

THE Servant of India

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SERVANT OF INDIA,
Poona (D. G.)

It is gratifying to find that the Non-Brahmans of Bombay are developing a national in place of the parochial outlook for which they have latterly made themselves conspicuous. The Chairman of Reception Committee of their Conference held recently at Nasik has in his address drawn attention to several important factors of social and political uplift which are neglected to-day. The root cause of the present degradation, he said, is the widespread illiteracy, to cure which the Ministers cannot do anything on account of the Government holding the keys of the purse. In dilating on the evil of the drink habit he held the Excise Department responsible for it since it was reluctant to lose the revenue realized by its continuance. He sympathised with the parties which have decided to leave the Statutory Commission alone. He admitted that in the matter of untouchability the higher Non-Brahmans are as much sinners as the Brahmans and exhorted the Conference to do all it can for their uplift. The President, Mr. V. R. Kothari, after reviewing the activities of the Non-Brahmans during the last decade, pronounced against the present methods of leading the masses and declared his conviction that no progress was possible unless full provincial autonomy was secured. It is clear from his speech that he is in favour of effecting a *rapprochement* with the other nationalist parties. On the all

the Statutory Commission he went with all self-respecting in proposing a boycott of the by the Conference unanimous cannot endorse the strong small Holdings Bill by the which the mover of the seems to entertain strange notions. One important against the Brahman attitudes, temples and bathing places Conference will succeed ist tendencies of the Non-performed a great service to anal unity.

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ance in the Ministers moved ask in the Bengal Legislative have been thrown out; but is nothing in the result at he Ministers should lay the

flattering notion to their souls that the Council has confidence in them. For a careful analysis of the voting will show that they owe this victory, if it can be so called, to the weight of the official and nominated *bloc* which together numbered 26 on the present occasion and with 15 non-official Europeans and 2 Anglo-Indians made up a total of 43. Seeing that the Ministers' supporters were 65, it is obvious that only 22 elected Indians (14 Mahomedans and 8 Hindus) stood by them as against the 60 elected ones that cast their votes against them. The present motion differs from similar ones brought before the Council in the past in this that what seems to have been really intended was to express the Council's lack of confidence in the Ministers and by no means to end dyarchy. The mover, the Maharaja of Mysore, is a discriminating supporter of the present form of Government and seeing as he does the many drawbacks attaching to dyarchy, he holds the sensible view that "they would lose nothing by working it". But his contention was that the Ministers had hardly any following in the Council and had no programme of work and nothing in common between them. What is more, they have not so far chosen to take the country into their confidence with regard to their attitude towards the most important factor of the political situation—the Simon Commission and attempts to draw them on this point have so far proved fruitless. Even in the course of the present

debate the Ministers were challenged to speak out, but though they did take part in the debate, they preferred to keep their thoughts about the Commission to themselves. Sir P. C. Mitter is a prominent member of the Liberal party which has declared unmistakably for boycott of the Commission. Does he share that view or does he belong to that section of Bengal Moderates who perhaps because of their opposition to the boycott are described as "influential" in Anglo-Indian newspapers?

THE Free Press of India has taken the trouble to ascertain that the Central and Provincial Governments between them annually spend nearly Rs. 13¼ lakhs upon their news-supply. Though the official payments of such a large amount are nominally made to two or three news agencies, it is an open secret that their patronage is really extended to one—Reuters. To the Governments concerned with their expenditure extending into crores of rupees the amount may be only a flea-bite, but to the news agency it is the mainstay of its income. The point however is not whether the amount is big or small, but whether the expenditure is necessary in the interest of the administration. The arrangement was entered into some years ago when the country could not boast of many enterprising newspapers and was perhaps justifiable at the time; but conditions have latterly changed making a substantial portion of this expense unnecessary. Beyond enabling Government to extend its patronage to the news agency in question it seems to serve no useful purpose. And as everybody knows this official patronage has a demoralising effect on it with the result that the agency gives prominence to news which may suit the official palate, keeping back that which may not. Lala Lajpat Rai in the last issue of his *People* has unearthed the most recent instance of such partiality on its part when it sent out a wholly one-sided view of the reception of the Simon Commission at Lahore, which turns out to be none other than the version given by the *Civil and Military Gazette*. But Lalaji need really not have put himself to all this trouble. We have come across numerous instances in which the A. P. I. shows partisanship for Government, and, next to it, curiously enough, partisanship for the Swaraj party, the former possibly because of the bias of the directors and the latter because of the bias of the staff employed in collecting and purveying news. As the *Pioneer* rightly characterises it, all this expenditure is sheer 'waste of the tax-payer's money' and as such must cease as soon as possible.

THE fact that the Bihar Legislative Council passed the anti-opium-smoking measure in all its stages at a single sitting ought not to be taken to indicate that the evil was so serious that it called for urgent action. As a matter of fact, as stated by the Excise Minister, Hon. Babu Ganesh Datta Singh, in introducing the Bill, opium-smoking did not prevail in the province; and if the Council was being asked to pass the measure, it was more or less a formality intended to enable the Government of India to assure the League of Nations that they were doing their best to suppress opium smoking as much as possible. The Bill hardly gave rise to any discussion in the Council, which shows its non-contentious nature. The new law requires the maintenance of a register of opium-smokers who alone will be allowed to indulge in opium-smoking hereafter. Anybody who is not less than 25 can apply for being so registered; and such registration will take place only after the registering authority is satisfied that the applicant is in the habit of smoking opium. This register will remain

open for two years, after which nobody can get his name entered in it. The new law makes the manufacture, possession or smoking of prepared opium by those not so registered an offence punishable with a maximum of one year's imprisonment or a fine of Rs. 1000 or both, while those who abet the commission of the offence either by allowing the use of their premises or by selling the article or in any other way make themselves liable to equally heavy punishment. If a magistrate has reason to suspect that a certain place is likely to be used for the purpose of an offence under this law, he is given power to issue a warrant for its search. While there can be no objection to Bihar having such a measure on its statute book, one wonders whether the registration of opium smokers could not have been enforced, as in Assam, where the opium problem is far more serious, as an administrative measure.

THAT however does not mean that Assam is without any legislation aimed at the stoppage—and in Assam of the smoking of opium. The problem was not long in attracting the attention of the reformed Legislative Council which soon after its inauguration had before it a non-official bill prepared by the Rev. J. J. M. Nichols-Roy. His bill aimed at the prohibition of opium-smoking altogether in the province which was of course too much for the Government who brought forward a measure of their own seeking to prohibit opium-smoking not altogether but only in company which, as everyone knows, has a very demoralising effect upon the rising generation, the only exemption allowed being in the case of a husband and wife. When this Bill was being referred to the Select Committee, the Rev. Nichols-Roy came forward with the suggestion that his Bill also should be sent to the same Committee for examination—a suggestion that did not commend itself to the Government. The result was that after the Government bill was passed, the Legislative Council also passed the more thorough-going non-official measure, which was to come into force at the beginning of this year and would then have replaced the Government legislation. But seeing the awkward situation thus created, the Governor refused to give his assent to either of the two bills; and promised in deference to the Council's wishes a comprehensive measure to stop the smoking of opium in Assam. The promise was duly fulfilled and it fell to the lot of the Rev. Nichols-Roy who has been the Excise Minister since 1927 to pilot this prohibition measure through the Council. It is yet too early to review its working; but there can be no doubt that it will go a long way in banishing the evil of opium-smoking from the province.

THE Punjab Budget reveals a sound economic position which will enable the Province to advance steadily along the path marked out for future development in its present programmes. The estimated revenue for 1928-29 is Rs. 11.22 crores while the estimated expenditure is Rs. 11.69 crores, leaving thus a deficit which will be met out of previous balances. The Finance Member has calculated the net additional taxation since 1921 to be Rs. 64 lakhs which is reasonable, if as he says most of it is contributing to the progress of the nation-building departments. For its size the Punjab spends a handsome sum of Rs. 1.70 crores on education. The programme for this year includes systematic development of a substantial degree of compulsion in primary education. The interest on Debt is Rs. 1.25 crores but most of it is for productive debt which more than pays its way. The department of Industries is woefully starved since it is given only Rs. 9.6

lakhs. The Punjab follows the deleterious practice of Bombay of making up the deficit of capital account out of current revenue. The budget for 1928-29 proposes to lend Rs. 31 lakhs to the capital account. It is creditable that the expenditure on civil administration has been nearly constant since the inauguration of the Reforms and the percentage of total expenditure on beneficial services has risen from 14.9 to 27.2, that is, nearly doubled itself. What a great relief the remission of the Provincial Contribution has afforded is indicated by the fact that during the last few years 18 p. c. of the expenditure has been met out of the sums remitted. The heading "Extraordinary Receipts" is very puzzling and in our opinion ought to make room for some more suitable heading especially as the amounts under this head are very large. This heading also makes comparisons with other provinces difficult if not impossible.

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It appears from the Bhavnagar State administration report for 1925-26 that its income from the usual sources was nearly Rs. 63½ lakhs as against an expenditure of about Rs. 56.18 lakhs, leaving a surplus of more than Rs. 7¼ lakhs. Over and above this, the State makes quite a good bit of revenue by means of its railways, which in 1926 yielded a net income of about Rs. 13 lakhs. It is explained that this is added to the Railway Reserve Fund from which is met all railway capital expenditure. It is a source of satisfaction that the State has gone dry not only in regard to country but also foreign liquor, whose use is now permitted only for medicinal and some special purposes. The number of educational institutions in the State rose from 262 during the previous year to 275, which works out at one institution for every two villages; and the number of pupils from 22,680 to 24,753. The Report says:—"If 15 per cent. of the male population is taken as a basis of calculation for boys of school-going age, the number on the rolls gives a percentage of 80.2 per cent. as against 70 per cent. last year as already undergoing instruction; the same about girls comes to 22 per cent. against 21 per cent. of last year if 12 per cent. of the female population is taken as of the school going age." We must say we are unable to see how this proportion is arrived at. For the male population of the State is 220,303, 15 per cent. of which comes to 33,045. As the report does not give separate statistics relating to the attendance of boys and girls, it is difficult to find out how many of the total number of 24,753 are girls. But even assuming that this figure does not include any girls, the number falls short of 80 per cent. of the whole male population of school-age which is represented in the Report as being at school and which would be about 26500. Thus there appears to be some error in working out the proportion and some elucidation on the part of the State authorities would be welcome. Anyhow the educational position of the State is not as creditable as is made out in the Report. We shall hope that in future reports separate statistics for boys and girls would be furnished. There are in all 10 municipalities in the State, 9 of them being managed as Durbari institutions. The Bhavnagar City Municipality alone has an elected President and a general body of 35 members, of whom 17 are elected by 9 ordinary wards and 3 by a special ward; 10 are nominated by the State and the remaining 5 are co-opted by the other 30. Thus local self-government cannot be said to have very much developed in the State.

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SIR BASIL BLACKETT'S STEWARDSHIP.

WITHIN a few days the portfolio of Finance will change hands and it behoves us to take stock of the whole situation and appraise the merits as well as demerits of the various financial expedients which have contributed to this result. The credit of India stands as high as it ever was during the pre-war period and this result could not have been achieved with shillyshallying methods and subterfuges. The capitalists of the world are too wise to mistake bogus prosperity for real and bad investment for good investment. This result by itself would pronounce in favour of the stability of Indian Finances and potentiality of their future betterment. The severest critic of the last six years' financial régime will have to admit that the result must in part at least be attributed to the achievements of Sir Basil Blackett in the ordering of the country's finances.

Before however we go into the details of his achievements we have first to examine the legacy left to Sir Basil by his predecessors. The four years previous to the point of time when he took over charge of the finances of India had shown a total deficit of nearly Rs. 100 crores, which was met principally by new loans and partly by the creation of paper money based on *ad hoc* securities, which really mean nothing more than the credit of the State. War bonds of the value of nearly Rs. 50 crores had been issued which would mature before the year 1926. The unproductive debt had increased by Rs. 2.27 crores since 1914 and the gold reserves in the Paper Currency Reserve and the Gold Standard Reserve had been depleted by some Rs. 33 crores as a result of the senseless policy of selling Reverse Councils at ruinous rates. This policy was initiated by Sir Malcolm Hailey in response to the recommendations of the Babington-Smith Committee which fixed the gold value of the rupee at 2 shillings. With such a legacy the task of Sir Basil Blackett was as hard as that of the Ministers in some European countries with inflated currencies and enormous floating debts and with exchanges far removed from the gold-point of the pre-war period. The problem in India was complicated by the fact that the Gold Exchange Standard had broken down completely. The first thing to do to get out of this morass was to balance the budget even at the cost of new taxation. "The credit of India is in jeopardy", said Sir Basil in presenting his first Budget, and there was a ring of truth in that. Unfortunately the first attempt that he made to "get the boat out of the vicious current which is threatening to drag India down to the rocks of insolvency" was the increase in the salt tax to Rs. 2-8 per maund. With a view to improve the credit of India, Treasury Bills, which in March 1922 had been at the high figure of Rs. 54 crores, had been nearly paid off before the end of the financial year 1923-24. Although the amount set apart for debt redemption has been very meagre amounting to nearly ½ p. c. of the gross amount of debt, still the starting of this salutary practice was an indication of a conscious attempt at reduction or avoidance of debt. In his Budget speech of March

1924 he explained the rationale of the practice : "The existence of a regular provision out of revenue for reduction of debt will not only reduce the amount of new borrowings for productive purposes but will materially reduce their cost" by giving confidence to creditors.

Sir Basil Blackett has given practical recognition to the principle that, other things being the same, a rupee loan was always preferable to sterling borrowing and he has steadily reduced the amount of sterling debt, the total reductions between 1923 and 1928 amounting to nearly £12 millions. In addition, capital disbursements outside India have been covered to the extent of £35 millions without a single sterling loan during the same period. The index to the improved credit which was the result of the reduction of sterling debt as well as the reduction of unproductive debt was the success of the Rupee loan issued in 1926 at the rate of 4.7 per cent., which yet was not free from income-tax. Although the general debt position is in our opinion still far from satisfactory, with a total debt nearing the figure Rs. 1000 crores, there is no gainsaying the fact that Sir Basil by reducing the unproductive debt from Rs. 295 crores to Rs. 201 crores has contributed to make the financial position much sounder than it was when he took over the Finance portfolio.

The very first surplus on which he could lay his hands was in 1924-25 ; and remembering the genuine feeling against the increased salt duty and the emphatic protests made against the duty in the Assembly, he felt qualms of conscience in diverting the surplus to other objects than a reduction of this duty. Accordingly he decided to utilize Rs. 1.82 crores for reducing the duty from Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 2 per maund. The rest of the surplus he utilized in reducing the provincial contributions. After having fixed his objective as the total extinction of these contributions, which paralysed the provincial Governments in their expenditure on beneficial services, he steadfastly pursued the policy of utilizing every future surplus for this purpose, till in the Budget he presented a few days ago he accomplished what he had planned. Very few issues have created so much bad blood and raised such an amount of futile controversy as the Meston Settlement. Sir Basil Blackett not only succeeded in allaying all this animosity by wiping out the provincial contributions but helped to make the way clear "for constitutional progress unhampered by any impediments arising from financial disorders"—to use his own words in the Budget speech for 1924-25.

Sir Basil Blackett has been criticized severely by the Indian commercial bodies for not fixing the gold value of the Rupee some time in 1924 or 1925. His explanation has always been that the world prices and foreign exchanges being in a chaotic condition, a fixation of the ratio to the pound sterling would have inevitably led to a retracing of our steps, especially in view of the fact that the dollar-sterling exchange itself had not reached parity. Their suspicion was that he was waiting for the exchange to go up to a certain desired point before fixing by

legislation the gold value of the Rupee. In the light of later events, it must be said that this suspicion had sufficient justification. It is difficult to give a final opinion on the question whether the higher Exchange was due to manipulation of currency or was the natural result of the trade conditions and price-adjustments. In any case it is clear that the verdict of the Hilton-Young Commission that everything had been adjusted to the ratio of 1s. 6d. by the time it issued its Report was based on insufficient data and was therefore over-dogmatic in its assurance. If Sir Basil Blackett had really believed in the policy of currency deflation as tending to bring down Indian prices or at least to prevent them from rising higher in unison with the world-prices he should have said so in unmistakable terms. There is nothing sinful in reducing the amount of internal currency, especially after a protracted war which inevitably leads to phenomenal inflation. In fact half the countries in Europe have found their salvation in the drastic reduction of redundant currency media. But nothing is gained by pretending that in India the higher exchange was purely the result of natural causes. And when in defence of a higher gold value of the Rupee he adopted the position that it was a fallacy to assert that a high exchange benefits the importer of goods and a low exchange benefits the primary producer, he put himself out of court. The refutation of this proposition which he gives in his speech introducing the Budget for 1925-26 is one of the most unconvincing and is probably more fallacious than the proposition itself. In fact he admits that "the exporter has been getting a larger amount of sterling for his exports ; but when his sterling has been converted into Rupees, the amount has proved to be much what it was before." The only truth in the whole of this laboured refutation is that if the producer loses the consumer gains. The ultimate issue really is which of these two interests ought to predominate and Sir Basil Blackett has not given any clear lead on that. For the present we admit that it is yet too early to pronounce a final judgment on the ratio question till such time as we are able to trace clearly the effects of the new ratio on the various factors that go to make up economic prosperity. The prejudice against Sir Basil on this question was due, as an English journal has recently said, "to the currency blunders of 1920 which have burned in the consciousness of Indian opinion."

Credit must be given to Sir Basil Blackett for producing one of the best schemes for a Gold Standard with a gold currency, which, starting with a reasonable amount of gold, would have given us a full-bodied Gold Standard at the end of ten years. The Hilton-Young Commission rejected not only this scheme but all other schemes which aimed at establishing a gold currency. His own position was far from enviable when finally the Commission recommended a Gold Bullion Standard which as Finance Member he had to support as best he could. We sometimes feel that if he had been given a free hand he would have successfully inaugurated a Gold currency but the weight of the Royal Commission

was more than he could withstand and he was deprived of a golden opportunity.

And this brings us to the Reserve Bank, which if it had been established would have given him the satisfaction of having brought India nearer to the goal of financial autonomy even in currency matters. Indians with one voice have been inveighing against the control of currency and exchange by the Executive for more than half a century and the Reserve Bank proposed to remove the age-long grievance by transferring control to a commercial body managing currency and credit solely from a banking and business point of view. It clearly was the ambition of Sir Basil to establish such an institution during his tenure of office but perverse fate has balked him of it. The various compromises that he entered into with the members of the Select Committee to which the Reserve Bank Bill had been referred and with leading members of the Assembly who could control the votes of their followers in order to arrive at a workable scheme for a Directorate of the Bank clearly show that he was willing to go to extreme lengths in order to further a project on which he had set his heart and which he sincerely believed would be for the good of India. It has been often said that Sir Basil Blackett has been more of a nationalist than any of his predecessors; and amongst those who have said it are some of his worst opponents who have crossed his path in almost every Budget session. And in nothing has this been more true than in the case of the Reserve Bank. If the Secretary of State had not intervened with dramatic suddenness, it is almost certain that Sir Basil Blackett would have employed all his arts of persuasion and given India a Central Bank with the potentiality of immense future development. There are some who think that the present is not a propitious time for establishing a Reserve Bank, which without a Gold Standard would be simply manipulating our money market with the sole view of maintaining the exchange in the orthodox fashion. As we have repeatedly expressed our dissent from this position, there is no need to labour the point any further.

One count against Sir Basil Blacett has been that he has not made any substantial reduction of taxation. Barring the removal of the Cotton Excise Duty and the insignificant reduction of the import duty on motor cars and tyres and the reduction of the salt tax recently from Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 2 per maund, the taxation continues at the same level as was reached in 1921 and 1922. It is clear that whatever retrenchment may have been made in civil expenditure, Sir Basil has not made the slightest impression on military authorities. The reduction of military expenditure from Rs. 69 crores in 1921-22 to Rs. 54 crores in 1927, which he announced with such *eclat* in his Budget speech of March 1927, is really due to extraneous causes and not to his agency as a custodian of finances. Sir William Meyer had at least the excuse that his policy was overshadowed by war; Sir Basil Blackett is without it. In fairness however it must be said that the substitution of surplus Budgets for deficit Budgets is not a performance

which can synchronize with a large reduction of taxation; you cannot eat your cake and have it. The real remedy lies in reduction of expenditure which to every Government is an anathema.

There is no doubt that although his lot was not cast in war times, his task has been as hard as that of Finance Ministers entrusted with war-finance; reconstruction after war is in some ways more difficult than preparation for war. This he has done with phenomenal ability and patience worthy of Job. We can apply to him the words which Sir William Meyer used about Sir Guy Fleetwood-Wilson: "His intimate knowledge of English and Indian Finance were reinforced by a practical sagacity and a genuine love of India and her peoples which won esteem in this Council and the country generally." Sir Basil Blackett's unrivalled knowledge of banking has stood India in good stead in carrying through schemes of debt-conversion and it is to his caution that we owe the freedom of India from cataclysmic changes in foreign exchange which have been the ruination of European countries. It is fortunate for the smooth working of the Reforms that Sir Basil Blackett has proved himself to be democratic to the core, persuading instead of dictating, ready for reasonable compromises, at all times accessible and possessing a large fund of humour which constitutes a saving grace among the perturbations of a democratic Assembly.

STATE AND COMMUNITY.

MINORITIES, it is said, must suffer. They obviously do suffer in the modern Europe, which for a century has tried to work to an ideal of Nation-States—one nationality for each State and one State for each nationality. The "ideal" however has not worked: for one thing because it is impossible of achievement and for another because Minorities refuse to suffer. As a consequence there has arisen of late a new conception altogether, that of Cultural Autonomy. That people have a right to liberty of religion is fairly well conceded nowadays, as also that therefore they are entitled to a double allegiance, to Church and State. The European Minorities to-day are similarly claiming that the functions of State and Cultural Community should be distinguished and that citizens should be normally entitled to organize themselves not only as State, but as Cultural Community; and what they claim nowadays therefore is not Minority Protection by grace, but Cultural Autonomy by right.

CULTURAL AUTONOMY.

For the whole problem is caused by the fiction that State and Nationality are, or ought to be, identical. The moment this assumption is dropped, the problem is solved. The State, then, is recognized merely as the *Sarkar*, the governmental ruler of a territorial area, to which *Sarkar* all owe obedience as citizens. But the same persons, *qua* People, though inhabiting the same area, may yet belong to different cultural communities, conditioned by common race, history, language, customs and culture. Dr. Paul Schiemann, leader of the German Party in the Lithuanian Diet, wrote illuminatingly on this point in the September number of *Nation und Staat* that it is not so much the objective fact, of a community having all such points in common, which counts, but the subjective belief of its members in the existence of such fact. The Italians of today feed their nationalism on the

belief in their common descent from the ancient Romans: that anthropologically such descent is a fiction, has nothing to do with the sentiment. But what justifies the fiction, is their readiness to shoulder the historical responsibility growing out of their acceptance of it, out of the individual's subordination to a community of historical destiny. That is what gives strength to the Communal Sentiment, as we would call it in India, or the Nationalist Sentiment, as they would call it in Europa. Objective facts of language e.g. also are of no avail against the subjective will to participate in a historical heritage: hence English and Americans and Irish are distinct nationalities though their language be common. Inversely, the Jew of Western Europe, belonging mostly to the *intel igentsia*, naturally is merged in the cultural community whose ideas have become his own; whilst the Jew of Eastern Europe, tending towards proletarian conditions, remains culturally distinct from his oppressors. The latter instance also shows that religion is not of the essence of the cultural connection: as witness also the fact that the two sides so fiercely clashing in Silesia, for instance, are Polish Catholics and German Catholics and in the Tyrol, German Catholics again and Italian Catholics; whilst in Slesvig it is Danish Protestants and German Protestants, who are respectively struggling for cultural autonomy. Religion, of course, powerfully strengthens national (and communal) feeling, as we know only too well, but it is most necessary to distinguish between a community of cultural and religious values, as again we know full well from the Brahman—Non-Brahman antagonism. Religious Liberty, however, is generally conceded—at least in principle, but the very principle of Cultural Liberty is still so novel, as to be still widely unknown, let alone recognised.

The natural question however occurs to one, whether in this "Cultural Autonomy" one has not got also the key to the solution of our own Communal problem in India? What if we gave Cultural Autonomy to all our Minorities and made their communal organizations part and parcel of the Constitution, as for instance is being done in Carinthia and Palestine, of which two examples it may be useful to give some details.

TWO RECENT EXAMPLES.

In the case of the Austrian Province, a Bill was for the first time read last July in the Carinthian Diet, introduced by the German Parties, but designed to give cultural autonomy to the Slovenian minority in that Province, which, it is perhaps as well to state, numbers 367,000 inhabitants, of whom 79% are Germans and 21% Slovenes. The Bill constitutes a legal entity, the "Slovenian Community", composed of all Carinthian citizens of Slovenian Culture, and confers upon it an autonomous status and powers; provided at least 100 Slovenian citizens make a formal demand to that effect. The Bill provides for a "Communal Register," entry into which is voluntary: but only individuals thus entered are recognized as belonging to the Slovene Community. Children up to the age of 20 follow the status of their parents: thereafter a declaration on their part and entry into the Register is required. Similarly every Slovene has the right to withdraw from the Community by a formal declaration to that effect; and every Parish must have such a "register" accessible to all desirous of having entries therein made on their behalf. The Community is ruled by a Council of twelve, elected by all members of the Community for a term of four years. The prime duty of the Council is to safeguard the cultural interests of the Community as a whole; it has the right to levy taxes and act as arbiters in cases of disagreement within the Community; to found educational and other institutions for the

fostering of the Community's culture, and social providence funds. Whatever funds are raised by the Province for subsidizing other schools must in the same proportion be made available to the Communal Schools. These schools indeed rank as public schools and are held to satisfy the requirements of the Compulsory Education Regulations. The salaries of all the teaching staff are a charge on the Provincial exchequer. Every school ranks as "necessary" which is frequented by 40 Slovenian children.

As for Palestine, a "Religious Communities Ordinance" was passed in 1926 and under it on Jan. 1st of this year "Jewish Community Regulations" have been promulgated, which are intended to give a legal basis for the *secular* organisation of the Jewish Community. This Community is presumed to exist and all Jews are taken to belong to it: but they are free to vote themselves out of it, yet not for the purpose of forming a rival "Jewish Community". The most important feature of the new organisation is the power given its Elected Assembly to require or authorise a local community to levy rates for education, poor relief, for the care of sick and for the provision of orphans, in addition to the contributions for expenses of Rabbinical Offices and the secular administrative organisations of the Community.

TERRITORIAL REPRESENTATION.

Here are certainly two striking illustrations of solving burning problems regarding minorities by granting them "cultural autonomy". Why could a similar solution not be attempted in India, and if so, how? But let me first assure my reader that I am not a Communalist in the accepted sense: if a citizen is entitled to be represented as member of a cultural community, the Nationalist is equally in the right when he maintains that a representative assembly must represent the citizen as such and the interests which all citizens have in common. So let there be no misunderstanding: for all I have said about cultural autonomy, I most emphatically hold that alone it would simply hang in the air and that the primary representation must always and everywhere be made on a territorial basis. This involuntary juxtaposition in space of human beings is not a fortuitous accident—it is the very substance of all human polity and cannot be relegated into a corner by the selective and deliberate aggregations of people made according to common race, language, work or ideals. The space-relationship is the fundamental, it certainly is the primitive one historically, since all the other kinds of relationship are the result of later complications. And it certainly is the most fundamental of all, since without it men could not exist at all. "Who is my neighbour?" asked the caste-proud Pharisee of the parable: and the reply he received was that neighbour was everybody who happened to be in spatial proximity to him, be that proximity of so short a duration as of a man passing by a locality on his way elsewhere; be the person near whom he finds himself one as alien, as hostile, as contemptible, as a Pharisee would deem a Samaritan.

Unity must first be served; but then diversity. And so I claim that, though territorial representation is fundamental and must come first, it is not enough. Cultural values must be given their due weight and publicly recognised. Like the Slovenian in Carinthia and the Jew in Palestine, the Moslem, the Catholic, the Adi-Dravida, every community in fact, must be made to feel that their cultural diversity is accepted *ex animo* and guaranteed by the very Constitution, and that there is no possible attempt of throwing them all into a melting pot and then setting them in moulds of arbitrary uniformity. The cultural differentiation within the Commonwealth must

not only be tolerated but welcomed. Only thus can the psychological tension of the present be relaxed and the mentality of being all time on the defensive overcome. And with that achieved, the communal problem itself will lose all virulence. Let the Moslem know that he is secure in his cultural institutions, that he is welcome to his own schools, his own language, his cultural affinities which necessarily go beyond India's borders. Let him know that for all these purposes he has got communal self-government and that for the furtherance of his cultural programme he can command all the resources of the State, not merely in a mathematically equal proportion to that of all other citizens, but rather on the principle that the Commonwealth must help most those who need the help most. Let, I say, the Moslem be thus approached and what legitimate grievance is there left for him, what reasonable ground for his not joining in a territorial constituency all neighbours of his in order to promote their common interests and control their common servant, the *Sarkar*?

THE MULTI-CAMERAL SYSTEM.

Of course it may be feared that the National Central Assembly may override in general matters cultural interests dear to minorities, if nobody there is specially charged with representing these. But I do not suggest that cultural and territorial organizations should be kept on rigorously parallel lines which nowhere intersect. On the contrary, I submit that here is the opportunity for Second Chambers, which in modern democracies so often are made to look foolish and superfluous, because they so often have come to be merely diluted versions of the First Chamber. But if the First (and principal) Chamber represents the people territorially and the Second culturally, then a plain *raison d'être* exists for both, then both exercise most necessary, because different, functions, then means must be found for harmonizing the views of the two, if at variance—must be found, I say, not merely because of the letter of some law, but because the two Chambers express two sides of the nation's life which cannot be allowed to remain unreconciled.

I have taken the Moslem as an example: but of course what I have said regarding him applies to all Minorities and Communities. Naturally the matter must be worked out in its practical details. For instance, the question arises: are the different communal sections of the nation to be represented in such a Second Chamber in exact proportion to the numerical strength of the Communities or to be so "weighted" as to make Hindu preponderance impossible? This is not the place to discuss this—though personally I strongly hold that as everybody in India is in a minority, the best safeguard of the Commonwealth lies in letting each major caste be represented as such in the Communal Chamber by an equal number of representatives, the varying possibilities of coalitions between them being the best guarantee that "minorities will not suffer". Then again, no doubt there will have to be some limit as regards the size of a minority—I suggest that one million would be a figure normally to accept, but obviously exceptions will have to be made in the case of such small, but clearly defined, important and self-conscious communities as the Parsis, the Europeans, the Anglo-Indians and others. It will be best to err on the score of generosity to them and of restraint to the more numerous and powerful sections.

And here I repeat the suggestion I elsewhere made some time ago that indeed there is no reason whatsoever for stopping at a Second, Communal, Chamber. More and more the importance of occupational representation is being recognized in these times of growing industrialism. Chambers of Commerce, e. g., are already represented as such in

our legislature: I submit that what is wrong is not that such representation should be provided for, but that it should be mixed up *pele mele* in one Chamber with territorial and communal representation. What is needed is a clean division, not a suppression of this or that sphere of national activity. Italy has set the example of occupational representation, according to 13 large economic organizations into which the whole body of Italian producers has been divided. I believe that the present masters of Italy are wrong in making this the only kind of representation of the people, but profoundly right in providing for that representation. An Occupational Chamber, to voice Trade Unions, Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture, the Professions, &c. seems to me a growing *desideratum*.

SOLIDARISM.

And to those to whom all this may seem fantastic, because novel, let me say that new conditions and problems call for new methods and solutions; and that my ideal certainly is not "that of a State composed of uniform atoms, but of one organized in different orders, compacted together in the living unity of the Commonwealth. Thus we formerly had in Christendom the four "estates" of King, Nobles, Burghers and Labourers who together formed one organic whole: and if today that order has become impossible because of cultural and occupational loyalties running across each and all of them, the conclusion should not be, to abandon order but rather to devise a new and better order—better, because more in accordance with the changed facts of our times. Just now when India is in the first pangs of a constitution of her own, it, seems to me most important that we should take a wider view and refuse to be tied to the *shibboleths* of a passing generation, but rather reapply the old and tried political philosophy of SOLIDARISM which is so congenial to the traditions of India too, and which it seems to me can alone achieve our supreme need in India—harmonizing Diversity in Unity.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, March 23.

THE COUNCIL MEETS.

THE first session of the Council of the League of Nations for the year was held here early this week, and is still at work. So far its public sessions have been as usual confined to routine work, whatever may have happened in the meetings held behind closed doors. The permanent buildings for the League have been finally sanctioned and the work will start forthwith, it is to be hoped, with the salutary effect of silencing all speculation as to the removal of the seat of the League from here to Vienna. Satisfaction was expressed by the Council about the direct negotiations undertaken by the Free City of Danzig and Poland regarding their differences, the achievements of the Autonomous Office for the settlement of Greek Refugees, and upon the proper adjustment of the frontiers between the French and British Cameroons, and the French and British Togo. An adequate contribution has been voted for the medical investigations that are being carried out by the League in Latin America. The case of the Hungarian "optants" in Transylvania, the financial aid to Bulgaria and Portugal, the St. Gotthard affair, and possibly also the Polish-Lithuanian dispute, are ques-

tions still to come before the Council in the present session. Besides, the recommendations of the Security Committee of the Preparatory Disarmament Conference, and the British proposition for the reduction of the annual meetings of the Council from four to three, may come in for consideration provided there is time enough for these things before Sir Austen Chamberlain's return, which cannot be delayed owing to the Amir's visit to London.

BRITISH AFFAIRS.

But the political background, the "atmosphere" in which the Council meets consists of factors so critical, and so chaotic, that these and not its decisions are of consequence. In the new diplomatic methods of Geneva, of hotel-talks, and of particular groups, it is the invisible, not the visible, which is both mysterious and powerful. In examining the invisible influences at work here, they may be conveniently brought under the three heads of British affairs, the American angle, and the situation in Central Europe.

The investigation of the "Francs Case" which has resulted in the punishment of three Foreign Office officials, including one who was very highly placed, coming at a time when there is so much talk of the decadence of England on the Continent, largely based on trade returns, has not enhanced British prestige. The subtle movements of foreign opinion, brought about by the reproach involved in any decline in acknowledgedly high standards of public or private life, are apt to take tortuous courses, as we are aware from our own experience of "Mother India".

Further, after Iraq, came India, and after India, now comes Egypt. Common to all these three cases, though differently in each, there is the same attempt on the part of Britain to cover the realities of the situation by suggesting an alliance with Geneva, and bringing to bear the magic of the League's idealism on them. No doubt the often too vague and often too feeble edicts of the League which prevail at present, and the elasticity which the Great Powers contrive to obtain within it about their dealings with the rest of the world are responsible for the facility with which London can get rid of her problems by dragging in Geneva's name into them. But the world is not a dupe altogether, and public opinion in Europe does not fail to show itself appreciative of the ultimate reactions of such transactions on the purpose and value of the League. Only by a mere quibble can jurists now justify India's inclusion in the League, for the Covenant had already placed India among its original members when it was drawn up, and thus may be said to have exempted it from the condition of complete sovereignty necessary for later admissions. But there are here other than merely juridical questions. Already the *Journal de Geneve* in its article on India, in connection with the Simon Commission, had hinted that India's inclusion in the League was a grave reflection on the dignity of the States partaking of the international organisation, and was only allowed on Mr. Lloyd George's expressed avowal at the time that the country was on the eve of obtaining the status of dominion.

THE AMERICAN ANGLE.

The kindly references to the League in Mr. Kellogg's latest Note to the Quai d'Orsay have caused rejoicings in the League circles and have been received with something like the feelings of an independent daughter when her patrician father deigns to recognise her plebian husband. If the reactions in this regard are markedly different in Geneva and Paris, it is probably because of ultimate difference in temperaments. Mr. Kellogg sticks to his formula and insists that there must be no compromise made in the outlawry of war by introducing into it subsidiary conditions such as the recognition of legitimate warfare. Here he probably echoes the sentiments of the typical American whose idealism is as much of the all-or-none-type as his realism. Seeing, however, that the same Government which upholds this formula so scrupulously, is now engaged in armed action in Nicaragua which goes by the name of intervention, Geneva is inclined to suggest that Mr. Kellogg's formula should be accepted at its face value. The interpretation here of the outlawry of war as a national policy is that it should be held to exclude the implication that war is renounced also in the domain of international police. For, besides the consideration of the perpetual necessity to recognise self-defence, it is possible to realise in Geneva that the whole vexed question of the aggressor crept into the discussions in the League wholly because the League is an organisation for peace, and a *modus vivendi* had to be devised to deal with the peace-breaker. The emphasis falls in this case naturally not on the aggressor, but on the system for the maintenance of peace. Nevertheless such an argument is frankly built up, at least at this stage of the Geneva discussions about disarmament, with an eye to netting America into even a tacit recognition of the League, and it has twists and turns which the Latin mind cannot "admit".

While on the one hand there is thus the prospect of America's "falling in" held before Europe, on the other, in the Security Committee, just prior to the Council meeting, an event occurred whose significance has been described as historic on all hands. It was the open challenge for the first time by a South American State, to the inclusion of the Monroe Doctrine in the League's Covenant. That the protest should have come from Argentine only deepens its significance because, besides the independent attitude she took up in the Pan-American Conference at Havana, it has since become public that the Argentine Ambassador in Paris went so far as to make representations to the Quai d'Orsay not to bind itself in any way to the United States' interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine in its negotiations with the State Department at Washington. Argentine's plea is that the doctrine, far from being a regional accord, is just a unilateral declaration.

The fact that the French, German, and British Foreign Ministers are accompanied by the chiefs of their permanent staff this time, has given considerable credence to the rumour that they are engaged in

framing a common policy, representative of the League, in connection with the conversations between Washington and Paris. There are surely unmistakable signs of a movement in the diplomatic currents, but it has probably as much to do with the move of Argentine as the outlawry of war. And in that case the situation is fraught with equal possibilities for good and evil. The necessity to counteract against the recommendations of the Security Committee might also explain the presence of the experts, at Geneva.

SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

Europe is just recovering after a double storm, the one raised over the affair of the Hungarian machine-guns, and the other, consequent upon the Austrian Chancellor's reference to the Italian rule over the German minority in the Tyrol. This double incident assumes a pronounced significance when we realise that in both cases there is the common factor of the League. In the St. Gotthard affair the Hungarian importations being of Italian origin, it is comprehensible that such a volume of dust should have been raised in Italy against the League's proposed investigation into it. Yet the affront which Hungary offered to the League in disregarding the warning of the president of the Council to abstain from destroying all traces of the contraband has been so great that Italian protest alone would not have sufficed to calm down the affair. For there is no doubt that the Powers of the Little Entente who asked the League to look into the whole question have softened their position, and diplomacy has been at work in securing this result. There will yet be perhaps some sort of examination of the matter, but the common belief is that German and French influences have been busy in bringing about an amelioration in the situation. The guess is probably shrewd because as is well known there is a kind of understanding between the zealots of German claims and French sympathisers with them, not to shake hands in public so as to tide over the elections which must be shortly faced in both countries. The Rhineland evacuation is thus for the moment pushed into the background at Geneva, but with what force it must rise again into the foreground presently may be imagined from the consequences of the Austro-Italian situation about the Tyrolese Germans. Both before and after Signor Mussolini's characteristic speech saying that the next time such a situation arose he would answer with action not words, and that Geneva would never get out of the labyrinths of the minority problem, once the League trips into it, the Germans all over Central Europe have shown a solidarity, and sympathy for their folk under Italian rule, that cannot but be impressive. Considering alongside with this the present mood of Russia, it is a warning to put that part of Europe speedily into order.

OUR PARLIAMENTARY LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

DELHI, March 23.

THE FINANCE BILL.

IN the debates on the Finance Bill, the Opposition tried to reopen the question of salt tax by suggesting

either its reduction or abolition, but to no purpose. The argument about the tax-payer's capacity to pay was lightly brushed aside by the Finance Member by saying that the incidence of the salt duty was very low, considering the increased standard of living. Mr. B. Das, as is the fashion nowadays, wanted the whole matter to be referred to the Tariff Board. Sir Basil, however, would make no concession and there could be no alteration in the salt-tax. Sir Basil strongly objected to Sir Victor Sassoon trying to amend the anomalies of the income-tax law, when he moved that no company shall be required to pay super tax on revenues received as dividends from another company if super tax has been already paid by the latter company. Sir Victor bitterly complained about double taxation. But his was a voice in the wilderness. Mr. Mukhtar Singh attempted to remove another anomaly in the income tax by which Hindu joint families were taxed. But Sir Basil opposed it by saying that it sought merely to lessen the taxation of one class. He thought Government would be deprived of a large revenue and the amendment would further create anomalies.

The Post Office also came in for its share of criticism; it was shown that the postal rates in India were in many cases higher than those in England. An attempt was also made to return to the one pice post card, but Sir B. N. Mitra told the House that the effect of all those recommendations would convert the surplus into a deficit, and Government could not then take the various schemes of improvement in hand. The complaint of profiteering was met by the Finance Member by an assurance that Government had no desire to make any profit from the working of the combined Postal and Telegraph Department and "any surplus therefrom will be utilised for reduction of rates or improvement of facilities or condition of employees." The point about the top-heavy administration was lightly passed over and the preamble of the Bill was left intact.

The third reading of the Bill was again made an occasion for passing strictures against the Government for their policy. Pandit Malaviya opened the attack, and quite unexpectedly, lent strength to the Swaraj Party in its attempt to wreck the Bill. His speech gave some anxious moments to the Finance Member. In opposing the passage of the Bill the Pandit maintained that there was not one single act of Sir Basil that improved the financial situation of the country, except the solitary instance of the removal of the Cotton Excise Duty. He complained of the almost unbearable burden of taxation which really enabled him to do away with Provincial Contributions. Government's decision on the Skeen Committee also came in handy for an attack on the military policy and Pandit Malaviya thought worse times were ahead with a Government 'which is organised hypocrisy and arrogant aristocracy.' That set the tone of the debate. But every one was taken aback when a Muslim member from the Independent Party bitterly attacked Government for having observed communal discrimination. He thought Government were afflicted by the Moslem bogey, and under the circumstances he could not see his way to help the passage of the Bill. Mr. Moore got alarmed and hoped that the exploits of 1924 would not be repeated. He thought that Government was to blame for non-acceptance of the vote of the Assembly in the matter of salt tax. Pandit Motilal confessed his faith in the Government at one time, but the march of events had convinced him that Government were not in earnest to help the people in their desire to reach the goal as early as possible. Lala Lajpat Rai twitted Government upon their solicitude for the 'people of the country'; and warned them that starvation and unemployment drove people to desperation and hoped that

Government would take steps without delay to remedy the situation. Otherwise the cataclysm would be such as to overwhelm the Government themselves and submerge members of the public like him and his way of thinking. Sir Purshottamdas charged the Government with driving by their relentless policy the best co-operators to the camp of Pandit Nehru. Sir Basil was however in high spirits and boldly met the attack. He maintained that the position was not so gloomy as was painted and said that he never claimed that British action had been altruistic; it was both political and economic. He closed his speech by paying a tribute to the memory of the late Mr. Montagu and said "even if Pandit Motilal and his friends do not assist us the British people will continue their course because they must." The Bill was of course passed.

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS.

Non-officials were given a day for the discussion of their resolutions after an interval of about a month. Much heat was created when Mr. Neogy moved for a committee of official and non-official members of the House to make a thorough investigation into the financial irregularities relating to the Sambhar Salt Improvement Scheme (referred to in the Public Accounts Committee of 1925-26). The sponsors of the scheme held out prospects of cheap production of salt. Grave financial irregularities were exposed in the Audit and Appropriation report for the year 1924-25, to which he made detailed reference and made out a convincing case for an enquiry. Sir Basil Blackett said that they had severely censured the officer, Mr. Bunting, but the whole trouble was, in his opinion, due to the officer not having maintained correct accounts. Mr. Das thought it dangerous to dispose of the matter so lightly as many more similar scandals might occur; and referred to the Delhi Stone Yard Scandal as an instance in point. But Sir Basil held tenaciously against the acceptance of the proposal and seemed to resent the very suggestion of an enquiry in the matter, but to favour an enquiry by the Public Accounts Committee. The resolution was eventually defeated.

Mr. Sarvottam Rao moved for taking immediate steps to prevent exportation of antiquities and other objects of historical importance. Mr. Bajpai remarked that Government acted in no other spirit, and had exercised their power in regard to the finds from the N.-W. F. Province, Madras Presidency and Muttra District; but they could obviously not interfere with antiquities which were private property. The resolution being too comprehensive, Government could not accept it; and it was withdrawn.

Mr. Mukhtar Singh's resolution did not receive due consideration, for want of quorum. He recommended Government to take certain steps to save the sugar industry in its struggling existence and to place it on a surer basis. The industry had suffered severely due to foreign competition; he complained that the recommendations of the Sugar Committee were not given effect to and Government merely marked time in the matter in spite of the fact that, India was a suitable field for its development and the industry required but little help and stimulus from the Government, to place it on a sure basis. Mr. Thakurdas Bhargav suggested other steps like protective duties on imported sugar and fixation of railway rates to the same end. Mr. Bajpai, while denying the charge that Government merely played with the Sugar Committee's report, said that the Government had been handicapped by stringent finances. He gave an account of what they had done so far and thought that a stimulus would be given to their effort after they received the recommendations of the Agricultural Commission. He however could not see his way to accept the suggestion that a certain

portion of the customs revenue should be earmarked for the improvement of the industry. The discussion however had to be cut short for want of quorum.

STEEL PROTECTION BILL.

Wednesday was a day of reconciliation; the misunderstanding between the Commander-in-Chief and the President was removed and the tension got over. For the first time in the session Government adopted a conciliatory attitude towards non-official opinion; they accepted the recommendations of the Select Committee on the Steel Protection Bill, and did not propose the differential treatment they at first had in mind. Mr. Birla pressed that the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission about the Directorate and other conditions in the protected industry should be adhered to. Government agreed and orders would in future not be placed with any firm which would not be eligible to receive bounties under the Steel Protection Act.

INDIAN TERRITORIAL FORCE.

When the Indian Territorial Force Bill came up for consideration the Government accepted the suggestion about the formation of urban units in all the Governor's provinces; and announced, that they had decided to do away with different age limits for the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces. Mr. Kunzru urged with Dr. Moonje that the liability of the Territorial Forces which consist mostly of boys between 16 and 18 for general service be limited to the confines of India. He hoped that no arbitrary limit would be placed on the expansion of the University Training Corps. Government accepted the suggestion for exempting boys of that age from military service. The Auxiliary Force Bill, as reported by the Select Committee, was also passed without any change.

INDIANS OVERSEAS IN THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

In the Council of State Rao Bahadur Natesan raised the question of the creation of a separate branch of the secretariat to deal with the question of Indians overseas, who numbered roughly about two and a half millions. He preferred not to complain that they were so far uncared for, but saw that necessity had arisen to have a department that would exclusively devote itself to this subject. Sir Mahomed Habibullah said his department had been always alert in the matter, and referred to its work in regard to Indians in South and East Africa. He promised to consider the matter sympathetically and the resolution was withdrawn.

The Council turned down the conventions and recommendations adopted by the Tenth International Labour Conference, by accepting the Government resolution that they should not be ratified by the Governor-General-in-Council. It was resolved at that Conference to make sickness insurance compulsory for workers in industry and commerce and for domestic servants as well as for agricultural workers. The Government of India were not opposed to the principle but could not see their way to give immediate effect to it, before Local Governments were consulted in the matter.

The Finance Bill was discussed in the Council and attempts similar to those by the Assembly were made to reduce the salt tax and the postal rates. Mr. Burdon in replying to the proposal for the reduction of the salt duty said that it was maintained at the present rate as it helped to wipe out the provincial contributions and thus served the interests of the people. The Finance Bill was passed without a division, and without any alteration.

REVIEW SECTION.

LORD SYDENHAM'S INDIAN REGIME.

MY WORKING LIFE. By COL. LORD SYDENHAM OF COMBE. (John Murray, London.) 1927. pp. 465. 8¾ x 5½.

WEAT will startle and almost stun the Indian readers in this quite interesting autobiography is the author's statement that the famous passage in the Durbar dispatch of December 1911, relating to "Provincial Autonomy," was really the handiwork of the late Sir John Jenkins, who had been admitted, on Lord Sydenham's insistence, into the Viceroy's Cabinet in April of that year. Only two years before Jenkins and his chief had in a very trenchant memorandum, prepared for the Decentralisation Commission, protested against the overcentralisation of the Government of India, by which the local Governments are debarred from appointing a watchman on Rs. 10 and for transacting such other trifles. But the desired change in this "steam-roller policy" did not come, and so Jenkins improved upon his opportunities as Home Member of the Central Government by slipping in into the Royal pronouncement the ideas which he and Lord Sydenham had worked out together on provincial autonomy. By this expression they meant of course nothing more than that Local Governments should be left free to manage their local affairs under a very general supervision of the Central Government. And if one reads the dispatch in the light of this interpretation, one finds how sadly mistaken we were in thinking that the dispatch contemplated bringing the provincial executives under the control of their legislatures. For the dispatch merely says:

"The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be to give the Provinces a large measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all and possessing the power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily confining their functions to matters of imperial concern".

Really there is nothing in this which suggests anything more than a process of administrative decentralisation, though all of us read into this passage a meaning which was never intended by those who penned it and without any warrant hailed it as the announcement of an early surrender of power into the hands of the popular representatives!

Lord Sydenham believed that all that was needed to make the Morley-Minto reforms lead by a few natural and inevitable stages to full self-government was to combine these reforms with a generous relaxation of the National Government's control over the Provincial Governments. According to this conception, it was not necessary to make either of these Governments amenable to popular control in order to establish self-government. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report, seven years later, took up the right position that the withdrawal of the Secretary of State's control from the Government of India or of the Government

of India's from the Governments in the Provinces or of the Provincial Governments' from local bodies can proceed only in proportion as that control is replaced by popular control. But Lord Sydenham thinks it all wrong; and his chief lament in regard to India is that Lord Morley's reforms did not accompany a large measure of effective decentralisation, and that Mr. Montagu, instead of supplementing these reforms by necessary decentralisation, tossed them aside and sought to introduce an element of responsibility into the government. But these and other Indian views of Lord Sydenham need not be pursued here, for they are very well known.

Only one other matter need be noticed here at any length—the downright and vigorous condemnation by Lord Morley of the prosecution of Mr. Tilak and other measures of repression sanctioned by the ex-satrap. The more important passages from Lord Morley's letters, which this autobiography quotes may here be extracted. Says Morley:

"Since writing to you an hour ago, I have come across the article in the *Kesari* for which I understand Tilak is being prosecuted. I confess at the first glance I feel as if it might have been passed over."

"I won't go over the Tilak ground again beyond saying that, if you had done me the honour to seek my advice as well as that of your lawyers, I am clear that I should have been for leaving him alone. And I find no reason to believe that any mischief that Tilak could have done would have been so dangerous as the mischief that will be done by his sentence. Of course the milk is now spilled and there's an end on't."

"Your vindication of the proceedings against Tilak does not shake me. That they were morally and legally justifiable is true enough, and that the result may bring certain advantages at the moment is also true. But the balance of gain and loss, when the whole ultimate consequences are counted up, that is the only political fact. Time must show."

This is most valuable as redeeming to a certain extent the name of the great Liberal thinker from the unjust accusation of him as the *fons et origo* of repression of that time. It would appear that he steadily and stoutly opposed the repressive policy initiated by others without his approval and even tried to keep it in check. It also serves finally to dispose of the *canard*, indignantly rejected it is true as utterly incredible by all whose faculty of reasoning is not entirely submerged by prejudice, but actively propagated by a few maniacs, that Gokhale got Morley to put Tilak into gaol. The fact of course is that Morley had no hand in Tilak's prosecution and all the counsel he received—at second hand—from Gokhale in the matter was to confirm him in his own independently formed judgment that the prosecution was a political blunder. Morley wrote to Sydenham in his earliest letter on the subject: "Gokhale told Courtney that it (the prosecution) would prove an ugly discouragement to the Moderates." This quotation only refers to one aspect, and that the minor one, of the whole case that Gokhale must have put forward before Lord Courtney against Tilak's prosecution, but embodying as it does Gokhale's belief, that the prosecution would have an

adverse effect on the political fortunes of the Moderates, it gives the lie direct to the insinuation, set afloat by Tilak's followers and never contradicted by him, that Gokhale brought about the prosecution in order to dethrone Tilak from the leadership of the people and put himself in the place thus rendered vacant. Such a detailed and categorical answer to the calumnies current at one time is of course quite unnecessary, because at this day for one to give currency to such a calumny is to disgrace oneself, but it might be just as well to record here what casually one comes across in reading the book. If the Moderates thus suffered at the hands of the Extremists no less did they suffer at the hands of the bureaucracy, who were annoyed with them for daring to think for themselves and taking an independent line. Lord Sydenham himself condemns them in this book for adopting "a waiting rôle, ready to attach themselves to the Government or to the Extremists, whichever appear likely to prevail." This is of course the fate of all middle Parties, who choose to follow their own conscience instead of the unreason of either the Left or the Right.

Acute differences again showed themselves between Lords Sydenham and Morley when the former took extradition proceedings against Savarkar, which resulted finally in depriving Lord Sydenham of his power to start political prosecutions without the previous consent of the Government of India. Lord Sydenham bitterly complained, and the main ground of his complaint was that the slur thus cast upon him would rob him of his *izzat*, without which it is supposed an Eastern people cannot be governed. Morley wrote back in a tone of withering scorn and mordant sarcasm :

"You dwell on the 'Indian way of looking at things,' and talk of the Indian view being the only thing that matters. I by no means agree with you in the latter proposition, which really signifies that the only thing that matters is what a particular local government believes to be the Indian way of looking at things."

Our grateful thanks to his Lordship of Combe for giving us this beautiful excerpt, which again presents Morley in a more favourable light than the one current in India. Lord Sydenham, who was "never quite forgiven," was about to resign, but just then Morley went out of office. If only he had stayed in a little longer and Lord Sydenham had resigned as he was threatening to do, Morley's contemporaries would have appreciated better his apparently unceasing endeavour to curb his subordinates' ardour for repression.

Other matters referred to in the Indian chapters of this autobiography are minor ones, but one of these is of sufficient importance to merit mention here. He deprecates with vigour the change in the status of a large number of Indian States which were released from the active control of the Provincial Governments and placed under the nominal control of the Central Government. He does so in the interest of "the protection" of the people dwelling in the States. "In many States", he says, "the Political Agents, if wisely chosen, were the friendly advisers of their Chiefs, able by tactful suggestion to check oppressiv

measures by the Durbars. This was changed, and already the effects are becoming evident. The troubles which have arisen in the great State of Hyderabad, following those in Nabha and Indore, might have been averted in time under the pre-Montagu system."

OPIUM PROBLEM IN PERSIA.

THE OPIUM QUESTION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PERSIA. By A. R. NELIGAN. (John Bale Sons & Danielsson, Ltd., London.) 1927. 7¼ × 4¾. pp. 84.

DR. A. R. NELIGAN, who has spent twenty years in Persia, has written a most useful little book on the Opium Problem as he has seen it and he writes as one who has authority, and not as a controversialist. Anyone who wants reliable answers to some of the questions that are constantly arising over the issues of opium and drug restriction will find them here.

One question that is often asked is: "Does the normal opium eater or smoker increase his dose month by month, or year by year, so that the moderate consumer sooner or later becomes a hopeless addict." "Yes" or "No" is given as the answer with equal dogmatism according to the point of view of the speaker. Dr. Neligan says, of Persian opium-eaters, that they are divisible into two classes: those who take small medicinal doses, and those who take opium for its narcotic and special effects. The former usually take small doses twice a day. "The dose remains the same year after year, or if increased, the additions are small and made at long intervals... Many Persians have been observed over periods of years who used opium in this way, and they suffered no ill-effects. Some, however, had more or less marked constipation. A habit is certainly formed, and the taker is uncomfortable if he should be prevented from taking his pill at the regular time, but it would not appear to be more harmful, though it is more tenacious, than smoking tobacco or drinking a night cap."

Those who take opium for its narcotic effects "by the nature of their habit, are obliged to use ever increasing quantities of the drug." The amount taken is "only limited by the resistance of the taker or the length of his purse."

Smokers of opium are divided into several classes. Those who regularly smoke the comparatively harmless "stick" opium can often "carry on for years in responsible positions or performing heavy tasks, but few, if any, are able to restrict their allowance indefinitely; rather are they obliged to increase it progressively to a point at which they suffer physically or morally." A smaller number smoke "shirch" which includes the cross: the results "are infinitely worse than those of smoking 'stick' opium, and the addicts are all physical and moral wrecks."

"As to the vexed question of the differences in the results of opium smoking and opium eating, I have not been able to satisfy myself that there are any, in thorough-going addicts apart from the more slowly produced effects and greater constipation due to the latter, and the more marked excitation caused by the former."

Dr. Neligan points out that "it is often said that the drinker is a curse and a nuisance to everyone about him, whereas the opium addict hurts no one but himself." But in fact "the habit often reduces the addict, and therefore his family, to misery and want, and in order to obtain the drug, he will sacrifice everything and starve his children as well as himself." The carpet industry of Kerman is being ruined by the increase of the opium habit in that district. The people as a whole are well aware of the evil re-

sults in the life of the Persian nation. "It must not be thought that it requires a long life of excess to produce the worst results of the opium habit. Many a young Persian is rendered useless in every way by opium-smoking, in a period measured by months rather than years." Yet, in spite of Government action and of public opinion, the production of opium has recently increased in Persia, and is menacing not only Persia, but all Eastern countries. A great proportion of this opium gets into the hands of illicit traffickers, and is smuggled into China, Java and other countries. Dr. Neligan considers that this increase is due, in large part at least, to the high prices prevailing in many countries. This is a very important aspect of the smuggling problem, which seems to have received little attention.

Judging from what the reviewer has recently heard in various parts of India, in Malaya and in Java from doctors who had first-hand experience of opium addicts, it seems certain that these statements would be confirmed as generally true. It can hardly be doubted that a great deal of the older medical opinions about opium were misleading and based on inadequate investigation of the facts. Now that serious investigation is being undertaken in India by Dr. Chopra and in Persia by such a man as Dr. Neligan, the basis for action by Government and other agencies will be much surer.

It is to be noted that Dr. Neligan, in common with other authors, speaks of the League of Nations as being against the use of opium for other than medical purposes. In this, he says, medical opinion as a whole is with the League. One wonders what he visualizes as "the League." He does not seem to realise that it was an expert medical committee that reported in this sense to the League Opium Commission, which naturally adopted the opinion of the experts. Similarly, the League "index figure" of 12 lbs. (or 6 seers) per 10,000, a figure often quoted, was not arbitrarily invented by a few humanitarian gentlemen sitting round a table at Geneva: it was given by the medical experts as a generous allowance for really medicinal purposes, under any circumstances. That it was a generous allowance is shown by the fact that in many parts of India, where the semi-medicinal use of opium is common, the consumption is well below that figure. A couple of other small criticisms must be offered. Dr. Neligan says that "in 1893 the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade obtained the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the production and sale of opium in India." It is unfortunate that this misstatement should be repeated. What that Society had been demanding was a Commission to decide what measures could be taken for stopping the trade between India and China. The appointment of the Commission to investigate the conditions in India was embarrassing to it. Then, Dr. Neligan describes the burnt residue in the pipe as "shirch" or dross, and says that this corresponds to the "prepared" opium, smoked in India, China and the Far East generally. This statement is quite erroneous. In Malaya, for instance, the dross has to be returned to the Government, and is destroyed.

As to proposed remedies, the administrative situation in Persia is in some ways so different from that in India that many of Dr. Neligan's valuable suggestions would be inapplicable in this country. But some of them certainly deserve consideration. In every country it must be true that real success depends on "the creation of a definite and active public opinion" and that "this can only be done by education, a slow process but sure." He also urges the importance of a better medical service, better medical training for doctors, and lessons on elementary hygiene in schools.

Altogether, this is a useful and stimulating little book. One would like to recommend it equally to "anti-drug friends" and to excise officials.

H. G. ALEXANDER.

CHINESE FINANCE.

DEMOCRACY AND FINANCE IN CHINA.

By KINN WEI SHAW. (Columbia University Press, New York.) 1926. 9 x 6 1/4. pp. 215. \$3-50.

THE book under review is a thesis written by a Chinese research student of Prof. E. R. A. Seligman of the Columbia University and purports to be a study in the development of fiscal systems and ideals in the author's country. Not only in India but all over the civilised world China has of late years attracted the thoughtful attention of a number of thinkers. The Chinese people, their country, their religion, their ideas, history and institutions have been somewhat in the nature of a mystery to the modern world. A number of publications elucidating from a historical and critical standpoint the various aspects of the Chinese situation are appearing on the scene. Dr. Shaw's book is an attempt to write a history of financial ideas and events of China from very ancient times right uptodate; and he starts to do it just within the compass of two hundred pages. The effort is welcome and deserves sympathetic consideration.

It must be observed however at the very outset that the title of the book "Democracy and Finance in China" is not a little misleading. There is no democracy in China; certainly there was none in Chinese history before 1912 A. D. and it must be clear to all students of political development that years will have to elapse before the so-called Chinese Republic of the present day assumes in fact the form and the working methods of an established State and a normal democracy. What may be the reasons underlying the history of successive revolutions and the all-pervading unrest in modern China is a moot though a highly interesting question. The author himself lays bare a couple of facts regarding Chinese temperament and Chinese history which are very suggestive in this respect. He observes that it is a well-recognised fact that the Chinese people are in a certain sense inherently practical anarchists. Later on in the course of his treatment of successive stages of Chinese fiscal history he describes the method and the extent of foreign intervention in Chinese affairs. Putting two and two together an intelligent reader will have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the state of continued internal disorder and external insecurity which characterises Chinese public life is the inevitable result of strong and aggressive foreign influences acting on a situation which is inherently suited to their effective working.

In this connection that part of Dr. Shaw's book which deals with the history of Chinese finances from 1842, when the Treaty of Nanking was concluded, is very interesting. As Dr. Shaw observes article X of that treaty which stipulates that British commerce should be liable to pay customs and transit duties at a low and definite rate—approximately five and two and one-half per cent. respectively—opened the sad history of the Chinese tariff of the past 84 years. This treaty which might be looked upon as an alienation-deed of the fiscal liberty of China was no doubt forced upon her by an unjust war of commercial aggression. But all the same, it must be admitted, that the internal weakness of China is in no small measure responsible for the success of foreign machinations. Soon after 1842 treaties of unilateral 'most favoured nation' treatment were

concluded by China with almost all the leading commercial States of the world. To strengthen the hold of foreigners over Chinese economic life, the national Government willingly or unwillingly granted a number of industrial concessions to foreign capitalists and even borrowed from them for revenue purposes. The present Republican régime which opened in 1912 had itself to be launched under the auspices of foreign capitalists who advanced a loan of 25 millions to the young administration. What for loans and what for commerce almost all the financial resources of the Chinese Government, and particularly customs and salt, are mortgaged to foreign governments. It is no wonder that the Chinese cannot move even their little finger for their advancement without being checked by foreigners. The credit that the foreign nations have granted to China may well be compared with the support that a hangman's rope lends to the condemned man.

Dr. Shaw's book, however, is most remarkable not as a successful attempt at establishing any logical connection between democracy and finance in China, nor as a sound presentment of the development of fiscal systems and ideals except in the later stages, but as a record of some very interesting features of Chinese economic thought of the ancient and the mediæval times. Great eastern nations of antiquity such as India and China supported in their time highly developed civilisations. This could not have been achieved without rousing in the thinkers of the times a deep interest in social and economic problems. The conclusions that they formed after mature and intensive deliberation of this sort are very important to students of the development of economic doctrines. The book under review contains a number of interesting and instructive references to Chinese economic thought and may be read with advantage by all who are interested in the contemporary and past history of the material fortunes of 'our old neighbour.'

D. G. KARVE.

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS.

LAND TENURE AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE TROPICS. By H. MARTIN LEAKE. (W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge.) 1927. 8¾ × 5¾. pp. 139. 7s. 6d.

DR. LEAKE has attempted to discuss the subject of land tenure not as an isolated question, but in its relation to the general problem of agricultural development in our tropical Empire. He holds that the process of raising up a landlord class capable of performing effectively the functions assigned to it will be slow, but no more difficult than that of inculcating a widespread spirit of co-operation, both being dependent on an educational system differing in form from the literary type which is now generally adopted.

Discussing the economic position of the land, the author says that land differs from most other forms of wealth through the possession of two characteristics, its limited extent and its immobility. Land of itself has not necessarily any inherent capacity to produce any articles. This capacity is dependent on fertility and climate. It is the conditions of vegetable growth, rather than any peculiarity of the land itself, that gives to it its value. That value must remain potential until labour secures the wealth from the land, and means are available for bringing that wealth to the market. Behind all, there is the demand for produce, ultimately a question of population. Defining civilization as the organisation of the community for social service, implying the subordination of the individual to the communal will, and a

strong and effective executive, the author states that the tropical races as a rule are backward in civilization. As far as it is humanly possible to see, the temperate zones will remain the centres of industrial development, while the tropical zones will develop agriculturally. Land is an essential item in the economy of production, and as such it becomes a desirable asset, and the system of land tenure becomes of primary importance. A sound system of land tenure must not only provide for an equitable distribution of the returns obtained, but it must be flexible and capable of securing that equitable distribution, under the changed conditions which must inevitably arise in the future.

Whatever the particular form of evolution of land tenure, the end is in the majority of cases the same, a tripartite interest in the land with a governmental, in reality a communal, landlord, and a tenant interest. This the author considers a normal system. Deviations from this exist in various countries, in which one or more of the three parties are non-existent. Where the cultivator holds the land directly from the State, the system is characterised by small holdings. Where small holdings become predominant, capital on an individual basis is hardly available. Its supply in adequate quantities is dependent on a co-operative organisation, which is also required for the process of marketing produce. Successful co-operation involves a higher educational standard than is to be found in primitive communities, and it is only where a robust and self-reliant agricultural community exists that it stands on its own feet.

The Indian tenure system is discussed at some length, and its history traced. The Moghul revenue system perfected by Akbar was taken as the basis by the present Government. Its fundamental conditions were: (1) The determination of revenue at a fixed percentage of the gross production of the soil, and (2) the determination to be made by a process of assessment subject to revision. In Bengal permanent settlement was established, and this has resulted in absolute landlordism. Agriculture is of the crudest and the agricultural population backward both morally and materially. Government's claim on the land is now defined at a certain share of the produce, and its interest therefore is limited to seeing that the produce is the maximum that can be secured under the conditions. The fundamental condition for a sound relationship between landowner and tenant, freedom of both parties to bargain, is lacking. From the revenue aspect, it is clear that a settlement, allowing for readjustment every 30 years, is sufficiently flexible in normal times. No assessment and rental system can be sufficiently flexible to meet all the fluctuations of seasons and prices. The landowner, if he is to reap the reward of agricultural improvements, must be brought directly into the organisation for production, and not merely function as a rent collector. Broadly speaking, there are two distinct systems in India, the "Zamindari" system typified by large landlords or zamindars leasing out to ryots who cultivate, and the "Rayatwari" system where the large estate is absent, the ryot or cultivator holding his land direct from Government. In the rayatwari tracts there is no potential source of capital such as is to be found in the zamindar and his practical interest in his estates; the capital and credit required for development has to be sought elsewhere in co-operation.

The material basis of life and reward as a motive for human activity are discussed at length. The whole history of colonial development is the history of the search by the more highly developed races of the North for sources of supply of those products which their own countries could not produce.

scanty attention being paid to the rights of the inhabitants of the countries newly found. In all these developments, there is little of morality or care for the conquered races. Production requires capital, and with modern developments, the tendency in modern production is a tendency towards larger and larger demand for capital. We reach a stage when the interests of the community are involved and some form of public control becomes essential. The essential requirements for development are the provision of security, the means of production, and facilities for marketing. Four methods are mentioned by means of which the cultivator may be placed in possession of the capital he requires: (1) direct supply by Government; (2) the village money lender; (3) the Co-operative Society or Bank, and (4) the landlord.

The author accepts the triple partnership in land of the Government, the landlord, and the cultivator as the ideal at which to aim. The problem of the existence of large areas of undeveloped land is dealt with as also the right of communities to keep such lands undeveloped. The demarcation of areas on racial grounds seems to be upheld, but the consequences of such actions are recognised to be difficult to forecast. In discussing a scheme of agricultural education, the author outlines a very novel method of providing the proper kind of education to fit the youths of the country to the rural life. The main principle is that of organising the school as an agricultural unit, the teacher playing the rôle principally of a landlord, and groups of students as families. The book is on the whole very instructive and a careful study would materially help all earnest workers in this field.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

SHORT NOTICES.

SCENES FROM IRISH HISTORY. By MAUD H. CHERY. (Hodges, Figgis & Co., Dublin.) 1927. 7½ × 4¾. pp. 198.

THE author's attempt to bring into a short compass the whole Irish history for more than 20 centuries is in one sense a complete success. It has been saved from the fate of being a mere catalogue of events by the method of dramatic representation. Instead of dealing with the successive periods in their continuous chronological order, the author has selected certain typical periods and personalities of a representative type and endowed them with real life by effective description and choice story. A picture is thus placed before the reader that makes a lively impression upon him of the actual life of early Gaels, Kelts and Normans with the Christian Church and the feudal nobility serving and controlling the Irish society in their own fashion.

The geographical and racial factors intensified by human ill-will that have brought about the unhappy division between Ulster and the South are clearly revealed along with the benefits that Ireland derived from the rule of Strafford and Ormand that made the grateful Irishmen join the Stuart cause and appear in the unenviable rôle of the enemies of English freedom.

The evil effects on the Irish people of English commercial jealousy enforced by means of tariff legislation and the absenteeism of English landlords inevitably led to the union of Protestant and Catholic, of landlord and priest in a common struggle for a free Irish Parliament and, when that was impossible except during a short period, in a growing agitation for the Repeal of the Union of 1800.

The various phases of the Irish national movement, the constitutionalism of O'Connell, the boycott movement of the Land League, the obstructionism of Parnell, the revivalism of Arthur Griffith are presented in turn until we come to the Easter Rebellion of 1916 and the ugly retaliations that followed it. Wiser counsels prevailed on both sides and Grattan's prophesy came true: "Ireland hears the Ocean protesting against separation, but she hears the sea likewise protesting against Union."

The lucid style sustains the interest in the narrative, the link is never broken and yet there is an almost complete absence of the wearisome mass of detailed information that burdens the school boy's memory. If history is to be made an interesting subject capable of making a lifelong impression upon the student's life, there can scarcely be found a better way of treating it than the one followed by the author of this little book.

R. H. KELKAR.

CHINA'S NEW NATIONALISM AND OTHER ESSAYS. By HARLEY FARNSWORTH MAO NAIR. (Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai.) 1926. 7¾ × 5¼. pp. 398.

A CHINAMAN'S OPINION OF US. By HWUY-UNG. (Chatto & Windus, London.) 1927. 8¼ × 5. pp. 296 7s. 6d.

THE situation in China has been complicated by so many factors that it is difficult to find a proper remedy for it. This complicated nature of the Chinese problem and a solution for it are well brought out by Professor MacNair and Hwuy-Ung. Professor MacNair pleads for equality and Hwuy-Ung suggests reformation within.

"China's New Nationalism and other Essays" is a collection of topics dealing with the vital problems of China. If there is anything that the author pleads for most vigorously, it is that the foreigner in China should not regard himself as a superior, but should treat the Chinese on terms of equality. We need hardly say that the publication of the book is most timely.

"A Chinaman's Opinion of us and of his own Country" is a collection of letters written by Hwuy-Ung, Mandarin of the Fourth Bulton to his friend Tseng-Ching between the years 1899 and 1912. Hwuy-ung was grieved by the power of the foreign arms and the weakness of his country at the end of the nineteenth century. He saw with his own eyes the economic penetration of China by the Imperialist powers, and he came to the conclusion that unless China reformed its social and political organisation in conformity with modern ways there was no hope for China. Confucius, the Chinese philosopher, said that the perfection of the State lay in the perfection of the individuals who constitute the State. Hwuy-Ung believed in it, and he determined to lay before his compatriots suggestions for reforming China; which the book under review contains.

Hwuy-Ung's letters have been translated into English by the Rev. J. A. Makepeace. The translation has been done to perfection. It is not possible to give even a bare summary of the contents of Hwuy-Ung's letters. Suffice it to say that Hwuy-Ung, as a student of history, lays the blame on the foreigner and the Chinaman alike. The foreigner will find the book extremely interesting, for 'to see ourselves as others see us is a human wish which is far older than Burns'; and the Chinaman will equally be interested in the book as Hwuy-Ung suggests his scheme for the modernisation of China and for her mental and moral reformation.

Like the lean and hungry Cassius who sagely remarked

"The fault, Dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
but in ourselves that we are underlings,"

Hwuy-Ung insists on reformation within China.

We have great pleasure in saying that the books are welcome additions to the vast literature on China.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

MEMORANDUM ON THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH. (Cambridge University Press.)

1927. 7½ x 5. pp. 90. 3s. 6d.

ISSUED by the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools, this booklet embodying their experiences in the teaching of English cannot be overlooked by their fellow-craftsmen in India. On p. 53, in the course of the extract from the Report of the Board of Education (for 1924-25) there occurs a sentence that should warn us, teachers in India, as well as those in England:—"There is a danger in stimulating and guiding school work by means of an external examination—the danger that the teaching may follow the lines of the examination instead of, as far as possible, the examination those of the teaching." How exactly does this touch the pathogenic spot in our system! Here is another suggestion for our schools: "Each form should have its own library, and this library should contain as great a variety of books as possible." The boys themselves may be asked to build up the class library from their own contributions of books. The teacher's function should be not to dogmatize about books and force his own tastes on the boys, but by his genial presence to make the opaque, dumb bookshelves luminous and eloquent. Surely, again, many of us are in need of the following tonic hint:—"Start from the basic fact that tastes differ, and if a boy does not respond to what delights you, do not put him down as a Philistine. We can encourage appreciation by avoiding sham reverence, and promoting frankness between the class and the teacher. If the class by a large majority after discussion vote Mr. Pickwick silly and dull, then our blackboard criticism shall say so."

At the close of the book and elsewhere, we have a graduated bibliography of undoubted value to our matriculation and college students. This is a book that not merely rouses the curiosity of "English" teachers in India, but also satisfies it in odd ways.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE KARVE SCHOLARSHIP FUND. AN APPEAL.

PROFESSOR KARVE, who will see his 71st birthday on the 18th of April next, is not only a founder of institutions like the Widows' Home and the Indian Women's University but is in himself an institution. His name is honoured not only in Maharashtra but in the whole of India, not only by the rich (to whom by the bye this appeal is addressed), but also by the poor (for whose daughters and sisters he has been selflessly and zealously working for more than thirty years), not only by this or that political party but by all parties, not only by the heterodox but also by the orthodox section of the people. This unique position he did not attain in a day, nor without the difficulties and the trials which are the inevitable

lot of all who attempt to do something good and great, against the prejudices and deep-rooted sentiments of the common people, especially when these attempts are not backed by wealth or position. Himself a poor man, without much help or even appreciation from the rich during the first decade of his work, hated and calumniated by the uneducated for his heterodoxy in educating the widows and supported very lukewarmly by the educated because of what they considered to be his cowardice in not going as far as they wanted him to go, he has succeeded after years of strenuous, patient and self-abasing work in converting his enemies into admirers and his lukewarm sympathisers into zealous adherents. Men of his stamp are rare anywhere, but especially in a country like India which, through the conjunction of a number of circumstances, does not, or cannot recognise and encourage its heroes. That such a man should be among us for many a year to come is naturally the wish of all who know him or have heard of him (which means practically the whole of literate India), and one of the best ways of prolonging the lives of such men is to let them feel by our actions that after all we do recognise their worth and that we are desirous of helping forward causes they have so selflessly made their own. Some of his friends and admirers have already started a Fund with a view to instituting scholarships in his name, the scholarships to be utilised for the education of helpless widows. It is hoped that the aristocracy as well as the intelligentsia will gladly help forward this movement and enable the organizers of this Fund to announce on his seventy-first birthday the collection of a sum which will gladden him on that day and add to the health, enthusiasm and optimism which he still retains, thanks not only to his regular and temperate habits but also to the invigorating and energising nature of his noble thoughts and aspirations, coupled with unblemished character.

V. M. JOSHI,
President,

Karve Jubilee Committee.

Hingne, 25th March 1928.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- CENTRAL BANKS. By C. H. KISCH and W. A. ELKIN. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London.) 1928. 8½ x 5½. pp. 384. 18s.
- THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FROM IDEA TO REALITY. By ROBERT JONES & S. S. SHERMAN. (Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ x 5½. pp. 213. 5s.
- JOSEPHINE BUTLER. By MILLICENT FAWCETT and E. M. TURNER. (The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, London.) 1927. 7½ x 5. pp. 163. 2s. 6d.
- WHAT ARE THE RIGHTS OF THE MUSLIM MINORITY IN INDIA? By SHAFAT AHMED KHAN. (The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad.) 1928. 9½ x 6½. pp. 188.
- I ESCAPE. By J. L. HARDY. (John Lane the Bodley Head Ltd., London.) 1927. 7½ x 5½. pp. 260. 7s. 6d.
- I SPEAK OF AFRICA. By WILLIAM FLOMER. (Hogarth Press, London.) 1927. 7½ x 5. pp. 260. 7s. 6d.
- FOOD AND HEALTH. By A. BARBARA CALLOW. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1928. 7½ x 5. pp. 96.
- A SUMER-ARYAN DICTIONARY. By L. A. WADDELL. (Luzac & Co., London.) 1927. 8½ x 6½. pp. 79. 12s.
- BABUR: DIARIST AND DESPOT. By S. M. EDWARDS. (A. M. Philpot, Ltd., London.) 7½ x 5. pp. 138. 6s.