

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE long expected statement by the Hon'ble General Member, Mr. Cowasji Jehangir, Bombay Development about the Back Bay Reclamation muddle was made by him last week in the Bombay Council. The Government do not intend either to abandon the scheme at this stage or to go ahead with it as if nothing had happened. They propose to steer the middle course of completing blocks nos. 1, 2 and 8 with a view to minimise the loss. Their Advisory Committee had recommended that their estimates even for this work should be subjected to the careful scrutiny of outside experts. The Government have accordingly announced their intention of putting the recommendation into effect; and have announced the personnel of the Committee which is to undertake this job. We are naturally pleased a prominent Poona engineer, Mr. V. N. Vartak, who has just settled from Government Service, is to be a member of this Committee. The public demand for an all-sided inquiry into the working of the Development Department, with a view to apportioning responsibility it is apparently beyond their constitutional sphere to satisfy. It is a matter for decision by the Government of India who are giving it their best attention. We hope their decision together with the personnel of the Committee will be made public without undue delay, which cannot fail to prejudice them in the public eye. With every desire to be fair to the Government, we cannot avoid the conclusion that in regard to the Development Department, the Government consistently kept the Legislative Council at an arm's length. The dredgers and other machinery which have proved to be the cause of

ruin of the whole project were ordered without the Councils' sanction in great hurry; and the defective working of the dredgers which must have been known to Government much earlier was not brought to the Council's notice until it could no longer be kept from it! Moreover, by playing a double part in this affair, they made themselves guilty of duplicity. Thus, e.g., while they were privately expressing their dissatisfaction to Sir George Buchanan at the manner in which the dredgers were working, they were putting on a bright face and a cheerful look in the Council whenever Development affairs came under review. Similarly one fails to see why if some conditions of his agreement with the Bombay Government were broken by Sir George Buchanan, he was not sued for damages. Incidentally the Back Bay Reclamation disclosures expose the utter hollowness of the claim very often made on behalf of the reserved departments that they are more efficiently administered than the Transferred departments.

OPPOSITION of the European community to total prohibition is so instinctively taken Excise in Bengal and Madras. for granted that one notes with particular pleasure that the mover of the one-rupee cut from the excise grant in Bengal was the representative of that community. He condemned no less strongly than do Indians the "rotten system" which compels an advanced province like Bengal to rely for 22 p. c. of its revenue on excise! The result is that the financial difficulty has come to be looked upon as a stumbling-block in the way of prohibition; and though under pressure of public opinion several provincial Governments have been forced to own total prohibition as their goal in excise matters, very few in actual practice are found to do more than mere lip service to that ideal. What is really wanted is much more drastic action if the consumption is to diminish appreciably and prohibition correspondingly brought nearer. We are pleased this aspect was stressed in the Bengal debate also by another European. The defence of the Government was that the Legislative Council had not declared itself in favour of prohibition. If that is their only difficulty, it could be easily removed by their submitting for the Council's approval a resolution embodying a declaration favouring prohibition. Thanks to Swarajists' obstinacy, Bengal is at present under bureaucratic rule and it would be a feather in the Government's cap if they could truthfully claim the credit for committing the Council to prohibition. In the Madras excise debate, another fruitless attempt was made by popular re-

representatives to induce Government to concede local option. Here also the Minister, Sir A. P. Patro, sheltered himself behind the Council which not very long ago had deliberately rejected local option. To do so is to show but a very imperfect appreciation of one's responsibilities as Minister. As we have said more than once before, a Minister's proper course is to frame a comprehensive policy and submit the same for the Council's approval. If the Legislative Council is used as a cloak to cover the Minister's inaction and incompetence, all one can say is that the electors must send to the Councils people who will more correctly represent their wishes in the matter. Bombay this year had unfortunately to go without an excise debate, the guillotine having fallen before the excise grant was reached. All the same the Minister ought to take an early opportunity of defining his policy for the coming year.

INCONSISTENCY seems to be the very soul of Responsive Co-operation. The adherents of this policy first coalesced

The Soul of Responsive Co-operation.

with the wreckers and pledged themselves to indiscriminate and total obstruction. After a time they broke from the Swarajists proper and in order to signalise their defection leading Responsivists resigned from the legislatures. This course was not, however, followed by their followers, who retained their seats on the legislative bodies, maintaining that they were free to pursue what line seemed best to them. They did not, however, retain their independence for long. For when soon after the Swarajists ordered a walk-out, these Responsive Co-operationists meekly obeyed the behest and walked out, making long orations in the Councils to the effect that "no self-respecting persons can remain in Councils when the Government adopts such an audaciously reactionary policy". Mr. Bhopatkar, the Swarajist leader in the Bombay Council, made a similar speech on the eve of the walk-out. Almost the following day, however, he took the public of Maharashtra into his confidence and told them at a meeting convened specially for the purpose that he walked out only because he was ordered to walk out. "Self-respect requires people to go out of the Councils? Stuff and nonsense. Self-respect as well as patriotism requires us to stick all the faster to our seats in the legislature. The walk-out only hands over all places of power to the bureaucracy." That is to say, Mr. Bhopatkar said in effect: "All that I said in open Council, for the consumption of the bureaucracy, was unadulterated humbug."

We are at the present moment concerned, however, not so much to expose the inconsistency of Responsive Co-operationists as to show how utterly unfounded is their claim to a monopoly of strong action in the Councils. The Swarajists by their ineptitude have been unable to put the least check on the arbitrary or reactionary policy of Government, but no sooner were their backs turned upon the Councils, the Independents and Liberals and non-Brahmans combined to force upon the Bombay Government the boycott of South African coal and other manufactures as an answer to the Union Government's anti-Asiatic policy. The mover of the resolution openly declared that the step was being urged as a political weapon, but the Government at first expressed willingness to adopt it only as an economic measure. Thereupon Dr. Paranjpye made it clear that the Council did not want the Government to boycott South African manufactures as a part of Swadeshi but as a means of showing the country's resentment against the South African Government's anti-Asiatic policy.

The leader of the non-Brahmans too concurred and at last the Bombay Government was compelled to yield. This proves conclusively that the presence of Responsive Co-operationists is not necessary where drastic action has to be taken, their presence being required only where inconsistency and shiftiness are needed.

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UNLESS our memory is seriously at fault, the Punjab Government appointed about five years ago a Committee to go into the question of corruption

prevalent among the Punjab Police and to suggest remedies for its removal. We do not know if any action was taken on the Committee's report; but it appears clear that things have not much improved since then. Corruption is still very rampant in that department, the proportion of corrupt police officers having been estimated by a non-official member in the recent Police debate in the Punjab Legislative Council at 95 p. c. The Government, without mentioning any percentage, admit, as one of their spokesmen did in the course of the debate, that "considerable corruption" exists. There appear to be cases in which police officers have offered a bribe of several thousands of rupees for being allowed to remain for 3 years in one station and it is also said that "there was a fund formed by police officers out of bribe money in which fund all police officers took part"! If even a hundredth of this be true, it would be too bad and drastic action to put a stop to the evil is urgently required. What seems to be necessary is for the Government to make it clear not only by words but by practical action that they really value honesty. This they can do by a relentless campaign against bribery, meeting it with condign punishment wherever it may be found. And though its existence on a considerable scale is admitted on all hands, action to stop it by way of prosecutions, inquiries, etc. has unquestionably not followed on the same scale. Heavy, and even deterrent, punishments should be given to persons found guilty of corruption and all cases of reasonable suspicion of corruption should be promptly looked into. An improvement in salaries, though costly at first sight, might in the long run prove to be much less so; and while we do not attach excessive importance to it as a means of purifying the police service, we believe it will go some way in effecting improvement in the desired direction. Nothing but the candidate's fitness for the post should be taken into consideration when recruitment for the department takes place, extraneous considerations like past family service being rigorously excluded. But though the responsibility for all this corruption rests mainly on the Government, the people cannot be altogether absolved from it. After all it is no use forgetting that it takes two to complete the offence of corruption and those who offer bribe help, in our opinion, in the commission of the crime almost to the same extent as those who receive it. It is of course true that co-operation of the public is a *sine qua non* for the success of all such measures for the eradication of the evil as the Government may adopt; but with the spread of education among the people, we think it should be forthcoming in increasing measure.

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IN view of the approaching elections it is of the utmost urgency that the Government of India should without loss of time decide on the action to be taken

Labour Representation.

on the recommendations of the Muddiman Reforms Committee in regard to the representation to be accorded to the labouring classes and the depressed class in the legislatures. The present position of factory labour in this respect is most unsatisfactory. There is only one nominated representative of labour in the Legislative Assembly, and one each in the Assam, Bihar and Orissa and Bombay Legislative Councils and two in Bengal, all nominated, there being no representative of the working class in the legislative bodies of other provinces. The Reforms Committee has generally recommended both in its Majority and Minority reports, an extension of the existing representation and the introduction of the elective element, but made no specific proposals in that behalf. The All-India Trade Union Congress has supplied this omission by making detailed suggestions calculated to secure adequate representation for labour on an elective system. In a representation submitted on behalf of the Congress, Mr. N.M. Joshi, M.L.A., General Secretary, pleads for the lowering of the franchise to such an extent as to make any special representation of labour unnecessary; in default, however, of such a broadening of the basis of election, he must ask, he says, for the constitution of special electorates for the representation of the labouring classes as there are special electorates for that of the employing classes. He calculates that the latter class has no fewer than 20 seats in the Assembly and 85 in all the provincial legislatures. He would, therefore, ask for 12 seats for labour in the Assembly and 80 in the provincial legislatures, which, he thinks, is none too many, when considered either from the point of view of the numerical strength of labour or from that of its importance in industrial matters. The question of the representation of the depressed classes also needs speedy solution in a similarly liberal spirit; and we hope that in this general overhauling the aboriginal classes for whom Mr. Amritlal V. Thakkar has made out a no less strong case, though he has put forward their claims in all too modest a manner, will not be ignored.

THE Kenya whites are in alarm that the "White Highlands" policy sanctioned by the White Paper of 1923 is being circumvented by Indians. This policy was meant to apply only to agricultural tracts in the highlands, and not to townships. But no demarcation has ever been made between the rural and urban areas, as indeed the highlands region itself has not been exactly defined. The question, therefore, is whether the erection of Indian *dukas* (stores) on European farms is contrary to the letter or the spirit of the White Paper. These *dukas*, it is admitted, came into existence at the express desire of the white settlers on lands leased by the latter, because they meet the convenience of native labour employed on the farms. But the white community in general is inspired by such intense racialism that they would not mind cutting the nose of their own countrymen in order to spite the Indians. They, therefore, raised a big clamour at a meeting of the Convention of Associations held in the last week of February at Nairobi, insisting that the Government should forbid the grant of a lease to Indians for the purpose of putting up *dukas*. They fear, however, that it will be open to an Indian in possession of such land to hold that that particular piece of land was not included in agricultural land at all, to which alone the White Highlands policy was applicable; they suggest, therefore, an amendment of the existing law.

There is another supposed evasion of the provisions of the White Paper. If an Indian has a European wife, he purchases land in the agricultural part of the Highlands in her name and thus gets round the present disqualification. The Government has provided that even alien Europeans may take up land in the Highlands, but not British Indian subjects; it has not yet occurred to them to provide however that European wives of Indian husbands also shall lie under the same disability as the husbands themselves. The whites' rage against such of their women as degrade themselves by marrying Indians knows no bound and therefore they found no difficulty in passing a resolution for extending the disqualification that now attaches to Indians to whites who enter into blood relationships with Indians. There is still a third way in which, it is feared, an infiltration of Indians is going on in the highlands. A European takes up land and then turns it over to an Indian. The title remains in the former's name but the farming is done by the latter. The Europeans are crying out that this is a clear contravention of the White Paper. The Indians, however, can argue that the White Paper denied only ownerships to Indians and Africans, but not farming. As a matter of fact, the actual cultivation is done only by Africans, the European owners being too proud to do manual work! If Africans can be workers on white farms, the White Highlands policy notwithstanding, why cannot Indians be managers on the same farms? And as Africans earn wages for their unskilled labour, why not Indians for their skilled work and even share profits with the Europeans if the latter admit them into co-partnership? Provided the title of the land is in the name of the Europeans, there is nothing else, Indians claim, which is prohibited by the White Paper. We may expect some legislation being taken in hand to prevent what is regarded by the Europeans as the violation of the White Highlands policy, though the framing of such legislation is no easy matter.

*Foreign Affairs* of January has gently chaffed us for having said (in our issue of September 10) that "a League of Nations Committee is coming to India, to study the Indian opium question on the spot." As a matter of fact Mr. A. C. McWatters, speaking on "Opium Cultivation" in the Council of State on September 1st, said:—

I now come to a still more important point regarding control which is that at Geneva we have recently agreed that we will allow an independent Committee of the League of Nations to visit India, as it will visit other signatory countries, after five years in order to examine our system of control and to assure themselves that it is absolutely water-tight. To this independent examination we have quite willingly and readily consented.

In the newspaper report, which was all that we saw at the time, no mention of "after five years" was made, nor did the sentence there appear "as it will visit other signatory countries." We naturally therefore read more into the declaration than was warranted by the speech as actually delivered. We are extremely sorry that this should be so: not because we have been caught napping, but because we believe that an independent Commission under League auspices, coming to India to advise on our Opium (and other drug) problems, is really capable of helping a solution materially onward. It is this we regret, that the declaration itself meant so little and that, as we are now informed, "nothing further has happened so far as the Government of India are aware."

### A STUDY IN TOPSYTURVYDOM.

Never was debate more unreal than the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the resolution for the grant of reforms to the North-West Frontier Province, which continued for three days. For most who participated in it expression of opinion was a matter of pose, attitude, manœuvre. Indeed only two types of men could speak out their thoughts on that subject with perfect sincerity. Men of a conservative bent of mind could honestly oppose the proposal to set up full-fledged reforms of the Montagu-Chelmsford standard among a people who were just emerging out of a tribal organization of society. Those on the other hand who were of a liberal mould in politics, who considered self-determination as the inherent right of humanity at whatever stage of evolution, could with equal conscientiousness support the proposal as not only just but expedient. If the former happened to be Hindus, they were in the happy position of being able to reconcile their individual sense of duty with the not unnatural desire to gratify Hindu opinion in the Province which formed the subject of debate. If the latter were Mussalmans, they too were fortunately circumstanced in that Muslim self-interest coincided with their own view of right, abstracted from communal considerations. There were not many M.L.A.'s, however, who could be placed in either of these categories. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer without a doubt belonged to the former class, and a few Mahomedans to the latter. If these were few, still fewer were those who crossed the communal line in order to vote in accordance with their conscience. Babu Bepin Chandra Pal was the outstanding example of this rare type. The rest were in a sad predicament, having to square their profession of radicalism with opposition to a resolution for generous reforms or of die-hardism with support thereof.

The bureaucracy too was in no enviable position. Every step, however small, on the road to constitutional advance it resists as if a cataclysm were going to happen. Even if it is a proposal to reduce the official element on local bodies with no appreciable powers from nine-tenths to seven-eighths, the officialdom puts its foot down on it with the best of wishes in the world and acquiesces only when popular agitation makes surrender inevitable. This very bureaucracy, however, was suddenly found on this occasion to favour the formation of a Legislative Council and a Ministry responsible thereto for a people who have never yet exercised the franchise even in municipal affairs and when offered always rejected it. Many of the officials who had previously opposed the grant of reforms were all of a sudden converted to the opposite view. Now they seemed impatient of any suggestions of caution. The motive behind such transformation was indicated by Sir Sivaswami Aiyer in the plainest possible manner. The Government desired to divert public attention from the reamalgamation of the settled districts of the N.-W.F. Province with the Punjab

by proposals to confer substantial power on the Province as it is. If this was the Government's object, they succeeded in it to a remarkable extent. But are Government really prepared to concede a liberal measure of reform to the Province? On that question they maintain Sphinx-like silence. They are still considering the proposals. In the meanwhile they allow certain officials to hold out high hopes, thus driving a wedge deep between Hindus and Mahomedans. If every time Government conspire to keep these two communities apart, they find it necessary to pay such a high price for it as to raise a province from the level at which the N.-W. F. Province lies to the position of a Governor's province, we for our part shall not mind a little schism arising between them for some time. Let us all be sure, however, that the price is paid. The bureaucracy will shed tears of blood before paying it.

It would have been good strategy, to put it at the lowest, on the part of M.L.A.'s to have concerned themselves with making Government pay this price, but our radical politicians busied themselves instead with making excuses for the retention of the present archaic form of administration in the Frontier Province. It seemed indeed that the bureaucracy and the advanced wing of Nationalists had exchanged their parts—the former urging a substantial measure of reform as if they had the innermost conviction that the mere ambition to attain self-government would conjure away all practical difficulties in the way of such a consummation, and the latter insisting on the step by step formula which is ever on the lips of the bureaucracy. The Swarajists indeed did their best to avoid openly playing the part of the devil's advocate in this affair, but without success. They pretended that their opposition to the resolution arose from the circumstance that what was generally regarded as substantial reform was in fact no reform at all. Did they not always strive for the ending of diarchy, if not by converting it into full autonomy, then by reverting to pure autocracy of the pre-reform days? So far as they were concerned, anything was better than the existing system. How could then those who were determined to destroy the present reforms vote for their extension to another province? The Swarajists were not, however, allowed to shelter themselves behind such a plausible plea. A Mahomedan member, belonging to the Swarajists' own persuasion, resolved to put them to the test by moving an amendment that instead of the Montford reforms, full self-government be conferred upon the N.-W. Frontier Province. It was not, of course, the creed of the Swarajists that any preparation was needed for a people, even if they were in a semi-barbaric condition, to fit them for self-government. On the contrary it was their creed that every people had an inherent, natural right to self-government. Why not then confer this right on the frontier tribes? It was only the opportune walk-out of the Swarajists which saved them from registering an emphatic 'no' to such a proposition brought forward by a brother Swarajist. The statement issued by

their leader, however, makes it clear, as clear as if they had recorded their votes, that the Swarajists were opposed to this amendment as well as to the original resolution. They were for a rearrangement of the provinces, cutting the settled districts out of the N.-W. Frontier Province and joining it on to the Punjab, thus evading the reforms issue. But the Foreign Secretary had already by his clever tactics forced the adversaries of reform into the open. Men like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had already been manoeuvred into a declaration of hostility to the proposed reforms for the Frontier province, though they generally took care to preface their opposition by such a remark as this: "I do not wish of course to stand in the way of any province of India getting constitutional reforms." But of course, that is exactly what they wished. They desired to prevent at all costs the N.-W. Frontier Province from getting reforms. Ordinary judgment would have taught them however that the Government was in any case going to withhold reform; and that they might well have spared themselves an exhibition of ill-nature.

Die-hard Mahomedans too, who had always sided with the bureaucracy in turning down every proposal of reform also found themselves in a tight

corner in supporting this resolution. Curiously enough they began to speak for the nonce in the strain of the Swarajists. "The present reforms after all have proved illusory. Even such a proposal as raising the Age of Consent could not go through in these reformed Councils. Not much harm would result by extending such sham reforms to the N.-W. Frontier Province. If there were any possibility of our introducing an element of real representative or responsible government, then we should have been constrained to oppose the proposal with might and main. As the present reforms, however, establish the mere form of representative government without conceding the substance, we do not mind letting them go forward." Everything was thus upside down in this debate; out of this utter confusion none came out creditably, with the only exception of men like Babu Bepin Chandra Pal who, on this occasion as on others, stood on the side of reform, and even bold and generous reform at that. The Government benches had a hearty laugh at the perfect topsyturvydom which met their eyes on the opposite benches, forgetting, however, the homely adage that "he laughs best who laughs last." It is Mr. Pal and men of his way of thinking who can laugh last in this matter, and we unhesitatingly range ourselves on their side.

## OPIUM AT GENEVA.\*

By P. Kodanda Rao.

### III.

#### INDIA AND THE LEAGUE.

IF the latest export policy of India places her above suspicion of even the most "maliciously mendacious" critics of India, her position in the League is by no means rendered quite happy thereby. For India still permits the use of opium in India without prescription by a qualified medical practitioner. The practice of opium eating is deeply imbedded in the social fabric, in ancient traditions and customs. It would be injudicious for an alien Government to attempt prohibition if public opinion was not ripe for it. It is a matter for self-determination of the Indian people themselves. And yet even in such matters the Government of India insists on being represented in International gatherings by non-Indians, and the situation becomes tragic when the official spokesman declares himself in flat contradiction to the Indian public opinion. While a monster petition, signed by quarter of a million Indians, headed by the names of Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore, and the resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee, the Indian National Congress, the Liberal Federation, the Indian National Social Conference have all disapproved of the non-medical use of opium, the representative of the Government of India in Geneva was fighting in defence of it as practised in India. There is, however, something to be said for the Government view inasmuch as no single Legislature in the provinces, where opium is a transferred subject

under the control of the elected majority and a responsible Minister, has so far ventured to translate into legislation the declarations of the Indian National Congress and other national bodies.

But the chief difficulty in India is how to devise methods to limit the use of opium to medical purposes only. It would indeed be a simple affair if there was but a simple system of medicine, the modern allopathic, and it was within easy reach of the rural areas as well. It would be interesting to have a comparative study of the methods in vogue or proposed by such countries as China, Japan, Siam, Philippines, which have all with a disconcerting readiness agreed to limit the use of opium to medical purposes. It would be worth knowing if, in these countries, there are indigenous systems of medicine, if the practitioners of these can be and are trusted to make proper use of opium, if these and other competent medical men are available in adequate number even in rural areas.

The monster petition signed by Gandhi and Tagore wished that even the medical use came up to the "best medical opinion in the world."

\*OPIUM AS AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM: The Geneva Conferences. By W.W. WILLOUGHBY. (Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore.) 1925. 9½ x 6. pp. 589 \$4.50.

OPIUM. By J. P. GAVIT. (George Rutledge & Sons, Ltd., London.) 1925. 9 x 5½. pp. 308. 12s. 6d.

OPIUM POLICY IN JAPAN. By SAGATARO KARU. Japanese Delegation, Geneva ) 1924. pp. 56. 8½ x 5½.

INTERNATIONAL OPIUM CONFERENCES AT GENEVA, 1924-25. Report of the Indian Delegation. pp. 73.

Perhaps the most valuable part of Mr. Gavit's book is the one that deals with the best medical opinion in the world about the use of opium. He has marshalled high medical authority to suggest that the opium habit of India is a contributory cause of the virulence and excessive mortality of cholera, plague, malaria and other infectious diseases. The essence of it is that opium puts the white corpuscles, which vigilantly guard the body against infections, to sleep even as it does human beings and renders them unfit for their work of defence: they work stupidly or maybe not at all. The old ideas that opium was a prophylactic and febrifuge, with reference to malaria in particular, are no longer tenable. The medical opinion is so important and of such far-reaching significance that no apology is needed in referring to some of it here. Metchnikoff could immunise guinea-pigs against cholera unless they had opium; the latter died "because the leucocytes, on account of the narcotic action of the opium, were tardy in coming up". Prof. Hans Zinsser says that "animals treated with opium are very much more susceptible to infection than are normal controls. . . . These experiments indicate very definitely the inadvisability of using morphine and similiar narcotics in infectious diseases." Sir Leonard Rogers of the I.M.S. says, "Opium . . . is absolutely to be avoided in cholera." Dr. S. P. Smith, formerly Secretary of the Commission for the Study of Malaria in India, declares that "the common belief that opium assists the action of quinine is without foundation." Malcolm Watson says, "I have often wished to try the old native remedy of opium with the quinine, but have never felt quite justified in doing so." Dr. W. E. Masters says of yellow fever: "To alleviate the symptoms, relieve pain by aspirin or phenacetin, never opium." Of opium in diabetes he says: "I have never been able to convince myself of its value." The medical profession increasingly doubts the wisdom of using opium even for strictly medical purposes and is searching substitutes. Perhaps the most radical and at the same time the most simple solution of the opium problem lies that way, in eliminating the use of opium altogether.

These medical views call for an enquiry as to what extent the low vitality and the high mortality in India is due to the freedom with which opium is used by the people, and what steps are necessary to meet the situation, and whether opium could be entrusted to the indigenous medical practitioners at all, as some propose, and whether it would on the whole be better to deny the people all access to opium except through allopathic medical men.

The position of the Indian States is another matter for uneasiness. Some of them produce opium. They are said to be neither sovereign States with international status nor are their subordinate Governments bound by the international obligations to which the suzerain power has become a party. This anomalous position, however justified in days gone by, can no longer be tolerated. Opium reform in British India cannot be allowed to be defeated by the Indian States. Either they should be given interna-

tional status, in which case they will have to face world criticism if they do not ratify international obligations and live up to them; or the Government of India should commit them automatically to all the obligations it accepts and must see to it that they are duly observed in the Indian States. As Prof. Willoughby says, "When one State claims for itself the exclusive right to control the foreign relations of subordinate political areas, be they administrative sub-divisions of its own territory, or colonies, protectorates, or even dominions, that State thereby is implied to assert that it has both the legal right and the actual power to act with plenary power with reference to those subordinate political areas."

( Concluded. )

### EDUCATION IN BARODA. Neglect of the Aborigines.

ON the occasion of the jubilee celebration of the rule of His Highness Sir Sayajirao Gaikwad of Baroda, the Commissioner of Education of the State published a brochure giving in a succinct form information as to the progress which Baroda has made in the field of popular education in recent years. Before 1870 or rather five years before Sir Sayajirao was called to the *Gadi* by a freak of fortune, not a single school existed in the State, which was even partly financed by it. At the time of his accession, i. e. in 1875, the number of schools in receipt of State aid was five, four meant for religious instruction and one Anglo-Vernacular school. The following order of appointment given to a teacher in the early seventies is interesting as showing the division of cost of a school between the State and the village:—"You are appointed on a monthly salary of Rs. 2-8-0; milk, vegetables, grains, and firewood will be given free by the village people, besides what you may get as a Brahman on religious days. It will be for you to see that the children who come to your school become proficient in reading, writing, arithmetic and keeping account." In those days free education of the masses of the people had not come to be regarded as part of the State's duty towards its subjects. But His Highness soon started on a bold and vigorous policy of spreading a network of schools on a voluntary basis all over his territory; but as is well known, it was not until 1906 that a resort to compulsion was made. There is no doubt that Sir Sayajirao has been and is regarded as a pioneer of free and compulsory primary education in the country. When the late Mr. Gokhale introduced his famous resolution in the Viceroy's Council in 1910 and his historic Elementary Education Bill the next year, he called to his aid the Gaikwad's example. By that time compulsion had been introduced throughout the State, from the capital town of Baroda to the smallest village. But over 25 years before its wholesale introduction in the State, it had been already working in Amreli (Kathiawar) and some villages of that taluka. In 1903, however, an Act was passed making primary education compulsory throughout Baroda *Raj* and was made applicable to the whole of the Gaikwar territory. As a consequence, considerable hardship was inflicted specially upon small agriculturists and forest tribes, which led to a temporary set-back. In fact in 1916, as recommended by a committee appointed to inquire into the working of the Compulsory Education Act, some changes of a retrograde nature were embodied in the Act. The Act thus amended exempted from the operation of the com-

pulsory provisions some tracts of the country. One would have expected that in the absence of compulsion, so far as these areas were concerned, the expansion of primary education on a voluntary basis had been going on in them with a view to prepare them in the fulness of time for compulsion. But it was not so. These tracts went back to their pre-1875 condition, i.e. one of having absolutely no education! Such tracts were mainly the forest talukas of Navsari district, peopled by aboriginal people known by the generic name of Kaliparaj—or dark people. These number about 2½ lakhs and constitute nearly one-eighth of the total population of the State. It need hardly be added that this lack of the civilising influence of education has had disastrous consequences on these people.

In other branches of education as well, His Highness is also justly looked upon as a pioneer. The Baroda Arts College is popular in Gujerat and now boasts of 800 students on its rolls. The Viceroy has recently laid the foundation stone of a Science College and it may not be long before Baroda has a full-fledged Science College. Similarly, the Kalabuhuvan in Baroda (or school giving technical education) attracts pupils even from such distant parts as Bengal, Assam and Punjab. It has courses of study in Art, architecture, civil, mechanical and electrical engineering, chemical technology, textiles and commerce and has 400 boys. The Maharani High School for girls at Baroda and some A.-V. Schools in district towns for girls supply whatever demand there may be for female education. There are also schools for teaching music, deaf and dumb schools, free boarding houses for Waghers (near Dwarka) and for forest tribes in Naosari district and for depressed classes all over, kindergarten classes, Sanskrit schools, and classes for teaching Sanskrit even to Garodas or Brahmans serving Dheds as priests. All these institutions aim at the social betterment of the people; and are achieving their purpose to no small extent. But what needs special notice as a highly progressive influence is the library system in Baroda. All libraries in the State are entirely free to His Highness' subjects without consideration of caste, creed, sex or age. There are 43 town and district libraries, and 618 village libraries in a State having about 3,000 towns and villages and a population of 21 lakhs. Needless to say that some of the town libraries are very well equipped. There are also children's libraries and some town libraries specially reserved for ladies only on a certain day in the week. This is a record of which any Government may be legitimately proud.

Among backward classes, we find 10.3 per cent. of Mahomedan and 8 per cent. of depressed class children attend school; but it would be interesting to know what proportion of these are the children of 2½ lakhs of forest tribes. No doubt 8 free boarding schools miscalled Dhānkās from the name of one small tribe among them, minister to their wants; but the number of children in these institutions which, by the way, is not officially given, cannot exceed 400 or 500 at the outside. This is, to say the least, very unsatisfactory. The number of day schools for tracts inhabited by these people is so meagre that it constitutes a dark spot on the otherwise fair educational record of Baroda. In this connection, the following figures may prove of interest:

Taluka.	No. of Villages.	No. of Schools.
Songad	210	14
Mangrol	126	20
Vyara	151	46
	487	80

This means that five villages out of every six inhabited by these unfortunate people are without a school. If we leave out of account Vyara, which is comparatively better off in this matter, there is only one school in every 10 villages situated in Songad and Mangrol talukas! Vakal Mahal of Mangrol has one solitary school for 34 villages. These figures are so damaging that one is at first sight left in doubt whether they relate to the territories belonging to the enlightened Baroda ruler or to some backward State in C. P. or Orissa and situated at a distance of 100 or 150 miles from the railway line. But we may assure our readers that we have taken all our figures from the Baroda Government's publications.

Now let us see the state of things prevailing in the adjacent plain talukas of the self-same Navsari district, which enjoy the blessings of compulsory education.

Talukas.	No. of villages.	No. of Schools.
Naosari	60	83
Kamrej	70	55
Gandevi	28	35
Palsana	50	41
	208	214

It will be clear from this that while Songad and Mangrol have only one school for every 10 villages, all villages in this advanced area, roughly speaking, have each got its own school. It may be said that a number of forest villages have too small a school-going population to justify the opening of a school there. But surely the combined number of children of school age in two or three villages might make the opening of a school a matter of practical politics. As it is, though primary education is nominally free for all, no educational facilities have been provided for as many as 18½ out of the total 21 lakhs of population, though taxes are exacted from them just as much as from those who are in a position to avail themselves of educational facilities.

It may be said that if they are thus put to trouble and inconvenience, their own ignorance and folly are at fault; that no one but themselves is to blame if schools opened under the Compulsory Education Act had to be shut up in 1916 for want of attendance or for want of machinery for compelling attendance. But it should be borne in mind by the State authorities that exemption from compulsion does not and ought not to mean exemption even from voluntary education. Granted that the operation of the Compulsory Act had to be withdrawn owing to the failure of these tribes to send their children to schools, the question remains: why did the State stop opening schools for their use on a purely voluntary basis. Nor can it be maintained that they do not wish to send their children to school; for they do send their boys to schools maintained by the adjacent Rajpipla State or by the Mandvi Taluka of the Surat District. It is also a matter of common knowledge that they run some schools, unrecognised and uncontrolled by the State though they are, for their children. All this goes to prove that if the State had come forward to open schools for their benefit, there is no reason why they would have kept away from them. Recently a Committee was appointed to inquire into the condition and grievances of the forest tribes and has brought to light the above facts. Its report has not yet seen the light of day, nor have the orders of H. H.'s Government on its recommendations. It is strange how this scandalous state of things has all along escaped the notice of Sir Sayajirao; his long absence out of India has evidently put him out of touch with the

needs of his subjects. Let us hope he will now look into it.

A. V. THAKKAR.

## REVIEWS.

### ALFRED MARSHALL.

**MEMORIALS OF ALFRED MARSHALL.** Edited by A. C. PIGOU, (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.) 1925. 8½ × 5½. pp. 518. 12s. 6d.

To one like the present writer, for whom the most vivid memories of undergraduate life must always centre round the personality of Marshall, the reading of this memorial volume seems to be a veritable return to the days of youth. In the appreciations of their great master by Professor Pigou and Mr. Keynes and in the slighter reminiscences contributed by Professors Edgeworth and Fay and by Mr. Benians, there is portrayed with wonderful insight and humble reverence the man who has dominated the economic thought of the world for the last half century. Almost it is as if one sat again in the lecture room of the Cambridge Divinity School waiting for the utterance, after a brief catch of the breath and a moment's abstracted gaze, of some great illuminating generalisation; or as if again one found oneself on a Wednesday at teatime in the study at Balliol Croft and there, somewhat tremblingly, ventured to test the theories of a novice on the touchstone of an all-embracing wisdom. To those who have had close personal relations with Marshall as a teacher, he must always remain a source of strength and inspiration. It would seem appropriate that, as having had the privilege of being one of his pupils, I should speak of him first as a teacher.

I suppose that the first impression made by Marshall on those attending his lectures was conveyed by the half-threatening, half-humorous announcement with which he was accustomed to begin at the opening of a new session. "If there is anyone who is attending these lectures with the expectation that he will receive a preparation for the Tripos examination he will be disappointed. I shall do my best to see that he fails. I have had many years' experience in this task and I shall probably succeed." We were not unnaturally somewhat dismayed and some who came to these opening lectures did not return. The threat was not an idle one, for Marshall never attempted to give by means of aural instruction a systematic grounding in economics. There can be few who have taught for many years who have not been conscious of the conflict of purpose with which every teacher is confronted. He may endeavour to lead his class step by step in an orderly exposition of his subject, or he may seek to carry them with him to the heights of original speculation or to probe the foundations of his science in the hope that they will receive inspiration and learn how to learn for themselves. Both things are necessary, but Marshall in the class room would confine himself to the latter alone. Indeed in my day at Cambridge there was no systematic teaching of economics at all and the result was a complete neglect of the needs of the weaker students and a certain loss of time and energy even for the stronger. It compelled one to wrestle with the difficulties of the subject very largely unaided, but it forced one to think and to build up the material as a living structure rather than to accept on authority facts and theories arranged by others.

Perhaps the first thing that one learned as an undergraduate from Marshall was to distrust easy conclusions and to suspect unqualified generalisa-

tions. He would reveal from his immense store of detailed knowledge of fact, analysed and co-ordinated with invincible reasoning, the shallowness and, too often, the positive error that usually characterised popular conclusions regarding economic affairs. We began to realise how much greater may be the things that are unseen than the things that are seen. It was shown to us how in almost all the really important issues bearing upon the economic welfare of the people, the solution lay in the attribution of the right relative values to an immensely complex body of influences. Marshall would seldom give final and unqualified conclusions. His hesitancy was, indeed, very often a stumbling-block to us. It used irreverently to be said that his world rested upon the hypothesis that "other things were equal".

If the first lesson that we learned was the difficulty of the study on which we had embarked—Marshall frequently said that the man who had read one or two books on economics was likely to be more wrong in his conclusions than the man who had read none—the second was its supreme importance for the future welfare of mankind. There was deeply implanted in our minds a sense of the need for economic knowledge as an essential preparation for the work of social reform. And, if the way to that knowledge were hard and long, we were sustained and inspired by the example of one whose ruthless singleness of purpose in the pursuit of his study and whose intense conviction of its value in the service of men was transparent to us all. He seemed to demand of us that we should "leave all and follow him". Mr. Keynes has borne witness to this side of Marshall's work as a teacher in the following words: "To his colleagues Marshall might sometimes seem tiresome and obstinate; to the outside world he might appear pontifical or unpractical; but to his pupils he was, and remained, a true sage and master, outside criticism, one who was their father in the spirit and who gave them such inspiration and comfort as they drew from no other source."

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the influence of political economy was undoubtedly on the wane. The generation that had accepted the economic system of England since the Industrial Revolution as the embodiment of practical wisdom and whose economic gospel was contained in the pages of Mill's "Principles" was passing away. It is due to Marshall first and foremost that economics as a real and important study has been rehabilitated. In great measure this result has followed from the profound influence of his published writings, but it is due also in no small degree to his personal influence as a teacher in gathering round him a band of young men imbued with something of his own intense devotion to the study of those conditions upon which the economic welfare of mankind depends.

Marshall was not only a very great economist; he was also a great humanitarian. If one would understand anything of his wonderful power over the generations of men whom he affected, it is necessary to insist upon this aspect of it. There was, indeed, a marked duality in his personality. On the one side he was a recluse, a scientist, concerned with the accumulation of data and the entirely dispassionate tracing of cause and effect to whatever conclusions it might lead. On the other, he was a prophet, an evangelist, almost an emotionalist. "The joys of Religion," he said, "are the highest joys of which men are capable". For him religion was the bettering of the common lot of his fellow-men. In his treatment of economic theory he somewhat rigidly separated the scientific study of what is from the ethical study of what ought to be. From the stand-



point of economic analysis "beer and bibles are equally wealth". But the entire *raison d'être* of the study its motive power was for him the intense desire to free the masses from the degradation of poverty. Professor Pigou quotes from a lecture delivered by Marshall in 1883 in which he said: "There are two great questions which we cannot think too much about. The first is, is it necessary that while there is so much wealth, there should be so much want? The second is, is there not a great fund of conscientiousness and unselfishness latent in the breasts of men, both rich and poor, which could be called out if the problems of life were set before them in the right way, and which would cause misery and poverty to diminish?" "There," says Professor Pigou, "you have the feeling that moved his life: a vivid sense of the paradox of poverty: a strong stream of human sympathy." It is sometimes said by those who think superficially that the standpoint of the individualist economists is materialistic. Marshall throughout his life was a living disproof of this mistaken idea. He did not pursue wealth as an end in itself either in theory or in his own practice. But he felt intensely that excessive fatigue, the absence of leisure, the undernourishment of mind and body, the effect of a squalid environment were the great enemies that stood in the way of the full attainment of man's highest powers. But he suffered from no cheap illusions. He saw too clearly to be deceived by the catchwords of a claptrap type of socialist teaching which proclaims that "production for private profit" is necessarily selfish and ignoble, and believes that the elimination of the cash nexus will introduce a world where all labour is undertaken from the motive of social service. "It is better", he said, "to make a wheelbarrow for the sake of money, and only for the sake of money, than it is to write a partisan poem merely to please a patron, as many poets did in earlier times: for they deliberately coined into money the best things that they possessed: while the wheelbarrow maker need not allow his inner life to be much disturbed by his making of wheelbarrows. But, if a poet or a painter or a wheelbarrow maker thinks first of doing his work well and only secondly of the money he will get for it, neither he nor his work is in any way lowered or debased by his being paid for it." Moreover, Marshall's personal knowledge of many captains of industry had convinced him that they did not, in fact, spend themselves primarily for love of profit, although I think he would have admitted that the joy of enterprise and the pure satisfaction of adapting means to ends was a less prominent characteristic of the business men of England than of those in the United States. Marshall himself was conspicuously unselfish and unmercenary. Professor Fay in his reminiscences which he contributes to these Memorials recalls how Marshall himself paid from a somewhat scanty professorial income the salaries which would enable those whom he had selected as worthy of the task to embark on the career of teaching economics. As Professor Pigou so truly says, "He was for all of us who knew him a shining example of single-eyed devotion to an unselfish task". That task would be entirely misconceived if it were regarded as the elaboration of a system of hypothetical laws applicable to a world of 'economic' men. Marshall was in an exceptional degree a realist and among the realities in which he placed the greatest confidence was the potential nobility of human nature. To throw light along the paths that would lead to the realisation of men's nobler qualities was the work to which he devoted his life. In doing so he avoided the supreme temptation that can beset a leader of men: the temptation to depart

from the truth in order to prophesy smooth things. He himself defined the duty of the student to the State in the following passage:—"Students of social science must fear popular approval. Evil is with them when all men speak well of them. If there is any set of opinions by the advocacy of which a newspaper can increase its sale, then the student, who wishes to leave the world in general and his country in particular better than it would be if he had not been born, is bound to dwell on the limitations and defects and errors, if any, in that set of opinions; and never to advocate them unconditionally even in *ad hoc* discussion. It is almost impossible for a student to be a true patriot and to have the reputation of being one in his own time."

C. J. HAMILTON.

(To be concluded.)

### RELIGIONS OF THE EMPIRE.

RELIGIONS OF THE EMPIRE. Edited By WILLIAM LOFTUS HARE. With an Introduction by Sir DENISON ROSS. (Duckworth, London.) 1925. 9 x 6½. pp. 519. 16s.

It is only the sub-title of this book which stands as "A Conference on some Living Religions within the Empire" that gives a correct representation of the contents of the book. This Conference was organised in connection with the British Empire Exhibition of 1924, and the various papers that were read there have been embodied in this volume. As is said in the introduction, the Conference consisted of two parts. The first was devoted mainly to a series of papers on the Oriental Religions of the Empire and various modern movements arising out of them. The second part of the Conference was devoted to the Psychology and Sociology of Religion, and a series of papers were read by specialists who expounded the religious process and its mode and purpose as it operated in their sphere of observation. Religions like Judaism and Christianity were kept out, and hence the Conference could hardly be called a representative one. Indeed, from the way in which the Conference was organized and from the manifest lack of that interest which a Conference like this ought to evoke, one cannot but feel that the whole thing was carried on in an empirical manner. As is said in the Introduction, it was the presence of the head of the Ahmadiya Movement with a number of his followers that added much charm and evoked interest and response. One only hoped that it was not the sight-seeing element which was the cause of this interest.

As one reads the book, one cannot but compare and contrast this Conference with others of a like kind held in the past, and one is glad to see that the Editor himself has done this in the very beginning of the book. As is well known, the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893 was unique in the history of the world. Nothing has been attempted on a like scale since, and perhaps nothing is likely to be for a long time to come. It is a pity that a thing like this was not done by the British Empire, which is perhaps the greatest Empire that the world has known and which thus incurs a responsibility of this kind to its people of many races and religions. Since then other Congresses have been held, and they have done substantial work especially in the line of Comparative Religion. The International Congress of the History of Religions which has met five times has treated Religion as a Science, and as the Editor says, "the new experience of the new method has shown that respect and mutual sympathy have grown rather than otherwise by handling religion as the subject

matter of Science."

So far as the present volume is concerned, it contains 2 papers on Hinduism, 5 on Islam, 3 on Buddhism, 1 on Zoroastrianism, 1 on Jainism, 1 on Sikhism, 1 on Tarism, 1 on Brahma Samaj, 1 on Arya Samaj, 2 on Bahaism, 4 on Primitive Religion (all African), and 8 papers on Psychology and Sociology of Religions. These are divided into various groups and each group opens with a historical note from some European scholar of note. Most of these papers on various religions are by their own followers, the only exception being in the case of African religions. All these papers maintain a high level of thought and to go through them all cannot but be a matter of edification to the general reader and especially to the student of religions. Some of these papers are of a very superior order, especially those at the end on Psychology and Sociology of Religion, and the Conference deserves to be congratulated on the fact that it got such people as Mrs. Taylor, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Hare and Professor Geddes to read papers on their favourite subjects. It was also fortunate in getting two papers from Sir Francis Younghusband, one of which is the opening address. It is doubtful if it could have got any one to do this work more thoughtfully and at the same time with more graceful felicity. Some of his thoughts therein stand out as gems, and may well be taken note of by all those who want to maintain the Empire. He says: "I would say that the ultimate basis upon which the British Empire should stand must be religion: not political constitutions nor economic agreements. These are only the bones and anatomy, not the spirit which makes and is the man, and which should make and be the Empire. . . And if the Empire, comprising as it does nearly a quarter of the population of the world and peoples of every variety and degree of culture, can maintain itself in ordered unity, then it will afford an example in practical life before the eyes of the world of what can be done to achieve at least orderliness of living. It will be a powerful instrument for effecting the same orderliness in the whole community of nations throughout the world." Regarding the attitude that we should have towards religions other than our own, he says some wise words: "This exclusive attitude is not the attitude we would wish to see adopted at this Conference. We may each of us hold that our own religion is more completely perfect than any other. But even then we may recognise that God reveals Himself in many ways, and that to the followers of other religions than our own, may have been revealed much that may be of value to us. And we may hope to seize from each some of that Divine Spirit which inspires every religion in divers ways. The reverent admiration which Carlyle showed for Muhammad is only equalled by the adoration with which Keshub Chundra Sen regarded Christ."

The first paper is on Orthodox Hinduism or Nutana Dharma by Pandit Shyam Shankar, and the second on "Hinduism and its Philosophy" by Pandit Laddu of Poona. Pandit Shyam Shankar's paper is on the whole very sound and condenses much matter in a very small compass. His definition of Hinduism is well worth remembering. He says:

"No -ism is so unmeaning as Hinduism, for the word 'Hindu' was originally used for a number of people inhabiting a country, and not in the sense of a follower of a particular religion. Nowhere in Sanskrit or Prakrit literature do we come across the term 'Hindus'. The Persians called the people living in India (beyond the river Sindhu, Indus) 'Hindus' as vaguely as the Sanskrit writers called the people living north-west of India 'Yavanas.'

Thus if Hinduism means anything it should logically indicate typical characteristics of the people who lived in India before the Muhammadan conquest. But if we take Hinduism in the sense of a religion, as it is done arbitrarily now, we are confronted with the extreme difficulty of defining it, for it obviously includes innumerable sects or systems of religious doctrine."

Where out of nearly thirty papers, every one is full of rich thought and much learning, it is difficult to make any choice. Altogether the volume before us is one that cannot but help in cementing the bond between various religions and people following them, and for this service to the Empire and even to humanity, the organizers of the Conference deserve the thanks of all.

MANLAL C. PAREKH

### THE COST OF A NEW WORLD.

**THE COST OF A NEW WORLD.** By KENNETH MACLENNAN. (Edinburgh House Press, London.) 1925. 7½ × 5. pp. 192. 2s. 6d.

THE object of this book is to face the problems suggested by the strange and perplexing fact that there could take place almost simultaneously a World Missionary Conference and a World War. These events were the climax of two streams in the history of the modern world. One was the expansion of Christianity, and the other an ever increasing material development practically untouched by spiritual influences. The problems of the world to-day are just those of the pre-war world. The only difference is that they have to be faced and solved against a new background. It seems of urgent importance, therefore, that, in the light of pre-war history, fresh consideration should be given to the world movements of to-day in order to discover what are the vital forces in deadly grips in these movements, what are the real issues, and what is the relevancy of Jesus Christ to them all.

This volume accordingly offers a brief survey of the material forces at work in the pre-war world, discusses some current world movements, e. g. the growth of national and racial consciousness, the seething mind of youth, the industrialisation of the Orient, the opening of Africa and the out-reach everywhere after education, and seeks to understand the real conflict in all these movements and the relevancy of Christianity to them.

The problems of our time throw upon the new generation an exceptionally heavy burden, and the author will be content if the volume in any way helps them in facing their overwhelming task.

Thus the author explains his object in writing the book under review, and his book is a very valuable help indeed to us at least in facing the overwhelming task.

The book is of interest also because the author is an uncompromising opponent of all those forces which have come along with Christianity to non-Christian countries and made it difficult for people to understand the principles of Jesus.

Such a thing as a Christian nation does not exist. The so-called Christian countries are not Christian countries, but in the conflict with other nations their relations often appear thoroughly un-Christian, yes anti-Christian. The author pleads for bringing national policies to the test of a conformity with Christian conceptions of life from which conformity the so-called Christian nations now are very far.

A whole chapter is taken up by showing us that the real conflict underlying all the world problems.

is the conflict between a spiritual and a material conception of life now in a stronger grip of opposition with each other than ever before. The forces are arranged not between East and West, not between one religion and another, not between country and country, but there are in each country, community, race, creed and religion, good and evil, spiritual and material forces at war with each other and the problems can only be solved for the benefit of humanity at large by giving full weight in all our relations between individuals and country, between country and race, between race to spiritual and moral values in life and by true unity of spiritual and material.

It is a warfare between matter and spirit. There is, however, no essential conflict between the two. All material things are gifts from God to mankind. But the moment the material is allowed to dominate life it is inevitably in conflict with the spiritual. The issue is between the subordination of the material to the spiritual, and the capitulation of the spiritual to a selfish materialism.

A. J. KNUDSEN.

### GOLD STANDARD FOR INDIA.

#### THE RUPEE AND THE GOLD STANDARD.

By P. B. JUNNARKAR. 1925. 9½ × 6¼. pp. 108. Rs. 3.

THE author, who is head of the Department of Commerce at Dacca University, favours a genuine gold standard and is thus in agreement with the popular sentiment on this subject. The reasons he puts forward for his preference are however far from popular, that is, sentimental and superficial: they are cogent and deep. He rigorously examines the gold-exchange standard, with its claim to represent the perfection of currency wisdom and lays bare its inherent defects and deleterious tendencies. One whole chapter is devoted to the critical examination of the exchange standard in the light of Ricardo's theory of currency, for it is often claimed by the apologists of that standard that it is only an approximation to the ideal system propounded by Ricardo. The fundamental divergences of the gold-exchange standard from Ricardo's system are fully brought out.

The rise of prices subsequent to the adoption of the gold exchange standard is accounted for as being the direct consequence of the adoption of that system of currency. The partial inconvertibility of the rupee coupled with the tendency of the gold-exchange system 'to promote the incidence of the foreign demand upon Indian commodities' is made to explain the steady rise of price since the year 1900. The tendency of the gold exchange standard to encourage the foreign demand for Indian commodities dwelt upon by the author on pp. 41-42 is not quite apparent. We are not prepared to attribute so great a potency to the fixity of exchange in promoting Indian exports. For, do not the gold points secure the same kind of fixity of exchange as under the gold exchange standard? But this point apart, the book is a meritorious vindication of the gold standard point of view.

P. M. LIMAYE.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

#### MR. SASTRI'S DISCOURSES.

Keito writes as follows in the Hindu of March 19 in giving his impressions of Mr. Sastri's Kamala lectures:—

The South African tangle, the conscience clause, Regulation III of 1918, the duty of franchise, the evils of the

communal clamour, all came in necessarily for their meed of comment and criticism. And nothing could furnish a more glowing tribute to the fascinating, persuasive charms of the lecturer than the fact that the audience, consisting as it did of people of all sorts of political creeds and faith, never dared to raise the slightest whisper of a shadow of doubt or dissent. In fact it seemed,

Our rooted congregation gloom arrayed

By that great sad voice deep and full were swayed.

His plea for the abolition of communal electorates and his exposure of the absolutely suicidal nature of preferences to offices based on communal cliques and claims, was one continued piece of sustained passionate appeal in the interest of the general advancement of the whole country. How many of us heard unmoved and unswayed his advocacy for the insertion of the 'conscience clause' in our Educational system, a measure which some time ago was thrown out in the Senate? And when in tones more of sorrow and humiliation than of anger and chagrin, he dwelt on the reactionary and reprehensible attitude of late taken up by Sir Abdur Rahim, he carried to a man the whole audience with him. Throughout, the feeling was irresistibly and overwhelmingly borne in upon the audience that the lecturer felt deeply for India's woes and suffered secretly.

It has been Mr. Sastri's duty and privilege to pass some scathing indictments on some aspects of un-British rule in India. The Executive and even the Judiciary have had to come in for some amount of denunciation. But even these have been rendered with that perfection of urbanity and sobriety of criticism so characteristic of him. When he refers to a Governor's indiscretion or the arbitrariness of the Executive, you feel that the last word has been said; his condemnation has an air of finality about it; has all the sanctity of a pontifical pronouncement.

The lectures are, alas, over. Not one of us wished any of them shorter by a single word. Essentially an intellectual treat, raising innumerable complicated problems and side-issues, has been served up to us with consummate cunning and deftness. The orator has thrown his spell over us with all his superb imagery, his sonorous and sweet tones, measured and considered utterances; has dazzled us with his taste in expression, charm of style, cogency of logical reason and intensity of restrained passion. And in spite of all these and more, the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. S. Sastri has not come into his own, it is only because he is in the words of the poet

Too fond of the right to pursue the expedient.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

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- INDIA TODAY. (Independent Labour Party, London.) pp. 45.
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