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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

AFTER completing the recording of evidence in this country, the Simon Commission sailed for England on Saturday last. Looking back over the seven months of the Commission's stay in this country, we cannot say India had very happy memories about the time they spent amongst us. Their visits to different places were attended by demonstrations which should have left nobody in doubt that the Commissioners were unwelcome and unwanted guests in this land. The steps taken by the police to put down such demonstrations or at any rate to prevent them from coming under the Commission's observation had most unfortunate results. Whatever the verdict of the official inquiry, Indian opinion will never cease to associate the death of Lala Lajpat Rai with the Commission's visit to the capital of the Punjab nor will it easily forget the rough handling received by some prominent citizens of Lucknow at the hands of the police on the occasion of the Commission's arrival there or even the insults which a staunch friend of Government like the Maharaja of Mahmudabad among many others had to put up with in that connection. The fact that the Commission had some seven hundred and odd memoranda submitted to it has been duly advertised. Put apart from the official evidence which must be characterised as the best evidence tendered before the Commission, it is as clear as the noonday sun that the Commission suffered from a lack of non-official evidence worth the name. In saying this we do not forget that some extreme communalists, both Hindu and Mahomedan, did appear before the Commission and acquainted it with their views as to the next step in constitutional

progress. Deputations composed of such people and others whom it pays to be in the good books of the Government and who would give anything to retain the favour of Government did wait upon the Chairman at the different places visited by the Commission and there was also no lack of "hearty receptions" and farewells to Sir John Simon and his colleagues. But the Commission must be extraordinarily dull-witted not to see that these were specially gott up for the occasion by Government officials and heir henchmen. Anyhow the Commission cannot have failed to take mental note of the fact that not a single front-rank politician in India with the exception of course of Sir Mahomed Shafi had anything to do with it—a positive proof of the great success that has attended the movement for its boycott. If there was any doubt in anybody's mind on the point, it ought to be dispelled by the refusal of the Assembly, the most representative body in the land, to cooperate with the Commission in any shape or form. The fact that some provincial councils did elect committees to co-operate with the Commission ought not to deceive any body, for, as has so often been pointed out, their election became possible only with the help of the official bloc. The work of the Commission did attract some notice in the beginning; but soon their proceedings ceased to excite any public interest and to figure in Indian-edited journals, thanks to their resolve to boycott even its proceedings. No wonder that the Commission's departure last week was unnoticed except by a few Hindu and Mahomedan communalists and by people who stand to gain by being on the right side of the Government.

MR. MUNSHI'S Bill to amend the Land Revenue Code.

which has been recently published Mr. Munshi's Bill. deserves serious consideration at the hands of the Bombay Council.

Mr. Munshi points out in the statement of objects that the processes of recovering land revenue have been made more stringent by the rules made under section 214. He therefore proposes to curtail the powers of Government and thus lessen the rigour of these processes. One section is intended to deprive the collector of the power of forfeiting the whole occupancy for small arrears and authorises the forfeiture of only such part of the occupancy as may be necessary to realize the arrears. The present power is used to make arrears impossible by threatening wholesale confiscation. Another section removes the power of the Government to forfeit land and sell it for any price at their discretion and restricts them to the ordinary methods of recovering claims known to civil law. A third section proposes that orders should be given in a specific form so as to give the necessary formality to the act of the revenue officer whereas at present orders in ordinary

correspondence are treated as valid orders. Altogether the object of the Bill is to give greater security to the tenure of the holder of the land by making the recovery of the land revenue a remedy of a civil nature. As we have repeatedly pointed out, it is high time that the basic principles underlying the assessment of land revenue were embodied in an act of the Legislature instead of being left to the tender mercies of the revenue authorities. Unless the land revenue is fixed in accordance with definite rules put in black and white, the dissatisfaction with the policy of assessment will grow in volume and produce a crop of difficulties of the sort that we have experienced during the last few years. The holder will be more inclined to acquiesce in a claim for revenue which he knows to have been sanctioned by the legislative body which consists of representatives who are there to safeguard the interests of his class. There will thus be a greater accession of moral weight behind the demand for a reasonable share of the net assets of the land. The dissatisfaction with the drastic methods of recovery of the land revenue of which Mr. Munshi's Bill is symptomatic is bound to disappear if the assessment is moderate and in agreement with the rayats' own sense of propriety. The whole Land Revenue Code must be rehailed at the earliest opportunity and provisions in it which are detrimental to the well-being of the agricultural population must be amended or removed as the case may be. Mr. Munshi's Bill is based on the experiences revealed in the recent Bardoli enquiry made by non-official agency and has therefore a solid basis on which to rest.

* * *

THE *Hindu* of Madras has published a summary of the Hartog Committee's Report; judging by it the Report bids fair to be a helpful and suggestive document.

The desire on the part of leaders of public opinion to grapple with the complex problems of education is frankly admitted; and the Councils are praised for voting large additional expenditure for education. The Committee could not help noting the appalling waste in primary education which has been the theme of many an educational report. It is a sorry spectacle that the disparity in education and literacy between men and women is actually increasing. The Report advises the Universities to regard the training of broad-minded and self-reliant citizens as one of their primary functions. The Report emphasizes the fact that many of the university students are not fitted by capacity for higher education and suggests that they should seek other careers. The Committee think that the Central Government should be the means of coordinating the educational experience of the different provinces and should also be enabled constitutionally to make good the financial deficiencies of less prosperous provinces. The Committee are not satisfied with the existing relations between Provincial Governments and local bodies whereby the Ministers have little control over primary education. An increase in the inspecting staff is recommended for the sake of more effective supervision; considering the importance of the education of the girls as the education of the future mothers it is claimed that priority should now be given to the claims of girls' education in every new scheme. With regard to Muslim education the Committee note that in the higher stages their numbers become smaller and smaller so that in the universities their proportion to the total of students is reduced to under 13 per cent. The majority of the Committee suggest that Provincial Governments should carefully consider the question of the reservation of a suitable number of places for Muslims in publicly managed institutions.

We are not sure however whether this would not be a retrograde step. We have no objection however to the Committee's suggestion to provide for religious instruction for Muslims in public schools, although it might lead to the retort that the religious education of the pupils of other religions is unprovided for.

* * *

IN an article contributed to the *National Christian Council Review*, which is a reproduction of a paper read before the Agra Conference, Rev. John Mackenzie discusses very ably some recent aspects of the conscience clause. Principal Mackenzie emphasizes the right of the state to change its policies and alter its terms of agreement with the bodies whose cooperation it seeks in the work of education. He proposes that the effects of the voluntary system, in which attendance at scripture classes is optional, should be carefully considered; and if the effects are unsatisfactory it should be found out whether the system is inherently vicious or whether local causes are responsible for the result. Principal Mackenzie says that he has begun to doubt whether the position that without opportunity of teaching religion, Missionary Colleges and Schools could not justify their educational work is sound. The personal influence of a truly Christian teacher on his pupils is more important in his opinion than the religious lessons and even under a conscience clause a missionary institution can do a world of good in various other ways. As for the work of commending the Christian religion, he believes that the work could be done better if all feeling of compulsion is removed. As a practical teacher he frankly admits that many of his students would be far better employed in some other useful study during the scripture hour. It is a well known fact that many of the students in the mission colleges are indifferent to religious teaching; and he thinks there is a strong case for a change of policy with regard to insistence on attending the scripture class. Judging from the currents of political thought he feels sure that some form of a conscience clause will be adopted throughout India and he is quite right in thus judging the situation. He asks why the mission colleges should wait to take action before they are pushed by Government from their present position if they are convinced that the voluntary method is sound. The impression that would be created by the adoption of a conscience clause dictated by the state would, in his opinion, be prejudicial to the missionary organizations. He pleads therefore for the adoption of the voluntary system of religious teaching on their own initiative by the educational institutions controlled by Christian missions. A further reason for the adoption of a conscience clause urged by him is that the clause would be needed in future for the protection of the Christian pupils in case they would be obliged to take part in acts of non-Christian worship. We do not know if there are many instances of this sort of compulsion referred to by him. If however the solitary instance quoted by him proves to be well authenticated, the authorities of the College in question ought to be compelled by the Minister to give up the practice. It is good however that missionary bodies have recognized the futility as well as the illogical character of compulsory religious teaching.

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A PERUSAL of the report on the progress of education in Bihar and Orissa for 1927-8 shows that there was an increase of over 500 in the number of educational institutions attended by an increase of over

38,000 in the number of pupils, the increase being largely in the primary stage. The increase however is not shared by all districts some of which record a fall in the number of pupils in schools. E. g. in Gaya we find that the decrease was the greatest, owing, among other things, to the strange order passed by the District Board "imposing a fine on *gurus* of eight annas for each pupil failing to pass the annual examination at the end of the course in class I after two years' study." This order naturally led to a number of withdrawals who would otherwise have added to the number of pupils in school. The level of literacy in the province has not yet gone beyond 6.11, which is very unsatisfactory. But far more unsatisfactory is the state of female education. The percentage of literacy among females was 69 in 1926-7 which in the year under report had become 71. Even a cursory glance at the statistics relating to female education is sufficient to convince any unprejudiced observer that some sort of stagnation has overtaken female education, for in the year under report the increase in the number of girls studying in primary schools was a paltry 300! Commenting last year on the quinquennial report of the province we had emphasised the deplorably backward condition of female education; but the educational authorities of the province do not yet appear to have awakened to a proper appreciation of its necessity for national advance. It is high time they did so and put forth the most strenuous efforts of which they are capable for its wide diffusion.

Compulsory education is still confined to a few areas and its development is handicapped by paucity of funds. There is a general tendency to avoid unpleasantness due to prosecutions for non-compliance with the provisions of the Compulsory Act, nor do local bodies appear to have a proper appreciation of their responsibilities under the Act. Thus in a certain area out of 189 boys of school-age only 110 were enrolled, two more schools being required to provide for the balance. The local body concerned however appeared to be in no hurry to arrange for this nor to appoint an attendance officer. Primary education was made free in one district but the district unfortunately found itself unable to provide for the educational needs of the additional number of pupils. Then, in some districts extraordinary delay has taken place in the payment of salaries to teachers, these remaining unpaid for six months at a stretch. In so far as this was due to want of funds, it can be excused; but where it was due to sheer want of businesslike methods in the management of public business by local bodies, it is simply inexcusable.

Adult education must have suffered a setback in the year owing to the number of night schools having decreased from 802 to 739 with a fall in the number of pupils from 17,581 to 15,741. The schools do not appear to be particularly popular and the fact that they have continued to exist unaided is regarded as a hopeful sign. The teachers are paid in kind and no fees are charged.

A tabular statement very useful for purposes of comparative study and one which we should like to see appended to the education reports of all the provinces is the one which shows by districts the percentages of Indian children at school to Indian children of school age. From this it appears that Balasore heads the list with 30.06 per cent. of the total number of children at school; while among the five divisions of the province Orissa with 27.6 per cent. is the most advanced.

* * *

THE ORDINANCE.

THE Public Safety Bill, whose further passage through the Legislative Assembly was obstructed by the ruling of the Hon'ble the President, has now issued in the form of an Ordinance of the Governor General. It is now law of the land, though in this case it is the executive instead of the legislative authority which has sanctioned it. But it must be confessed that this particular executive decree will not be regarded generally with the opprobrium which such decrees usually bring upon them, for its principle had been accepted by the Assembly and it is well known that it would have passed through its final stages but for the President's ruling, and that in the Council of State it would only have received enthusiastic support. All this has to be conceded, though we have ourselves never varied in our opposition to the Bill. Our position remains the same as before, that Government have not yet proved the need for additional power for dealing with such foreign Bolshevich agents as may succeed in escaping the meshes of the passport regulations. No such agents can long remain in the country and carry on their activities for the overthrow of organised government by force without laying themselves open at a hundred points for inciting to violence or actually resorting to violence. If they do this they can be indicted under the ordinary law. If they do not they are probably quiescent folk who, however dangerous their creed is, do not do much to give it practical shape, and may for that reason be left alone. They will most assuredly be under the constant watch of the police, and it is inconceivable that these hotgospellers of violence will be able to develop their activities to any serious extent without committing some crime or other, for which they can instantly be hauled up in a court of law under the normal processes. It must be precisely this reasoning which has weighed with British statesmen who have never thought of arming their executive with exceptional powers like those sought by the Public Safety Bill or now conferred by the Ordinance. We have not therefore thought it necessary to abate one jot or tittle of our opposition to the measure.

This of course is the fundamental issue; but for the moment the President's intervention with a threat to rule out the motion for taking the Select Committee's Report into consideration—a threat which later was duly executed—occupied far higher place in the public attention. But essentially it is a matter of small consequence. We do not feel qualified to deal with the question of procedure that was raised by the President, but, viewing the matter from a commonsense point of view, we do not think that the President's action in ruling out the motion was quite fair. We feel constrained to make this remark just because of our unalterable opposition to the principle of the Bill. The comments of members of the Assembly and newspapers on the point of order have generally taken the complexion of their views on the merits of the Bill, though the two matters are quite different, and there is no reason why the oppo-

nents of the Bill should invariably uphold the President's ruling and the supporters of the Bill should oppose it. We have noticed only two exceptions to this general tendency among newspapers: the *Indian Daily Mail* and the *Pioneer*, though with Government on the merits of the Bill, are the former temperately and the latter violently with the President on the question of the ruling. On the other hand, there is Mr. Jinnah, who, while no less strongly opposed to the Bill than Pandit Nehru or Pandit Malaviya, finds himself unable to endorse the President's ruling. The essential question to consider is, whether it is or is not possible to discuss the merits of the Bill without involving oneself in a discussion of the points that have been referred to the magistrate in the Meerut case for adjudication. It is the contention, of Government that it is quite possible to do so, while the President maintains that it is altogether impossible to have any real discussion of the Bill consistently with the restrictions necessarily laid upon members by the pendency of the Meerut prosecution the basis for the prosecution and the Bill being wholly common. What is common to the two is the need for proving the existence of a conspiracy in this country, inspired by the Communist International. In both cases the onus of proving it falls on Government: in one case they undertake to prove it by producing facts unconnected with the accused in the Meerut trial, though in the absence of the trial they could have made use of facts connected with the accused too; in the other case they may utilise all such facts. If the Meerut trial has imposed a disability on any one it is principally on Government. The Opposition too, in exposing the weaknesses of the Bill, will necessarily have to refrain from referring to any of the accused, but in disproving the Government's case for the existence of a Communist conspiracy or, in the alternative, of disproving their case for the necessity of additional criminal powers, they will have much less need to refer to the Meerut accused than the Government will perhaps have in proving their case. It is argued that the limitation will in reality work more hardly upon the Opposition than upon Government; that while it would be to Government's interest to make no reference to the Meerut prosecution which will take place under the normal law, it would be the strongest argument in the hands of the Opposition to refer to it just to prove that the ordinary processes of law are enough to deal with men like Spratt and Bradley. There is however no force in this argument; for the adequacy of ordinary law to check the activities of foreign Communists cannot be demonstrated by reference to facts till the trial is over; and when it will be over there will be no question of matters *sub judice* interfering with the discretion of the members! In any case it appears to us to be a far-fetched argument to urge, as the Hon'ble Mr. Patel did, that the Bill cannot be discussed without trenching upon matters that will come up before the court for adjudication. The President might have given an actual trial to his contention by the debate to proceed, and by testing whe-

ther he cannot keep it within limits. On Government side the Irish Coercion Act of 1881 and Dora of our own time were cited as precedents of laws enacted while similar prosecutions were pending, but these are airily dismissed by President Patel with the observation that there was in fact no common basis for the prosecutions as well as bills before the house. This is a very unsatisfactory way of dealing with a weighty argument.

If a discussion can take place on the Bill, would it, by reason of the limitations of the pending trial, be so very exiguous as not to amount to the reasonable debate that the rules contemplate? In considering this question the fact that the Bill had passed the Select Committee stage cannot be left out of reckoning. The principle of the Bill was freely discussed—and accepted—by the house: if in its later stages the Bill had to be debated under these limitations, it could hardly be said that it would receive no reasonable measure of discussion. The most suitable way of handling this case where, as admitted by the President, "the power to rule this motion out of order is not expressed in so many words in any rules and standing orders," would have been to take the vote of the house itself upon it. It is usual for the Speaker of the House of Commons, when "left without specific directions," to refer "the matter to the judgment of the house" (E. May). President Patel was himself inclined at first to follow this course, but apparently stung by the Government's challenge to his authority, he asserted his inherent right, as he conceived it, to dispose of the matter according to his best lights, without letting the Assembly have a finger in the pie. In that case it should be understood, however, that he exercised this right not, as he claims, "with a view to preventing the powers belonging to this house from passing into the hands of the administration" but, as it would seem, with a view to appropriating to himself the powers which belonged to the house.

While on the subject of procedure we cannot help protesting against the refusal of President Patel to give a hearing to Sir Hari Singh Gour, though he rose eight times with a view to give his views on the point of procedure which was being discussed in the Assembly. Sir Hari Singh even pleaded privileges of the house; and in regard to privilege matters the rule is that "the proceedings of the House may be interrupted at any moment, save during the progress of a division, by a motion based on a matter of privilege, when a matter has recently arisen which directly concerns the privileges of the house; and in that case the house will entertain the motion forthwith" (E. May). Sir Hari Singh may have fallen from grace; we ourselves have sharp differences with him in politics; however we feel it our duty to raise our voice against the injustice done to him.

TRAVANCORE IN 1927-28

THE charge is commonly levelled against the Indian princes that they treat their State revenues as their personal property and squander them away in any

manner they like. We know that the accusation is not groundless in the case of a large majority of the rulers of the States; but whoever else may deserve the charge, the ruling family of Travancore does not deserve it. We observe from the administration report of the State for 1927-8 that its rulers have for more than half a century "treated the revenues of the State as public funds in the strictest sense of the term." There is a Civil List which they appropriate to their own use and its proportion to the total revenues is, instead of growing as happens in the case of the generality of Indian princes, declining. Some forty years ago this proportion stood at 8.76 per cent. but had gone down to 3.69 per cent. in the year under report. Even as compared to the immediately preceding year, the palace expenses were less by nearly Rs. 1½ lakhs and stood at Rs. 12,85,000. By the careful manner in which the Travancore rulers have all along handled their State revenue, they have set an example which is worthy of emulation by other princes. How different would States affairs be if all the Indian princes were equally scrupulous in using public revenues for their own purposes!

Travancore finances appear to be in a very satisfactory condition. The ordinary revenue was in 1927-28 Rs. 242.29 lakhs—an increase of about Rs. 9½ lakhs over that for the previous year, while the expenditure was Rs. 218.40 lakhs, leaving a surplus of Rs. 23.89 lakhs. In the previous year too there was even a bigger surplus—bigger by Rs. 4 lakhs. Nor can it be said that the surplus was a feature of only the last two years' finances. If a series of deficits is an evil, a series of heavy surpluses is not less so and must be avoided. It need hardly be pointed out that these surpluses represent so much over and above the real requirements of the State taken from its subjects, who must have contributed it not without considerable hardship. It is to be hoped that in years to come the surpluses will tend to grow smaller and smaller. The only consolation is that there is no danger in Travancore of this yearly excess of revenue over expenditure being frittered away by the ruling family in profitless ventures or in the pursuit of idle pleasure but that it is safely invested in Government securities.

The Travancore Legislative Council is an old institution, having been started as far back as 1888 and was the first of its kind in the history of Indian states. Its original constitution was much less democratic. It had a minimum of 5 and a maximum of 8 members, not less than 2 of whom were non-officials nominated by Government. It had plenary powers of legislation subject to the ruler's assent before a measure could be passed into law. The only other restriction, which also obtains in British India, was that any measure affecting public revenues had to secure the previous sanction of the State authorities. Between 1888 and 1921 several attempts to improve its constitution were made; but it is unnecessary to refer to them here. Suffice it to concern ourselves with its constitution as it exists at present. The present constitution was promulgated in 1921. Under it the Legislative Council consists of 50 members, 28 elected and 22 nominated, not more than 15 of the latter being officials. The Dewan is the President, though a Deputy President who is generally a non-official is available to guide the deliberations of the Council in the absence of the President. There is no reason why in this respect Travancore should not take a leaf from the book of British India and allow the Council to have its own elected President.

As for the powers enjoyed by the Council, they seem to approximate more or less to those enjoyed by provincial legislatures in British India.

Thus we find that members of the Council can vote on the budget, move resolutions and ask questions. During the budget debate token cuts are freely resorted to for the purpose of ventilating some public grievance or representing public opinion with regard to some unpopular Government measure or policy. There is of course the power reserved in the Government of certification of budget grants refused or reduced by the Council and of legislative measures thrown out or altered by it; but this reserve power has never been used so far—an eloquent testimony to the harmonious relations existing between the executive and the legislature.

The franchise too appears to be modelled on that existing in the provinces in British India. Payers of Rs. 3 by way of building or land tax in all other municipalities except Trivandrum and of Re. 1 in Trivandrum are entitled to vote. There are also special constituencies comprising the planting community, the landlords, political pensioners and the interests of commerce and industry. What is more, there is no sex disqualification as regards either membership of or candidature for the Council. This is as it should be, with education so wide-spread as it is in Travancore; but we are curious to learn whether ladies are coming forward in sufficient number to take their place in public life alongside the men and whether their number is growing.

The Popular Assembly, whose *raison d'être* is not quite clear to us, was called into being in 1904 and meets once a year. To suppose that it is a sort of a Second Chamber would be a mistake. It is designed, so we read in the report, "to afford the people an opportunity of expressing direct to the Government their wants and wishes and of representing their views regarding administrative measures adopted from time to time." This is a function which the members of the Council elected on a broad franchise are admirably fitted to discharge and must discharge if they are worth anything. If they fail to discharge it, they are failing in one of their primary duties as elected popular representatives. With the Council already in existence, the Assembly strikes us as a superfluous body with no definite place assigned to it in the body politic of the State and its disappearance would not create a gap anywhere. On the other hand, there is possible danger of friction and unpleasantness in having two institutions with co-extensive powers in some respects at any rate; for it is impossible for both of them to see eye to eye on all public questions for all time; and when one disagrees with the other, we should like to know whether the Travancore constitution provides for a means of getting over the deadlock. Moreover the Assembly seems to have plenty of power to criticise, but no responsibility, given to it, which is inviting it to act irresponsibly on occasions. It is however satisfactory to note that it has not done so yet. Indeed the Government bear testimony to the "invaluable help" they received from it and go so far as to admit that "much that the Government has done for the amelioration of the conditions of the people is directly ascribable to this personal contact between the Government and the governed"! This is praise indeed; and augurs well for the future of parliamentary government in the State.

If we carefully examine the State's educational record, we find that it gives evidence of a livelier sense of responsibility for the education of the people than is noticeable in the case of the British Indian Government. The duty of the State to impart public instruction was recognised when so far back as 1817 a rescript was issued by the then Rani Sahab declaring "that the State should defray the entire cost of the education of its people in order that there

might be no backwardness in the spread of enlightenment among them, that by diffusion of education they might become better subjects and public servants, and that the reputation of the State might be advanced thereby." A century's enforcement of this benevolent policy has led to 78 per cent. of the children of school age being driven into school. Primary education, though not compulsory, is free throughout the State. Co-education is permitted upto the fourth class in the primary stage and is tolerated in the higher stages only in places where separate facilities for the education of girls are lacking. In colleges and high schools girls are charged only half the fees prescribed for boys. Government schools which were 438 with a total strength of 58,159 in 1910 increased to 1031 with a total strength of 237,461 in 1927-8. Private schools on the contrary decreased from 3,016 to 2,547, but their strength increased from 147,858 to 281,827. Compared with the previous year, the total number of educational institutions, recognised and unrecognised, rose from 3,949 with a strength of 502,867 pupils to 4,014 with a total strength of 535,557 pupils. It is also necessary to add that Government are spending on education more than Rs. 41 lakhs or a little over 17 per cent. of the State revenue. But though so much has been done towards the universalisation of literacy, the fact cannot be gainsaid that nearly one-fourth of the field remains to be covered. The task will be considerably facilitated by a resort to compulsion. We hope this will be done at an early date.

But though the educational endeavour of the State entitles it to all praise, we are afraid we cannot compliment it on its excise policy. This is the antiquated one of maximum revenue from minimum consumption, every endeavour being made "to make it increasingly difficult for the consumer to obtain strong drink." The obvious implication of this policy is that so long as a man drinks weak drink, he may do so to any extent with impunity and need not be afraid of any interference by the State authorities. It is deplorable that while the Indian people have set their heart on prohibition, the State should still pathetically cling to a policy which, as the experience of British India has shown, does not restrict drink to any appreciable extent. It is time the State adopted prohibition as its goal so as come in to line with public sentiment and adopted methods, which if persistently and uninterruptedly followed, would automatically lead to prohibition at the end of a definite period of time, say twenty years. We hope the progressive State of Travancore will see the desirability and wisdom of this step before very long

ROUMANIAN MINORITIES.

ROUMANIA was the most favoured of all European countries in the Peace Settlement in her territorial expansion. For a long time during the Great War she could not decide which side had better terms to offer to her; and when at last she came off the fence on the side of the Allies she found that she could enlarge her territory not only at the cost of the enemy countries, but even at the cost of the Allies. She took not only Transylvania and the Banat from Hungary, Bukovina from Austria and the remnant of the Dobrudja from Bulgaria, but also Bessarabia from a former Ally, Russia. Thus she emerged from the World War and the Peace Conference more than doubled in size and nearly trebled in population. This enormous aggrandisement has brought in its train its own problems. At one bound Roumania was converted from a national state enjoying racial, religious and cultural homogeneity into a heterogeneous state with a large and varied non-Roumanian population. If in the

Regat (pre-War Roumania) there were only 6,500,000 inhabitants, Greater Roumania found on her hands a population of 17,500,000, of whom about five millions belong to minority groups, speaking different tongues and clinging tenaciously to the old culture in which they have grown up. The most important minority in the acquired province of Transylvania consists of Hungarians. Besides them there are about a million Saxons and Germans scattered throughout the country. Then there are less than a million Jews. Lastly there are Ukrainians, Russians, Bulgarians and so forth. The condition of the Protestants in Transylvania (and of the Jews throughout the Kingdom) has drawn wide attention, especially of the British and American Protestant churches, and the work under review* embodies the findings of a deputation of the American Committee on the Rights of Religious Minorities which studied the situation in the latter half of 1927.

The Minority Treaty signed by Roumania on the 9th Dec. 1919 guaranteed to her minorities all the cultural rights for which all such treaties make ample provision: equality before the law; political equality; free use of their language in the law courts, &c.; free exercise of religion; the right to establish and maintain charitable, religious or educational institutions; the use of their own language in the primary public schools in districts in which the minorities constitute a considerable proportion of the population; and an equitable share in public expenditure on educational, religious or charitable purposes. By Arts. 9, 10 & 11 Roumania has guaranteed all these rights which, as the Report of the Committee says, civilised nations consider "as the minimum requisite for an independent existence of a free people." But the Commission has recorded its considered opinion "that there remains a wide discrepancy between the Constitution adopted by the State, which is liberal in many respects, and its enforcement through the officials." There have been too many infringements of civil liberties. "The courts have been, in many instances, some notorious, either intimidated or deliberately used by groups for their own ends". Roumania's school laws are inequitable to the minorities and are still more unfairly administered. An attempt is made to Roumanize the minority groups by force and to destroy their confessional schools. "There is no doubt," says the Commission, "that the fundamental right of citizenship is denied to thousands who are justly entitled to it." "The Commission found, during its visit, that a hideous campaign of intimidation and brutality was being carried on against the Jewish citizens of the State, its motive being a mixture of arrogant intolerance and ignorant hatred." The franchise rights of minorities are suppressed. There is religious persecution. The State shows "a studied, determined effort" to discriminate against minorities in the filling of official positions, though "there are in the annexed territories of Greater Roumania great resources of educated citizenship from which the Roumanian Government could draw with great profit for the service of the State."

The general conclusion emerges from these observations, as has been well expressed by the French delegate, whose report is appended at the end: "Roumania has not shown herself adroit in her manner of solving her problem of minorities. Supposing she has attempted to solve it, it seems that she has attempted to solve it in the manner in which Alexander the

* *Roumania Ten Years After*. By a deputation from the AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON THE RIGHTS OF RELIGIOUS MINORITIES. (The Beacon Press.) 1923. 8½ x 5½. pp. 143. \$ 1.50.

Great out the Gordian Knot. This does not appear to have been a good way. But, in judging harshly of Roumania, let it be borne in mind that no country in Europe has arrived at a satisfactory solution of the problem. In every country the Minority Treaties are quite excellent; but the minorities are far from enjoying the cultural independence and civil and political equality guaranteed by the treaties. There are ever so many gaps between legal prescriptions and executive performance. Herr Stresemann and Senator Dandurand attempted at the League Council meeting last month to improve the procedure by which the League exercises supervision over the mandatory powers, but all they could get at this meeting was the appointment of a Committee whose report will come before the next meeting of the Council. Nor does one know how many postponements there will be before the problem is tackled.

S. G. V.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, March 28.

A POLITICAL INNOVATION:

THE recent election in Italy has caused much reflection in all political circles in Europe. Some have preferred to call the event a plebiscite rather than an election for voters were required merely to say "yes" to signify acceptance or "no" to indicate disapproval of the one and only list of four hundred names that had already received the approval of the Fascist Grand Council. There was no doubt whatever of the outcome of the election, and of the four hundred candidates constituting the new Chamber, 191 have already been deputies. The rest are new, and as the old Italian Chamber consisted of 503 members, it may be reckoned that 344 of the old Parliamentarians have failed to obtain admittance to the new Chamber.

Despite its being what has been described as a one-Party election, the proceedings would seem to have been attended by all the usual enthusiasm of an election. More than 89% of the total male voters in Italy have utilised their privilege, and the yeas for the Government are reported to be 8,506,576 against 136,198. Many polling stations were closed early in the afternoon of the voting day, all the voters on the various registers having already recorded their views. In Milan there was a 92 per cent. vote, and the Government has an 87 per cent. majority. Italian ships at sea in all parts of the world send cables approving the constitution of the new Parliament. In working class districts, electors marched to the polling stations with music and banners, and these huge majorities and the high percentage of the electors who took the trouble to record their votes, are considered to be remarkable, in spite of the fact that the broad result of the elections was a foregone conclusion.

Signor Mussolini had declared that there would be no electoral campaign; but notwithstanding this attitude there was considerable evidence of his having taken a vigorous part in the proceedings, with conspicuous support from prominent Government

officials. Propaganda was carried on by none with more remarkable enthusiasm than by the leading Roman Catholics. The whole world, the Catholic voters were assured, would eagerly count the number of those who voted in favour of the official list and would deduce from that figure the measure of satisfaction with which Italy had greeted the recent agreement between Church and State. The Pope had said, "Without there being need for great undertakings or extraordinary efforts, each person confining himself to his own sphere and doing that which is within his reach, co-operation for the common weal can be exercised in a highly efficacious manner," and if this rather moral tone of the counsel left the political issue in any doubt, Archbishop Ferrara's statement was quite explicit. "The 'yes' which supports the Government," said the Archbishop, "is but an echo of the Pontifical 'yes' contained in the recent Accord with the Italian State."

The European press in general has tended to look askance at the Italian election. Their question, in brief, is "why should what is not a Parliament masquerade in its feathers?" Dictatorships, it is pointed out, are wholly dependent on popular support in the last resort, and a swift and dramatic marshalling of popular forces is no indication of stability. Taking a page from the history of France it is shown that in 1800 the consulate was approved by 3,011,007 votes against 15,062; in 1802, it was perpetuated by 3,568,885 votes against 8,374; in 1804 the Monarchy was established by 3,572,329 votes against 2,569; in 1815 the additional Articles of the Constitution were obtained by 1,300,000 votes against 4,206; and a month later came Waterloo; three months later, St. Helena. On 21st December 1851, the *coup d'etat* was approved by 7,500,000 votes against 640,000, and the year following, the Empire was reestablished by 7,824,000 votes against 253,000. In May 1870, the Empire had obtained 7,161,341 votes against 1,523,628, and on the 4th of September came the Republic.

Yet the Duce's actions are followed with considerable interest not because Europe is dazzled by the statistics of the election in Italy, but because of the parliamentary innovation. It is a social experiment of the first magnitude with at least as much significance as that of Soviet Russia. In spite of its one-party nature the new Italian Chamber represents proportionately all interests of the country, as it is made up of selections from the intellectual class, agriculture, industry, commerce, finance, education, and State servants. Even sporting and touring organisations have their representation. A marked characteristic of the new Chamber is its widespread geographical distribution. Every region in Italy, including the smallest of Provinces, has at least one representative. Only two classes of persons were barred from the list—relatives of Signor Mussolini and editors of leading newspapers, one as a safeguard against nepotism and the other against what must be called, political-mindedness! The following represent the larger part of the Chamber's constituencies: The Professional and Artistic Confedera-

tion, the National Association of Ex-Combatants, the Industrial Confederation, the Syndicate of Farm Labourers, the Syndicate of Industrial Workers, the Commercial Confederation, the Universities, the National Association of War Wounded, the Confederation of Land Transports and Internal Navigation, the Syndicate of Seamen and Airmen, the Commercial Syndicates and National Institute of Cooperation, Bankers' Federation, and the Confederation of Maritime and Aerial Transportation.

OUR EAST AFRICAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

NAIROBI, April 2.

THE HILTON-YOUNG REPORT.

THE uncertainties created by the conflicting news regarding the action that might be taken on the Closer Union Report were set at rest by the debate in the House of Lords and by the subsequent announcement that Sir Samuel Wilson, the permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, was being deputed to proceed to East Africa as soon as possible to make certain investigations. It has also been made clear that no action will be taken until after the general election in England.

The claims of the Convention of Associations and the European elected members of the Kenya Legislative Council to represent the unanimous opinion of the Europeans in Kenya received a rude shock at the Mombasa meeting of Europeans in the second week of March. The meeting made an academic concession in favour of the up-country settlers by saying that the door to ultimate responsible government should not be barred altogether, but maintained that economic interests should not be subordinated to political considerations and very strongly disapproved of the threat of "vigorous action" held out by the Conventionists in their famous cable to the Secretary of State soon after the publication of the Hilton-Young Report. The acting leader of the elected European members of the Legislative Council, Mr. Conway Harvey, and Col. Durham specially went down to Mombasa to convert Mombasa Europeans and bring them into line with the up-country Europeans but they suffered an ignominious defeat. The consequence is a heavy blow to European solidarity over the Report.

At the Legislative Council bye-election in the constituency of Nairobi North, the redoubtable Major E. S. Grogan was returned with a thumping majority over his two rival candidates. The gallant Major has no patience with the trusteeship theory nor with the common roll. He is soon proceeding to England where he hopes to do some useful service to Kenya.

European opinion in Tanganyika is said to be in favour of federation or closer union proposed by the Commission. Indian opinion, however, is unanimously opposed to it. On the 1st of April the Indians in Tanganyika organised their first Conference, which considered the Report. The very first resolution passed by that body ran as follows:—

"Whereas Tanganyika is a mandated territory, Uganda a Protectorate and Kenya a Crown Colony, with different constitutions; whereas the Mandate guarantees equality of status to all peoples inhabiting the Tanganyika Territory and whereas federation or closer union in any form is bound to affect prejudicially the autonomy of Tanganyika, and in particular, the status of Indians, this Conference is strongly opposed to the inclusion of Tanganyika in any scheme of federation or closer union."

The White Paper of 1923 has completely shattered the confidence of the Tanganyika Indians in the ability and determination of the Imperial Government to uphold and maintain British ideals of administration irrespective of race or colour or creed when they are opposed by a section of Britishers (sic); and they apprehend that any form of closer union would facilitate the spread of Kenya racialism into Tanganyika which they dread like poison. They argue that Kenya with its elected European members of the legislature will exercise much greater influence on the Central authority than Tanganyika and Uganda, and seek to coordinate Indian, as well as Native policy, at the Kenya level rather than at the Tanganyika level; the prospects of dragging down the status of Indians and Natives in Tanganyika to that in Kenya are greater than those of levelling up their status to that in Tanganyika.

Regarding Native policy the Conference "approved of the 'dual policy' enunciated by the Hilton-Young Commission Report only in so far as it is consistent with the obligations under the Mandate." It went on to observe that

"Whereas segregation, either political or economic or otherwise, is calculated to engender and promote racial antagonisms and whereas it is not in the interest of the all-round development of the Natives and whereas it is opposed to the implications of the Mandate, this Conference is opposed to the creation of Black and White areas as suggested in the Report."

The Tanganyika Indians have thus very little use for the Closer Union Report.

REVIEWS.

EXISTING SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

THE ORDEAL OF THIS GENERATION. By GILBERT MURRAY. (Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.) 1929, 4s. 6d.

THE GREAT BETRAYAL. By JULIEN BENDA. (George Routledge and Sons Ltd., London.) 1929, 7s. 6d.

PROFESSOR MURRAY, the author of "The Ordeal of This Generation" is well-known as an apostle of peace, and Monsieur Julien Benda's book, which is new only in its English garb, has already attained distinction on the continent. Chance has caused their simultaneous or nearly simultaneous publication, and it is a great temptation for a reviewer into whose hands both fall at the same time to compare the two. Both are devoted to the analysis of the existing conditions of society and both are regretful of modern tendencies and desirous of a new order. It is the difference between the two that is interesting. One is pious, the other is penetrating. Professor Gilbert Murray regrets that Anatole France should have wasted his life in bringing the virtue of chastity into ridicule, that Bernard Shaw should be an iconoclast, and that Mr. H. G. Wells should be so much of a psychologist and should pay so little attention to morals. Reason is not a force making for virtue and our need today is not brilliance but the creation of a supreme allegiance; the conception of duty must come to its own. Monsieur Benda argues, on the other hand, with a scathing logic such as only a Latin mind is capable of, that the evil is not so much intellectualism as the lack of it. Criticism, he says, has abdicated its throne in the culture of Europe, and is content to play the courtier to politics. The intellectuals, scientists, historians, teachers, members of the liberal professions, all are servile and abide by the State's dictates. The love of country is

no longer a beautiful inspiration but it has degenerated into a loathsome passion. State-worship has become a cult which with its diabolical practices is in a fair way to blow up the entire structure of civilisation. So, while Professor Murray would have us draw away from the individualistic and anarchic conceptions of the nineteenth century culture—he makes Tolstoy a leading exponent of it—and cultivate a respect for social order as an objective worthy of the individual's surrender, Monsieur Benda would have the intellectuals remain aloof and apart, uncontaminated by group-passion, fulfilling their functions of critics and mentors. Professor Murray's plea is for security and sanity, and Monsieur Benda's for veracity. No one at all familiar with the spirit of European culture would deny that its charm lies in its humanism, nor would any one who has been in three or four European universities in different countries would be inclined to question Monsieur Benda's theory that political passion and not truth-seeking is the motive power behind much of the university work to-day.

RAGHUNATH ROW.

INDIAN MUSIC.

INDIAN MUSIC AND ITS INSTRUMENTS. By
ETHEL ROSENTHAL. (William Reeves, London.)
1928. 7½ × 5. pp. 220. 7s. 6d.

LET me say at the outset that this work is by no means a serious study of the music of India, ancient or modern, such as may be expected of a scholar, but contains "anecdotes relating to India and its music." The author has apparently lived in the country and tried to understand its musical mind. The title of the book does not seem to me to correspond with the subject matter.

The author has put together stray matter written by various English writers on Indian music and also stories directly or indirectly connected with it. Her work is however disfigured by some mistakes which show that she is neither a Sanskrit nor a Persian scholar. She is not only not a practical expert but it is doubtful if she even knows the theory well. She also appears to be labouring under the disadvantage of not having heard such master singers, who are still happily living, as Majeed Khan, Inayat Khan, (not the Sufi she quotes in her book), Nasiruddeen Khan and others. The result thus is unsatisfactory which no real student of Indian music can ever take seriously.

Her book is divided into two parts, the one contains six chapters and the other disconnected scraps about things which do not seem to have any necessary relation to music proper. It seems rather extraordinary that Englishmen who have been in close contact with Indians for the past 150 years should not yet have been able to produce a single theorist or practical expert in Indian music. The earlier works of Griffiths, James and Day must be said to be comparatively superior, but even these do not appear to be the outcome of personal experience and knowledge. No wonder that our superb art advertised in the West by such defective methods fails to create much impression. That the author is not conversant with Indian conditions is evident from her remarks on p. xvi of the Introduction, where she refers to the difficulty the Indian artist experiences in maintaining his instrument in good condition. The fact is the subtlety of tones in the music of India trains the Indian musician to have a far finer sense of "tuning" than the Westerner can ever hope to have and the reverence for an old instrument does indeed amount to 'adoration.' The writer unfortunately has missed this in her tones for

she even goes to the length of condemning our old musical instruments and showing her preference for Messrs. Clements, Deval and Moore & Co.'s Srutee harmonium. In this dreadful invention even the vibrations are incorrect!

So far as her study of the history of Indian music is concerned, Ethel Rosenthal seems to me to have made herself guilty of misstatements and contradictions. Apparently she is neither a historian nor a musician. In her enthusiasm she dignifies Sufi Inayat Khan into a great musician and the Denishawn Dancers into Indian dancers! The Denishawn Dancers at their best were capable of pleasant-looking and meaningless gymnastics, which had no relation even in the remotest degree to the 'dancing of India.'

The author appears to be under a delusion if she thinks that 'Staff Notation' can be used for "representing songs." The fact is that Indian melodies in their full beauty can never be written; all that notation can do is to give some idea of the Swarup (formation of Raga).

If the writer claims to "reinforce the chain which unites music lovers of East and West" as she does in her preface, let her undo her own 'impressions' of the subject, and go a little more thoroughly into it, and then by coming in contact with able practical experts and theorists she will find herself better equipped to realise that aim.

ATIYA BEGUM.

LIFE IN MESOPOTAMIA AND SYRIA.

BAGHDAD AND POINTS EAST. By R. J
CASEY. (Hutchinson). 1929. 9½ × 6. pp. 300.
18s.

"A NEW Sentimental Journey" might be the sub-title of this book though in a sense different from that used by Sterne. The author travels amid dreams of the past; but his dreams are purple patches added to the tale of the present, not welded into one with it, so to that extent the book is a failure as literature. One reader skipped the dreams to get to the realities. In some ways this is a very bad book; far from being a guide to history and language it is a will of the wisp. To give only one example out of many, the writer implies that Babylon is on the Tigris. The reproduction of eastern words and names is painful; several times occurs "Muddein," which is not an improvement on the normal English "muezzin." It might with justice be said that the best things in the book are taken from others easily accessible to the reading public. The spelling is American but the language is English.

In spite of many defects it is amusing, charming and useful. The descriptions of journeys are vivid and accurate though those of towns are less good. It says,

"Baghdad is a dust heap—odorous, unattractive, and hot. Its monuments are few, its buildings too modern to merit attention, its atmosphere that of squalor and poverty." (p. 85.)

Largely true; but something ought to have been said of the covered bazaars, of the old, where stray rays of sunlight piercing through holes in the roof make pictures that are a perpetual joy, and of the new, where native workmen using their native brick have made buildings that are both serviceable and dignified. The pictures of modern life are sharply drawn. "The Wife Beaters of Baghdad" is a pleasant tale of the irony of chance and like all good tales has a moral. That of the money-changer of Kerbeia helps us to imagine, if not to understand, the mind of Mesopotamia. A money-changer and his wife

were murdered under peculiar circumstances. Two coolies were found with blood stains on their clothes. They admitted frankly that two old men had given them five rupees to murder the money-changer; they had killed the woman lest she should denounce them to the police. The old men were next found and told their story. The murdered man had seduced the niece of one of them. They had killed the girl but the man had escaped, been forced into the Turkish army, and only recognised after many years. They themselves were then too old to take vengeance, so they had hired instruments.

The author has a pleasant style and a pretty wit, though more self-criticism is wanted. The book is seasoned with irony. An aeroplane had fallen near Palmyra.

"A native policeman in the uniform of the French came to a salute and stood erect to be photographed by the plane. "The pilot was not killed" he explained with obvious regret. "The palm tree broke his fall, so he escaped."

His face gave an inkling of what was going on in his mind. With death in all its guises lurking about Palmyra, most men were still content to leave this life by such prosaic avenues as lying down to sleep forever in the desert or getting shot by ambulant Badawi. Here was a man who had his chance to do something original in the way of dying and he had failed to make the best of his opportunities."

The folk tales told in twentieth century English are most amusing. The Old Man of the Mountains wanted to remove a Frank captain, so sent an assassin with orders to kill him only. The man had to kill fifteen archers before he could get a bow-string long enough to strangle the captain, thus breaking the letter of his orders. To the surprise of all he escaped. So the Old Man had him strangled, for it was not right that such an expert should miss, even for a few years, the reward of heaven.

"Baghdad and Points East" is a serious book and gives a striking picture of things as they are in Mesopotamia and Syria and of the difficulties in the way of the governments. Beneficent authority gave cotton seed to some farmers. After a year they reported that they could not grow cotton but that it was fine cattle food; never had they had so much milk.

A. S. TRITON.

ANGLO-FRENCH RELATIONS

BRITAIN AND THE WAR—A FRENCH INDICTMENT. By GENERAL HUGUET. Translated by H. COTTON MINCHIN. (Cassel.) 1928. 9½ × 6¼. pp. 243 15 S.

IN war-books and novels that appeared in England soon after the Great War, France is systematically ignored and England is represented as having crushed Germany. Lest the Englishman of the future should imagine that his forefathers were the only instruments of the German defeat, General Huguet describes in the book before us the help given by England to France at the beginning of the War and its degree of importance on the battle-fields of Europe. The book is a frank statement of the part played by Britain in the early days of the war. We are of opinion that the book is a priceless document for the period 1914-1915, for it has been written by one who was attached to the British G. H. Q. during the first eighteen months of the war and who was therefore a witness of the stirring events of the war in its early stages. The author shows here and there his distrust of England. In the Epilogue e. g. he goes to the extent of painting the Englishman very black. Though we do not

see eye to eye with the author in all matters, we regard his book as an authentic record of military events from 1914 to 1915, as most of the author's conclusions and opinions on men and affairs have been corroborated by English writers. The book was written so early as 1922, but the author deferred its immediate publication from a sense of good feeling and propriety. Now that the principal English actors have left the stage, he has thought fit to publish the book written six years ago. The book has been admirably translated by Captain Cotton Minchin.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first part entitled "The Days before the War" the author describes the series of events which finally culminated in *the event* of August, 1914. The author says that it was the violation of Belgian neutrality that forced England to declare War on Germany. This is what he says on p. 18:

"It is indisputable that neither the Entente Cordiale nor the military *pourparlers* would have brought England into the war, if in addition, there had not been the violation of Belgian neutrality."

This is in accord with Sir Herbert Samuel's letter to the *Manchester Guardian* and Mr. Lloyd George's letter to the same paper written soon after the publication of the late Lord Morley's "Memorandum on Resignation." Two cabinet Ministers and now the author of the book under review have declared that the violation of Belgian neutrality brought England into the war.

The second part of the book is a brilliant resume of the military events in the first eighteen months of the War. The military history of the period is so clearly written that it can be followed with ease even by laymen. The author has given ten maps to explain the campaigns and battles of 1914 and 1915.

The last part of the book contains the out-pourings of one who feels that England has left his country in the lurch and is pursuing a policy suited to her own needs. The author seems to be a Shylock bent on exacting the full penalty of the bond. He will not temper mercy with justice. He wants England to cooperate with France in making Germany pay the Reparations. And because England hesitated in 1922, she comes in for a good deal of criticism at his hands. He enumerates the foibles of English character and says that the English people are "the uncongenial race, whose overthrow would be generally welcomed throughout the world." He says that "the Englishman's intelligence is slow and not easily excited; that in England morality and fidelity in marriage are merely superficial and the standard is lower in England than in many other countries." We are afraid that remarks such as these will only widen the gulf between England and France. It may not be out of place here to state that though there was misunderstanding between England and France in 1922—a misunderstanding which has caused the author to fret and fume in his Epilogue—the Anglo-French amity is very strong to-day. But the author must note that on account of the recent Anglo-French naval pact, America is growing suspicious of both England and France. We are against 'ententes' and 'secret pacts' for they are not so much proclamation of friendship as admission of enmity.

Much as we differ from the author in his remarks in the Epilogue, we are of opinion that his estimate of the English generals is correct. He rightly draws attention to the quarrels between Sir John French and Lord Kitchener and to the strained relations between Generals French and Joffre. He says that General French possessed a "childish mentality," was "sour, impetuous, with congested face, sullen

and ill-tempered in expression." The author pays a glowing tribute to Lord Kitchener who, he says, was "calm, balanced, reflective, master of himself, conscious of the great and patriotic task he had to perform. He also thinks that General Wilson was perhaps the ablest general on the English side and that his political opinions on the Irish imbroglio stood in the way of his promotion. Among the French Generals he regards Foch as the best. "Joffre was cold, constrained and full of reserve, Foch full of warmth, gaiety and good humour." The author therefore thinks that the appointment of Foch as the sole commander on the Western Front in 1918 was well-deserved.

Barring a few defects the book is a valuable contribution to the elucidation of a period of military history which had been hitherto treated from the point of view of an Englishman. The time has certainly come for a less one-sided treatment of the early phase of the war, and General Huguot's book should not be overlooked by those who want to know the value of England's support to France in 1914 and 1915.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

A PLEA FOR ECONOMIC INTERNATIONALISM.

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF AMERICA. By GEORGE PEEL. (Macmillan, London.) 1928. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 330. 10s. 6d.

THE object of the volume is to examine the effects of certain economic forces in U. S. which have retarded the prosperity and are likely to affect adversely the future fortunes of Great Britain. As a result of the analysis made by him the Hon. George Peel confidently claims for her a place not less but more important in world economics; and the data he gives certainly support this conclusion. The most important items of the impact are larger exports of U. S. and the wresting of the financial supremacy from London. The author shows that the record of U. S. in currency, banking and public finance during the last century was very unsatisfactory and does not reveal any marked superiority, compared to the British handling of these heads. Examining the impact of U. S. up to 1860, he shows that in spite of undue anxiety that England might be injured, the two countries helped to build up each other's industries and were both making progress. It is in the period 1860-1913 that U. S. became a serious competitor to England after first becoming self-sufficing about the year 1900, in regard to manufactured goods; in 1913 out of the total exports of U.S. 43 p.c. were manufactures. And yet after twenty years of active competition he tells us that England's economic situation at the beginning of the War was very satisfactory; balancing the visible as well as the invisible items of imports and exports England had been investing abroad at the rate of £180 millions a year. During the War however the demand for food-stuffs and manufactured articles from the Allied Powers led to phenomenal exports from U. S., the surplus of exports reaching the huge figure of £726 millions for the year 1917 with the result that whereas in 1913 U. S. was a debtor nation she became in 1923 a creditor nation, the U. S. Government and the private citizens being owed the sum of nearly £2400 millions of which England alone had to discharge about £800 millions. At the same time the payment of this sum was made difficult by the restriction of imports by the formidable tariff of 1922; the author thinks it therefore very creditable to "our

unconquerable British merchants" that they were able to maintain their exports to U. S. and to "squeeze all kinds of specialities to the huge total of £76 millions over the hostile barbed-wire entanglements into the grudging American market." The danger of future adverse impact lies however, in his opinion, in the reorganisation of the monetary system by the Federal Reserve Act, and the taxation system on more modern lines. The new factor in the economic impact of U. S. from 1924 to 1928 was the large stocks of gold accumulated in that country; the consequent cheapening of the money led to a lowering of the bank rate in U. S., and threatened a rise in the bank rate in England, a rigorous deflation of currency and a possible export of gold if the gold standard had to be maintained. The author however admits that U. S. gave freely of her credit and good-will in order to assist the return of England to the gold standard. In the latter part of the volume the future, in the matter of economic impact of U. S. on England is considered under the various heads of war-debts, exports, shipping and tariffs and the general monetary policy. In the matter of war-debts the author pleads in favour of a cancellation of all these debts on grounds of equity and international morality since these debts were incurred for a great purpose common to all the States. He admits that England herself would not be out of pocket since the payments to the U. S. in her case would be balanced by her receipts according to the Dawes Plan and according to the debt settlements with France and Italy; but he refuses to harbour such an argument and insists upon the international character of the debt payments. The admirable analysis of exports made by the author reveals that U. S. has simply stepped into the place of Germany and that there is very little distinct rivalry between England and U. S., the danger to both being the general decline of purchasing power in the world. As for the evil of tariffs the author believes that it can be combated by superiority in high quality as opposed to mass production. In shipping also, considering that Great Britain's output was 53.6 per cent. of the world's output in 1927 he does not believe that there is any cause for anxiety. The question whether the golden sceptre of finance will pass into the hands of New York, he answers with a definite negative; the principal reason which sways him is the instability and cumbrousness of the Federal Reserve Bank organization added to the fact that foreigners have claims of a quick nature upon the large reserve of gold owing to the huge deposits held by foreigners in these banks. This however is a debatable question and the dogmatic answer given by the author must be pronounced as a bit premature. In view of the fact that all the countries of the world are becoming knit one with the other the author ends by urging that a policy of economic internationalism should be preferred to a policy of economic nationalism. In answer to pessimists he offers the facts that during the last seven years Great Britain has added to her net foreign holdings considerably more than U. S. has done and that in a typical year like 1925 Great Britain exported £589 millions of manufactured goods as against £356 millions exported by U. S. Accordingly he thinks it can be safely concluded that Great Britain commands immense and increasing international resources amply sufficient to sustain her economic policy in the world. The volume is a fine specimen of research of comparative economics.

V. N. G.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE FORESTRY QUESTION IN GREAT BRITAIN. By E. P. STEBBING. (John Lane, London.) 1928. 7½ × 5. pp. 217. 7s. 6d.

THE total woodland (there are no forests as such) in Great Britain is about 3,000,000 acres not all of which is economic or potentially productive. This area represents 5.3 per cent. only of the total land area whereas experts are of opinion that 20% is about the desirable figure for any country. A manufacturing country like Great Britain of course needs enormous quantities of raw materials. Among imports of these timber is surpassed only by wool and cotton and 90% of timber imports comes from foreign countries. So the plight of the country may be imagined during a cataclysm like the great War. It was this that drove Parliament to consider the question of ensuring soft wood supplies during a possible war in the future. A Bill—the Forestry Bill—was passed in 1919 based on the Acland Report. Its object was to secure the planting up of an area which would yield three years' supplies in case of war. The Bill drew up a programme of ten years' work but later on when the fear of war had abated views became modified though not to the extent of discontinuing the work. It has had another ten years' lease of life to the end of 1939.

The author of this book has set out to explain to the British public, which, in his opinion, has lost the "forest instinct," the need for maintaining forest areas for other than mere war purposes. This part of the book is of interest to the reader in India; but we have hardly anything to learn from Great Britain, thanks to the timely inauguration of a Forest Department in India. In the second part of the book the author goes on to criticise the work of the Forestry Commission and to make suggestions. A suggestion which is worthy of consideration in India is taken from French practice. In France licensing receipts derived from *Produits des Jans* i. e. from the totalisator, gaming tables at casinos and so forth, are not credited to the Treasury but are kept apart and devoted to forestry, agricultural improvement work, hospitals, etc.

The book is of topical interest in Great Britain but of little interest on the whole to us in India.

KAPPA.

A HANDBOOK ON HANGING. By CHARLES DUFF. (The Cayme Press, London.) 1928. 17cm. pp. 128. 2s. 6d.

MR. DUFF discovers the science of mathematics in the "drop" that a skilled hangman gives the condemned man on the scaffold. To him the perfect finish of his fiendish business is all that matters, a clean and flawless dislocation of the neck. Hanging to the professional hangman is an art for art's sake. He will not have any maudlin sentiment interfere with the beauty of its execution. "The history of killing is the history of the world;" so why be sentimental about hanging, argues Mr. Duff. If the scientist, who makes a distant-range gun which does not miss its target, receives the applause of the world, why deny it to the hangman? The world, Mr. Duff complains, is so unreasonable that it refuses to appreciate "the aesthetically paradise in which the hangman lives. The death of an individual is a trifle when we think of war and the general slaughter and butchery, that is synonymous; death itself, even death by execution, can

be made and frequently is made into an admirable thing." Passionately attached as Mr. Duff is to the art of hanging, he deplores the present tendency in all countries to abolish capital punishment. He thinks that the world will be a dull place to live in if the philosophy of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" is discarded, and hanging as a source of amusement were given up. "If further restrictions are placed upon the art, we shall soon not know how to hang pork or even pictures."

Mr. Duff regrets that in the hands of soft-hearted legislators, the law of the land has ceased to be relentless and restricts hanging to only four grave crimes. "Highly complex law as that which existed in Greece in the time of Solon, in Rome in the time of Justinian, and in England in the time of Birkenhead is indicative of decadence. Mercy and especially mass mercy is a thing to be despised and suppressed by all. Think of every one living up to Christ's commandments, thou shalt not kill. Why it is unthinkable! So away with all sentimental tosh and let us get on with hanging." Few distasteful arts have been so persuasively defended. None ever suspected, before Mr. Duff told us, that hanging was as much the bulwark of the constitution as the army and the Parliament! Let the devil of a hangman have his due if all others plying as objectionable a trade as, his have theirs. A well-paid, well uniformed status such as "the woman would learn to fall for" will cover a multitude of his sins and surround him with full social glory,—so builds Mr. Duff his morbid castle in the air.

The book is a marvel of cold-blooded logic.

J. P. O.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN INDIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY. By J. L. RAINA. (D. B. Taraporevala, Bombay.) 1928. 18cm. pp. 30. Rs. 12.
- DOCUMENTS OF THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION, 1759-1915. Selected and Edited by W. P. M. KENNEDY. (Oxford University Press.) 1928. 22.7cm. pp. 707. 21s.
- EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND FEDERATED MALAY STATES. By S. STEWART NAGLE. (Author, New York.) 1928. 23cm. pp. 194. \$3.50.
- THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK, 1929. (Co-operative Wholesale Society, Manchester.) 1929. 21.1cm. pp. 244. About 2s. 6d.
- COO-EE TALKS. By W. ROBERTSON. (Australian Book Co., London.) 22cm. pp. 198. 12s. 6d.
- ZAKA ULLAH OF DELHI. By C. F. Andrews. (W. Heffer, Cambridge.) 1929. 22cm. pp. 159. 7s. 6d.
- A PIONEER TOBACCO MERCHANT IN THE ORIENT. By JAMES A. THOMAS. (Duke University Press, Durham.) 1928. 22cm. pp. 340. \$3.50.
- BURMA AND THE KARENS. By SAN C. PO. (Elliot Stock, London.) 1928. 22cm. pp. 94. 7. 6d.
- RULES OF THE ROAD. By J. S. N. SEWELL. (S. P. C. K. London.) 1928. 20cm. pp. 159. 3s. 6d.
- THE MYSTERIOUS KUNDALINI. By VASANT G. RELE. (D. B. Taraporevala, Bombay.) 1929. 20cm. pp. 89. Rs. 3-8.

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