

The Servant of India

EDITOR : S. G. VAZE.—OFFICE : SERVANT OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

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Topics of the Week.

Liquidation of the War.

MR. SNOWDEN has at last been successful in his pleadings before the Hague Conference. Though he had a strong case it was feared that the pressing of it would imperil the success not only of the Young Plan, but of what is of far more consequence, the withdrawal of the army of occupation from German soil. The fear has however been happily falsified, and Great Britain has been able to recover, it is calculated, about 83% of the loss which she complained was being unfairly inflicted upon her. She has also been able to obtain satisfaction in regard to deliveries in kind, which as a matter of fact was a more serious grievance than too small a share in reparation payments. And these concessions have been made by agreement among all parties, France, Italy and Germany above all. The question of the Rhineland evacuation has been satisfactorily solved. So long as German territory was occupied by armies of victor nations, the war was in fact being waged; and it is the withdrawal of the occupying forces which constitutes, in the words of M. Briand, "the final liquidation of the war." By the end of June next year complete evacuation has been promised by France. This may be taken as a good augury to a successful handling of the Disarmament question at the Assembly of the League which has just been opened, and at which we are told Mr. MacDonald will make an important announcement.

Trouble in Palestine.

THE Wailing Wall in Jerusalem has often been the scene of outbreaks of religious fanaticism between the Arab and Jewish elements of the population, it being a Holy Place of both. It is sacred to Jews because it is the only part of the ancient Temple

still remaining and to Moslems because the Mosque of Omar is built above it. Only less than a year ago a quarrel occurred at this spot, which in its beginnings was purely religious, each party claiming that its rights with respect to Holy Places had been violated, but which in its later developments became political and racial as well. The outrages that have now taken place are far more serious, but the Colonial Office apparently does not intend to do anything more than reaffirm the policy laid down by it in the White Paper (Cmd. 3229) of last year, in which it declared that the Government of Palestine was ready and anxious to act as intermediary between Moslems and Jews in the dispute, but it could not use compulsion to bring about agreement. It is to be seen whether the mandatory authorities would now be willing to appoint a Commission, such as Article 14 of the Mandate for Palestine provides, to study, define and determine rights and claims in connexion with the Holy Places. The matters in dispute are not wholly dissimilar to some of the questions that excite religious animosity between Hindus and Moslems in India, and a special Commission, if one is appointed, will perhaps show the way to religious peace in this country as well. The incidents have opened up the whole policy underlying the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, which, as Professor Toynbee has remarked, is an audacious attempt to bring a new minority into being when in the Islamic world as a whole minorities were rapidly disappearing. The Professor adds that "presumably the British Government embarked on the enterprise in the belief that it could count upon finding a British *personnel* (of public servants) which was equal to the occasion." At this moment the ability and efficiency of this *personnel* are being seriously questioned and it remains to be seen how it will come out of the ordeal.

* * *

Unnecessary.

WE cannot help feeling that the Hon'ble Mr. Patel was unnecessarily exercised in mind about Lord Irwin's speech on his own ruling on the Public Safety Bill. He assumed that the speech contained an attack on him and a criticism of his ruling calculated to damage the authority of the Chair. As a matter of fact, the speech of the Viceroy, far from questioning the right of the President to interpret the rules so far as the House was concerned, recognised it unreservedly and deferred to his authority. But the Viceroy was certainly within his rights to maintain that the interpretation was contrary to the intentions of the Executive who had made the rules, and that consequently the Government would seek their amendment such as would express the original intention in a more suitable manner. Such a statement is not derogatory to the President in any way. In fact it is the only constitutional way of going about the business. In saying this we express no opinion

either of the amendment which has now been promulgated or of the merits of the ruling which occasioned it. Irrespective of what one may think of either, one must come to the conclusion on a dispassionate view of the matter that the Viceroy's speech of which Mr. Patel complains was above reproach either in tone or in substance. It often happens that in law courts law is interpreted differently from how its framers originally intended it should be interpreted or from how it is thought it would be ordinarily interpreted; and the executive Government has then to promote legislation bringing it into conformity with their interpretation of the law. Such legislation, when undertaken by Government in view of a court's decision, is never understood by any sensible person as censure of the court or as interfering with its jurisdiction. On the contrary, the fact that the court's decision in the particular case is allowed to stand is taken as proof of the Government's inability and unwillingness to encroach on its sphere. Similarly, within the House itself, the President is the final authority on all questions of interpretation of rules, &c.; but the Viceroy was certainly entitled to point out that, the President's interpretation being what it was, the Government would introduce a modification into the rule so as make it incapable of being so interpreted in future. This is all that Lord Irwin did, and we see no justification for Mr. Patel's extreme sensitiveness on the matter. Let us repeat again that this view of ours is entirely unrelated to a favourable or an adverse judgment on the President's ruling in April last or of the amendment adopted by the Government recently.

It is quite true that at the time several persons interpreted the Viceroy's speech in the way in which it has been interpreted by Mr. Patel. That however does not make the interpretation any more correct than it is. It can only be put down to an insufficient appreciation of the issues on account of the strong prejudices which the controversy had created. But even then there were not wanting publicists who, on the question of the ruling, supported Mr. Patel and, on the question of the amendment, criticised the Government, who yet pointed out that the criticism of the Viceroy's speech generally indulged in was unfounded. We quote below a paragraph from the *Indian Daily Mail* of 17th April, in which the paper, having consistently supported the President and attacked Government, thought it necessary to defend the Viceroy from criticism that was being unfairly levelled at him.

British newspapers, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, Dr. Bhasant and Mr. Gandhi, represent the Viceroy as having overruled the ruling of President Patel on the Public Safety Bill. Is this correct? The Viceroy, so far as we can see, acquiesced in the President's ruling which was that the Bill could not be considered in the Assembly. His Excellency did not agree with the interpretation on which the ruling was based, but he recognised that the President under the law had the sole right to interpret the rules of the Assembly. No doubt, he announced that Government would take steps to get the rule changed in the sense in which he understood it. This is the constitutional method which is open to any one who thinks that a certain law or its interpretation is wrong. We have already expressed disapproval of the idea of restricting the powers of the President, and we hope that it may be given up. But it is perfectly constitutional for Government to bring forward any amendments that it may think necessary, and these will have to be considered on their merits. To our mind, Lord Irwin, by the line he took, conveyed a needed lesson to Indian officialdom which is but too prone to be impatient of constitutional methods. He has firmly declined to disregard the authority of the President, and on this, as on previous occa-

sions to which Mr. Patel referred in his statement, he has intervened to prevent a conflict between Government and the President who stands for the Assembly's authority. . . . We can understand British journalists who cannot bear to think of a Viceroy yielding to an Indian President, representing His Excellency as overruling the latter, but we cannot see why Indian nationalists should fail to recognise that Lord Irwin in this case has risen superior to ideas of official prestige and supported and not set aside the authority of the President.

The last words of the *Mail* should be noted: in its view the Viceroy "supported and (did) not set aside the authority of the President." The comment of this paper now on the letters that passed between Viceroy and President is that "in this correspondence Lord Irwin easily comes out best." The Government apparently had thought that the amendment of the rule promulgated by it would be serviceable at the present session; but it has found that it is not. And it has very properly abandoned the intention of bringing up the Bill now.

The Sind and Punjab Floods.

OUR expectation that the worst was over in Sind has been belied and the province has again been threatened by a serious calamity such as rarely befalls any country. As Mr. Jairamdas said in an interview, the state of things has been absolutely tragic. Apart from the loss of lives due to flooding there has been a sudden outburst of cholera which has immensely increased the toll of life. The Punjab now has shared the same fate owing to the flooding of the Jhelum and the Chenab. On Thursday last Attock registered a rise of 72 feet and the Punjab Government sent a warning to the Superintending Engineer at Sukkar to prepare for an unprecedented flood. At one time it was feared that Dera Ghazi Khan town would be completely washed away owing to the embankments having been damaged by recent floods and the river Indus having extended to 15 miles in width; hence people had to be drafted to adjacent districts. On the advice of the conference of engineers an endeavour is being made to raise all the river bunds so as to be a good deal higher than the present level of water and food relief is being organized as if in times of famine; the Commissioner has sent warnings to the people of all districts to be prepared for floods more dangerous than during the Shyok floods of the past week. Evacuation from low-lying talukas in various districts has commenced and the railway authorities have dispatched waggons to carry refugees to places of safety. In fact everything humanly possible is being done to prepare against danger and giving the needed relief to the people. Since Monday however the situation has threatened to be more serious since the level at Bukkur reached 16½ feet and if it rises beyond 18 feet the Barrage would be exposed to serious danger and vast tracts in the Hyderabad district are likely to be submerged. The latest reports show that over one lakh of men are working day and night to strengthen the bunds and thus avert the catastrophe. We are glad to see that the Sheriff's meeting in Bombay has made a splendid response to the call for the relief of Sind in this unprecedented emergency.

The Servants of the People Society.

THE Report of this Society for the year 1927-28, which also includes a summary of the Report for 1920-27, shows a varied activity in the sphere of nation-building which the Society has displayed since its foundation in October 1921 by Lala Lajpat Rai. The chief aim of the Society, as is well known, is to give theoretical and practical training to young men in order to fit them for public life. During 1927-28 its work was carried on in four provinces. The Society has already created a powerful mass movement in fav-

our of the uplift of the depressed classes and this work was vigorously carried on in the Punjab, U.P., Orissa and Kathiawar by maintaining schools, organizing co-operative societies, and holding conferences. In U.P. propaganda work was carried on in thousands of villages and the high-caste Hindus have been induced to allow free mixing of the depressed classes in fairs and festivals. The Society has organized the Achhut Uddhar Mandal which maintains various centres in the four provinces; in the Central Punjab alone the Mandal arranged during the year 42 conferences at which resolutions relating to education, sanitation, discarding of the drink habit were passed and organized "sweepers' committees" for giving practical shape to these resolutions. A noteworthy feature in the Punjab is the Employment Bureau which during the year assisted fifteen promising boys of the depressed classes in getting engaged as apprentices in skilled occupations. Taken all in all, the work for the uplift of the depressed classes done by the Society is unique and deserves to be copied in Bombay and other provinces. An amount of relief work was done by the Society in connection with the Orissa floods, Kathiawar floods, and famine in Bhavnagar State. One of the members of the Society took the Mazdur Sabha of Cawnpore in hand and did much by way of preferring the claims of workers and securing redress of wrongs; it is intended to start new labour unions in industrial centres in the U.P. A weekly journal has been started in Hindi which will be the organ of Labour opinions. Commendable work is done by the Society for the education of women; a large high school is managed in Bhavnagar which is affiliated to the Indian Women's University and a Library managed by the Society at Lahore has set itself to spread national literature among ladies. In addition efforts are made to train widows for social service. Political propaganda is carried on by the *People*, the weekly organ of the Society, which we are glad to see is maintaining the very high standard set by Lalaji, the *Bandemataram*, an Urdu daily and *Samaj*, an Oriya weekly; and in addition lectures are delivered on political and economic subjects in towns as well as in villages. Members of the Society have taken an active part in Congress work and in provincial conferences and one of its members was the propaganda secretary of the States Subjects Conference, Bombay. The Budget of the Society, as is the portion of most of such institutions, shows a deficit of Rs. 8000; and we hope the munificence of the public all over India will be directed towards improving the financial condition of the Society and placing it on a firm pedestal. The record is in every way creditable. Balu Furshter-das Tandon, who joined the other day, has a rich legacy left to him to administer as President, and we are sure he will administer it worthily.

Indian Central Committee Report.

THE *Manchester Guardian* has published a critical review of the proposals of the Central Committee so far as they have been anticipated. It is surmised that the author of this review is one who has derived inspiration from authoritative sources. The writer of these criticisms says that it was always clear that the Indian Committee would not feel the full degree of responsibility for the practical consequences of their recommendations and would be tempted to suggest schemes which have the appearance of being agreed on paper. This is a fine reward for the devoted services of the Central Committee! The essence of the proposals of the Committee is, according to the writer, the transference of the whole civil administration to the control of the Legislature; under these conditions commerce and communications would pass into the hands of those whose views and motives are uncertain

—meaning of course uncertain to the British; he is therefore certain that no proposals which the Cabinet would ultimately sanction would be acceptable even to moderate opinion in India of which the Central Committee is supposed to be the mouthpiece. If leaders can be found who would accept the Cabinet's bedrock terms then he thinks there is some hope for India; but he believes that there are no such leaders in the central sphere and he gives his own reasons for thinking so. Curiously enough, he thinks that it will be easy to secure the co-operation of provincial leaders; apparently he wants to change the centre of gravity of Indian politics to the provinces which he thinks will be more sane and trustworthy than the Central Legislature and the leaders in it. On the whole he thinks that the plan of appointing Committees of the Indian Legislatures to help the Commission was a great mistake and should not have been adopted at all. All this is after the fair and it is no use bemoaning lost opportunities. The most astounding comment however made by the writer is that if the civil administration is transferred to the Legislature our armies would be threatened by foreigners and insurgents; we have to mind that the Army would even then be managed by the Executive as a Reserved subject and be under the British element of the Governor-General's Council. It passes our understanding how such a result would be regarded as being within the bounds of probability.

Bombay Department of Industries.

THE Report of the Department of Industries 1928-29, published by the Government of Bombay shows progress commensurate to the small amount spent by the Department which was a trifle less than Rs. 78,000. Technical advice was given by the Director in answer to various enquiries from industrialists and in some cases persons intending to start manufactures were put in touch with machine-makers. The Report however does not state the ultimate result of these enquiries and the way in which the information was utilized. The Report refers to the likely development of a cement factory which the Director discussed with an industrialist and we hope the plan would soon materialise. The Department has assisted the Ogale Glass Works by recommending their lanterns to the Director of Industries, Bihar, who is expected to bring them to the notice of the consuming departments in his province; the Government of Bombay has already issued orders directing the departments to purchase these lanterns as long as they compared favourably with competing articles. The Director expresses a hope that the establishment of the "General Motors, Ltd." in Bombay for manufacturing motor cars will lead in time to the making of the component parts in Bombay and to a larger purchase of certain articles like leather cloth, pressed cotton and others locally; the company has already sent some Indians to America for training with a view to their employment in the Bombay works. Seven weaving schools are run by the Department in various districts and many of these have introduced fly shuttle looms; but nothing is said of the effect of these schools on the extension of the hand-weaving industry. The demonstrations in dyeing seem to have proved very fruitful and ought to be extended. Two scholarships were awarded during the year to enable scholars to receive practical training in electrical engineering in the G.I.P. and B.B.C.I. Railways' Workshops, and two scholarships granted in 1927 were extended for another year. The Department is doing good service by bringing the Swedish Exhibitions in India as well as some of the foreign Exhibitions to the notice of commercial associations so that they might participate in them more effectively.

Articles.

MAHATMA AND THE COUNTRY.

SRIJUT VALLABHBHAI PATEL'S presidential speech at the Tamil Nadu Provincial Conference, important as it is in itself, derives its chief importance from the fact that it may be held to mirror the present state of Mahatma Gandhi's mind. By his refusal of the office of Congress President, the Mahatma has already given us a fair indication of the direction in which his thoughts run. He is looked up to for leadership in all Congress circles in the coming crucial months, but the prevailing political sentiment in these quarters is entirely out of harmony with the line of action which he would like to see pursued. He feels therefore that he is being pitchforked into the position of President, without any but his few closest followers being willing to do his bidding. There were still several points which, in the absence of an authoritative statement from him, had remained obscure; and on these it seems to us that light has now been shed by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel. Did Mr. Gandhi support the Independence resolution at Calcutta from his heart or did he feel constrained to do so with a view to patching up differences between the older and the younger Congressmen? Does he desire, after the end of this year to revert to the whole of the original N.C.O. programme, including boycott of Councils, of schools, of law-courts, &c., or, seeing that the boycotts have not been too successful, will he drop these and get on at once to a no-tax campaign, to which in the scheme of things as he conceived it originally the boycotts were to pave the way? Did the recent proposal to abstain from Councils originate from him and was his refusal to accept the Congress presidentship dictated by its defeat? Has he any new programme to place before the country or will he be harping, even in the critical time ahead of us, on the constructive programme which makes so little appeal to the country? Some of these questions have received a direct answer in Mr. Patel's speech, and answers to some others have to be inferred. Of course in no case does Mr. Patel purport to speak for his chief, but those who know the relations that subsist between the two will have no difficulty in judging that he is but echoing the views of the Mahatma himself.

"Almost in spite of himself he came upon the scene at Calcutta; almost in spite of himself he moved the main resolution (about Independence)", says Mr. Patel of Mahatma Gandhi. We had guessed as much. The prospect of the Congress making an unseemly exhibition of its domestic quarrels evidently so overwhelmed Mahatma Gandhi that he became willing to father the resolution which alone, so it appeared, could for the moment compose the quarrels, although he was not a bit in sympathy with it. "I see no reason", declared Mr. Patel, "to change by a single iota the present Congress creed, either as regards the means or the goal—a creed that was adopted when

the nation was at the zenith of its strength and power and solidarity". Now the nation is in the trough of depression and very much worse equipped in every way to give battle to Government. Is this the time, asks Mr. Patel in effect, to pass brave resolutions for Independence, leaving action in pursuance of such resolutions to take care of itself? We have no doubt that here it is Mr. Gandhi's voice that is really speaking. He has no faith in such heroic resolutions followed by inaction, and if he had not been driven by what he regarded as a compelling necessity he would have been no party to the resolution that was passed by the Congress in Calcutta. Mr. Patel would if possible adopt the full non-co-operation platform and specifically mentions in this connexion the boycott of schools and colleges by the youth, showing thereby that if Mahatma Gandhi is made leader of the Congress he would take the Congress back to the days of 1921 and thereabouts. To Mr. Patel the Council programme has been "our undoing"; it is "a Frankenstein monster ready to devour us." If the nation is at all to advance towards freedom, its representatives must come out of the legislatures. These views are certainly shared by Mr. Gandhi too. It would therefore not be far wrong if we assumed that the impulse first for abstention and then for resignation from the Councils came from Gandhiji himself. When he saw that almost the whole of the Congress world was united in opposing the proposal, the bitter thought must have come to him that the sentimental devotion to his personality which the country has shown by inviting him with one voice to the presidential chair must not be mistaken for anything like agreement with his views. If real leadership is expected of the President, it is not for him to accept the presidentship. For he can do nothing but repeat the ancient message of khaddar and the country will have none of it. These clearly are Mr. Gandhi's processes of reasoning, add however we may deplore his decision to decline the President's office, we must admit that there is sufficient reason for it. If Mahatma Gandhi is again to take the country through all the phases of non-co-operation and if he is to ask the youth to take more vigorously to the charka because of the greater need for fighting, then surely the country will not accept his advice.

It is hardly necessary at this time of the day to examine Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel's or Mahatma Gandhi's views from our standpoint. Mr. Patel says that the Council programme has been a total failure. What of N.C.O.? Has it proved a success in any particular? Perhaps Vallabhbhai will plead that if only the people had been sufficiently loyal and active in practising non-co-operation, the movement would have done wonders. But is not the same sort of defence available to those who advocate action through Councils? If only the Ministers and members of Councils had been less self-seeking, communal, timid, ignorant and shiftless, how much more fruitful would the Council work have been? No one could be more conscious of the deficiencies of those who are in the legislatures than ourselves.

but we can still legitimately claim that wherever wise and bold leadership was available Councils have shown creditable results. Mr. Patel is very keen on Prohibition. We should like to know how it is to be attained except through Councils. And in Bombay Presidency in the first triennium, thanks to Sir Chunilal Mehta's earnest endeavours, we advanced steadily towards prohibition. What has the N.C.O. to show by the side of work then done. It is true that the work is now going rapidly to pieces. But it only shows that Council work, like N.C.O. itself, requires efficient instruments for success. But do the non-co-operators themselves really keep aloof from the legislatures? Mr. C. Rajagopalachar is anxious to take the help of the Councils for furthering prohibition. If participation in Councils had appeared to him sinful, as at one time it did to Gandhiji, or absolutely wrong in policy, he would not have drafted a bill for the legislators to promote in their respective Councils. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel himself does not scorn the use of the Councils at need. He knows that the reform in land revenue assessment policy that he desires can be achieved only by work in Councils, and does not hesitate to depart from the N.C.O. principle in order to attain his object. He has taken particular care to fill his newly created Land League for the most part with members in the Bombay Council, and quite rightly too. If N.C.O.'s can legitimately use the Legislative Council through others for effecting desirable reforms, it should not be illegitimate for them to use the same machinery themselves. And if they can legitimately use the Council for one reform it should not be illegitimate to use it for every kind of reform. The non-co-operators themselves by their own practice justify the policy of the Liberals, Responsivists and Swarajists and condemn their own.

Anyway, N.C.O. of the old type the country refuses to have.

HINDU COMMUNALISM.

AT this time when the national unity is seriously compromised by ill-feeling between various communities and when every attempt is made to suppress communalism as being a great obstruction in the path of nationalism, the Presidential address of Mr. N. C. Kelkar at the Bengal Hindu Conference is the least likely to make the path easy. Although we agree with many of the individual points in his address, we believe the general effect of the address will be the fostering of a communal spirit. Mr. Kelkar bewailed the schism which still prevailed in the ranks of Hindu leaders, some of whom still tenaciously cling to the idea that denominational culture is nothing and that politics is everything. Now the leaders to whom we suppose he is referring do not say that denominational culture should not be maintained and even extended; what they insist upon is that this should not be done in a manner antagonistic to the interests of nationalism and calculated to foster an overweening and unreasonable pride in one's own culture and a denial of the value of other cultures. We have no quarrel

with a Hindu taking pride in his own culture and social system but we want him to think of himself as an Indian first and a Hindu afterwards. If as Mr. Kelkar thinks the Khilafat Committee dominated the councils of the Congress the remedy is not to stop the domination by setting in motion a counter-acting domination of the Hindu Sabha but by urging the claims of nationalism and thinking out a common policy arrived at as a result of joint deliberation; otherwise it would lead to a perpetual *la revanche* as in the case of France and Germany. We are of course in full sympathy with his idea of an internal organization of the Hindu society for attaining greater and greater solidarity. The sects and sub-sects within it are a great weakening influence and ought to be consolidated into one vigorous Hindu community. His strictures on the present methods of the conversion of the Hindus are entirely just; secrecy, deception and force are fairly common and the conversions, he says, are not based on a sincere change of belief and he approves of the method suggested by Dr. Paranjpye of disallowing the validity of conversion unless it is certified by an officer of State, who should vouchsafe for its voluntary character.

Mr. Kelkar further criticized the way in which the census officers made a deliberate attempt to classify as many minor castes as possible as 'animists' instead of 'Hindus' on various grounds, the object clearly being in his opinion the minimising of the quantitative importance of the Hindus. There is a good deal of such a manipulation practised at the time of every census and proper representations ought to be made in order to fix upon a definition of Hindu which will be approved by a representative committee of learned Hindus. Along with this he deprecated the tendency of separatism which made many Sikhs, Jains and Lingayats insist on their separate classification. But the argument that because they originally belonged to the Hindu stock therefore they should be grouped as Hindus apart from religious differences is hardly convincing; in the case of Jains at least these differences are so radical and irreconcilable that a dogmatic Jain can be excused if he has a conscientious objection to being merged among the Hindus. The case is otherwise with the Brahmos and Arya Samajists, who ought not to have the least objection to be grouped as Hindus, and any insistence on their part for a separate incorporation can only be called pedantic and hyper-subtle. Mr. Kelkar has done well in asking the leaders of the Hindu community "to turn the search-light of rationalism within itself to find out the defects in the vital points of the creaking machine of Hindu religious polity... and set up every individual within the society on his feet whether he belongs to the higher or lower classes." He would like the higher castes to remember that they are living in a new age and ask the rich to realize that they must be generous towards good social causes and he thinks that there must be a bold preaching in favour of the annihilation of the sub-divisions within the four castes. He advocates equal freedom of occupation and business pursuits for the Hindus

of all castes. Lastly as an item in the social programme he wants to give short shrift to untouchability; in public, he says, no man has a right to make any distinction of caste or creed as between man and man. If Mr. Kelkar extended the same line of reasoning to India as a whole he would be on the threshold of the very nationalism in politics which he essayed to belittle in the earlier part of his address. The 'Sangathan' that he would apply to the Hindu fold we would apply to the whole of India with an equal faith in its ultimate success.

Referring to the Nehru Report, he pointed out how there was very little difference between the communal settlement recommended by the Report and the Jubblepore Resolution of the Hindu Mahasabha; and he dwelt on the easy conversion of the Mahasabha to the opinions in the Nehru Report as opposed to the intransigence displayed by the Muslim League. In his opinion the discussions of the last two years have given no clue for any solution of the communal riddle and have thrown no new light on the position; worse still, he believes that there is no one in India who can be successfully invoked to intervene and suggest a solution which will be acceptable to both the Hindus and Muslims. All this may perhaps be true, but nothing can be gained by harping on the stalemate produced at present; we must open the question again and strive earnestly to arrive at a solution of the communal question. Being in a mood of despair Mr. Kelkar says that he would go back to the Lucknow Pact rather than purchase joint electorates by paying the excessive price demanded by Muslims at present. But the continuation of separate electorates would hardly be the right solution in these days when all efforts of constitution-makers are directed towards a single homogeneous national State. Because some Muslims are incapable of thinking nationally, we should not ourselves drift back into old positions. A solution must be found by the time-honoured method of conferring together and making mutual compromises. The dilemma which Mr. Kelkar presents at the end of his address of choosing between self-government and personal honour is hardly a real one in the present condition of India; in fact we think it highly speculative and otiose. Nobody is called upon to compromise honour when he is asked to concentrate on securing self-government for India and to cultivate national patriotism. In Europe nations have been formed without individuals and communities sacrificing their religions or cultures and there is no reason why it should not be done in India. Mr. Kelkar's idea that the Hindu alone is called upon to be national while the Muslim is exempted from this obligation has no basis of fact. The obligation to be national is universal and a critic of Hindu communalism is even a stronger critic of Muslim communalism. We join Mr. Kelkar in the hope that a more accommodating spirit be vouchsafed by Providence to Muslims and Hindus alike.

PRISON TREATMENT.

THE hunger-strike of the accused in the Lahore conspiracy case (which fortunately has now ended owing to the earnest efforts of some public workers in the Punjab) and the differences disclosed between the British Chairman and the Indian members of the United Provinces Jails Inquiry Committee have served to bring the question of the treatment of political and other special class prisoners once again to the fore. Pandit Jagat Narain and Hafiz Hidayat Hussain, members of this Committee, agree with its Chairman, Sir Louis Stuart, that political prisoners as such deserve no particularly ameliorative treatment. In this respect they take very much the same position as that taken by the Cardew Commission of 1922. They maintain, however, that the social standing and the usual mode of life of persons committed to jail ought to be recognised as factors justifying a gradation in the concessions to be allowed to prisoners. This contention is allowed to a very limited extent by Sir Louis Stuart: he would give special facilities to prisoners provided only that it was found that their health would suffer if ordinary discipline were enforced. The other two members however plead for the constitution of a special class of prisoners in which are to be included persons used to better amenities, whatever be the nature of their crime. Sir Louis Stuart objects to this but still is not willing to give up the privileges which European prisoners now enjoy irrespective of the gravity of their offence. The Government of India is reconsidering the whole question, but it has announced in advance that the motive of the criminal will in no case be allowed as a mitigating circumstance, thus foreclosing the question of the treatment of political offenders. No one, e. g., who may have been convicted of committing violence or inciting to violence is entitled to special treatment, whatever their station in life. If their crimes are less serious they will be entitled to ameliorative treatment on the convicting court making such a recommendation, what the ameliorative treatment should consist of being still a matter of inquiry.

On the general question as to what should legitimately be held as justifying better treatment of prisoners, we are clear that we are more with Sir Louis Stuart than Pandit Jagat Narain and Hafiz H. Hussain. The social status of the prisoners should make no difference to their treatment. We have enough privileged classes already; we do not want to add to them by having a so-called Better-Class Prisoners class. It would be wholly unjustifiable from the moral point of view to do so. The treatment of all prisoners must be humane; all must be maintained in good health. Whatever is required to secure this object must be done, from whatever class a prisoner may come. Beyond this it should not be possible for any prisoner to claim. It is no doubt true that a certain type of prison discipline operates more harshly upon one set of prisoners than upon another. But it is impossible so to adjust the discipline as to impose the same kind of penalty on all. The punishments themselves act differently on different persons: a day's

simple imprisonment for a man of a sensitive disposition may be a far severer punishment than a year's hard labour on another. But in passing the sentence these variations are not taken into account, for the simple reason that it is impossible to do so except to a very limited extent. The guiding principle in varying prison treatment ought to be the nature of the offence and also the motive, though the Government of India is bent upon excluding the latter. An offence which does not involve moral turpitude ought to entitle a prisoner to a more decent treatment than one which involves moral turpitude, apart from the stratum of society to which he may belong. The motive too should count, for a man who is betrayed into a crime from a misconceived sense of public good should be treated better than one who has no such excuse. The tendency now is in all countries to mete out to all who have committed offences implying no moral obliquity treatment in prison such as is meted out to first-class misdemeanants in England. That is to say, they are not regarded as criminal prisoners and are not subjected to any severer punishment than detention in safe custody. Even in the case of crimes of violence the motive of the criminal must be allowed to weigh. The "Churchill Rule" of 1910 which provided for ameliorative treatment in England was specially enacted for the benefit of Women Suffragettes who indulged in violence. As the Prison Commissioners' Report for 1911-12 stated, "the purpose of the new rule was to mitigate the disgrace, and discomfort, and the stigma of imprisonment in cases where the offence and the character and antecedents of the offender do not call for a full and rigorous application of penalty." What precisely should be the extent of amelioration in each case is a matter for inquiry and consideration, but the Government of India has done wrong in declaring that certain classes of offence will in the coming inquiry be excluded from consideration for ameliorative treatment, no matter what the motive of the offence may be.

The larger question now thrown open to inquiry necessarily opens up the smaller one of the discriminations made in favour of European and Anglo-Indian prisoners. Pandit Jagat Narain and Hafiz Hidayat Hussain have devoted a large part of their memorandum to this subject, in which they show quite clearly that the discriminations are based upon colour and race and therefore cannot be justified. How far the discriminations go can only be understood by reading the detailed descriptions, given by these members, of the dietary, sanitary and other arrangements made for Indian and non-Indian prisoners. Only some of them can be defended on the ground of the differing modes of living of the different races; but even these will be justified only if it is allowed that prison treatment must vary according as the standard and mode of life of each individual prisoner varies. This consideration, however, Sir Louis Stuart will not allow in the case of Indian prisoners. The other two members, taking their stand on the privileges given to non-Indian prisoners, recommend the formation

of a separate class of prisoners belonging to a higher status and demand that whoever is used to soft ways of life should receive ameliorative treatment. The demand cannot be resisted so long as the European class remains; but it is not just in itself and not worthy of being granted. Only if it is refused, the European class must go.

Reviews.

THE VALLEY OF SWAT.

ON ALEXANDER'S TRACK TO THE INDUS.

By AUREL STEIN. (Macmillan.) 1929. 24cm. xvi+173p. 21/-.

SIR AUREL STEIN undertook this tour of exploration and observation in the valley of Swat, the ancient region of Udyāna, so thickly strewn with Buddhist stupas and relics and so carefully described in all its populousness and prosperity by the old Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who traversed it on their way to India. The author's main object in this tour was to trace the scene of that arduous campaign of the great Alexander which culminated in his capture of Aornos, which "even Herakles had failed to carry." The valley of Swat is now occupied by Pathan clans and was originally peopled by men of the Dard stock who still continue to live in some number in Tōrwāl in Upper Swat. The dialects of the old Dard stock are still spoken by the independent tribes in the Indus gorges, but will be soon swept away by the advancing tide of Persian and Pushtu; and one of the achievements of the author is to have helped to add to the extremely scanty knowledge of Dard philology and the ethnography of the Dard-speaking people. In particular he has succeeded in recording a hitherto unknown Kohistani tongue, spoken by the Dard community of Batēra.

Apart from the additions to the ethnographic and linguistic knowledge of the Dards, the author describes the ruins of Buddhist monuments and brightens his account with glimpses of the narratives of the old Chinese travellers. The old stupas, now called *Gumbats* or domes, with which the valley abounds; rocks by the roadside bearing Buddhist reliefs, many of them representing Bodhisattvas in the *varamudra* pose; occasional inscriptions, two big footprints on rock marked with the Buddha's emblem and with a line of bold Kharoshthi characters (which have been identified as being the same that Fa-Hien and Hsüen Tsiang described as showing the miraculous footprints of the Buddha); and finds of coins with Greek legends of Bactrian and Indo-Greek rulers and of their Indo-Scythian successors, and of the great Kushanas—these but deepen the impression produced on the reader that the Swat valley formed one of the channels through which successive races descended from Iran into the Indus valley and Indian Buddhism was carried, along with Græco-Buddhist art and Sanskrit literary culture into Central Asia and thence into China. This spread of Buddhism and Indian culture into Serindia is in the opinion of Sir

Aurel Stein "India's greatest contribution to the civilisation of mankind in general."

More attractive to the author than even the guiding attractions of the Chinese Pilgrims in their *Ud-yāna* (Garden) is the lure of the accounts of Arrian, Curtius and other classical writers of Alexander's stirring campaign in this region and of his victories at Massaga, Ora, Bazira and Aornos. The identification of these localities has been attempted by scholars like Sir H. T. Holdich and Sir Bindon Blood, Bellew, Foucher and others. Stein's most trustworthy authority is Arrian; and he would hold that on geographical considerations the several fortified towns which Alexander successively besieged and captured in this campaign, were all probably situated in the main Swat valley. Massaga must be looked for in Lower Swat, as from it Alexander secured his rear and his direct line of communications with the lower Kabul valley; but "its exact location cannot be settled for the present." Bazira from which the enemy retired to the stronghold of Aornos is located with confidence on the ancient stronghold on the Birköt Hill which exactly answers to the description Arrian gives of the position of that place. Ora certainly lay higher up the Swat valley than Bazira; and Stein would identify it with the ancient fortified position on the hill above Udē-gram; and Ora is "the Greek rendering of an earlier form of this *Ude*"; and the latter name itself is derived from the ancient Sanskrit name of Swat, *Uddiyāna*. "The phonetic changes that such a derivation assumes in the history of the name can all be fairly accounted for by well-known rules affecting the transition of Sanskrit words into later Indo-Aryan forms" (p. 60).

The hill of Pir-sar to the east of Swat valley and in a bend of the Indus is surveyed and compared with the story of Alexander's siege of Aornos as given by Arrian, Diodorus and Curtius; and all the topographical details of Pir-sar are shown to agree with the available description of the mountain-stronghold of Aornos. The philological resemblance is also proved between the modern name *Ura* (applied to the peak rising immediately above the hill of Pir-sar) and Avarna, the assumed original of Aornos, which was the most likely Greek rendering of the sound and which appealed to Greek ears by its Greek meaning of mountain. After the capture of Aornos, Alexander probably moved along the hill-tracts between Buner and the Indus; probably Dyrta where the brother of Assakenos took refuge was situated in Buner which was in ancient times situated in Swat territory. Thus the latest tour of exploration of Sir Aurel Stein has succeeded in getting knowledge that he outlined for himself when he proceeded on an archæological tour with the Buner Field Force in 1898 and set his eyes so eagerly towards Swat containing so many pious memories of his adopted Chinese Patron-Saint, Hiuen Tsiang. Then Swat was outside the administrative border of the British; now it is unified under the friendly Badshah of Saidul, Miāngul Gul-shā-zāda, the grandson of the great saint Ākhund, who has got under his control the whole of the Swat valley, including the Alpine Tōrwal and who was very useful to Sir Aurel Stein. The book is the last of a series in which Sir Aurel has recorded his observations on the early history and antiquities of the North-West Frontier of India, during a period of over forty years.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

THE BALKAN QUESTION.

GREECE. By WILLIAM MILLER. (The Modern World Series.) (Benn.) 1928. 22cm. 351p. 15/-.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND ITS SUCCESSORS, 1801-1927. By WILLIAM MILLER. (Cambridge University Press.) 1927. 20cm. 563p. 16/-.

THESE two works display the learned historian of Greece and the Near East in the twin aspects of sober historian and of journalist or publicist. In the second the author is writing for the student and his 563 pages are filled with detail and weighted with learning; in the first he has the general public for his audience, and his style is easy and almost conversational.

Both books are authoritative in their different ways. "The Ottoman Empire and Its Successors" is an enlarged edition of the author's "Ottoman Empire", bringing the former work up to date and including the changes of the Great War and Greco-Turkish war which followed it. One inevitably compares it with Marriott's "Eastern Question," and it is perhaps worth while to distinguish the two. While Sir John Marriott takes the peninsula as a whole, and treats its problems as a diplomatic puzzle set to Europe for solution, Mr. Miller traces the history of each people

separately and in detail, and treats the whole as a series of individual national histories. Sir John's outlook is European and his treatment diplomatic, Mr. Miller's Balkan and his treatment national. Sir John looks from a distance with a telescope, Mr. Miller examines with a microscope. For the student of European diplomacy, therefore, who wishes to unravel the most intractable knot in the tangle of Europe, Marriott's book is the best guide, but for the student of nations who wishes to observe the phenomena of long submerged nations rising to life and independence again, Mr. Miller's work is the most authoritative.

The Balkan peninsula not only provides a perpetual subject of disunion for the diplomatists and of headache for the chancellories of Europe, but contains within itself nearly all the difficulties which complicate and impede the realisation of the nationalist programme. Nature, race, language and history have combined to oppose the cause of nationalism. First the natural configuration of the Balkan peninsula divides the country instead of uniting it. The Balkans have no strategic and commercial centre; they are divided by mountain ranges which cut off one part of the country from another without forming well

defined natural areas which would separate one people from another. Next the races, like the country, are not self-contained. There are Bulgars in Serbia, Greece and Rumania, Serbs in Bulgaria, and Macedonians, a still submerged semi-nationality, in Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece. There are Turks in Bulgaria and Serbia, and until recently in Greece as well.

In addition to this there are other complications very characteristic of modern nationalism. Each political rising was heralded or accompanied by a literary movement, which inspired contemporary patriots with memories of a glorious past. These glorious Balkan pasts all conflicted with each other as well as with that of the Turkish overlord, with the result that the same memories which inspired them against the Turks, inspired them also against each other. The Greeks looked back to the days of the Greek Byzantine Empire, the successor of Rome and the guardian of the ancient culture, one of whose Emperors was surnamed "Bulgaroktonos," "slayer of the Bulgarians"; the Rumanians, as their name shows, considered themselves the descendants of Latin colonists, with a hereditary right to civilise their Slav neighbours; the Serbs looked back to their mediæval empire, overthrown at Kossovo, which had included most of modern Bulgaria, while the Bulgars remembered the still earlier date, when they had triumphed over the Byzantines and acquired an empire which included most of modern Serbia.

The exploitation of national memories, discovered by historical research and fanned by romantic poets, is one of the greatest dangers to international peace. Time, as Shelley says, is an

"Unfathomable sea, whose waves are years,
Ocean of Time, whose waters of deep woe
Are brackish with the salt of human tears";

and draughts from this sea but too often lead to a mania of hate and destruction. When a nation has no racial, linguistic or popular claim to a territory, it is easy to produce an "historical claim," based on possession or conquest at some earlier period. So the Poles lay claim to Lithuania and large parts of Russia, the Hungarians to Transylvania, and the Rumanians to parts of Hungary, the Italians to the Trentino (inhabited by Austrians) and to the whole Adriatic coast—claims which no more have behind them the will of the people concerned than the French "geographical" claim to the Rhine frontier. History is misused when it is harnessed to such service. Nationalism is a desire of any given number of people for self-government and independence; geography, race, language, literature, and history may all be ingredients of the national spirit, but none are indispensable or even more important than the other. National feeling is a sentiment which has various and conflicting origins; it is issued when it is harnessed to pseudo-scientific theories of race or language or history. These are but cloaks for imperialism, the modern substitutes for mediæval feudal claims and 18th century genealogical disputes. Ultimately, a man belongs to a nation because he wants to, not because his eyes are a certain colour, his skull

a particular shape, or even because he speaks a certain language. Sentiment is the basis of nationalism, and all the other commonly supposed bases are but *factors* which help to promote this sentiment—This it is which makes possible a British nationalism which includes the Scotch, a Swiss nationalism growing from its diverse races, languages and religions, nationalism in America, and a national movement in India itself.

In the background of the whole Balkan problem looms the city of Constantinople. Though today in eclipse, Constantinople is the real capital of the Balkans. As has been pointed out, Constantinople has a position of enormous strength, standing between two continents, protected on two sides by narrow straits, and on the third by a narrow land neck; down to 1915 it has successfully stood perhaps more sieges than any other city in the world. When a strong power holds Constantinople, it must dominate both Asia Minor and the Balkans; when there is no strong power there is either a scramble for the spoils of its decaying owner as in the 19th century, or a restless struggle for existence among small states.

Mr. Miller's "Greece" shows him an ardent philhellene, a bias, however, which does not make him less critical of his friend's mistakes. The book maintains the high standard of its series, and gives a vivid account of the dramatic events in Greece since 1910. Mr. Miller's authority as a prophet suffers somewhat by the fact that his book, with its reiterated assertions of the impossibility of M. Venizelos' return to office, was hardly published before that statesman suddenly resumed the premiership which he still holds! But nevertheless Mr. Miller's great knowledge of and sympathy with modern Greece, his intimate acquaintance with its leaders, his balanced judgment and clear vision, make him an admirable interpreter of this vivacious, energetic, and active little people.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

THE GROWING CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.A.

THE LIVING CONSTITUTION. By HOWARD LEE MCBAIN. (The World To-day Bookshelf Series.) (Macmillan) 1928. 20cm. 284p. 6/-.

THOSE who have been taught to look upon the constitution of the U.S.A. as a rigid constitution made once for all by the Fathers will receive a needful corrective from this unit in the World To-day Bookshelf series. Mr. McBain, Ruggles Professor of Constitutional Law in Columbia University, calls his book *The Living Constitution* and he shows the Constitution of the U.S.A. as a growing, developing, and therefore, living constitution. The well-known labelling of the constitution of the U.S.A. as a rigid constitution hardly prepares one for the large body of conventions and usages which cluster round and affect its growth. Mr. McBain brings such conventions and usages into prominence and thus brings a study of that constitution up-to-date. How the President who was to be only the

chief executive has become the motive power of legislation, how senatorial elections, which were to be indirect become direct in some States long before constitutional amendment, how the suffrage granted to Negroes by constitutional amendments is denied them in the Southern States, how Prohibition is not enforced in some of the States—these are among the ways in which the customs of the constitution have come to stay in the U.S.A. Another English device which has found its way into the constitution of the U.S.A. is that of "checks and balances". The framers of the constitution realized the need for checks but the balances have developed in the course of history. The President and the Senate balance each other and prevent either from becoming despotic during their period of office. Although the constitution of the U.S.A. has grown, the growth has not been sensitive to the changing needs and circumstances of the people. The representative system especially of the Senate does not take into account the growth of industrialism. Nor is the Judiciary quite alive to the significance of Labour in the modern State. Mr. McBain discusses these problems with an eye to progress but also with his feet planted on the stable things. He is too critical and argumentative to present a picture of the living constitution for the man in the street. But to the student of constitutions his book ought to be interesting. Especially to such a student in India will its thesis, that life and circumstance have a way of twisting constitutions out of their original bias, prove instructive.

M. RUTHNASWAMY.

TESTS OF INTELLIGENCE.

CHARACTERISTIC DIFFERENCES IN BRIGHT AND DULL PUPILS. By HARRY J. BAKER. (Public School Publishing Co., Bloomington, Ill.) 1927. 24cm. 118p.

IT is a generally recognised fact that the pupils in a class can be easily divided into three distinct groups, bright, average and dull. In a class of forty some three or four are ahead of the class, an equal number is very backward, while the rest are classed as average. Till recently however the classification was usually based on the results of periodical examinations, which depended on the preparation of the examinee and the prejudice of the examiner besides the inherent intelligence of the pupil examined and therefore the grouping was faulty. The science of mental measurement has considerably advanced in recent years and it is claimed that a given set of boys or girls can be arranged in the order of their intelligence as accurately as we can arrange them in the order of their height or weight or ages.

Some of the conclusions of the mental testing operations are indeed startling. Our educational practice has been based on the supposition that if a pupil has the will and puts in the necessary industry he can learn anything. Our experience has always been otherwise, but we attributed our failure to bring about certain results to want of industry on the part of the boys. Mental testing operations carried on, on a large scale, particularly in U.S.A. have shown that students inherit brightness and dullness as they inherit their features or the colour of their skin and this fact must be taken into account by every educa-

tional system. The book under review is the report of the investigation carried on in the public schools of Detroit in order that it may be possible "to go behind the scenes of testing and to interpret differences in general intelligence in terms of the psychology of learning". The book is divided into two parts: in the first the author discusses the differences in mental and educational characteristics of bright and dull pupils and in the second he outlines the modifications that should be introduced in the ordinary class room procedure when teaching the different subjects. In chapter V are pointed out the following "four main defects in the general program of education which tend to exert unfavourable influence upon dull pupils":—

1. Lack of proper psychological methods of instruction for dull pupils and for bright pupils too, so far as that goes.
2. The expectation of achievement on the part of the dull equal to that of average pupils of the same age.
3. Inadequate provision of courses of study which are definitely adapted to the needs of dull pupils or of bright pupils.
4. Lack of proper segregation of pupils so that the first three features listed above may be carried out in an efficient manner.

It can be easily seen that the educational programmes in India are full of these defects. Swayed by false notions of a common standard for all, we expect each and every student to pass a test in the same subjects and in the same number of years, with the result that those who are below average are every year ruthlessly weeded out, though they would do well if they be offered an alternative syllabus and be allowed to progress at their rate. The Spartans threw their children immediately after birth in the open for some hours and brought up only those who survived the test. We now allow every child to live and help him to grow strong. But in our educational policy we are still following the Spartan ideal. A pupil will be recognised only if he survives a test to which he is exposed often without the necessary preparation. If we could change our ideal and if we would recognise success as the birth-right of every school-going child we must try to remove the four defects mentioned above. Mr. Baker has indeed made an important contribution to the science of education by publishing the report of his study.

M. R. PARANJPE.

PERILS OF PROTECTIONISM.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF FREE TRADE. BY J. M. ROBERTSON. (King.) 1928. 22cm. 190p. 8/6.

SINCE the outbreak of the late Great War and especially during the post-War period Protectionism has become once again a live issue of economic policy in most countries of the world and tariff barriers have been stiffened, being justified by all kinds of arguments based on unfair competition, dumping, depreciation of foreign exchanges, need for more revenue for wiping out war debts, retaliation, unemployment and imperial sentiment. Tariffism is, however, of special interest for India and England, though for altogether different reasons. India, in spite of her nascent and struggling industries, had to keep herself aloof from the general Protectionist movement in the seventies of the last century as she did not then enjoy fiscal autonomy. It is only very recently that she has been allowed to adopt the policy of what has been called 'discriminate protec-

tion', which is at present on trial through the agency of the Tariff Board. England, whose industrial supremacy was for a long time undisputed in the modern world and who was a stronghold of Free Trade since the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1849, has had in recent times to face the competition of powerful rivals like the U.S.A., Germany, Japan, France etc., not only in the overseas markets, but also to some extent in the home market. Even before the outbreak of the Great War the Conservative Party led by Joseph Chamberlain had become associated with the Tariff Reform movement. The War gave a great stimulus to this movement. McKenna Duties of 1915, the grant of preferences on a limited scale to the Colonial products in 1919 and the more formal Act for the Safeguarding of Industries passed by the Coalition Government in 1921 have made breaches in the traditional system of Free Trade and point in the direction of adoption of a more general tariff. The defeat of the Conservative Party under the leadership of Mr. Baldwin in the Elections of 1923, which were contested on the specific issue of Tariff Reform, and the recent accession to power of the Labour Party have no doubt left the whole controversy in a state of suspended animation. It may, however, be regarded as a burning question of British politics and has naturally created grave apprehensions in the minds of ardent Free Traders like the Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson, the author of the book under review.

The "Political Economy of Free Trade" is a very readable book written with engaging candour. It displays originality of thought and is characterised by incisive logic, a very able application of economic tests and sincerity of purpose. The author shows how Protectionism in its earlier phases was a matter of spontaneous bias rather than of experimental theory and tells us that "Protectionism was practice before it was a theory, while Free Trade was theory before it was a practice". Protectionism appeals to the man in the street who has always shown a certain prejudice against the foreigner and foreign trade and whose fancy has always favoured imports of gold. Then there are the modern arguments that protection creates a home market, makes employment and raises wages, that increased imports mean increased tribute to the foreigner, that import duties enrich the national exchequer at the cost of the foreigner, etc. The author makes short work of these arguments and exposes the hollowness of the plea that the creation of retaliatory tariffs by England would cause the reduction or removal of hostile tariffs by showing that "in the whole generation of tariff history the tariffed countries had never taken off their tariffs against each other" and that even if the unexpected happened there would be no longer any pretext for Colonial Preference at all. The grant of preference to Colonies by England and the imposition of a general tariff would only penalise the English consumer by making everything dear for everybody and would profit only a small minority. There are only two alternatives if the issue of Imperial Preference is to be squarely faced by English statesmen: either food of the people and the raw materials of great industries must be made dearer, or—and this is on the whole a more honest and the best course—Colonies must be frankly told that no concern for their retention within the Empire can induce England thus to burden the lives of Englishmen and imperil the whole industrial fabric of the nation. It should also be noted that the Colonies are intensely Protectionist and any preference shown by them to British goods cannot be substantial and leaves their tariffs against England higher than those of most other countries.

The Act for the Safeguarding of Industries is next examined at length and the British pretexts for Protectionism are shown to be hollow. That Act, no doubt, provides for a number of precautions against the grant of indiscriminate protection, but in its working they do not seem to be fully operative. For example, motor car duties could hardly be justified seeing that in America the most serious competitor in this line wages were notoriously high, there was no depreciation of currency and no subsidy on car-making for export. In this connection we may quote Mr. F. W. Hirst, the author of *Safeguarding and Protection*, who remarks: "Among the articles scheduled as necessary to the safety of the country by the pundits of the Board of Trade were included toy magic lanterns, soothing syrup, glass berries for millinery, toy magnets for the fishpond game, and hosiery latch needles".

Regarding the familiar tariffist argument that protection of English goods is necessary to relieve the present unemployment, the author asks the reader to bear in mind certain considerations. In the first place, unemployment in the mass is mainly to be found in industries which in the nature of the case protection cannot pretend to relieve, namely, coal-mining shipbuilding, and the cotton industry. In the second place, unemployment is a world-wide phenomenon and is not confined to Free Trade countries like England; even protectionist countries such as France and Germany are suffering from it. English unemployment is mainly the legacy of War and post-War conditions such as the lower productivity of Europe, especially of Russia, Reparation payments, further adoption of labour-saving inventions notably in the Steel Trade, reduction in the profitable employment in coal-mining, heavy taxation and the restrictions on emigration imposed by the U.S.A. and partly by the Colonies. Unemployment, therefore, cannot be attributed to the normal excess of imports as the Tariffist maintains. These imports may be classified as payments of (i) the interest earned by British investments abroad, (ii) the earnings of British bankers and insurance companies, and (iii) the earnings of British shipping. The adoption of protective tariff by England would only injure these profitable connections with the outside world.

We are profoundly impressed by the author's clear logic of the economic processes involved in the English Tariff Reform movement. We cannot, however, subscribe to the conclusion of the author that "Tariffism is working harm all over the earth at the moment," and that it is "strangling enterprise, preventing the revival of trade, overburdening the farmer everywhere and raising the cost of living all round". This is an obvious overstatement of the case and does hardly any justice to the struggling infant industries of industrially backward countries like India which require at least temporary protection, discriminate or otherwise, against the competition of old established industries elsewhere. In the author's world survey of the practical economics of trade, India has been mentioned barely once or twice. Surely, he does not wish the Indian reader to acquiesce in the divine dispensation of the facile doctrine of territorial division of labour between tropical and temperate countries or in the sweeping generalisations of the theory of racial superiority.

While we admit that some of the arguments put forward in favour of tariff reform in every country are vulgar, we doubt whether the whole case for protection rests upon 'economics of the Bedlam' and whether even modern British tariffism can be characterised as 'a tissue of chicanery.' A better and more sympathetic understanding of the standpoint of the Tariff Reformer is certainly a desideratum.

S. G. BERI.

THE number of books on the History of England, both in the form of authoritative treatises and text books for the school and college use, is innumerable, and one would imagine that not much purpose would be served by further additions. But this new study of the History of England, by an Associate Professor of History in the University of Illinois, claiming, as it does, to treat the subject from a more modern point of view, is really a welcome addition. The author attempts to reinterpret English civilization and culture from the point of view of economic and social developments. Much of the time-worn details about wars and the doings of kings is necessarily omitted. "The technological point of view, symptomatic of the intense mechanism of modern civilization, has suggested that the study of each period begins with the examination of the fundamental changes in industry and agriculture as the background against which political and cultural activity may be reflected more vividly." The modern principle of a topical, and not dynastic, treatment has been followed throughout. The growth of the British Empire and the changes in colonial policy during different periods is very clearly and fully developed.

The large number of maps with their simplicity and clarity and freedom from excessive detail and the boldness of outline and legend add much to the value of the book to the student who is generally loth to take the trouble of consulting a historical atlas at each stage. For the benefit of the student eager to pursue his studies further, there is a valuable bibliography at the end of each chapter. The volume, freed from much unnecessary detail, emphasising the new standpoint in the study of history, is a welcome addition, which ought to prove useful to the student of English History standards.

S. V. KRISHNASWAMI IYANGAR.

ADMINISTRATIVE POWERS OVER PERSONS AND PROPERTY. By ERNST FREUND. (University of Chicago.) 1928. 24cm. 620p. 22/6.

A CONSERVATIVE poster during the last election summed up the popular view regarding the administrative powers over persons and property which all civilised governments now possess. The poster depicted an Englishman's home overlooked by a dozen official noses. But the mere fact that these powers are growing shows how inevitable it is for them to expand with the growing needs of the community. Nearly 25 chapters of this book detail these powers: powers in connection with public utilities, merchant shipping, banking legislation, insurance legislation; powers dealing with the control of professions, religions and education. In short, so varied are the administrative powers of Government that they cover nearly every aspect of the life of the community. In the earlier chapters of the book the scope, classification and terminology of these powers are discussed, the organization of the administrative authorities is clearly brought out, and the old controversy as to whether power should be in the hands of one body or in that of several, acting jointly, is touched upon. The writer justly observes that this question has never been answered by a generally accepted

the discussion of the American powers is concerned; but the principles are well set out and the conspectus of administrative powers under English and foreign statutes makes the book generally a useful one.

R. N. GURTU.

THE WORLD OF LABOUR. A DISCUSSION OF THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF TRADE UNIONISM. By G. D. H. COLE. (Macmillan.) 1928. 19cm. 443p. 6/-.

THIS is a really useful contribution which will be appreciated by Trade Unionists throughout the world. It contains a wealth of information regarding the development and growth of Trade Unions, which will be of the utmost value to organisations of labour in adopting right principles in their line of action. The last chapters dealing with the "Trade Union Structure", "Trade Union Government", "Control of Industry" and especially the "The Future of Trade Unionism" deserve special notice. This book specially deserves the attention of Trade Unionists throughout those countries where Trade Unionism is in its infant stage as it would save them from committing the same blunders as older Trade Unions in the West have committed in the past. While the author has strong opinions of his own on different matters relating to the Trade Union world, he does not forget that he has to place the case for his opponents, who do not agree with his views, in a very impartial way. As containing a full discussion of the present and future of Trade Unionism, the volume deserves a place in every economic library worth the name.

V. V. GIRI.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- AGGREY OF AFRICA. A STUDY IN BLACK AND WHITE. By EDWIN W. SMITH. (Student Christian Movement.) 1929. 22cm. 292p. 7s. 6d.
- HEALTH: ITS RECOVERY AND MAINTENANCE. By ABDUL LATIF. (Rider & Co., London.) 1928. 20cm. 284p. 6s.
- THE SECRET OF THE AFRICAN. By EDWIN W. SMITH. (Student Christian Movement.) 1929. 20cm. 142p. 3s. 6d.
- REPORT OF 1st TRIENNIAL CONGRESS HELD AT CAMBRIDGE, JULY 1928, ON THE SUBJECT OF FUNDAMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ALL SECTIONS OF THE INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY. (International Industrial Relations Association, The Hague.) 1929. 24cm. 417p. Hfl. 3.50.
- THE MYSTERY OF THE TRADE DEPRESSION. By FREDERIC E. HOLSINGER. (King.) 1929. 22cm. 360p. 7s. 6d.
- A SHORT HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By J. F. HERRIN. (N.C.L.C. Publishing Society, London.) 1929. 16cm. 63p. 1s.
- CHILD LABOUR. Ed. by GERTRUDE FOLKE ZIMAND. (National Child Labour Committee, New York City.) 1929. 22cm. 39p.
- HEADING FOR WAR. By T. BELL. (Modern Books, Ltd. London.) 1929. 18cm. 49p. 1s.