

Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IT is impossible not to see, in the recent melodramatic broadcasting of the flysheets of a *soi-disant* "Revolutionary Party of India" the direct answer of Russia to England's recent refusal to ratify the Anglo-Soviet Treaty concluded by Mr. MacDonald, any more than in the just achieved conclusion of the Russo-Japanese Treaty an answer to England's resumption of the Singapore scheme. Mr. Chicherin can hardly be blamed for dancing the war dance if Mr. Chamberlain insists on playing the old tune of defiance. The Soviet rulers are admittedly very difficult customers to deal with, being rather apt to shake one's hands *qua* U. S. S. R. and to kick one's shins *qua* Communist Party at one and the same time. But Mr. MacDonald realized that relations between England and Russia there are bound to be—whether friendly or hostile; and he chose, wisely, the friendly kind. Mr. Chamberlain apparently is still labouring under the old delusion that there exists a *tertium quid*; no relations at all. That unfortunately is a delusion, because Russia refuses on her part to have no relations with the British Empire, and on the contrary is bent on as much mischief as it can possibly create for it anywhere in the world. What we resent most naturally is that India should be made to suffer for Mr. Chamberlain's Russian policy. As the position here now is, with large sections disenchanted by the failure of Mr. Gandhi's non-violence and therefore ready to go back to violence as to a counsel of despair, Soviet agents can have neither difficulty nor lack of opportunities of seducing foolish youth to become their

catspaws. If we have opposed the Bengal Ordinance all along, it is not because we underrate the gravity of the situation, but because we are convinced of its uselessness, as a method. But alas, there is little hope for another course ahead but that of "firmness." Does the cryptic little paragraph about Sir George Lloyd, by the way, portend his possible succession to Lord Reading? His little finger would indeed be bigger than the latter's thighs. What a prospect!

Opium in the Assembly.

THE Finance Member was subjected to much heckling in the Legislative Assembly last week on the subject of opium, but frankly, the non-official members came out second best in the encounter, owing no doubt to their ignorance of the details of this question, which Mr. Andrews bewails so much in the columns of a contemporary. Sir Basil Blackett could at all events make good this limited claim, that India does not force opium on any country which desires to keep it out. A question was asked him whether the Government of India ever inquires whether the quantity of opium it exports to the Straits Settlements, no doubt on the indent of the Government of the latter country, is not more than what is required for scientific and medicinal purposes; and the Finance Member replied that it was the concern of the Straits Settlements Government to take what opium it requires and to refuse an import certificate for what it does not require. The Government of India may certainly be pardoned for not making itself the custodian of the conscience of another Government, but the British Government as a whole is not content to pursue this negative policy. It has made a proposal to the International Opium Conference for the constitution of an international board of control to decide whether any of the countries which have agreed to limit their consumption of opium to the bare scientific and medical use is importing more than that amount and has offered to restrict opium from India to the quantity that may be prescribed by this board. This proposal has been accepted by the sub-Committee of the Conference, and if it wins the support of the Conference, a long step forward will have been taken in the regulation of the opium traffic.

We are glad to find it stated in a British journal that Great Britain has nothing but sympathy with the proposal to restrict the production of opium to the scientific and medical uses of the world, in so far as it may be practicable, but where it is unconvincing is in the proposal to abolish opium by

international action, which necessarily ignores the peculiar conditions of any of the countries. "Rightly or wrongly," says this journal, "the British Government inclines to the belief, which is justified by British experience in Limehouse, that opium smuggling can be prevented by efficient police. There are no opium dens worrying about in Limehouse nowadays, simply because the police hunted out the dens (an easy enough business) and heavy fines were imposed. The risk of detection in Limehouse is now so great and the penalty so severe that Limehouse-causeway has assumed the aspect of a quiet country village. British official opinion, therefore, tends to the view that the burden of preventing the consumption of opium rests on the Government concerned, it being a fair burden, and that any attempt on a heroic scale to suppress the manufacture of opium in such countries as China can hardly be regarded with optimism." The American case of course is that the smuggling of opium cannot be prevented, however stringent be the measures adopted, but one does not see in America those measures applied which have at all events greatly reduced smuggling in other countries.

Indians in South Africa.

THE representative deputation that waited on the Viceroy last week in order to press the hardships of South African Indians on the attention of the Government of India concluded with a request that a Round Table Conference be arranged between the representatives of the Indian settlers and the leaders of various parties in South Africa, and that the South African Government should refrain from putting into execution any measures adverse to Indian interests till these negotiations are over. It is impossible to feel any enthusiasm for such a proposal, for it is almost incredible that in their present temper the parties in power in South Africa will ever come to an amicable settlement with the Indian community, and the proposal would hardly have been entertained in India if it had not emanated from a quarter which is usually credited with contempt for such mild remedies and believed to favour heroic measures. Even so, the Viceroy anticipates difficulties in the way of the Union Government accepting it. Unless the Government of India makes up its mind to back up the people in their retaliatory efforts, in the event of the failure of such negotiations, it is idle to expect that anything will come of such a Round Table Conference. But since the Government of India is yet unwilling to put into force Dr. Gour's measure of reciprocity, e. g., and since the proposal for the Round Table Conference meets with support in unsuspected quarters, we may not do anything to hinder its progress.

An Encroachment on Provincial Councils.

It is very much to be regretted that the Assembly passed by a majority of votes Sir Hari Sing Gour's motion to refer his Bill for the control of Hindu religious endowments to a select committee. The objection is not to the principle of the Bill, which we have strongly

supported in writing about a similar and more detailed measure passed by the Madras Legislative Council. It is to the measure being introduced in the central legislature, while it relates to a transferred subject. This objection was urged by the Government spokesmen and the non-official opponents of the Bill, but was overlooked by the majority of the Assembly because some time ago a similar measure for the control of Muhammadan endowments was passed by the Assembly, and also because some dissatisfaction existed as to the provisions of the Madras enactment and the manner in which it was put through the local Council. It was wrong of the Assembly to have passed the Mussalman Waqf Bill, which should have been recommended to provincial legislatures. Having passed it, the right course for the Assembly was not to promote wrongly another similar measure but to rectify the wrong precedent, as no number of wrong steps can make a right one. The Government is no doubt as much to blame in this matter as the non-officials, but all that is no justification for pursuing what is obviously a wrong course, especially after it is pointed out. We have all of us been showing great impatience for full provincial autonomy. That should make us jealous of the rights of provincial legislatures. On this ground we have on former occasions disapproved questions relating education and other transferred subjects being tackled in the central legislature, however well-meant such efforts were. It is never too late to mend. Let us hope that the select committee will recommend the transference of the measure to the provincial legislatures. The alternative is to make religious endowments a central subject—which is surely a retrograde step.

IN the past we have all of us blamed Communal Acerbity. —and rightly blamed—Government for accentuating communal consciousness and communal differences in order to rule more easily the divided house. Hindu-Muslim relations in the north and the relations between Brahmans and Non-Brahmans in the South would have been far smoother but for the part played by the representatives of Government in aggravating them. It is therefore but fair to recognise the change of tone that is becoming increasingly perceptible in the utterances of the spokesmen of Government. The other day H. E. Sir Leslie Wilson told the Non-Brahmans of Nasik that they were inclined somewhat to exaggerate the opposition of other communities to their claims for a share of the posts in the public services and pointed out that to accept their proposition that their candidates possessing the minimum qualifications must always be appointed to the exclusion of all other candidates would be unfair to other communities. Sir Malcolm Hailey, ever since his appointment to the Governorship of the Punjab, has been utilising every opportunity to point out the evils of excessive communal feeling. At Gurdaspur, where he was recently the recipient of several addresses, he commented on the "somewhat unusual tone of acerbity in regard to communal matters."

which he found in several of them. He then said :

"Both Hindus and Muhammadans have complained to me of inadequate representation in your local bodies. They cannot both be right. I beg of you to give less thought to these things and to lend yourself to the task of improving your own communities within their own sphere, for, the real solution of communal differences lies rather in bringing each community to a level with its neighbours in point of intellectual and material advance than in attempts to obtain political advantages for one section of the public over another. That is a word of friendly warning to all. It is no benefit to the administration of this country to see the great communities disunited. Our object (and it should be yours also) is to see a common and harmonious advance throughout the province, benefiting all communities alike and working to its general betterment without distinction of sect or creed."

It is certainly no matter of pride for us that our communal acerbity should be deplored by the alien bureaucracy, which we have hitherto accused of fomenting dissensions among us. If not political wisdom and patriotism, let shame at least lead us on from communal to national consciousness.

IN the debate on Mr. M. K. Acharya's resolution in the Assembly, asking

Laugh against whom

for an enquiry into the grievances of railway subordinates, Sir Charles Innes raised a laugh by saying that the resolution was really the work of the Servants of India Society and by reading out a letter addressed by Mr. N. M. Joshi to a defunct labour union and wrongly delivered and kept by the Railway Board, instead of being sent back to the sender. It ran thus :

"Before I give notice of a resolution it may be useful to me to consult you regarding the terms of the resolution as well as the desirability of moving it, at this stage. Kindly tell me any change in the wording of the resolution and whether you will supply me at an early date, detailed information regarding each case."

There was laughter. But he who laughs last laughs best. The letter does no discredit to Mr. Joshi. On the other hand it shows how he has been keeping himself in touch with the interest whom he represents. He sought guidance from labour unions both as regards the desirability of moving a resolution and its proper wording. A minute's reflection suffices to show that the laugh should have been, not against Mr. Joshi who did his duty well, but against Sir Charles who took possession of a letter not addressed to him in the spirit of a C.I.D. official and drew a ridiculously wrong inference from it.

THE *New Orient* is a welcome addition to the small number of efficient English monthlies in this country. It has a special value in that it is edited by a graduate of Aligarh, is published from Lahore, and the contributions are mostly from Mussalmans : its views could therefore be taken as representative of those of educated Mussalmans. We are not aware of any other monthly conducted in English which is already serving this purpose. Its avowed object is to promote 'constructive movements for the uplift of Indians, particularly Muslims,' to help the growth of nationalism in India 'by awakening among Hindus and Muslims a common interest in the study of the problems relating to India and other parts of the East, in the study of their common history and in the study of their common national language, Urdu.' The first number, published last month, is quite interesting and we hope that its level will be maintained throughout.

THE PAREL CONFERENCE.

THE Social Service League of Bombay which has two of its centres at Parel has been holding during the last three years an annual conference called the Parel Conference with the help of the residents of that locality. The third session of this Conference which was recently held had the good fortune to have Dr. S. P. Mehta, a son of the late Sir Pherozshah Mehta, as Chairman of the Reception Committee and that redoubtable champion of the working classes, Mr. Joseph Baptista, Bar-at-Law, as its president. What East End is to the city of London, Parel is to the city of Bombay. Being mainly a working class locality, it has its special problems to solve and, thanks to the presence of social workers and the sprinkling of the lower middle class residents attracted to this part owing to the shortage of houses in the more fashionable parts of the city, efforts are being made to represent the needs and grievances of the locality to the authorities concerned. Until a short time ago the poor and the lower middle classes had practically no voice in the management of civic affairs and naturally the northern part of the city was treated like a Cinderella. Even to-day the sanitary and other needs of this part are woefully neglected, as has been disclosed through the sanitation rounds in the slums that are arranged from time to time by the Social Service League. The widening of the municipal franchise, which was an indirect result of the widening of the legislative franchise under Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, brought about a momentous change in the constitution of the Bombay Municipality which was till then a close preserve of the plutocrats, the aristocrats and the bureaucrats. Moreover, since the passing away of Sir Pherozshah, who was above all a living embodiment of civic patriotism, degeneration had rapidly set in. Things are however slowly improving owing to the infusion of new blood into the Corporation. The Bombay Municipality provides an example of how political and civic reforms react upon each other. Had the tenant class not been enfranchised the affairs of the Bombay Municipality would still have been under the sole control of landlords and capitalists. The people of the northern part of the city are not, however, satisfied with things as they are. Still they suffer from many disadvantages and they are making their voice heard in order to have their needs properly attended to and their grievances redressed.

The brief survey of the needs and grievances of the northern part of Bombay presented in the presidential address of Mr. Baptista is both interesting and instructive in that thereby the interdependence of the different problems of social and economic importance is shown in a striking manner. Both the City Improvement Trust and the Bombay Development Directorate have come in for a good deal of trouncing at the hands of Mr. Baptista for their neglect to provide cheap sanitary dwellings to the working classes, and he has done well in severely

condemning the chawls indifferently built by the latter for which a prohibitive rent is charged. It is an undoubted fact that the housing problem in Bombay, so far as the poor working classes are concerned, remains still unsolved, and as Mr Baptista rightly points out, the housing problem is the root of all the social problems of Bombay. As regards compulsory primary education in Bombay, it is really a disgrace to that city that the question should be hanging fire so long, whereas cities of much less importance have stolen a march over it in that respect. Also it is incomprehensible to us why the experiment is to be made only in the F and G wards, and why the E ward, which comprises such large working class localities as Kamathipura, Madanpura, Nagpada, &c., should be excluded from the scheme. The portion of Mr. Baptista's speech dealing with "Water and Liquor" is worth quoting. He says:

"A good deal of insanitation one sees in the working class localities can be attributed to an insufficient supply of water and the evil is still more serious in that this scarcity of water destroys that spirit of neighbourliness which is conducive to a happy social life. The origin of a number of assault and murder cases is due to quarrels at the water taps in chawls. But the irony is this, that while people have to clamour for more water, for more light and air, they have not to clamour for liquor; for a paternal government brings grog-shops to their very doors. I shall not be surprised if there were more grog-shops in the city than grain-shops. . . . Without abundant light and air and plentiful recreation, the craving for 'fire water' to refresh their drooping spirits and to relieve the tedium of their monotonous life increases. I find towns drink five times more than rural areas and Bombay consumes 30 p. c. of the total consumption in the British districts of Bombay Presidency, according to the Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency for 1922-23."

The Conference passed a resolution demanding the immediate introduction of the policy of total prohibition, and till total prohibition comes into force, urging the desirability of closing the liquor shops on holidays, the days on which the workmen throng to the liquor-shops. The Conference also passed resolutions asking for the provision of Anglo-vernacular schools with arrangements for vocational training; Municipal Free Reading Rooms and Libraries, free Gymnasias fitted with Bath Rooms, &c; Public Gardens and Play-grounds; Maternity Homes for F and G wards; Extension of the Rent Act; formation of Punchayets for chawls to look after the sanitation of the chawls and their surroundings. Two other resolutions were passed: one protesting against the inequitable system of making all the residents, however innocent, collectively responsible for the losses caused by disturbances arising out of industrial disputes or riots, and another requesting the Police Commissioner to issue orders to the policemen to take immediate steps to give medical relief to the persons injured in street accidents and not to delay the matter for the sake of making enquiries.

The most important resolutions that were passed at the Conference suggested the appointment of local committees for different wards for the supervision of

municipal institutions as well as tea-shops, sweet-meat shops, vegetable, fish and meat stalls, &c. and the widening of the municipal franchise. In view of the indifferent treatment given to the public at municipal dispensaries and maternity homes and the complaints about corruption against the subordinate staff, the need for the formation of local committees consisting of public-spirited men and women of the locality, together with the representatives of that ward in the Corporation and the responsible executive officers, is obvious. We have no doubt that should the suggestion be carried out it will exercise a wholesome check on the work of the subordinate executive and that municipal work will become amenable to effective popular control. The other suggestion about the widening of the municipal franchise is also pregnant with important results beneficial to the mass of the population. At present the standard of the municipal franchise in Bombay is as high as that for the election of representatives to the Provincial Legislature with the result that the bulk of the working classes are not entitled to vote at municipal elections. The Conference has suggested that the payment of Rs. 5 instead of Rs. 10 as at present as rent, should be sufficient to secure the right to vote at the municipal elections, and that special representation should be accorded to labour by empowering workmen's unions to elect their representatives to the Corporation. We think both these suggestions are reasonable. Intellectually or educationally there is little difference between a man who pays a monthly rent of Rs. 10 and a man who pays Rs. 5. Besides, the widening of the franchise will lead to the civic education of the public. The demand for the reservation of seats for the workmen's representatives is also just, as capitalist bodies like the Mill-Owners' Association, the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, the Chamber of Commerce, &c., are at present allowed to send their representatives to the Corporation. We also think that the Conference would have been quite justified in demanding a redistribution of seats for each ward in the Corporation on the population basis, the present allotment of seats being nothing but arbitrary and unfair to the more densely populated but economically worse off wards.

We regret to find that the Conference failed to take note of the growing evil of race-gambling among the working classes. It would have been well-advised to adopt a resolution demanding the closing of the third enclosure at the races, which is mostly responsible for the ruin of a number of a working class families. Only very recently a triple murder tragedy occurred in Bombay thorough race gambling. Before concluding we would like to recommend to the members of the Provincial Legislative Council the suggestion thrown out by Mr. Baptista in his presidential address that a Bill should be introduced in the Legislative Council for registering and restricting the activities of professional money-lenders, it being a notorious fact that the workmen and women in Bombay are mercilessly fleeced by Pathan and Marwari money-lenders.

OUR EUROPEAN BRETHREN.

BY THE RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

IN some ways the European community in India wields in the field of politics more influence than any other. Despite what may be stated on formal occasions, the Government of India is regarded, not only as the custodian of the interests, but as the exponent of the wishes and views of that community. In England, to which it looks for inspiration, for legal authority and for physical and moral support in the last resort, the popular criterion for judging its actions is, how far it has conformed to the dictates of the Civil Services and the powerful mercantile interests. On nine out of ten questions coming before the legislatures, the European official and the European non-official think and vote alike. The only difference is to the credit of the official. He has a more lively perception of his duty to the country and her peoples and is in consequence less hostile to progress and more responsive to ever-changing needs. Both are alive all the time to the sharp distinction between European and Indian interests, to the paramount necessity of maintaining European prestige and European dominance and to the requirements of the doctrine that India is an outpost of empire and they are its appointed guardians.

Narrowly interpreted, the position stated above is apt in daily practice to conflict at many points with the position as idealised in all justifications of empire, in declarations of high policy and in the moral foundations of the present Indian constitution. These imply that the empire is a commonwealth and an equal brotherhood, that the people of India should be free, alike in law and in fact, to mould their destinies and to utilise their resources, and that the mission of the European in future is, by precept and by example, to teach his Indian brother the inmost meaning of democracy and responsible government. Restitution and renunciation should be the key-notes of the community's future policy. These are, however, virtues difficult to acquire and practise for a people who have built up a world-wide empire and carried their language and institutions to its farthest parts. They are in a false predicament. Having one of the best types of democracy for themselves at home, they are often compelled to argue in this country that democracy is by no means the last word in human government. Knowing no caste at home and condemning it in theory, they are startled at its appearance among their kinsmen in the dominions and allow that it may have its uses so long as there are varieties of civilization and racial types in the world. Jealous of their own political rights and ready at all times to fight for individual freedom, their invariable rôle in this country is to retard the enlargement of the political status of the people and to promote measures circumscribing the fundamental liberties of person, of speech and public meeting. While throwing open on the one hand the public institutions of the country to the depressed classes, they desire on the other hand to maintain white clubs, white schools and, to the extent possible,

white residential quarters and white services a church. Practising religious toleration on the widest scale, they yet as a rule oppose the introduction of a conscience clause in the Indian Education Code for the benefit of non-Christians and maintain an "ecclesiastical" department out of the public revenues. One of the best educated nations in the world, they resisted till the other day the introduction of free and compulsory elementary education in this country. Accustomed in their own land to guard the people against the encroachments of the executive, they find themselves here championing the executive at every turn, demanding for them not only greater emoluments, but greater powers and greater immunities from the press and from the law courts. Professing to prepare the people of India for responsible government, they are by no means willing to abandon their practical monopoly of the military and diplomatic services, nor even of the main directive posts in the civil departments. Called by the new régime to teach the people to rise above all forms of communalism and weld themselves into one political nationality, they not only defend the existence of separate franchises and separate communal registers, but set a bad example by maintaining special constituencies for themselves and emphasising in most public matters their distinctness from the rest of the population.

Let us grant at once the extreme difficulty of making a complete reversal of attitude, such as is required when a community has to pass from frank domination to equal association. It is not merely a political, but a moral transformation. Much time must pass, and we must exercise a large measure of forbearance and toleration in the interval. It is true that the Anglo-Indian press and the political organisations, now being vitalised, emphasise the lower ideal of a régime that has passed away and do not instruct the members of their community as they should in their new duties as the exemplars and teachers of a democratic policy. Indian politicians will do well to remember that moral education is a slow and difficult process for occidentals as well as for orientals and that while there is need for eternal vigilance on their part, the silent forces of humanity are at work with them and India is not without her share in the world's onward march. There are individuals of a noble and exalted type, both in and out of the ranks of missionaries, who are authentic vehicles of the spirit of the time and from whom co-operation for the highest purposes may be expected. It is a stupendous blunder not to discriminate between friends and foes in the European community, besides being a sin against our common humanity. A sign of much promise was afforded the other day by the members of the European community who joined the deputation on behalf of the South African Indians that waited on the Viceroy. The suspicious influences which brought Indian and European politicians together to remove racial distinctions and repeal certain obnoxious repressive laws have not, let us hope, exhausted themselves. The firm stand which in some

provinces Governors seem to be making against the advancing tide of communalism is likewise a welcome indication that the noble mission of Britain in the East has not been dropped out of sight. Nor would it be too much to say that the protest raised by the late Rev. D. G. M. Leith, whose memory the public of Madras recently combined to honour, against the accentuation of the communal spirit by Europeans found an echo in the hearts of several others, on whom either office or natural modesty imposed silence.

One cannot, however, view with entire satisfaction the attitude in the Assembly of the representative of the European community, as distinguished from the representatives of their interests. Col. Crawford is, without doubt immeasurably better than Mr. Welby. But his speech on the Bengal Ordinance struck a note of separateness which we wish had been less harsh. It confirmed a suspicion in the public mind that the European community had been clamouring for a severe measure of repression. The Day murderer and the supporters of the Serajun resolution played too large a part in the discussion. When will it be recognised that, if highly educated and patriotic citizens express strange sentiments about political assassination, it is due in great part to morbid political conditions which produce morbid political thinking and morbid political action? The apparent incapacity of the average European to understand this phenomenon argues extraordinary obtuseness, if not perversity, in a community which not long ago paid the honours of a saviour to the author of as brutal a massacre as has disfigured the history of British India. The Home Member was the only one on his side, among the many that have written and spoken on the subject, to admit that the complete denial of an open trial to a citizen seized by the executive is an extremity of high-handedness repugnant to British notions of justice and of the freedom of the individual. In fact, the whole tone of his speech furnishes the contrast between the typical official and the typical non-official European attitude when set over against the speech of Col. Crawford which seems almost to gloat over the Ordinance. It is certainly no guarantee of co-operation in the new tasks of self-government which is offered us by the representative of the British community when he seeks to divert our attention to the so-called economic causes of the present discontent. This article opens with a statement that the European community wields superior political power in India. In the final stage of the odious Rowlatt legislation, I ventured to allude to this fact as explaining the otherwise unaccountable determination of the Government of India to incur a tremendous amount of unpopularity. Whether in respect of the Rowlatt law or of its lineal descendant, the present Ordinance, the Government seems to me still to act as the agent neither of the British Parliament, nor of the Indian people, but of the European community in this country. A sentence from the press report of Col. Crawford's speech may throw light on the matter. "The Government of India was not wise in appoint-

ing the Repressive Laws Committee and in acting on their advice in the repeal of measures introduced for the special purpose of dealing with a menace of this nature, before they had taken steps to provide themselves under the new constitution and through this House with powers adequate to cope with such emergencies."

Britain's noble mission, however, cannot accomplish itself. The pursuit of narrow communal aims, legitimate and worthy in itself, becomes beyond a certain point incompatible with the great purposes of the world. Nobody asks for the surrender of individual property or the gains of commercial firms; but communal electorates, political power, command of the country's resources—these must be yielded up. It is inevitable. Let that be clearly understood. When and how is the trouble? It may be that delay is best in the interests of the people, who knows? But nothing happens on this planet exactly when and how we plan it in our little wisdom. Too early is not in some cases so bad as too late. Moreover, as delay is obviously in the material interest of the British community, they should distrust its justness or expediency, for it is a human failing to see what we would see. The self-conscious growth of a nation requires bold and liberal statesmanship. Let no one who has a liberal impulse stifle or repress it? It is in him for God's ends and must be used in their service. Surely among the hundred of British birth in India there are many who think nobly and will dare to act nobly. When they buried the body of the Rev. Mr. Leith, the other day, they did not bury his great spirit and universal love.

OPIUM CONSUMPTION IN INDIA.*

I.

THE problem of the consumption of opium in India has not hitherto figured prominently in the programme of Indian social workers. There is as yet not much public opinion on the subject. Not unnaturally it pales into insignificance by the side of the colossal drink problem. Mere size is not, however, the only claim a problem has to the attention of the social worker. He cannot be indifferent to the efforts of the League of Nations in the cause of inter-national social amelioration. One such effort is the eradication of the opium evil in the world, including India. Further, social workers are quite as jealous as any others of the reputation and influence of India in international assemblages, and it so happens that India had to stand out in unenviable isolation in the League of Nations; unenviable, because it was contended, on behalf of India, that opium-eating in India was legitimate. Under these circumstances no apology seems to be needed in inviting the attention of the South Indian Social Service Conference to a consideration of the problem.

* Paper read at the South Indian Social Service Conference held at Coimbatore last month.

If any one person more than another is responsible for our public opinion on opium, such as it is, it will be freely admitted that he is Mr. C. F. Andrews. It would be impertinent for the writer even to praise, much more so to estimate, the services to India of this great and unique reformer in many causes including opium reform. Students of the opium problem in India almost instinctively turn to him and his voluminous writings for light and inspiration. And Mr. Andrews has been perhaps the most uncompromising critic of the current opium policy of the Government of India.

Opium is mostly eaten in India for medical, quasi-medical and non-medical purposes, to cure a definite disease for which it is, or is supposed to be, a cure or a prophylactic; and as a drug of addiction. The medical use, which is comparatively small, is of two kinds—to cure a bona fide disease, but self-administered, i. e., without prescription by a qualified medical practitioner; and administered by a qualified medical man, obviously to cure a disease. In India the medical use in the first sense far exceeds the second.

The policy of the Government of India is well set forth in the following extract from the Despatch of Lord Harding's Government in 1911:—

"The great majority of Indian opium-eaters are not slaves to the habit. They take small doses as required and can and do give up the allowance when the need of it is past. Opium is in virtually universal use throughout India as the commonest and most treasured of the household remedies accessible to the people. It is taken to avert or lessen fatigue, as a specific in bowel complaints, as a prophylactic against malaria (for which its relatively high anarcotine content makes it specially valuable), to lessen the quantity of sugar in diabetes, and generally to allay pain in sufferers of all ages. The vast bulk of the Indian population, it must be remembered, are strangers to the ministrations of qualified doctors or druggists. They are dependent almost entirely on the herbal simples of the country; distance and patient acceptance of hardships standing in the way of prompt access to skilled medical relief. In these circumstances the use of opium in small quantities is one of the most important aids in the treatment of children's sufferings. It is also a frequent help to the aged and infirm and an alleviation in diseases and accidents which are accepted as incurable. To prevent the sale of opium except under regular medical prescription would be a mockery; to many millions it would be sheer inhumanity."

Under these circumstances Government felt compelled to abandon the idea of prohibition and fall back on restriction with a view to limit consumption to "legitimate needs."

"The abuse of opium is prevented by limiting the amount of opium which an individual may possess at any time, and by a continuous process of raising the price at which opium is sold to the consumer, only stopping short of the point at which the object in view would be defeated by the attraction of smuggling." (Dixon: "The Truth About Indian Opium", p. 9.)

It would be unnecessary to detail here the administrative arrangements made to give effect to this policy. Suffice it to say that it is provided that the retail vendor "may not sell to any one person at one time more than the quantity of opium which an individual may lawfully possess" (Ibid. p. 10). To ensure efficiency officers of the Excise, Police,

Customs, Salt, Opium and Revenue Departments of a particular rank are given powers of search, seizure and detention.

There has been a continuous tightening of the restrictions since 1911. The limit for the lawful possession of opium varied in different provinces from 1 to 10 tolas in 1911 and varies now from 1 to 3 tolas. In the Madras Presidency the limit has throughout been 1 tola, except in the agency tracts where it was reduced from 6 to 3 tolas. The issue price per seer varied from Rs. 13 to Rs. 72 in 1911, and varies now from Rs. 35 to Rs. 106. In Madras the price was raised from Rs. 28 to Rs. 60. The Excise revenue from opium, from licence fees and duty rose from Rs. 1,57,46,775 in 1911 to Rs. 2,80,75,722 in 1922. In Madras the net excise revenue from opium was Rs. 24,87,121 in 1922. The number of opium shops fell from 8136 in 1907 to 6394 in 1921. The consumption of opium, according to official figures, has fallen from 8,334 chests (of 123 2/7 lbs. each) in 1911-12 to 5,111 chests in 1922-23. The population of British India rose from 244 millions to 247 millions and the average consumption works out at 1/25 of an oz. per individual.

The Excise department has for a long time past been under the control of Provincial Governments, to whom accrues the excise revenue from the internal consumption of opium. Since the recent Reforms, the department has been transferred to the charge of Ministers responsible to the legislatures with elected majorities. With regard to the relation between the Government of India and the Provincial Ministers in the matter of opium, the following extract from the statement of Lord Hardinge, representing the Government of India on the League of Nations, is interesting (September 27, 1923):

"I would like to amplify that statement by saying that the administration of the control of opium in all but one Province is in the hands of an Indian Minister and the power to deal with the question rests with bodies which contain an effective majority of members elected by the people. If, therefore, popular demand exists for a modification of the policy hitherto followed, and if a Provincial Council wishes to restrict still further the sale of opium for eating in India or to prohibit the sale of opium except for medical and scientific purposes, it is in all Provinces but one, open to the Indian Minister to initiate legislation in that sense. In Assam, the one province referred to, I understand that the Government has concerted, in consultation with Indian Members of the Legislature, a scheme for further progressive restrictions. I would further add that, in the event of any such legislation being initiated in any Province, it would undoubtedly receive support from the Government of India."

It may be incidentally mentioned here that in the Punjab, Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa the late Ministers have declined to initiate such legislation. The excise revenue from opium is but a small fraction of the total excise revenue and revenue considerations could not have weighed with the Ministers so heavily in the case of opium as they did in the case of drink.

Government favour the prohibition of opium-smoking, but find it impossible to do so as long as opium is freely sold for eating. They have, however,

prohibited the manufacture and sale of "prepared opium" used for smoking. Individual smokers are free to buy raw opium and prepare it themselves. Of such prepared opium no person may possess more than half a tola. Government trust that the wastefulness of the drug in preparing, the labour each smoker would be put to in so doing, together with a lower limit for lawful possession will act as a great deterrent, which in effect falls very little short of prohibition. In the case of Burma, prohibition has been accepted by Government and is being worked up to.

The policy and administration of the Government in the matter of opium have been vigorously attacked by a number of critics, particularly by Mr. Andrews. It would take too long to examine every single criticism and assess its value. Consideration may for the present be confined to a search for a more satisfactory policy, if possible. The problem divides itself into three questions:—

1. Is there reason to be dissatisfied with or to be alarmed at the present opium situation in India; and is there need for a change?
2. If a change is called for, what shall be the nature of the change?
3. Will the change proposed ensure better results without causing undue hardship, and is it practicable?

Taking India as a whole, an examination of the figures of consumption given below unmistakably indicates that there has been quite a perceptible fall in consumption.

| | |
|---------|-------------|
| 1913-14 | 8514 chests |
| 1914-15 | 8187 " |
| 1915-16 | 6998 " |
| 1916-17 | 7109 " |
| 1917-18 | 7661 " |
| 1918-19 | 7280 " |
| 1919-20 | 6923 " |
| 1920-21 | 6709 " |
| 1921-22 | 5466 " |
| 1922-23 | 5111 " |

Whether the fall in consumption is real or apparent depends on whether the *illicit* traffic, which always will exist to some extent, keeps pace with or exceeds the fall in the *licit* trade. The raising of the price in India, the uncontrolled production of cheap opium in the trans-border States and in China, the improved facilities for smuggling: all these make for illicit trade to an increasing extent. There seems, however, to be no sure ground for suspecting that the illicit trade is making up for the fall in the *licit* trade. It may, therefore, be safely assumed that the fall in consumption is real, and that it is substantial also.

P. KODANDA RAO.

(To be continued.)

REVIEWS.

SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF INDIAN PRINCES.

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS, M. A. (Ganesh & Co., Madras.) 1924. pp. 104. 7 x 4½. Re. 1.

DR. TARAKNATH DAS has in this essay made an attempt, by no means thorough, to determine the inter-

state position of the Ruling Princes of India. The essay is divided into five chapters. In the first chapter he points out the undoubted importance of the question and urges the Indian National Congress as well as the Princes concerned to discuss it. The second chapter and the third try to furnish a sketch, mostly in quotations from the works of well-known Anglo-Indian official writers like Sir William Lee-Warner, of the mutations of the British Government's policy in respect of the Native States. No attempt has been made to examine either the views and theories of these imperialistic writers or the *a priori* conclusions of writers on International Law in regard to the subordinate States of India. The importance of an independent study of the inward motives and the outward conditions which inspired British policy in its successive stages and a reconsideration of the entire question in the light of the most enlightened conceptions of international *ethics*, (as distinguished from Law) of our day, must be obvious to any one who desires to see a fair re-adjustment of relations between the Suzerain Power and its neglected allies. It is such a study, let us take it, that Dr. Das has in his mind when he expresses the hope that "these pages will stimulate Indian scholars for further research." In the fourth chapter of the book, he deals briefly with the origin and working of the Chamber of Princes and points to its futility as a means of restoring their lost rights to the Indian States. The last chapter attempts to trace the processes by which Asian states like Japan, China, Persia and Turkey have recovered (or are recovering) their independence and deduces the moral that their success has been the result of " their ability to develop military power and also getting out of isolation and being parties in the world politics based upon the theory of balance of power among the dominant nations of the West. " The difference in the conditions of existence between these states and the States of India being fundamental and wide, as Dr. Das himself admits, it is not easy to see how our Princes can profit from the examples he has to commend to them. Not less difficult is it, after his above plea for self-assertiveness and military development on the part of our States, to take with any seriousness the beautiful hope with which he concludes his argument; the hope, namely, that "the process of the recovery of the sovereignty of Asian states, including India, will not necessarily involve wars and conflicts, but will be brought about by the peaceful assertion of their rights by those who have been robbed of them and by the acceptance of the change as inevitable by the present over-lords and by their taking it in a friendly spirit rather than attempting to fight." Such a spectacle of sweet reasonableness between "robbers" and the "robbed," it was never hitherto given to our race to witness in all its age-long history; and in the present case, at all events, there is no prospect of anything "inevitable" arising to enforce cheerful acceptance on "the present overlords." Nor is it an accurate statement of the existing facts to say, as Dr. Das has said, that "Indian Princes (under British suzerainty)

having sovereign rights as rulers is really a myth and a fiction." It is only their external sovereignty which has become *non est*. Of internal sovereignty, they have still been exercising a larger or a smaller measure, according as they are progressive or antiquated in their ways and outlook. The clue for the future lies in this fact. A State may hope to win back the deficit of its sovereign rights from the hands of the Suzerain in proportion to the moral prestige which it has been able to build up for itself by virtue of the educational, economic and political advancement which it has promoted among its subjects. There can be no more telling argument to be presented to the Imperial authorities than the spectacle of a well-developed, wide-awake and forward-looking people. For such development of the people, Dr. Das has, as only to be expected, not omitted to put in an insistent word.

D. V. GUNDAPPA.

CURRENCY & EXCHANGE IN INDIA. BY Brijgopal BHATNAGAR, M.A., F.S.S. (Ram Narain Lal, Allahabad.) 1924. 7½ × 5 pp. 139. Rs. 2.

THE author offers an apology for adding a superfluous book to an already exhaustive literature on the subject of Indian currency. But we think that no apology is needed for presenting one's thoughts to the public on a subject fraught with such great importance for national well-being. The more books, the merrier.

The major portion of the book is devoted to the historical treatment of the currency system from 1892 up to the present time. It consists mainly of extracts from the reports of Currency Commissions and the Controller of Currency. But the quotations are aptly chosen and bring into relief the salient features of every stage of development. A long string of extracts is given to show that "just in the nick of time when the ideal of a gold standard with a gold currency was about to be realised there came on the scene Sir Edward Law as Finance Member and tore the whole structure of the new currency to pieces." Sir Edward Law was alarmed at the sight of increased gold whereas he should have welcomed it and when gold had been made legal tender there was no obligation on the part of Government to pay rupees. But it was his minute, which ultimately led to the coinage of rupees on a large scale in 1900, and the abandonment of the attempt to induce sovereigns into circulation.

Coming to the author's own views in the chapter headed "deductions", the ideal of the author is a Gold standard, which he thinks ought to be reached after a transitional period with a Gold exchange standard. He believes that it was a mistake to give up the introduction of gold into active circulation. As for the hoarding habit, the author believes with Sir James Begbie that it is only because gold is not freely available as currency that there is such a glamour about it and that it is hoarded. If the rupee were to cease to be legal tender up to an unlimited amount, gold would be compulsorily used as a medium of exchange and would even be available for export in times of adverse balance.

And yet he believes that we could not adopt the Gold standard all at once. His reasons are that a sudden introduction of the Gold standard would compel us to sell our rupees for gold which might depress the price of silver and lead to great loss and that the consequent shrinkage of currency will make

for low prices, thus injuring the agricultural classes. We believe these are imaginary fears. The author seems to forget that when Gold standard is introduced in India there is no further need of a Gold standard reserve which is an adjunct of the Gold exchange standard. This would give us 60 crores, i. e. 1/3 of the note circulation.

With all that his suggestion of an interim Gold exchange standard with gold in active circulation is worth considering. Practically this amounts to going back to the year 1893, and to the Report of the Fowler Committee.

Another golden opportunity offered itself in 1916 when the balance of trade was so favourable that within two or three years all gold that we require for the Gold standard could have been collected if the free inflow of gold would have been permitted.

What is essential now is that "Government should definitely adopt a well-thought-out policy and then pursue it with determination." This is a timely warning, considering that we have played the game of 'wait and see' too long.

V. N. G.

THE INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION OF INDIA IN RECENT TIMES. By D. R. GADGIL (Oxford University Press.) 1924. 7½ × 5 pp. xx + 242. Rs. 4-8-0.

STUDENTS of history often miss the economic and social aspects of national development—for history till recently confined her attention to monarchs, battles and sieges, ignoring the peoples—and in India even an unbiassed modern political history is still a desideratum. Need we add that the economic side has shared the fate of Cinderella? Mr Gadgil's book supplies a long felt want.

The author attempts a picture of the changes in the economic condition and organization of Indian agriculture and industry since 1860. The evolution has been described till 1914; and beyond it, the sketch has not been brought up to date mainly by reason of "the shock to the economic equilibrium imparted by the war and the abnormal conditions making any accurate measurement of effects impossible." The author's division is three-fold: three periods of prosperity, sandwiched with two shorter intervals of adversity. The first period, viz., between 1860 and 1875, witnessed the infancy of factories and plantations, simultaneously with the sudden and complete decline of the Indian indigenous handicrafts, dramatic in its suddenness and completeness. During this period the effects of the American Civil War were profound. For one thing, it was the significant event that "revealed a break in the economic isolation of India." From 1870 to 1880, however, there was a quick succession of famines almost over the whole of India, causing a great measure of economic distress. The decline of handicrafts, producing fine textiles and other luxury products without sacrificing utility, is the most dolorous episode in Indian industrial history. The handicraft was an urban industry. The author waxes eloquent in narrating the causes of decline, viz. (1) "the disappearance of the native Indian courts, (2) the establishment of an alien rule with the influx of the many foreign influences that such a change in the nature of Government meant, (3) the competition of a more highly developed form of industry." It was during this period that a new factor in Indian economic development was introduced. There is a vehement protest against *foreign capital* at present because it is another word for *foreign control*. Well, its origins were found in the plantations in the period 1860-1880.

The next stage is reached during the years 1880-1895, a period of agricultural prosperity and of continued decline of the handicrafts. The only forms of industry showing any signs of vitality were the factory and the plantation industries, the factory industry being composed of two textile industries, cotton and jute.

"The fourteen years from the beginning of the 20th century (i. e. the next period) to the outbreak of the war were fortunately free from any such complete failure of harvests as the two in the last decade of the 19th century." "Agricultural improvements effected were of no revolutionary nature," but attempts were made at substituting organized credit for that of the money-lender, by no means, an insignificant endeavour to eradicate the chronic indebtedness of the peasantry. It was this period that witnessed a remarkable progress in cotton and jute industries as well as in the exploitation of minerals, among which the place of honour must be given to coal. The causes helping its growth have been the growth of communications and the growth of the factory industry. The plantations during this period had a chequered history. The real industrial progress lay "in the direction of a slow spread of the use of improved machinery in various operations, the introduction of small motors, where no power was used before and the establishment of small, local and isolated factories in industries involving no complicated processes."

In the section on 'Railways' the author makes certain interesting observations. Speaking of the two factors affecting the Railway Policy in India (viz. first, the lines on which the construction of these rail roads was sketched and second, the question of management), the author shares the view that "Railway construction at this time looked more to the development of the foreign trade of the country than to a growth of the internal trade," which left a permanent mark on the nature of the freights charged. This policy remained unchanged till 1914, with the result that, "generally speaking, favourable rates for raw produce moving to the ports have resulted." Much of the criticism that has been directed against the expansion of Railways in India should have been more appropriately aimed at the Railway Policy.

Drawing a distinction between the village and urban industries, the author is of opinion that while the former showed signs of decadence, the latter was full of vital power as shown in its organization. The leading features of the evolution of industrial organization have not been so unlike those in other countries as to warrant the contention that "the Indian economic structure is the only one of its kind and outside the pale of ordinary economic laws."

The value of the book would have been enhanced had the author included industrial banking and finance within its scope. The *raison d'être* of the book cannot be denied, as there are few works on the recent economic history of India. On the whole it is a useful contribution to Indian economic literature.

A. S. VENKATARAMAN.

THE MAKING OF MODERN INDIA. By NICOL MACNICOL, M. A., D. LITT. (Oxford University Press.) 1924. 7½ × 5. pp. 235. 7s. 6d. net.

Excluding the introduction, the book consists of sixteen chapters of which as many as fourteen are reprints of articles which appeared in various journals at intervals spread over a long period of years from 1907 to 1923. If they are brought together under a title for which the justification is not obvious, their thoughtfulness and spirit of enlighten-

ment, albeit from a Christian missionary's point of view, make the book a valuable addition to the existing literature on India. Naturally there is an amount of repetition and a lack of continuity, but the book well fulfils its object, which is to help the British people in envisaging the future of India and "so of opening a way for the advance together of England and India, as comrades and friends,

With minds fixed upon the road

To freedom—road that never can weary one."

For that task none will dispute Dr. Macnicol's fitness, with his long service in India, his gift of penetration and his truly Christian spirit of human fellowship.

The chapters are grouped in five parts according to the subjects they deal with. But two deal with politics and form the first part. They review the situation as it was in 1908 and in 1923 respectively. The former was written before the Minto-Morley reforms were approved by Parliament and contains a criticism of them which reads particularly striking now. It disapproved the introduction of communal representation and pointed out that 'unlimited power to advise, when advice is despised and ignored, will never satisfy those who covet the reality of power.' The course recommended by him as wise was

"to make plain at every moment that the alien authority is provisional, and to keep every door open to indigenous capacity wherever that may be found. It must be made possible, as far as may be, for the Indian to feel increasingly in regard to the government that makes or mars his lot that, even if it is a poor thing, it is his own."

This criticism is true largely even of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. In the other chapter there is a just appreciation of Mr. Gandhi's high ideals, with a regret that he 'adjusted his lofty teaching to mean political uses.' Mr. Gandhi attempted a difficult, if not an impossible task, of 'awakening in his fellow countrymen simultaneously passion and self-control.' In the former task he had an amazing success, and failure in the latter. The failure was due to the 'downward pull of this 'civilization', the desire to cease troubling for a while about *Swaraj* and self-purification, and to resume the making of money." Rather it was due to the inherent futility and barrenness of his programme and the excessive demand he made on human nature. Dr. Macnicol concludes the chapter thus: "Non-co-operation has failed, and repression has failed and will fail. Force is no remedy. It is time for India's sake, that we all return to sanity and co-operate with one accord for the nation's highest good." The Indian reader regrets that this part is so short.

The chapters in the next part deal with social and religious unrest. That unrest he attributes to the influence of Christianity. A more secular mind would attribute it to western literature. The various reform movements and some retrograde ones are briefly reviewed. The prevailing note is one of optimism. This unrest reminds him of the Hindu story of the churning of the Sea of Milk. Anarchy and superstition may now and then come out of it, but Amrita will come in the end. "What will this 'full fruition' be which is not yet? That it may be and will be a fruition bearing within it much of the thought and experience of Hindu poets and rishis, every one will believe who holds by the Divine Government and guidance of the nations. So long as it has at its heart the spirit and the power of Christ, the name it bears will not matter at all."

The next part, which in some respects is the most important, contains a broad-minded criticism of Hindu religious ideas: of popular religion, philosophy and devotion. Philosophy appeals to him less

than does *bhakti*. But the goal of all Hindu religious life, *moksha*, liberation from birth and death, with dispassion, the cutting of the root of desire, as the means of attaining it, does not commend itself to him. Contrasting it with the goal of Christianity, he says,

"Christ came to bring men life,—life 'more abundantly': here the aim is to still the storms of life till it passes into what is like death and silence. Christ purges the soul by the expulsive power of a new affection: Hinduism casts out all affection, making the soul a desert and calling that victory. It claims to cure the ills of life but in curing them it seems to the observer to do so by the drastic method of calling in the aid of death."

Again he says,

"There is much, as we have seen that is beautiful in the Hindu ideal. Strengthened and illuminated by the love of Christ, it should shine forth upon the world with a splendour and a charm such as, perhaps, has never yet been exhibited in Western Sainthood. Its error lies in its endeavour to 'do better than well,' to climb to a region that is higher than love and goodness. The effect is seen in India's degradation, in the spirit of indifference that has left the mass of the people ignorant and oppressed."

Many thoughtful Hindus recognise the force of this criticism regarding the goal of their religion. In their ideals dispassion is increasingly giving place to social service. The doctrines of Christianity otherwise do not make a special appeal to them. Will they in the future largely adopt Christianity? Dr. Macnicol hopes so, but really it matters little to him what name they choose, so long as they adopt the ideal of love and service.

In the next part some personalities are studied. There is in it an interesting chapter on Indian women-poets. Though the men and women dealt with are notable, only Ram Mohan Roy may be described among them as of the first rank among the makers of modern India. The last part is called unchanging India and contains two chapters which are not of special importance or interest.

V. V. S.

MISCELLANEA.

MALARIA CONTROL.

IN our issue of January 15th we reproduced a summary of a paper read by Sir Malcolm Watson on Malaria Control in India. In the current number of *Science Progress* (January 1925) Sir Ronald Ross makes on this paper observations, which are of the greatest importance and encouragement to all of us who here are striving against the apathy of the public, its "governors and municipalities," who fatalistically accept the existence of mosquitoes as inevitable, instead of being up and doing and reducing the "winged angel of death." Did not Mr. Wells say the other day that flies (the carriers of bowel complaints) could have been exterminated off the face of the earth long ago, if man only meant to do it: but then "for most people trust in God simply means wanting to turn God into a fly paper."

Says Sir Ronald Ross *loc cit.*:

This was really a very important meeting, which amounted to one of the great "decisive battles of the world"—though perhaps few of the crowded audience quite realised the fact! Peace has its victories as well as war, and generally much more important ones. For more than a quarter of a century anti-malaria work by mosquito reduction has been held up throughout India and largely throughout the world by a wholly gratuitous assumption, which was advanced long ago by a few good but mistaken observers, that mosquitoes could not be reduced. The importance of the question may be gauged from the fact that malaria causes a mortality which I estimate to be 2,000,000 annually in the world for a minimum,

that is, a greater annual mortality than that caused by the war while it lasted. But the world finds it very difficult to understand these little matters, and this country in particular has been about as stupid over the business as can be conceived. The French at Ismailia, the Americans at Havana, Dr. Balfour at Khartoum, Dr. Clarke at Hong-Kong, gave instances of successful mosquito reduction on large or on small scales; but our authorities remained quite above such proofs. The facts are that Government do not like to spend money on sanitation, and that we as a nation are much more given to politics, sport and novels than to any really useful work that does not put money into the pockets of the workers. At the meeting referred to Sir Malcolm finally demolished this fantastic hypothesis that the mosquito is too powerful for the human race. Of course, in these days when agriculture undertakes great campaigns against insect pests of crops and trees, farmers rid their cattle of vermin, and civilised men are themselves ceasing to be verminous, campaigns against such pests as mosquitoes are not at all out of the usual course. But it has been difficult to drive this into the heads of our rulers, whether these be governors or municipalities. Years ago an alleged attempt was made at Mian Mir in India, with the support of the Government, to investigate the possibility of reducing mosquitoes. Sir Malcolm has recently visited the place, and he made some remarks on the subject. On the whole this address of his has been the Waterloo of the anti-mosquitoists. We can hardly venture to hope that they will never be heard of again, but do not think that we need trouble ourselves any longer about their opinions. Surely it is now time that all malarious tropical countries should undertake anti-mosquito work upon a proper scale. The cost of malaria is always far greater than the cost of malaria prevention, at least in towns; and after a quarter of a century, we should really begin to understand the vast practical bearing of the subject.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE CALIPHATE. By SIR THOMAS W. ARNOLD. (Clarendon Press, Oxford.) 1924. 9 x 6. pp. 223. 10s. 6d.
- THE FASCISTI EXPOSED: A YEAR OF FASCIST DOMINATION. By GIACOMO MATTEOTTI. (I. L. P. Publication Department.) 1924. 7 x 4 1/4. pp. 128. 2s. 6d.
- ANNALS OF AN ACTIVE LIFE. Vols. 2. By GEN. THE RT. HON'BLE SIR NEVIL MACREARY. (Hutchinson & Co., London.) 1924. 9 1/2 x 6. pp. 694. 42s.
- PHANTASTICA: DIE BETAUBENDEN UND ERREGENDEN GENUSSMITTEL—FÜR ARTZ UND NICHTARTZ (the stupefying and exciting narcotics—for doctors and laymen). By PROF. DR. L. LEWIN. (George Stilke, Berlin.) 1924. 9 x 6. pp. 374. 20 mk.
- CITIZENSHIP IN INDIA: ITS PRIVILEGES & DUTIES. By CAPT. P. S. CANNON. (Oxford University Press.) 1923. 7 x 4 1/4. pp. 197. Rs. 1.
- INDIA IN 1923-24. By L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS. (Government of India.) 1924. 9 1/4 x 6 1/4. pp. 338. Rs. 1-8.
- PUBLIC EDUCATION IN HEALTH. A Memorandum addressed to the Minister of Health by SIR C. NEWMAN. (H. M. Stationery Office, London.) 1924. 9 1/4 x 6. pp. 3s. 6d.
- THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO. (International Conciliation, New York.) 1924. 7 1/2 x 5. pp. 71.
- REVERSE COUNCILS AND OTHER "ORGANIZED PLUNDERS." By T. S. KRISHNAMURTHY IYER. (Ganesh & Co., Madras.) 1924. 7 x 5. pp. 316. Rs. 3.
- CENSUS OF THE COLONY OF TRINIDAD & TOBAGO, 1921. (Government Printing Office, Trinidad.) 1923. 13 x 8. pp. 189.
- REPORT OF THE INDIAN MINING FEDERATION for the year 1922-1924. 9 1/4 x 6. pp. 310.
- INDIAN JUTE MILLS ASSOCIATION. Proceedings of the 5th, 6th & 7th annual Conferences, 1922, 1923 & 1924. 9 1/4 x 6. pp. 112, 185 & 201.

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