the higher the land, the better the opportunity for "A. maculatus" breeding; the higher the spleen-rate.

VAGARIES OF ATTACKS.

In Assam it was among that best and the best-managed estates that malaria was most prevalent; not because of neglect of sanitation or any other general measure, but because of the nature of the land and the presence of certain species of "Anopheles." In Kuala Lumpur, in the Federated Malay States, malaria was worse among the best-housed and best-educated people. In Havana, as General Gorgas tells us, small-pox had been entirely eradicated. But the great result at which we aimed seemed to be as far as ever. Our sanitary measures, if they had any effect in yellow fever, seemed to increase it. The cleanest and best-built part of the city seemed to suffer most from the disease, and the best fed and best cared for part of the population was that which had the largest

of deaths from yellow fever. "It was the well-to-do class of Americans and the highest officials on the staff of the Governor General who suffered out of all proportion to the rest of the population. It looked very much as if the cleaner and better hygienically we got the city, the worse we were making yellow fever. This does not mean that education and general sanitation are valueless; but I can find no evidence that they can control either malaria or yellow fever. Accordingly, a system of drainage to strike at "A. maculatus" and "A. minimus" is now under construction, some photos of which I show you. Oil will be applied where necessary. Cinchona is being given to the children and fever cases. With all these measures together I have little doubt that we will soon have the disease under control.

After alluding to Mian Mir, Sir Malcolm said, in regard to this area: "Assuming that there is no available outlet for the drainage, the question of pumping out the water with a centrifugal pump does not seem to have been considered. Yet, as I have shown you, it is effective and economical on an estate in the Federated Malay States, in spite of rainfall of four or five times that of Mian Mir. It seems to me that the whole question of the control of malaria in this cantonment should be reconsidered, in the light of what we know of malaria control today, and I believe that, were an experiment conducted on such lines and carried to a conclusion, the present rather pessimistic view of the future of malaria control in India would disappear as the dim old miasma hypothesis faded before the light and warmth of the illuminating genius of Ronald Ross."

Sir Ronald Ross, in opening the discussion which followed congratulated Sir Malcolm Watson on his 25 years' work in fighting malaria in Malaya and likened it in its beneficial results to the work done by General Gorgas in America. He regretted, however, that whilst an enlightened U. S. Government had supported General Gorgas with funds, Sir Malcolm had not received such support and had been constantly faced with the problems of securing the necessary money.

Sir Leonard Rogers, Major Austin, Dr. Balfour, and others also spoke, and the meeting closed with a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Malcolm, on the motion of the Chairman.—*The Times of Malaya.*

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