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Topics of the Week.

Civil Rebellion.

THE statement we ventured to make some time ago that Mahatma Gandhi, despite his theoretical devotion to non-violence, is becoming amazingly indifferent to the outbreak of violence in practice, receives corroboration from the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Ahmedabad. The Committee has decided that all provincial Congress Committees would be free (nay bound) to organise civil disobedience campaigns in their provinces as soon as Mahatma Gandhi either gives the word or is arrested, and, we are told that Mahatma Gandhi will give the word immediately he launches his own campaign on the 6th April. Which means that on the 6th April or thereabouts Congressmen all over the country will be engaged in defying one law or another and daring the Government to do its worst. At the A.I.C.C. meeting a conscientious member inquired whether in all the campaigns to be promoted by the Congress Committees passive resisters have to be men who believe in non-violence as an article of faith, as Mahatma Gandhi's 79 crusaders are said to be. The qualms of his conscience were set at rest by the President who replied that no such restriction was allowed by the Congress. The answer however could well have been imagined, without being expressly returned. Whatever advance non-violence may have made in the country it is certainly not so great as to make it possible for a nation-wide campaign to be started immediately if those who participate in it are to be recruited only from the ranks of the believers in non-violence as a religious truth. Some persons have criticised Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for giving the answer that he did at the A.I.C.C. meeting, but surely the young Nehru spoke only for Mahatma

Gandhi; for it is he at whose command the crusade is to be conducted, and if the condition about non-violence is now relaxed it is Mahatma Gandhi who must be assumed to have relaxed it. Mahatma Gandhi therefore need feel no surprise if some of his followers persuade themselves that the need for non-violence is not now so great as it was supposed to be by him some time ago. Before Gandhiji set out on his Great March he was asked by some critically-minded friends of his to explain why he recoiled so much from the Chauri Choura outrage a few years ago and how he had determined to go on with the passive resistance campaign even should violence break out at the present time. What has happened during the intervening years to justify this change of attitude? he was asked, and the answer he gave is very ominous. There is no change in the external circumstances, he said; a change has come about in his own mental make-up. He is no longer afraid of violence. We shudder to think of the practical consequences which this change in his mental attitude may have.

The Finance Bill.

THE passing of the Finance Bill has rightly been regarded in all quarters as a victory for the Government. The Assembly after some show of resistance has stomached the whole Bill, with its proposals for fresh taxation amounting to nearly 5 crores; considering that the remission of Provincial Contributions has begun to tell on the finances there was nothing left for the Assembly except to accept the new taxation with a good grace. Mr. Kelkar's speech opposing the Bill on the ground that the Executive was not responsible to the Legislature fell rather flat as the House was not in a mood for constitutional disquisition. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas objected to the surplus issuing from the new proposals which he calculated at 1½ crores and suggested that a part of the new taxation might be knocked off; Sir George Schuster however adhered to his original plea that the surplus was wanted as an insurance against various elements of uncertainty and for inaugurating the new Reforms although he did not explain how the distribution of funds to the provinces squared with financial autonomy. The attitude of the European group towards the kerosene tax as being directly aimed at the European oil companies was unreasonable as well nasty; it can hardly be denied that the lowering of the import duties on oil is calculated to act as a permanent check against the price tyranny of monopolistic combinations in India to which the Tariff Board in their report had drawn pointed attention. Sir Purshotamdas congratulated the Government on their attempt to equalize the excise and import duties on kerosene in the best interests of the consumer. As for the charge that the proposals in the Bill would lead to higher prices, Sir George Schuster had no difficulty in proving that such an effect was contrary to economic laws. With regard

to salt the Finance Member has promised that something would be done to reduce the price of salt to a point which would be reached by the complete abolition of duty and gave an assurance to expedite the salt inquiry. It is significant that the amendment for removing the salt monopoly was rejected by 57 votes to 30 for the matter-of-fact reason that the loss of revenue would amount to Rs. 7 crores.

The silver duty turned out to be a great puzzle ; on the one hand, members wanted to prevent the depreciation of silver in order to retain the value of the savings of the poor and, on the other hand, they objected to the higher price as imposing obstacles on the poor man's further investments in silver. Now it was clear that they could not have it both ways and Sir George Schuster carried the trump card of the debate by pointing out that the poor had better invest in Cash Certificates and other productive enterprises. He thus blessed the silver duty as enabling the Government to sell silver in their own market when they had it in excess of their own requirements. With all this it has to be admitted that the policy of keeping silver artificially dear cannot hope to succeed for a long time in the face of international factors tending to depress it. In spite of the effective measures promised by him, frontiers are also likely to give trouble in the matter of silver imports. For the present we are distrustful and would like to watch the effects of the silver duty for a year. Nor do we feel so hopeful about the wonderful effects of the new taxes which the Finance Member predicted in his final summing up. It is some relief however to be assured by him that he has resolved to analyse the reasons for the growth of expenditure and appoint an 'ad hoc' committee for advising the Government on measures for effecting retrenchment.

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Prof. Keith on States.

PROFESSOR BERRIEDALE KEITH is apparently very much shaken in his view that the rights of paramountcy vesting in the British Government cannot be transferred to a self-governing British India without the agreement of the States. At any rate he finds it necessary to warn the apologists of the Pincas against the extravagant claims they make on the basis of this doctrine. For, in the February number of the *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, while claiming that the doctrine itself is justified, he says it "might be pushed to absurd lengths." Further he challenges the contention of Sir Leslie Scott that treaties alone are the source of the transfer of any part of the sovereign powers of the States to the British Government. He says :

Why, it is asked, should usage and prerogative be permitted to derogate from the express terms of compacts such as that between the Nizam and the (East India) Company in 1800, which excludes the Company from any concern with the subjects of the ruler? Even if a treaty has been in practice disregarded, the weaker party having yielded to *force majeure*, can it not now be relied upon and its literal terms demanded?

The answer to such suggestions appears clear. A compact of any sort can be interpreted correctly only by reference to the system of law, which must be deemed to have been in the mind of the contracting parties, the proper law of the contract. Now it is clear that the treaties of the East India Company were not contracted under the European system of international law, which had never been extended to Indian Princes *inter se*, and of which they were ignorant. The compacts, therefore, must be judged on the basis of the international law of contemporary India, and this law was dominated by the conception of paramount power. To the position of para-

mount power the Company attained by its conquests ; and it proceeded to exercise *vis a vis* the States with which it had agreements the rights arising from paramount power. If this fundamental fact is not accepted, then the proceedings of the Company and of the Crown in succession to it become unintelligible. It was possible to allow the treaties to stand unaltered, in lieu of denouncing them with changed circumstances, simply because it was recognised by all parties that the position of paramount authority carried with it overriding rights.

Indeed, a Daniel come to judgment !

* * *

Forest Grievances of Thana.

IT must be admitted that the Thana District has got peculiar forest grievances and the Thana District Forest Grievances Conference held on Sunday last in Bombay under the chairmanship of Mr. S. G. Warty has done well in requesting the Government to give effect to those recommendations of the Special Committee appointed to consider forest grievances which had not so far been adopted. Giving a retrospective survey of forests in India Mr. Warty showed how the dispatch of 1863 recommended a specially liberal treatment to the district of Thana on the ground that large tracts formerly recognized as open for communal purposes had been included in forests and how this was disregarded by the Indian Forest Act of 1878 ; this Act transformed the rights of the people into mere privileges revocable at the discretion of the Forest Department. Mr. Warty quotes Dr. Voelker to prove that land with trees or scrub jungle was converted into forest although it was more suited for grazing or for cultivation. In 1883 the Bombay Government received a warning from the Government of India for their illiberal policy but in spite of this no forest lands were released here whereas considerable areas were thrown open to cultivation in other provinces. Mr. Warty complained that the forest property was not developed in the proper way since instead of applying their silvicultural skill the officials spent their whole energy in picking quarrels with the rayat ; and his suggestion is that "minor forests should be set apart to meet the needs of the agricultural population and, being released from the control of the Department, should be handed over to Forest Panchayats as in Madras. These Panchayats should in his opinion have self-government on the model of local boards subject to the supervision of the Agricultural Department. In conclusion Mr. Warty said that his suggestions have the authority of the Agricultural Commission's Report which has emphasized the desirability of the management of the forests by the people for the people. For these reasons he appeals to the Bombay Government to remove the forests grievances in time so that activities which are at present of an economic character may not take on a political colouring.

* * *

Vice in Bombay City.

THE Bombay Council has passed the first reading of the Bill to amend the Prevention of Prostitution Act of 1923, in order to remove the defects revealed in its working during the last six years ; this assures the final passing of the Bill, however amended by the Select Committee, since the principle of the amended Bill has been accepted by the Council. The one glaring defect of the present Act was the unsatisfactory definition of a 'brothel' which allowed many types of houses of ill-fame to escape the law ; this has now been removed by means of a comprehensive definition. In order to penalise the landlords who wilfully rent their houses for the purpose of prostitution in order to make huge profits, section 8 has been amended very materially in consonance with the Criminal Laws Amendment Act of Great Britain.

During the discussion of the Bill Miss Dickinson who has been nominated as an expert explained one of the advantages from the closing of brothels to be the reduction of the traffic in women, the two being inseparably connected. Anticipating the objection that the piece of legislation would throw out thousands of women into the world without any means of livelihood she suggested that the brothels should be closed gradually so as to enable the rescue homes to shelter the small number of homeless women; apart from this she was confident that nearly half of the women would go back to their families. The Select Committee however should see that some agency is provided for the prevention of the distribution of the released inmates of brothels throughout the city and their trading under other cloaks.

Minorities.

Mr. Joseph Baptista has done a distinct service to the public by publishing his letter to Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtola with reference to the Minorities Conference. The initial difficulty was to define a minority community in India. It is even more difficult than the definition of nationality. Neither race nor religion nor language defines a minority. No single test, nor a combination of them, can delimit the communities, such as, for instance, the Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Jews, Parsees, Mussalmans, Depressed Classes, Sikhs, Jains, Non-Brahmins, Indian Christians and Roman Catholics. If there is one criterion which may be said to distinguish one community from another in India it is marriage. That is a community within which there is traditional freedom of marriage. Tested by this standard, the so-called Hindus are but a huge aggregate of innumerable minorities, every caste and sub-caste forming a different community and every one of them forming a hopeless minority in the country. The largest single community will then be the Muhammadans! If the mere consciousness of separate political individuality is enough to constitute a community, the last few years have seen no end of new communal groups and conferences. Mr. J. A. Saldhana, M. L. C. of Madras, speaking in Banda the other day, attempted an arbitrary and numerical definition of a minority for political purposes. He would recognise the Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and the Depressed Classes as minorities, provided, however, they numbered less than 50 per cent but not less than 1 per cent of the population.

The next question that both Messrs Baptista and Saldhana face is what exactly are the rights which the minorities are to secure. What are they to safeguard? Even religion, not to speak of liberty and equality, are not the special rights of the minorities to be safeguarded but of the majorities too. As for franchise and representation, both were agreed that the communal roll was not in the interests of the minorities and that the better course was to go in for joint electorates, with reservation of seats.

Honours for Indian Airmen.

WE congratulate Mr. Chawla and Mr. Engineer for being the pioneers in flying from India to England. Both of them have received congratulations from the Aero Club of India and Burma which has decided to present them with medals; a private luncheon was also given to them by the Air Minister in London. Owing to Mr. Chawla's flight not having satisfied the condition of being a solo flight imposed in the case of Aga Khan's prize he may perhaps be declared ineligible for it; but we are

glad to learn that the Government of India has decided to grant a prize of Rs. 7500 to Messrs. Chawla and Engineer for their most successful flight. It was very graceful of Mr. Nissim the Mayor of Bombay to have sent a telegram of hearty congratulation to the valiant young men. We heartily wish that the example of these two Indians, one of whom has hardly attained the age of twenty, will inspire hundreds of compatriots to go and do likewise and will assist the cause of air-mindedness in India.

The late Lord Balfour.

IF there is any significance, rational or otherwise in being the godson of a great general Lord Balfour was one such; if one is inclined to be superstitious one would connect his whipping and torturing the Irishmen pursuant to a ruthless policy of coercion followed by him as Irish Secretary, with his being the godson of the Duke of Wellington. It is curious that in his early career he showed himself a marked feminist thus ranging himself against Victorian Conservatives who doggedly pursued the policy of opposing the women's movement. He made his political *debut* as private secretary to his uncle the Marquis of Salisbury, in which capacity he attended the famous Berlin Conference. He was made Irish Secretary in 1887 and followed a policy directly antagonistic to the one preached so passionately by Gladstone in his Irish Home Rule campaign before the debacle of the Liberals in 1886 on the very issue. As Mr. A. G. Gardiner has said, Mr. Balfour, as he then was, "could not enter into the mind of the inferior castes"; and he thought that "the Irish were children in rebellion and must be broken with the rod". It was this want of moral enthusiasm for the cause of suffering and oppressed people that intensified the cold detachment in politics for which he was marked by nature as well as by his peculiar intellectual qualities. Since 1891 he led the Conservatives, continuing to be Leader of the Opposition and Leader of the House, according to chances of successive elections; in 1902 he became Prime Minister and during the whirlwind Tariff Reform campaign of Mr. Chamberlain he showed the finest qualities of a first-rate Parliamentary debater steering midway between whole-hogger protectionists and *laissez faire* doctrinaires by championing what he called 'Fair trade' instead of 'Free trade', keeping at arm's length both the Liberals and his own recalcitrant followers. Perhaps as Mr. Gardiner said he cared neither for free trade nor for protection but wanted to save his party from disorganization and it is undesirable that it was Lord Balfour who wrought the delay which for a time frustrated Mr. Chamberlain. In the Coalition Cabinet he was given the portfolio of the Foreign Office and was later on deputed to lead the mission to U. S. for negotiating cooperative action on the part of the two countries, in various spheres for the successful conduct of the Great War; while there he received the compliment of being invited to address the House of Representatives. He was present at the Peace Conference as a British plenipotentiary and had the honour as such of appending his signature to the Treaty of Versailles. He was the first representative of the British Government at the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1920, and at the Washington Naval Conference he took a leading part and by his diplomacy and tact assisted in securing the limitation of navies. His receiving an Earldom in April 1922 was a fitting reward for such brilliant services to England and the Empire. Mr. Lloyd George said truly the other day in the Commons that Lord Balfour was one of the most valued assets of the British Empire during the terrible days of the War.

Articles.

"BREACH OF FAITH."

IT would be a flagrant breach of faith, it is said, on the part of the British Government to transfer either the exercise of the rights it possesses over the Indian States or the discharge of the obligations it has undertaken on their behalf to a government responsible to the British Indian legislature, unless it be that the transfer takes place with the consent of the Princes. The Butler Committee apparently sees much merit in this contention and has in fact accepted it to a limited extent, but it has scrupulously refrained from stating the grounds upon which it bases its "strong opinion" in favour of the doctrine of non-transferability. We are therefore thrown back, for any reasoned argument on this subject, to the writings of the Princes' counsel Sir Leslie Scott. The argument has been discussed threadbare in the press and has received a final rebuttal in the Nehru Report. These reasons however, both *pro* and *con*, partake too much of a legal and juristic character to make much impression on the lay mind. We would therefore adduce here an analogy which, we hope, will at once appeal to the intelligence of the reader unversed in law, an analogy which proves conclusively in our opinion that if the contentions of Sir Leslie Scott are valid they ought to prove as impassable a barrier to the enactment of certain clauses in the draft Treaty which Great Britain has offered to Egypt as they are said to be to the conferment of dominion status upon India.

One of the clauses in the proposed Anglo-Egyptian Treaty runs as follows:—

"His Britannic Majesty recognises that the responsibility for the lives and property of foreigners in Egypt devolves henceforth upon the Egyptian Government. His Majesty the King of Egypt will ensure the fulfilment of his obligations in this respect."

"The protection of foreign interests in Egypt" was one of the four reserved points in Great Britain's declaration of 1922 recognising Egypt as an independent sovereign State. The effect of the declaration itself was to abolish the British Protectorate over Egypt and place her internal government in Egyptian hands, subject to the reservation that the interests of the foreign communities—Greeks, Italians, Armenians, French and Maltese—established in Egypt for generations would be under the special protection of Great Britain. Lord Allenby informed the Khedive at the time in a covering letter that the Egyptian people would thenceforth be free to create "a Parliament with a right to control the policy and administration of a constitutionally responsible government" in all domestic affairs except that of the control of the foreign residents whose lives and property the British Government had undertaken to protect. This obligation in respect of the security of foreigners against any attacks either from within the country or without arose in this way: at

the time the declaration was made foreign powers were notified, in effect, that they would not be allowed to interfere in Egypt and that any interference on their part would be regarded by Great Britain as "an unfriendly act" calling down upon their devoted heads all the armed forces of the British Empire. Thus forbidding the foreign powers to protect their interests by the use of their own resources, Great Britain was naturally forced to guarantee protection to them through her agency. Therefore when internal autonomy was conceded to Egypt, Great Britain took care to exclude the question of foreign interests from Egyptian control and to reserve it "absolutely" to her own discretion.

Foreign interests occupy in Egypt a position analogous to that which Indian States occupy in India. The British Government is under a pledge to protect the former even as it is under a pledge to protect the latter. How would therefore a Leslie Scott have argued if he had been briefed by foreign powers when the question of Egyptian self-government was on the tapis as it is now? He would have urged that Great Britain was constitutionally debarred from endowing Egypt with full autonomy even if politically she thought it prudent to do so, unless foreign powers themselves volunteered to forego the protection which she was legally and morally obligated to afford or unless Egypt arrived at an understanding with them rendering British intervention unnecessary. Anyhow the consent of foreign powers was necessary to the bestowal of self-government upon Egypt. One could almost hear Sir Leslie Scott pleading that the contract between Great Britain and foreign powers was personal and therefore incapable of being performed by any one else; that foreign powers in making the contract gave their confidence to the British Crown and nation and the Crown could not assign it to any third party; that the British Government having given an undertaking to foreign powers to protect the lives and property of their subjects resident in Egypt it must remain in Egypt with whatever military and naval forces may be requisite to enable it to fulfil the undertaking. Nobody would dare to deny that the military arrangements contemplated in the Treaty would leave the British Government in a much weaker position than before to redeem its pledge to foreign powers. The foreign communities live mostly in Alexandria, Port Said and Cairo, and the removal of the British army from the capital cities of Egypt to the Canal zone would undoubtedly very much lessen the capacity of the British Government to defend foreign interests from attack. If Sir Leslie Scott's contentions have any validity in them, then it is obvious that the proposed Treaty involves a betrayal of foreign powers and cannot be ratified by the British Parliament, even if it be accepted by the Egyptian Parliament.

In fact the British Conservative Party objects to the Treaty on this very ground, viz. that if the British Army is moved down to the Canal the British Government would be unable to furnish the protection which it is pledged to give to foreign populations who in the big cities far outnumber the British popula-

lation. Sir Austen Chamberlain, voicing this objection, asked: "What will happen if the Egyptian Government is unable to preserve or fails to preserve at any time internal peace and order? . . . Our troops are to leave Cairo and Alexandria. They are to be placed away in an isolated zone on the Canal. Have they the right to go back at once if the lives of foreigners in Cairo or Alexandria or elsewhere in Egypt are threatened?" Contrary to Sir Austen's expectation, he received an affirmative reply to this query from Mr. Henderson (Foreign Secretary), who stated that the responsibility for protecting foreign interests was being entrusted under the Treaty to the Egyptian Government who would be regarded as having broken the Treaty if it proved impotent or unwilling to give the necessary protection, in which case the British Government would be free to take whatever measures were necessary to fulfil the obligations it owed to foreigners. Similarly it was explained that if any legislation proposed in the Egyptian Parliament appeared to threaten or compromise the legitimate rights of foreigners the British Government would be entitled to intervene to prevent such legislation. The position of the British Government would seem to be this: It has undertaken certain obligations to foreign powers; these obligations it does not disown; it holds itself bound to carry them out in letter and in spirit; only, instead of carrying them out itself in the first instance, it leaves the task of carrying them out to the Egyptian Government, thus removing the one restriction which the declaration of 1922 imposed upon the internal self-government accorded to Egypt; if however the Egyptian Government proved unequal to the new duties assigned to it, the British Government itself would step in and see to the full discharge of its obligations. The British Government, though it still retained the power of setting aside the Egyptian Government in case of default, would not be required, the Labour party believed, to do so, in view of "the entirely new atmosphere" that the conclusion of the Treaty would create. This explanation fully satisfied the Conservative Party on this score, though on other scores their objection to the proposed Treaty remain.

If it is open to the British Government to devolve upon Egypt its own responsibility for the security of foreign interests, it should certainly be open to it to devolve upon British India its own responsibility, say, for the security of the Indian States. On the analogy of Egypt there would be no breach of faith involved in this if the British Government were to say to the States, as it is now saying to the foreign populations in Egypt: "We are fully conscious of our responsibility and mean to carry it out in its integrity. We only choose a new agency now, a responsible instead of an irresponsible Government of India; and on our choice you cannot interpose a veto. If the responsible Government of India fails to carry out the obligation we shall then come forward to shoulder the responsibility. But till then we mean to stand aside and give the people of British India a chance." Sir Leslie Scott would not be satisfied with this position, for his objection goes deeper than that

raised by the Conservative Party to the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. He would maintain that the arrangements to be made for the fulfilment of the British Government's pledge must be such as to satisfy not the British Government, who has given the pledge, but the other party to whom the pledge is given. It would not be enough for the British Government to satisfy itself that the popular government in British India, on whom the duty was now being cast, would honour the pledge, but it was necessary that British India should satisfy the Princes that it would honour the pledge which the British Government had given to them. In other words, the Princes should have the power of putting a veto upon the grant of self-government to British India; till they waived their objection the British Government must retain in its own unqualified control the administration of all affairs in British India in which they themselves were involved. Where is the sanction in the Egyptian Treaty for such a fantastic theory? Were foreign powers ever consulted before the British Government decided to offer the transfer of its own responsibility in regard to their security to Egypt? Even the Conservative Party did not object to the proposed Treaty on the ground that the consent of foreign powers was not taken nor even sought. It would indeed reject out of hand any claim on behalf of the foreign powers for a prior consultation on the subject, not to speak of a claim for prior consent. In fact the Treaty offered by the Conservative Party to Sarwat Pasha had this clause:—

Should circumstances arise likely to imperil the good relations between His Majesty the King of Egypt and a foreign power or threaten the lives or property of foreigners in Egypt, His Majesty will at once consult with His Britannic Majesty with a view to the adoption of the measures best calculated to solve the difficulty.

This clause means substantially the same thing as the one in the proposed Treaty: namely, that the ultimate responsibility of affording security to foreign interests belongs to the British Government, which would however keep itself in reserve, coming upon the scene only in the last resort when the Egyptian Government on which the immediate responsibility is being thrown is proved to lack either the power or the desire or both to fulfil it. The present Anglo-Egyptian Treaty has been vigorously opposed on many political grounds, but by no one on the constitutional ground, on the ground, viz., that the British Government has not the power, even if it had the will, of turning over to the Egyptian Government the performance of any of the tasks which it has pledged itself to foreign powers to perform. And yet if Sir Leslie Scott's objections have any substance in them they must apply to Egypt as well as to India; and, *per contra*, if the British Government can offer self-government to Egypt without reference whatsoever to foreign powers it ought to be constitutionally possible for it to offer it to British India without reference to Indian States. No injustice would be involved to Indian States in this even as no injustice is involved to foreign powers having relations with Egypt in the proposed Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. There

are other clauses in the Treaty, e. g., in respect of the Sudan, which also go to show the fallacious nature of Sir Leslie Scott's arguments on behalf of the States, but it is unnecessary to deal with them.

This shows, we think, that all the talk indulged in by the Princes that the British Government would be guilty of double-dyed treachery if it allowed its relations with them to be handed over to a popular government in British India is—well, sheer buncum.

MEDICAL SWARAJ.

THE inconsiderate action of the British Medical Council in withdrawing recognition of the medical degrees of the Indian Universities has raised a storm of protest and indignation in the country. The sinister political aspect of the Council's action overshadows the purely educational. The history of the question is briefly told. As Sir Debaprasad Sarbadhikary related in the Legislative Assembly in 1922, frantic efforts were made by the European members of the Indian Medical Service to keep it a close preserve for Europeans and evidence to that effect was led before the Public Services Commission in 1913. Disappointed with the rejection of the preposterous claim they set up an agitation in England and secured the ear of the British General Medical Council. From their point of view things grew worse with the inauguration of the Montford Reforms and the transfer to the control of the Provincial Legislative Councils and Ministers of the departments of public health and medical education. The British members of the L.M.S. never reconciled themselves to the change, nor to the Indianisation of the services that inevitably followed the change. Though in the first few years of the reformed administration the teaching staffs of the medical colleges continued the same as before, yet the British Medical Council was persuaded to fear a deterioration in the efficiency of teaching in these Colleges and to demand inspection reports by its own nominees. It was said that training in midwifery was defective in certain Indian Universities. But it is curious and significant that this defect was noted only after the inauguration of the Montford Reforms. We are not aware if the training in this subject was more satisfactory before that date and deteriorated only afterwards.

In view of the reports submitted by Sir Norman Walker and others, the G.M.C. continued the recognition of the Indian degree. But it continued to put pressure on the Government of India to improve the standards of medical education in India. Failing which it threatened to withdraw its recognition of Indian degrees. The Government of India proposed the creation of an All-India General Medical Council, but the Ministers in the Provinces, much too jealous of their provincial Swaraj, resisted it, but surprisingly enough, consented to the appointment of a Commissioner of medical standards and education, who is equally independent of the Minister. The proposal was, however, disapproved by the Universities and the medical profession generally. In the meanwhile, the British Medical Council held out the threat that

unless the Commissioner was at once appointed and his reports were available before February, 1930, recognition of the degrees of Indian Universities would be finally withdrawn. Reduced to desperation, the Government went to the Legislative Assembly for approval of the appointment of the Commissioner. It was refused in September, 1929. Unable to proceed with the creation of the All-India General Medical Council because of the opposition of the Ministers in the Provinces and unable to proceed with the appointment of the Commissioner because of the opposition of the Assembly, the Universities and the medical profession and the politicians, the Government of India fell back on the proposal made by Dr. Moonje and the Inter-University Board to constitute temporarily a Board consisting of the Director General of the Indian Medical Service and a representative each from the medical faculties of the Indian Universities. This Board was to appoint three specialists, one in medicine, one in surgery and the third in midwifery to inspect medical teaching and examinations in the various Universities and give guarantees to the British Medical Council. But this proposal was unacceptable to the British Medical Council.

It will be granted that the G. M. C. was within its rights in making whatever stipulations it liked before it would give its *imprimatur*. Beggars cannot be choosers, and if India solicits the hall-mark of the Council, she must conform to its demands. Nor can the Council be accused of precipitate action. The dissatisfaction of the Council was communicated long ago and has been constantly pressed on the Government of India. The perversity of the action lies in its unreasonableness and in its motive. The Government of India, not an irresponsible, anti-British body, described their final proposal regarding the Board as "sound". They added, "As there is little doubt that members of the Board and inspectors will all possess qualifications obtained in Great Britain, they will be in a position to make satisfactory comparison between the standards in India and those in Great Britain, and we trust the guarantee furnished by the Board, which will be an authoritative and competent body, will be acceptable to the General Medical Council." This message was telegraphed to England on the 6th of January last and was begged to be treated as urgent. On the 17th of February, the Government of India put forward another *interim* proposals, as they had no reply from the G.M.C. and as the medical examinations of the Rangoon and Patna Universities were approaching. It was to appoint *ad hoc* inspectors, and they proposed the names of Sir Frank Connor and Lieut. Col. Bradfield. "Both officers", said the Government of India's cable, "have inspected medical examinations on behalf of the General Medical Council before and are well qualified". But the Council would have none of it. It is clear that the G.M.C. was not so much concerned with the standards of teaching and examinations but with securing control over them. No Government with any self-respect could be more accommodating than the Government of India; yet they were treated with

scant courtesy and consideration. The Government of India have been badly served by their I.M.S. officers. These have been carrying on a trench warfare since 1913 and now they have done their worst.

India will not go into mourning over this. Without intending it perhaps, the G.M.C. has hastened the advent of Medical Swaraj in India. We trust that the Government of India will lose no time in creating an All-India Medical Council. The reluctance of the Provincial Ministers has to be overcome, and maybe the Provincial Legislative Councils in session might pass resolutions to that effect. The Universities and the independent medical profession should give momentum to the proposal.

Under the existing rules recognition by the G.M.C. is necessary for entering the I.M.S. That rule must be altered. Indian degrees, as well foreign degrees recognised by the Indian Medical Council, should equally qualify candidates for the I.M.S. and other medical posts in India. It is due to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to effect these changes immediately and not plead the Simon Report and the Round Table Conference as excuses for delay. As a matter of fact, immediate action on the part of the Government of India will strike the imagination of the people of India and prosper the prospects of good understanding.

These measures, quite within the competence of the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India, can repair the damage that the decision of the G.M.C. was calculated to inflict. But there is one aspect of the damage that seems to be impossible to repair. In several of the British Colonies medical graduates of Indian Universities have hitherto been free to practise because of the recognition by the G.M.C. Hereafter that field may be closed to Indian medical graduates.

Medical Swaraj is but part of the solution. Steps should also be taken simultaneously to improve the standards of medical education in India not only because India wants none but the best type of education, but also because of her ambition to hold her head high in the medical world. India looks forward to the day when students from foreign countries will seek her Universities for the highest type of education even as her children now go abroad. Even if the present standard of medical education in India is good enough for general practice, it cannot be denied, notwithstanding all our patriotism and pride, that some foreign Universities give a superior type of education. The stream of Indian medical graduates going abroad cannot all be explained by the mere glamour of British degrees and the extra privileges attached to them in the matter of jobs and prospects. Now that medical education in India is increasingly coming under the control of Indians, it behoves us to take every possible step to bring it to the highest standard.

THE LIBRARY MOVEMENT.

THE Madras Library Association is but an infant, having come into existence less than 2 years ago. That it is a remarkably lively and vigorous infant is evidenced by the imposing list of active supporters, including the names of some of the leading officials, publicists, educationalists, social workers and librarians of Madras, which it has succeeded in enrolling in its organization, and by the fact that, under the leadership of Mr. S. R. Ranganathan, the librarian of the Madras University, and Mr. R. Gopalan, sub-librarian of the Connemara Public Library, it is now engaged in vigorous aggressive work throughout the Southern Presidency. Further proof of the zeal and enthusiasm of the members of the Association is provided by the publication of the work under review*, a symposium of nearly 100 short papers, each dealing with some aspect of the library question. Nearly half the book consists of articles in the four principal Dravidian languages, which, although somewhat tantalizing to the present reviewer, because of his ignorance of these interesting vernaculars, is yet in itself a guarantee that the Association is preaching its gospel and carrying on its propaganda largely in the languages "understood of the people." The separate articles are in fact being separately printed and widely distributed in the rural areas of Madras.

In this review we shall therefore confine ourselves to the 52 English articles, all of which provide a rich feast for librarians and library workers. Not that the essayists confine themselves to discussing problems of interest only to librarians, bibliographers and scholars. With a laudable sense of reality, most of the writers are concerned with the question as to the part which the public library is destined to play in the building up of the India of the future. The very titles of the English and vernacular articles are significant. The Rev. H. A. Popley writes of "Libraries for the Million", Mr. S. R. Ranganathan on "Rural Library Service in the West", Mr. K. V. Sessa Ayyangar on "The Library Movement and Night Schools." Other articles deal with mass education, the use of the cinematograph in education, the battle with ignorance, village libraries, the school and the library, rural reconstruction, etc. Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy, as befits a statesman and politician and one who has filled the Presidential chair of the Madras Legislative Council, writes of "The Library Movement and Political Education." "There are," he says, "worse motives than the political motive for the education of a people, and whatever the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms have done or not done, they have certainly given an impetus to the extension of education in India. For, while the man that is concerned with the ultimate progress of the country may be satisfied with measures taken for the education of all the children that can be educated, the politician and the statesman want the education of the grown-up voter *here and now*." Mr. Ruthnaswamy also points out that "The Baroda Library organization through its Visual Instruction Department shows the possibilities of usefulness which the Library Movement can carry to a class of people that are as much in need of instruction as their literate fellows." He closes his article with the declaration that "the slogan of the educational department *one village, one school*, would be worth nothing if it is not supported by what ought to be the slogan of the Library Government *one village, one library*. To realise this ideal, which is a great means to a great end, State and

*THE LIBRARY MOVEMENT. A Collection of Essays by Diverse Hands. 462 p. (Madras Library Association.) 1928. Rs. 3 or 5s.

private enterprise must put forward their energies and their resources. For the end is nothing less than the regeneration of a whole people."

All the essayists are in fact agreed that this Movement, if well directed is destined, to play a very important part in the dissipation of ignorance, the spread of popular education and the revival of healthy village life. Many of the writers are impressed, but by no means appalled, by the magnitude of the task before them. The main problem is admirably summarized in a short article of two pages by that veteran in the library cause, Mr. K. V. Krishnaswamy Ayyar, President of the Association. "While libraries," he declares, "must have their place in our scheme, even to begin with, in order to cater for the liberate amongst us, our functions do not stop there. Our concern is also to educate the illiterate, at least to give them knowledge by oral communications, and as the range to be covered is proportionately very large, this aspect of the movement deserves our immediate and urgent attention. For quite apart from the philanthropic point of view, the national point of view demands that every person who wishes that India should take an equal place amongst the nations of the world, should bestir himself to get the masses educated. By way of precedent, we may refer to the movement in Russia. In that vast country, the percentage of the literate population about twelve years ago was quite as small as ours. But through the influence of the Library Movement carried on along suitable lines, the bulk of the peasant population has, in one decade, been taught to read and write and rendered fit to benefit by the rural library service. The Library Movement in Madras will therefore comprise three different heads of work. The first is the work with the masses. The second line of work will be with those who know how to read, but have had no education in the real sense. The third branch of the programme will relate to the educated classes. The first two lines of work are concerned primarily with the South Indian languages, while the third will necessarily cover the entire literature of the world."

Another highly suggestive contribution is entitled "Intellectual Conscription," wherein Mr. S. V. Ramamurti, I.C.S., Secretary, Development Department, Madras, who has enrolled himself as a Life Member of the Madras Library Association, makes a proposal for civic conscription on the lines of military conscription. He points out that we have failed to infuse "the new learning of Europe into Indian life, and thereby of revivifying the latter. We have on the one hand a small body of men of Anglicized culture—say 1% of the population and on the other a large body of 90% who live their own life. The remaining 9% form town dwellers who are affected by European ways of living without any intellectual appreciation of them. Further, the 90% of the people in villages have to depend for the resources of their life on a knowledge which has become out of date and has ceased to grow. They suffer from many ills—physical, moral and intellectual—from 'disease, malevolence and stupidity.' Humanity has learnt in Europe to conserve life and to mitigate pain. The large part of Indian humanity is none the better for it, in spite of all the knowledge being available in India amongst a small class." The writer goes on to remind us that "in India, indigenous culture was able to spread fully before the days of printing through wandering Bhagavatars and Bhikshus, Sanyasins and Fakirs. Even the highest truths of philosophy were assimilated into the lives of the people by apt poetic imagery understandable by the people and by suitably moulded institutions. May not a similar process be repeated in regard to the new knowledge of

Europe? For, mark you, the new knowledge of Europe is every bit as deep and as grand as the knowledge which seers and prophets gave in the realm of religion. The two bodies of knowledge are in different directions—analytic and synthetic. But in range and intensity, vital truth and influence on life they are comparable... There is need of men to carry the knowledge of Europe to the large masses of India. There is on the other hand the body of men who are packed with that knowledge. Utilize the educated men to fuse European knowledge with Indian life... Let each young man who passes the B.A. examination pass a period of probation for a definite period, say, six months to year. Let him wander in a prescribed area of villages telling people the substance of what he has learnt. With a small bundle of clothes, with food given by the Panchayats, he should move from village to village. At the end of the period he should report to the University what he has learnt. For knowledge, like mercy, blesses him that gives and him that takes. At first the imparting of knowledge by the young men of the University to villages will be stilted, chaotic and ineffectual. But by and by a tradition will grow and the power of expression will be developed... At the same time the University will learn the needs of the villages, will focus attention on how to utilize science for improving village conditions, will know how to evolve a culture suited to the needs and capacities of the nation."

Space does not allow our dwelling on the other interesting and suggestive articles in this important book, which forms a veritable armoury to which social workers can resort for facts, figures, arguments and suggestions to aid them in their campaign against ignorance and illiteracy. I should like, e. g., to have touched upon Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's delightful article on "What makes a Library big?" and what are the functions and the duties of a librarian. I must content myself with hearty congratulations to our eager and enthusiastic brothers and fellow-workers in the south on the work they have already achieved and on the important contribution which they have made, not only to library literature, but also to the literature of social reforms. I trust that the book will be reprinted without the vernacular portions for wide circulation in Northern India and also in Europe and America. Such a work is in itself a proof that the best hearts and minds in our country are at one in the determination that the evils of ignorance, and obscurantism shall be eliminated and that India shall once more take an honoured place amongst the nations of the world.

The perusal of the book will also bring home to our educated youths the magnitude of the task before us and their individual duty to take their part in that task. The work to be done in various directions is immense. What is wanted are bands of earnest, intelligent and selfless workers. "The harvest truly is plenteous but the labourers are few."

NEWTON MOHUN DUTT.

Reviews.

STABILIZATION.

STABILIZATION OF PRICES. By JOSEPH STAGG LAWRENCE. (Macmillan, New York.) 1928. 23cm. 484p. \$5.00.

IF a foot-rule measured 10 inches to-day and 14 inches to-morrow, the resulting inconvenience would be so great that men of affairs would seek and pro-

bably find some remedy. Something of that kind does in fact take place with our coinage. The purchasing power of the rupee may vary by more than 100% in a comparatively short time. We search, and for the most part we search in vain, for a means of avoiding these disconcerting variations in our standard of value.

Our line of search has proved particularly attractive. In the war and the post-war period which raised so many financial problems, most nations had to take drastic action with their currency. It is tempting to ascribe to the currency authority the violent fluctuations in prices from which we have suffered. In India we blame the Government. In America they blame the Federal Reserve Board. There are those too, in America and in Britain, who hold the gold standard responsible for our currency difficulties, and who propose various other standards which seem to them more stable. This book is a criticism, on the whole a hostile criticism, of these proposals.

Mr. J. M. Keynes, for example, believes that gold has failed to preserve the stability of prices, argues that gold is no longer needed to preserve the convertibility of the English currency, and urges that the gold reserve should be used exclusively to correct current fluctuations in the rate of exchange, and that the Bank of England should take over the duty of regulating the price of gold just as at present it regulates the rate of discount. Mr. Lawrence gives an account and criticism of many schemes for stabilising prices, including the Ford scheme, which he characterises as "a theoretical curiosity and a monetary anachronism". All of these schemes agree in regarding the present monetary standard as unsatisfactory. Some of them simply substitute another material, or group of materials for gold. The old bimetallic solution, once the centre of such fierce controversy, is now in a state of quiescence. Professor Marshall proposed, as a means of evading Gresham's Law, that gold and silver should be united in the same coin in a given ratio, while an index number of tabular standard has also been suggested, at least as a basis for contracts.

But most of the plans discussed in this book have in view the stabilisation of prices by a human manipulation of the media of exchange, and are based on the belief that the control of currency and bank credit will make possible the control of the price level. We in India are familiar with the efficiency ascribed to the quantity theory of money, which was responsible for the closing of the mints in 1893. If rupees are losing part of their value, can we not raise their value by diminishing their number? The most valuable part of this book is the acute criticism of the quantity theory of money.

As we are so often reminded and so often forget, money, unlike all other commodities, is intended to pass freely from hand to hand. Consequently in estimating the money supply we must reckon not only the actual quantity, but the rapidity with which it circulates, which is not necessarily a constant. Moreover in the countries most advanced commercially, a very large proportion of purchases is effect-

ed by means not of money but of credit documents, and the author denies that there is any fixed relation between the money supply and the credit supply. Further, even when there are extensive changes of prices in general in one direction, it is not to be lightly assumed that the changing factor is the money medium rather than the commodities. In "The Austrian Crown" de Bordes concludes that when prices rise, the order of events is a rise in exchange, a rise in domestic prices, and then as a consequence an increase in the note issue with increasing prices. The author adduces statistical evidence to show that changes in prices precede more often than they follow changes in the money supply.

Mr. Lawrence is satisfied that the American Federal Reserve Board has no power to secure stability of prices. It cannot alter the credit supply by the sale of Government securities, since the impairment of Bank reserves is immediately compensated by an increase in rediscounts. Moreover, the possibility of affecting the price level by changes in the discount rate are strictly limited. The interest which a borrowing bank pays for its credit at the Central Bank is only a small fraction of the value of the credit it extends to its customers, and member banks do not resort to the Central Bank at all except as a last resort. Even the much vaunted discount policy of the Bank of England seems to have little relation to the price level.

The gold standard has stood the test of time far better than its critics allow. Certainly it failed lamentably in war time, but so did every other standard. The true remedy is not the manipulation of the standard but the cessation of war.

J. F. MCFAYDEN.

TRAVELS OF A SOCIALIST.

TRAVELS AND REFLECTIONS. By NOEL BUXTON. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 22cm. 223 p. 10/-

THE European politician is never so hidebound as to have no other interests but politics in life. As in other matters, so he is in politics—a sportsman and a pilgrim of knowledge all over. We, Indians, who are familiar with our own politicians, who are too heavily weighed down by political cares to indulge in liberalising pastimes such as travel, are wonder-struck to see a Clemenceau shooting tigers in India, a Ramsay MacDonald braving the fatal sand-storms of Sahara, a Roosevelt trotting through the Far Eastern lands. In common with them, Mr. Noel Buxton possesses the same wander-lust. Now holiday-making through "the untamed regions" of the world and now visiting the War zones in order to lend a helping hand to the wounded, he has taken note of curious specimens of humanity who live in a state of religious savagery and subsist on brigandage and manslaughter. Mr. Buxton's tour first takes him through the buffer territory of the ungovernable kind. The typical kind, he tells us, is a born incendiary who at first defied Turkish authority and later served as a convenient and most cold-blooded tool in the hands of the same Government in carrying out its anti-Armenian policy. Curiously enough in Bosnia, he finds the erstwhile lion and the lamb living on

terms of closest amity in a manner that deserves trial in India.

"Thirty-three years before, Moslem, Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic lived in perpetual and blood-stained feud; now their children sat together in the school" (p. 53).

Much, however, of what passes for reform in Turkey appears to Mr. Buxton as something deceitful. He finds that the proverbial saying of old "where the Turkish foot treads, the grass never grows", still holds true. Even in the Balkan States, where the old order is fast giving place to new, "lawless habits still remain a relic of life as it was under the Turk. Even the floor of Parliament does not provide sanctuary. Prime Ministers are hunted to death and Parliamentary leaders are shot down in the Council Chamber."

Mr. Buxton heaves a sigh of relief in Japan, finding himself breathing an air of aesthetic self-possession and dignity. In Bucharest he meets with a disastrous experience, one which would send a cold shiver down the spine of the Indian politician. Travelling through Russian Armenia, he sees clear evidences of Armenian prosperity so long pitifully denied to them.

"The slanting sun displayed a kaleidoscope of industry neither primitive nor capitalist—human economy at its most picturesque stage of development."

It is in Sahara at last that he finds religious bigotry flourishing in the backwoods of its own making. "Such conservatism does Islam produce that there is strong opposition to Western hygiene. At one place French officials were offering to pay a reward to any Arab who would consent to receive medical treatment but in vain... The greatest apologist for Islam, my old Harrow Master, Bosworth Smith, expressed the view that 'the religion of Christ contains whole fields of morality which are outside the religion of Mahomed—humility, purity of heart, forgiveness, sacrifice of self, toleration.'" Himself inclined to condemn sneeringly and with veiled reference to India, "the glut of briefless lawyers busy fomenting the Home Rule Movement", he yet possesses good sense enough to read the Imperialists a wholesome lecture.

"Modern Imperialism has so often forgotten the interests of the conquered in the pursuit of power and wealth for the conqueror, that any light on the problem is worth having. Imperialism must protect the under-dog if it is to justify itself and it has seldom tried to do so"

Noel Buxton is a refreshing diarist. It will do the Indian politician a world of good to read his admirable travel experiences and to take the knapsack himself, whenever he can, to escape from political monomania.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

LAND POLICY UNDER MUSLIM RULE.

THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM OF MOSLEM INDIA. A HISTORICAL ESSAY. By W. H. MORELAND. (Heffer) 1929. 22cm. 296p. 15/-

THE author of "India at the Death of Akbar" and "From Akbar to Aurangzeb" presents us with a wider survey of Indian economic history in his "Agrarian System of Moslem India". It is an attempt to give a connected view of the developments in the land revenue system, extending over a period of six centuries. The sources of information for the period, so far as they are available, give a detailed account of certain periods like those of Alauddin, Sher Shah and Akbar, but there are long intervals about

which there is no recorded information. From the available material the author has attempted to give a connected account of the relations that existed between the peasants and the State, the assessment and collection of the State's share of the peasant's produce and the position of the several classes of intermediaries to whom the State alienated these functions.

The main idea seems to be that there is a certain amount of continuity in the agrarian system of Hindu India, Moslem India and early British India. The main principles of the Hindu system were as follows:—The King had a claim to a share of the produce. The amount of the share and the methods of assessment and collection were determined by the king. In some cases direct relationships were created between the State and the peasant. But ordinarily, there were intermediaries, such as chiefs, assignees etc., who were employed to collect the king's share. The collection was made by charging on the plough or by sharing or by measurement.

The Moslem conquest did not produce any fundamental change in the system. In a large number of cases the Hindu kings submitted and paid tribute, which was recovered from the peasants in the shape of an enhanced revenue demand. Occasionally attempts were made to set aside the claims of the chiefs and enter into direct relations with the peasants. Alauddin was the first to do it. Sher Shah and Akbar followed his example. But the normal method was farming or assignment.

In the standards of assessment also the general rule was one-third of the produce, although occasionally it was raised to a half.

Did the prevalent system of farming and assignment promote or retard agricultural development? The author is of opinion that no constructive policy of development was possible where the tenure of the assignees or the farmers was short and uncertain.

The administrative collapse in the second half of the 17th century was mainly responsible for the general neglect of improvements in agriculture; and the administrative abuses of the early days of the East India Company are the legacies of the previous centuries.

75 pages are allotted to Appendices. Some of them are very valuable. Important passages from contemporary sources are quoted in translation.

S. H.

THE DUCE.

MUSSOLINI, THE WILD MAN OF EUROPE!

By JOHN BOND. (Independent Publishing Co. Washington.) 1929. 20cm. 206p.

THE very sub-title of the book, the Wild Man of Europe, speaks of the author's antipathy to the Italian Dictator. It is not a biography nor a systematic study of Mussolini; it is a fierce denunciation of the man and his political creed. No one will take the book of John Bond for its face value. From the start to the finish the author has tried to paint the Italian Dictator in the blackest possible colours and still he professes to be an ardent devotee of the goddess of truth. After reading his cruel inveighings anybody will suspect whether the author himself is not a victim to propaganda which he decries so much. If Mussolini and his Fascist followers are fostering their creed in America and elsewhere, there are not a few who lead a counter-propaganda against the Duce and his theory of government. In the author's opinion Caesar Borgia, the hero of Macchiavelli and the historic villain of Italy, pales before Mussolini. The Duce is charged with almost every crime—loot, arson, murder, adultery and bigamy, to

name a few only. The author takes care not to accuse Mussolini with direct violence but produces in his own way evidence to lead to the desired inference. He does not see in the Dictator a single redeeming feature, and yet the man and his political philosophy have become problems of international magnitude. After reading the book one is apt to ask the American critic, if the attributes of greatness and wickedness are the same. If the Italian Dictator is so vain, showy, boastful, cruel, and unscrupulous, how is it that he is still at the head of the affairs of his country? The other dictatorships and notably that of Primo de Rivera of Spain are thrown overboard in spite of the dictator's power, prestige, and wisdom. Italy's is the only autocracy in Europe worth its name. It is useless to deny the fact that since Mussolini came into power, Italy's international status has been raised; the lira is stabilised, and internal peace preserved as it was never before. Theatricalities and wild threats can impress the public for a while, but they cannot be the foundation-stone of power. In the Duce there must be something more than that. Mussolini's love of his country is genuine and his zeal for public good is unquestionable. They are the true source of his power. It is no wonder, therefore, that constitutional countries like England have begun to appreciate Mussolini's work.

There is only one chapter in the book, "Foreign Woods in Uncle Sam's Garden", which we need care to mention. Mr. Bond thinks that because of Mussolinian propaganda in the U.S.A. the naturalised Italians will be under the influence of the Fascists and will be an active danger to the great Democracy. For the matter of that, we can say, that the main theme of the book is to awaken the American people to this sinister and demoralising influence. But I do not think that the mere shadow of influence will grow into an actual grave danger. The American Immigration laws are so strict and the quota system is so watchfully observed that Mr. Bond's fears will never materialise. Whatever be the intentions of the Wild Man of Europe, he cannot afford to offend the susceptibilities of a great lending nation. Mussolini wants to float large loans and America is the only nation who can advance him money. He wants to be in her good graces for her material and moral support. If he will try to meddle in her internal politics on the strength of a few votes of the American Fascists, he will be sorely disappointed. The Duce is too shrewd not to understand this.

The book is copiously illustrated, but with damaging explanations under every one of them. The most that one can say in favour of the book is that perhaps it might be the reverse side of the medal.

D. V. TAHMANKAR.

EVOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE.

BRITISH HISTORY. By RAMSAY MUIR. (George Philip, London.) 1929. 20cm. 816p. 7/6.

Mr. Ramsay Muir, the well-known Liberal historian, has attempted in the present book a survey of British history as a connected whole from the earliest times to the present day. The process of empire building and the history of the outlying parts of the Empire are worked into the main texture of the story. This is as it should be; for it is not good in the interests of the Empire that its members should look on the Dominions as appendages to the Mother country or their histories as appendices to her story. The fact that the account comes down to our own times is a distinct feature of merit. The treatment of latter-day events is quite full and perhaps as fair

as one may expect. The remarkably clear and simple style of the book will be a powerful recommendation for its adoption as a text-book in schools and colleges.

We have said that in its narration of recent events the book is as fair as one may expect. But the author of a book with so practical an aim might have minded his adjectives a little better than he does, for instance, in calling Mir Kasim 'the rebellious Nawab' (p. 436), Amritsar 'the turbulent city' (748), or the Egyptian nationalist movement 'a furious agitation' led by 'an able but impracticable enthusiast, Zaghlul Pasha' (750). Very candid, on the other hand is the admission: "The troubles in India and Egypt have afforded evidence of the difficulty of adapting Western ideas and methods of government to the needs of Oriental peoples. It cannot be said that in either country a working solution of the problem has yet been found".

The brief and critical bibliographies at the end of each chapter, the genealogical tables and the chronological summary at the end, together with the full index and over fifty maps and plans add greatly to the usefulness of the volume.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX.

THE WELL OF LONELINESS. By RADCLYFFE HALL with a commentary by HAVELOCK ELLIS. (The Pegasus Press, Paris.) 1928.

THE rule of Moral Government extends beyond the frontiers of the normal. Its jurisdiction is essentially extraterritorial and they alone have the freedom of the city who to all appearances conform to its ceremonial. But the wayward, the prodigal and the exceptional, those who represent either the spoilt children of nature or her functional miscarriages, "their love may be faithful even unto death and beyond—and yet the world will call it unclean. They may harm no living creature by their love; they may grow more perfect in understanding and in charity because of their loving; but all this will not save them from the scourge of a world that will turn away its eyes from their noble actions finding only corruption and vileness in them. They will see men and women defiling each other, laying the burden of their sins upon their children. They will see unfaithfulness, lies, deceit among those whom the world views with approbation".

They are the despair of the well-behaved and a mystery to themselves. Psychologically there exists a kinship between some of them and the nun who unites herself to the Lord and the monk who finds sexual release in flagellation. But such however as possess a sexual instinct, perverted from natural and well-directed inclination, stand dissociated from all those that are lawful and methodical. In a society which believes in procreative loyalties of a rather adhesive type, the virile manly woman and the yielding man enchantress of accident, are out of place and they condemn themselves for no fault of their own to starvation and incomplete self-abuse, "denying their bodies, stultifying their brains, becoming the victims of their own frustrations." Corrupting none, they are a pollution to themselves inasmuch as they disregard the course of true love. The searching eye of Mrs. Radclyffe Hall penetrates into their "Well of Loneliness" and marks out Stephen—the daughter of Sir Philip Gordon—throbbing with manpower, for playing the leading role in her exquisite romance of the third sex. Disappointed but not disheartened by the birth of a girl instead of a hoped for boy to his wife, Sir Philip takes revenge

upon nature by giving his daughter a thoroughly masculine training. Warlike, in his hands the child develops into a sinuous rider and boxer, a complete alien to the woman in herself. The sex-consciousness of her childhood centres round Collins, a servant maid, and is almost saddist in intensity. Growing into adolescence, she recoils from the embrace of her lover Martin and plays the lover to two women, with one of whom she lives in mock matrimony. At last shunned by her mother, scoffed at by the well-ordered society, cheated of her "wife" Mary by her one-time lover Martin she seeks solace from agonies of ill-conditioned sex in death.

The book more than admirably supplies a missing link in the chain of the psychology of sex. Mrs. Radclyffe Hall unmasks a strange sex instinct with a sympathy and literary genius that is at once dignified and unsparing.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE CHILD MARRIAGE RESTRAINT ACT.

By A. S. SRINIVASA AIYAR. (The Law Publishing Company, Madras.) 1930. 168p. Rs. 1-8.

THE editor, Mr. A. S. Srinivasa Aiyar, who is well-known to the world of law as a publisher of an extensive legal literature, emphasises in his Introduction the obvious fact that the difficulties with laws laying down a minimum age of marriage lie not so much in enacting as in enforcing them. From which it follows, as Mr. Aiyar truly observes, that it is incumbent on social reformers who clamoured for the Sarda Act and the Government who allowed it to be passed to educate public opinion in its favour. Mr. Aiyar's own sympathies evidently lie with the oppositionists of the Act who are shocked by this "seismic interference with an age-long practice." He sees much merit, e. g., in the contention that since the Bill emerged from the Select Committee in an entirely new measure which did not receive the previous sanction of the Governor General the Act in its final form is *ultra vires* of the powers of the Indian legislature. Nevertheless the present pamphlet, in which the text of the Act with the editor's commentary which is very critical and the debate in the Legislative Assembly are given, will further the propaganda for informing the public on the provisions of the Act and is warmly to be welcomed.

G. S. P.

THE TIMES' INDIA NUMBER.

IN the coming years India will increasingly occupy the attention of the British people and this attempt on the part of the foremost newspaper in that country to impart to them information on the different aspects of the Indian problem is to be heartily welcomed. The articles are mostly well informed and are written by persons regarded as authorities on the subjects they handle. To say so however is not to subscribe to everything said by them. E. g., some of the statements in the article on the Simon Commission, in so far as they are intended to belittle the importance of the opposition of some Indian political parties to the Commission, will be hotly contested by Indian political opinion. All the same the India Number has been very well got up and fully maintains the *Times* reputation for thoroughness. However its utility, we think, would have considerably increased if instead of allowing the Indian case to go before the British electorate in a

secondhand manner through ex-Governors and retired administrators, however estimable, the *Times* had sought the co-operation of some well-known figures in Indian public life for that purpose. Fairness to Indian opinion demanded this; but this, as we know to our cost, has never been that journal's strong point.

D. V. A.

THE TRADE UNION RECORD.

SINCE the left wing of the Indian Trade Union movement, which looks to Moscow for inspiration, took place at Christmas, the promoters of the *All-India Trade Union Bulletin*, who belong to the right wing and are unalterably resolved to keep the movement true to legitimate trade union principles, have had to give up the *Bulletin* and replace it by an organ of their own, entitled the *Trade Union Record*. The first number of the *Record* is now published. It is for all practical purposes the continuation of the *Bulletin*: the Editor remains the same, Mr. R. R. Bakhale, the nature of the magazine and its format the same, the place of publication the same, the annual subscription the same. We hope that all those who have genuine concern for the development of the labour movement on right lines will patronise the *Record*.

THE ARYAN PATH.

THIS is a monthly magazine published since January last by Theosophy Co. (India) Ltd. (51, Esplanade Road, Bombay), with the object mainly of forming a nucleus of Universal Brotherhood of Humanity and studying ancient and modern religions, philosophies and sciences. The promoters have been able to secure a large galaxy of distinguished contributors among whom number G. D. H. Cole, C. E. M. Joad, A. V. Williams Jackson, J. D. Beresford, Arthur J. Hoffman, E. E. Speight, Basil A. Yearles Lord Olivier (to select only a few from the first three issues). The magazine contains a fair proportion of articles on subjects not dealing particularly with occult-abstruse religion, and all the contributions maintain a very high level, some of them being really distinguished by deep thought. Each number will give excellent companionship to men and women of average culture for a couple of days every month and the curious will find in it subjects of study and research which may well engage them, one does not know for how long.

P. T. S.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE CIVIL SERVICE OF CANADA. By ROBERT MACGREGOR DAWSON. (Oxford University Press.) 1929. 23cm. 266p.
- BRITISH MALAYA. By FRANK SWETTENHAM. (John Lane.) 1929. 22cm. 372p. 12/6.
- LABOUR AND HOUSING IN INDIA. By RAJ BAHADUR GUPTA. (Longmans.) 1930. 22cm. 264p. Rs. 7-8.
- A SURVEY OF ANCIENT HISTORY TO THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE. By M. L. W. LAISTNER. (Heath.) 1929. 22cm. 613p.
- ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS. By FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG. (Macmillan.) 1929. 22cm. 783p. 18/-
- THE MAN A WOMAN MARRIES. By VICTOR COX PEDERSEN. (Jarrolds.) 20cm. 288p. 6/-
- CO-OPERATION AND RURAL WELFARE IN INDIA. By B. B. MUKHERJEE. (Thacker Spink.) 1929. 20cm. 198p. Rs. 3.