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Topics of the Week.

Hurrah for Motilal.

TO his many and striking sacrifices for the cause of India the venerable Pandit Motilal Nehru has added yet another by the offer of his famous house and home, "Anand Bhavan", as a free gift to the nation. Many an important conference in the recent history of India was held under that hospitable roof and many a grave and vital decision taken there. Few others can compare with it in such historic associations dear to the heart of the Indian politicians. During the last ten years "Anand Bhavan" has practically been the property of the nation, the headquarters of the Congress. And now the Pandit has finally decided to offer the house to the nation, and his action will endear him the more, if that is possible, to the people of India, who are touched by nothing so much as by acts of self-sacrifice. Piquency is added to the incident in that the son, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, as President of the Congress, accepted, on behalf of the nation, the gift that his father made.

Points of Order.

AFTER making perhaps the most moving and eloquent speech opposing British preference contained in the Tariff Bill, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya created a sensation by raising three points of order in the Assembly. Several members, and among them Mr. Jinnah, were decidedly of opinion that they were not points of order at all. Of the three, the only one which can at all be said to approximate to a point of order was the Pandit's question whether official and nominated members could vote on the tariff bill. The reply is so obvious that it is surprising that so experienced a legislator as the Pandit should have entertained doubts about it. The President in his reply on Monday last emphasised the obvious by stating that nominated and official mem-

bers were free to vote on the measure. Rather, he put it the negative way that there was nothing to prevent them from voting. The first point raised by the Pandit was about the interpretation of the fiscal autonomy convention. The President, surprisingly enough, held it a point of order but declined to give a ruling. We have dealt with the subject in another place. The third was whether the Government was entitled to hold out the threat of withdrawal of the Bill if the Pandit's amendment was carried. On this the President made a "suggestion" to the Government that they should reconsider their decision and keep an open mind; and he held the counter threat that at any time his "suggestion" might be converted into a "decision." But in the event, though the Government refused to pay heed to the suggestion, the President refrained from carrying out his threat and contented himself with by placing on record his "decision" that "any decision this Assembly might finally reach on this question will not be the free vote of this House on the amendment." The President did not, as he could not, rule out of order the decision of the Government: it was open to the Government, as it is to a private member, to withdraw a bill if they chose. That the Government have used their undoubted right to coerce the House gives legitimate room for angry protest. Speaking purely from the constitutional standpoint, it is one of inevitable but none the less deplorable incidents of even thorough-going democracies that the free voting by the members has practically disappeared.

Selling the Pass.

IF press reports be true, the worst that we feared seems to have come to pass. The Princes, it is reported, have come to an informal agreement with certain nationalist leaders at Delhi to the effect that, while the Princes will put no obstacles in the way of British India's constitutional progress towards autonomy, the Nationalist leaders will, in return, guarantee internal autonomy to the Princes. While the "Manchester Guardian" may be correct in believing that the Princes "are far too wise and mannerly to bargain openly for our (British) support in return for their loyalty to the Crown", they do not seem to be deterred by such considerations from entering into unholy pacts with the British Indian leaders in the absence and over the head of the subjects of the States. Our apprehensions are already coming true that we cannot expect the British Indian leaders to stand up for the rights of the subjects of the Indian States. The "Manchester Guardian" has shown greater courage, greater political sense and discernment when it said "The truth is that the Indian States, as States, have on some points an excellent case against the manner in which the Government of British India has exercised its autocratic power to overrule the pleas put forward on behalf of the States. But there is a danger that in devising means for defending the interests of the

States against the autocracy of the Government of India, we may limit that Government's power of checking an autocrat who is arbitrarily overriding the rights of his subjects. When listening to the princes' complaints regarding the autocratic authority exercised by the Government of India, we must consider what the princes' subjects have to say about the autocracy of the princes. We cannot support the indefinite continuance of that autocracy without disloyalty to our best traditions."

* * *

Things done by Halves . . .

IN his address to the Bengal Legislative Council H. E. the Governor announced that his Government proposed to introduce a bill to repeal that part of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925 which gave power to the Government to arrest and detain persons without trial, while retaining the other part of it which enables Government to constitute special tribunals for the trial of certain classes of offences. He, however, coupled the offer of the repeal with the threat that if an emergency again arose, he had the authority of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government to say that necessary steps would be taken to reinvest his government with the powers now to be relinquished. When first the Bengal Government went to the Bengal Legislative Council for these special powers, which amount to nothing less than the suspension of the *habeas corpus* and summary trial, the Council indignantly refused them; and the Government had to secure them by certification. The Act was, however, limited in duration to five years, and is due to expire in the last week of April. Instead of allowing it to lapse, Government have again decided to face the music in the Council, and to buy off opposition to some extent by volunteering to abandon the power of detention without trial. Government have had no occasion to use these powers during the last three years: so said His Excellency. He did not explain what the Government attributed the improvement in the situation to, and why they now feel safe to relinquish the powers that they went the length of certifying to get five years ago. Whatever be the Government's reasons, their decision to forego the power of detention without trial will be heartily welcomed. But why the Government insist of retaining what is after all a minor advantage compared to what they are giving up is not clear. During the last five years only nine cases were referred to these special tribunals. If they claim success for the Act, it is more because of the power of detention without trial than because of the special methods of trial. Since the Government have the assurance of the higher authorities that another emergency will see them in possession of all the powers that they may need, we hope the Bengal Government will go the whole hog and allow the Act to die a natural death.

* * *

Most Foolish.

FROM the full text of the judgment in the Sen-Gupta case it is clear that the Magistrate was more apologetic than otherwise for convicting Mr. Sen-Gupta. A meed of praise is due to him for the great care and circumspection with which he conducted the trial: he sought out every aid he could get for a fair hearing. He summed up for Mr. Sen-Gupta but in the end, because two isolated passages seemed to him to have just crossed the borderline of sedition, he found against him and gave him a sentence of ten days. He would have done well to have acquitted the accused and read a reprimand to the Burma Government for their frivolous, vexatious and undignified persecution. Now what is the net result of the prosecution? The Burma Government have out a most

sorry figure by this most foolish action. They are no stronger for the conviction: the moral victory is undoubtedly with the prisoner. Mr. Sen-Gupta has been neither cowed down nor humiliated nor even checked. Only the Burma Government, under that arch-diehard, Sir Charles Innes, have to hide their head in shame. Was the Government of India a party to this ridiculous futility of the Burma Government? In reply to Mr. Jinnah in connection with the arrest of Sirdar Vallabhai Patel Sir James Crerar said that the Government of India were in charge of the policy, and that only in emergencies the local authorities were entitled to take action on their own responsibility. Since there was no urgency about the prosecution of Mr. Sen-Gupta, was the Government of India's permission taken for it? And did they grant it? Are Mr. Sen-Gupta's Burma speeches the only, or the most seditious, speeches that they have come across? Or did they consider Mr. Sen-Gupta particularly dangerous? Or has Sir Charles Innes already effected the separation of Burma from India, a policy he is using all his official influence to promote?

* * *

Kashmir during 1929.

THE report of the administration of the State of Jammu and Kashmir during the year 1929 shows steady progress although it must be said that a good deal of leeway has to be made up by the State in the sphere of what are now styled as beneficent services. The abnormal floods of last year constituted a serious danger to the State territories and have told on the finances on account of remissions and suspensions of land revenue and grants for relief to the people affected by the floods. A comprehensive scheme has now been sanctioned costing Rs. 22 lakhs for protecting the Kashmir Valley from future floods. It is creditable to the State authorities that 20 stipendiaries were studying different subjects, including mining and horticulture, in India and abroad during the year. They will be given gazetted offices at the end of their successful careers. The total revenue for the year was Rs. 254 lakhs and total expenditure Rs. 240 lakhs, whereas the budgetted revenue and expenditure for the next year are Rs. 274 lakhs and Rs. 320 lakhs. Although Rs. 50,000 have been sanctioned for the introduction of free and compulsory education during the next year the total grant of Rs. 17.14 lakhs for education strikes us as unduly small. According to the standard of the Bombay Presidency, in proportion to its revenue the State ought to spend on education at least Rs. 32 lakhs, that is, nearly double the sum it actually spends. Cooperative Societies have made good progress, the working capital having increased from Rs. 67 lakhs to Rs. 79 lakhs. The striking feature of the movement is the remarkable progress of consolidation of holdings, which has raised the average area of a holding from $\frac{1}{2}$ acre to $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres in a hundred villages. In spite of continued progress in medical relief and the improvement of rural sanitation the total expenditure of Rs. 10 lakhs on the Medical department would strike every one in British India as miserably inadequate, and we hope that the grant would be nearly doubled in succeeding years. Although the Public Works Department seems to cater for the needs of the Army, the expenditure of the latter Department, which swallows nearly a fifth of the revenue, appears disproportionately large. Curiously enough the Budget for the next year shows a very large increase in both the items of Military and Public Works. A gratifying feature is the increase in the salaries of the rank and file in the Police Department and the rapid improvement in the methods of the police. We should have liked to know however something about the relations of the police with the

general public. It is difficult to see why the State should have taken all these years to establish a Police training school for constables, an item so essentially necessary for successful work.

The Madras Vigilance Association.

THE Madras Vigilance Association founded in 1925 has done excellent work in connection with the suppression of commercialised vice in that province and has greatly assisted towards the passage of the Bill for the suppression of immoral traffic. The Association induced Mr. K. R. Venkatrama Iyer, M. L. C., to introduce the Bill after obtaining the sanction of the Government of India. In the select committee stage members of the Association gave important evidence on the various provisions of the Bill and left no stone unturned to assure the early passage of the Bill. The Madras legislation is very comprehensive, and penalises every offence connected with the traffic in vice; in addition it makes provision of rescue homes for minor girls. The principal basis of the Bill is the recognition that traffic in vice is an offence against public welfare whether it is a nuisance or not. This is a marked advance over the Police Acts of the various presidency towns operating at the present time. The Association complains, however, that the Bill has failed to apply the same moral standard for both sexes as recognized by progressive public opinion; it further deplors that the clause penalising the earnings of the third party was defeated on account of the opposition led by the Government on the ground that it might lead to unjustified harassment of private citizens. It is to be noted however that those who voted for the clause constituted a strong minority and it is possible that at the next amendment of the Bill public opinion will be sufficiently compelling to ensure the restitution of the clause. It is to be hoped that the Select Committee to which a corresponding Bill in the Bombay Council is referred would copy the thoroughness with which the Madras Select Committee investigated the problem and the pertinacity it showed in tackling the minutiae of an intricate piece of legislation.

Education in C. P.

THE Report on the progress of education in the Central Provinces for the year 1928-29 is a matter-of-fact document giving a plain unvarnished narration of steady progress in all its branches. An important event during the year is the appointment of an officer to report on the condition of depressed classes in respect of facilities for education and recommend measures for their uplift. The number of pupils in the Anglo-vernacular schools increased by nearly three thousand and the total expenditure on these schools came to Rs. 17.5 lakhs, of which half the amount was contributed by the Government. The percentage of trained teachers was 91.6, which must be considered very satisfactory. Medical inspection was carried out in all Government high schools and Anglo-vernacular middle schools, and it is proposed to create thirteen posts of teachers qualified to give physical instruction in normal and high schools. A detailed syllabus in hygiene and physical training for primary and normal schools will soon be introduced and proposals for such courses even for Anglo-vernacular schools are under consideration. During the year eight new schemes of compulsory primary education were put into operation in areas administered by local boards and municipalities; but in most cases the actual enrolment has not attained the estimated figures, the reason being that "the attendance autho-

rities are too soft-hearted or negligent" in the matter of prosecutions. It is satisfactory to note that compared with the last year there is an increase of pupils in classes II, III and IV so that the wastage has been reduced. The percentage of candidates successful in primary examinations is only 56.6 whereas it ought to be at least 75. The Report complains that school committees have not proved of much value and that the revenue officers do not give proper assistance to local bodies in increasing enrolment and securing regular attendance. The total number of girls in female primary schools and those learning in boy's primary schools is nearly 40,000, which is quite a negligible figure. The number of girls in the vernacular middle schools has increased by nearly 400 to 5,243 but even this is a disappointingly low figure. It is a good sign that as many as 75 boys of the depressed classes are receiving high school education. Considering the industrial needs of India it seems a great pity that only 177 students are availing themselves of the benefits of the Government Engineering School at Nagpore. The total expenditure on primary education, which is nearly Rs. 34 lakhs, does not compare favourably with other provinces.

Cooperation in Bombay Presidency.

THE Report of the Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Bombay Presidency, for 1928-29 reveals a definite attempt to weed out the undesirable features of the movement by insisting upon quality rather than quantity. The number of agricultural societies increased by 134, the working capital of all the central banks increased by nearly Rs. 33 lakhs to Rs. 434 lakhs and the reserve fund shows an increase of Rs. 10 lakhs for the total of all types of societies. The rate of increase during the year 1928-29 has not kept pace with that in the preceding year, the most marked falling off being seen in point of the increase of members; whereas 1927-28 showed an increase of about fifty-six thousand members, the year 1928-29 showed an increase of nearly nine thousand members. This is explained by the expulsion of defaulting members in accordance with a vigorous policy of weeding out improvident members as also of wiping out bad societies; every one will bless the Registrar for this cleansing of the stables which has been imperative for a long time. The Registrar notes satisfactory progress in urban banking, the number of Urban Banks with a capital of over Rs. ½ lakh being to-day seventy. The Registrar is justified in holding out a hope that as a result of the Banking Enquiry now going on Cooperative Banking will receive a stimulus in the near future. An increasing acquaintance with new credit instruments is revealed by the figure of total remittances through cheques and *hundis* which during the year under report is shown as Rs. 9.29 lakhs. The reduction in the working capital of agricultural societies at first strikes one as a bad feature, but is explained by the cautious financing by the Provincial Bank and the District Banks, which is in a line with the general policy of checking reckless finance. It is significant to note that the two districts of Khandesh offer the best field for future expansion of cooperative activity. It has been suggested by some that the surplus funds of the Provincial Bank should be utilized for assisting housing societies and other industrial enterprises; we do not think however that this is the proper destination of cooperative money deposits which are liable to be called back. The proper thing is to create more employment for the money which can be advanced profitably by the district banks themselves for giving a stimulus to rural agriculture and marketing.

Articles.

COTTON TARIFF BILL.

AFTER a stormy career, not without surprises, uncertainties and anxieties, the Cotton Tariff Bill was finally passed on the 31st of March with the amendment of Mr. Shanmugam Chetty by 62 to 42 votes. It will be recalled that the Government of India in the first instance proposed a 15 per cent. *ad valorem* duty together with an additional duty of 3½ as. per pound on plain grey goods, irrespective of the country of origin. It was at this stage that the British Government made representations to the Government of India drawing the latter's attention to the prejudicial effect such duties would have on British industry. Though the full correspondence between the two Governments has not been published, it is clear from the statement that the Secretary of State made in Parliament and the unequivocal, and rather warm, statement made by Sir George Rainy in the Assembly that the British Government made no suggestion regarding preference to British goods. Nor did the Government of India at the time contemplate British preference. The British Government were naturally not enthusiastic about the increase of the *ad valorem* duty from 11 to 15 per cent, and would have welcomed the *status quo*. But in view of the revenue as well as the protective needs of India, the Government of India could not abandon their proposal to raise the duty to 15 per cent. Instead, they hit upon the scheme of British preference, a scheme which, while protecting the Indian cotton industry, would elbow out Japan from the Indian market and preserve it for Lancashire. They, therefore, proposed over and above the revenue duty of 15 per cent *ad valorem*, a special protective duty of 5 per cent. with a minimum of 3½ as. per pound on plain grey goods of non-British origin. In announcing these revised proposals Sir George Schuster was at pains to explain and assure the Assembly that no commitment to the principle of imperial preference was involved and that the final decision in this matter would rest with the Legislative Assembly.

Indian opinion is violently opposed to British preference, inasmuch as it involves the sacrifice of Indian consumers' interests for the benefit of producers in Great Britain, a sacrifice which even those most friendly to Great Britain shrink from imposing in view of the deplorable poverty of India. The sense of grievance, still rankling in the hearts of Indians that it was Lancashire which did the most unabashed and relentless injury to India for many decades makes it even more difficult for them to forget and forgive and run, at some sacrifice, to the rescue of Lancashire. On the top of it all, the political distemper of the country, and the uneasy discontent shared by even the most moderate among the Indian publicists renders preference to Lancashire, coupled with a handicap to Japan, an Asiatic country, hateful and unpalatable.

And yet the Government of India, knowing full well the temper of the country and the economic consequences of their proposals, came to the Assembly with their scheme of British preference. They would have had no ghost of a chance but for the fact that they ingeniously linked British preference with protection to the Indian cotton industry, and caught the members of the Assembly on the horns of a dilemma. Lancashire and Bombay were bracketed by the Government: either both or none, said the Government. The bulk of the non-official members of the Assembly were desirous of giving protection to the Indian industry as they were desirous of refusing British preference. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya proposed an amendment which came nearest the wishes of the un-official members: he adopted as his the original proposals of the Government, namely, 15 per cent revenue duty plus a special duty of 3½ as. per pound of plain grey goods, and no preference.

Long before the Pandit's amendment was reached, the Government took the rather extra-ordinary step of indicating that if it was passed by the House, they would withdraw the Bill altogether and that the farthest they would go was to accept the amendment of Mr. Shanmugam Chetty. Mr. Chetty's amendment was to the effect that, over and above the revenue duty of 15 per cent on all cotton goods, all plain grey goods, whether of British or other origin, should pay a specific duty of 3½ as. per pound, and that goods other than plain greys of non-British origin should be liable to a further protective duty of 5 per cent *ad valorem*. This proposal increased the range of protection that the Indian industry was to receive inasmuch as even Britain had to pay the specific duty of 3½ as. per pound on plain greys, in the manufacture of which she competes to some extent with India. It was only on goods other than plain greys that Lancashire gets a preference over Japan.

This announcement by the Government created great disappointment, amounting to dismay, among the non-official members. When Sir George Schuster said in his budget speech that "after frankly stating our conclusions, we should desire to put carefully considered views before the Legislative Assembly, with whom the final decision must rest" it was understood generally that in the matters of preference and protection the Government, would cheerfully accept the verdict of the Assembly and that the Assembly was free to amend the Government's proposals, and if it chose, separate protection from preference and grant the one while refusing the other. This feeling was evoked and sustained by the speech of Sir George Schuster himself when he pleaded the political advantages, in view of the Round Table Conference, of the Assembly gracefully and voluntarily showing its goodwill to Britain. It was entirely for the unofficial members, therefore, to balance, the economic disadvantages and the political advantages of preference, and to make up their mind without any coercion but with the friendly advice of the Government. But Sir George Rainy's threat of withdrawal came as a bombshell to these sanguine legislators and shattered

their hopes and confidence. At the point of the pistol, as it were, they were told either to swallow preference or abandon protection: they were free to make or mar but not to separate Bombay from Lancashire: they stand or fall together.

There can be no doubt that if the Government had not held out this threat, had not resorted to this manœuvre, the Assembly would have sanctioned protection and rejected preference. As it turned out in the end, the Assembly has swallowed under duress, under coercion, British preference and failed to secure even the political advantage as a compensation. The legislators have lost both ways. For nobody will be deceived by the vote of the House into believing that the legislators have cheerfully, voluntarily, as a sign of goodwill or as an act of timely succour to a friendly power in distress or even as a political bargain, agreed to British preference. The British Government did not ask for it the Indian people did not want to give it; but the Government of India took cruel advantage of the dire distress and pathetic helplessness of India to drag her into giving it. It is a great disservice that the Government of India have done to India.

FISCAL AUTONOMY CONVENTION.

THE precise meaning and scope of the Fiscal Autonomy Convention which has been established in India since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were in question in the debates in the Legislative Assembly on the Cotton Protection Bill. The Convention was claimed by Pandit Malaviya, who moved an amendment for doing away with the preference offered to British piecegoods in the Government of India's proposals to require the Government of India as well as the Secretary of State for India to accept the decision of the Central Legislature on all fiscal matters. The Government challenged this interpretation as excessive and contended that in all their proceedings the Convention had been scrupulously observed by them. Pandit Malaviya thereupon called the President to judge between himself and the Government of India. The President accepted this rôle but refrained from giving what in his judgment was the correct interpretation of the Convention for the only reason that whether Pandit Malaviya's view of the Convention was well-founded or not, the Government were clearly in the wrong on the second point raised by Pandit Malaviya, that is to say, in making up their mind against his amendment and threatening to withdraw the whole Bill if the Assembly insisted upon introducing the amendment in the Bill, Government had without a doubt violated the Convention.

It would be well worth our while to examine the arguments on both sides and to see where the truth really lies. To claim that the Legislature by itself has full control over fiscal matters, irrespectively of the wishes of the executive, is obviously to overinterpret the Convention, which merely requires the Secretary of State to waive his right of interference on tariff questions in cases of agreement between the Government of India and the

Legislature. The Convention imposes a restriction upon the powers of the Secretary of State; none upon the powers of the Government of India. The Legislature's view can be made effective as against the Secretary of State's, in virtue of this Convention, if the view of the Legislature is in conformity with that of the Government of India; but there is no warrant in the Convention itself for maintaining that in fiscal matters the Government of India is bound to abide by the vote of the Legislature.

So much is beyond question. But is the President right in maintaining that "the Government were not within their rights in taking up that attitude (of threatening to withdraw the Bill in the event of their proposals not being accepted), having regard to the terms of the Convention"? The point is somewhat complicated and requires careful investigation. Even assuming, argues President Patel, that the Convention gives no power to the Legislature to force its view upon the Government of India, the latter are bound under the Convention to let a fiscal Bill initiated by them to go to the vote. If they stop its progress they will virtually be depriving the Legislature of its right to invoke the Secretary of State's power of intervention, which *ex hypothesi* remains intact in matters where they and the Legislature hold divergent views. The Convention has thus a twofold result. In cases of agreement between the Government and the Legislature it ousts the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State; he cannot intervene and set aside their joint decision. This is the aspect of the Convention which is generally present to the public mind. But there is another aspect of it which must also be considered. The very same Convention which is available for use to counteract the opposition of the Secretary of State to the popular view may conceivably be used to get him to override the Government of India's opposition to that view. Where the Legislature and the India Government are in agreement the Secretary of State must acquiesce; where they are in disagreement, he becomes the final arbiter. He will in the latter case very probably side with the Government of India and defeat the popular wishes. But it is also possible that he will side with the Legislature and prevent the Government of India from turning down the popular view. In such cases his intervention would be beneficial, but the intervention can take effect only when the disagreement between the Legislature and the Government is established. If however, the Government are allowed to withdraw a Bill which it may have introduced as soon as disagreement between them and the Legislature begins to appear, then, the disagreement not being established, there is no occasion for the Secretary of State to come upon the scene and restrain the Government of India. This is an unjust deprivation of possible protection which the constitution affords in India. If it be objected to this view that the Government of India are entitled to withdraw a proposal from the Legislature at any stage, Mr. Patel's reply would be that the Tariff Autonomy Convention has divested them of this right in so far as tariffs are concerned. Where it is a question of tariffs the Convention provides that the voice

of the Legislature shall prevail when it is supported either by the Government of India or the Secretary of State for India. The Convention cannot, therefore, allow either of them to stifle that voice. In the present instance the Government of India, having deprived the popular wishes of the normal channel of expression, have broken the Convention.

Such is the Hon'ble Mr. Patel's reasoning. But we see more ingenuity in it than substance. The Convention was not meant to provide for interference, at all. It was meant to prevent interference. The Fiscal Autonomy Convention is only a part of the general policy of non-intervention recommended by the Crewe Committee in all cases of concurrence between the Government of India and the Legislature, and endorsed by the Joint Select Committee of Parliament. The latter's recommendation in regard to the Convention, subsequently accepted by Government, was to this effect: "In the opinion of the Committee, therefore the Secretary of State should as far as possible avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its Legislature are in agreement and they think that his intervention, when it does take place, should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire," &c. &c. The Convention, therefore, limits the Secretary of State's power of intervention in certain circumstances; it does nothing to put it into operation in any circumstances. If Mr. Patel is so enamoured of the Secretary of State's powers of intervention, he can invoke them, or persuade the Assembly to invoke them, on their merits; but the Convention is of no use to him there. He cannot base the claim for intervention on the part of the Secretary of State on a Convention, whose sole object is to guard against it.

While the Fiscal autonomy Convention cannot be brought into use to check the Government of India's anti-national policy, it is still capable of very effective service in warding off a possible manipulation of tariffs by the Secretary of State in the interest of Lancashire and Great Britain. This is the real menace which threatens India's economic interests and the Convention would be a complete safeguard against it if we were assured that the Secretary of State would not choke off a proposal favoured by the Government of India and likely to meet with acceptance at the hands of the Central Legislature. The Convention is in danger of being infringed by the Secretary of State in this way. The danger is very real, and all the more serious because the Secretary of State's interference in such cases would take place secretly. The Indian public, we are sorry to say, are not sufficiently alive to this danger. We have no means of knowing whether at any stage the Government of India's action in dealing with the Cotton Bill or amendments thereon was due to inspiration from Whitehall. The withholding of the Government of India's correspondence with the Secretary of State, in spite of repeated demands for its publication, at any rate leaves room for doubt. This point, however, escaped the attention of the Assembly. In order that the Convention may yield its full result, it is necessary not merely that the Secretary of State should refrain from refusing sanction to the Government of

India's tariff proposals when they are passed by the Legislature; but it is necessary further to provide, as the Memorandum of the Moderate Party's deputation to the Joint Select Committee recommended, that "the Government of India should no longer be under an obligation to refer tariff proposals to the Secretary of State for his previous sanction." Unless such provision is made the Secretary of State may kill the proposals before their inception instead of after they are passed by the Legislature, and in the end we may be in a worse position than before. If the Secretary of State's interference takes place at a later stage, India would at least have a grievance on the usthness of which she can enlist the moral opinion of the world; but if it takes place before the proposals see the light of day, she would lose this leverage. Mr. Sastri in his speech in the Council of State on 23rd February 1921 explained what further provisions were necessary in order that the concurrence of the Government of India and the Legislature on fiscal matters which was a condition precedent to the coming of the Convention into effect could be secured. He said:

Nevertheless the Governor-General may exercise his veto. Whenever the Government of India—I am distinguishing for the moment between the Governor General and the Government of India—even where the Government of India and the Legislature agree in fiscal matters, it will be open to the Governor General to veto such fiscal legislation. Let us hope that the veto will come to be nearly forgotten. So that, while it may exist on paper, as so many other things exist in the English Constitution, it never will be utilised, and we may take it that this concurrence between the Government of India and their Legislature will always be achieved. Now what is the other part? It is this. There is another power which the Secretary of State at present enjoys in controlling legislation in India. There are two ways in which he does it. First of all, the Government of India must submit certain Bills to the Secretary of State so that he looks over them in a general sort of way and tells the Government of India, "Very well, you go on." Now we must ask the Secretary of State to forego this power—as a matter of practice, not as a matter of law—in regard to fiscal legislation that we may undertake here. For once we submit our fiscal Bills at this stage to the Secretary of State and ask whether we may go on with them, it is quite likely that he will impose his will upon the Government of India, which may really be the will of Manchester or some other part of England. Now, that power the Secretary of State must consent to forego. Besides, during the course of the legislation it is also open to the Secretary of State, according to current practice, to order the Government of India to stop progress. Now, that power also he must give up. Initial consent and interim veto are powers which the Secretary of State now enjoys over fiscal legislation as over all other legislation. Now, these two powers he must surrender as a matter of practice.

It is only this that will invest the Convention about Fiscal Autonomy with a character of reality.

As the earlier article will show, we are as severe critics of the Government of India's attitude to Pandit Malaviya's amendment as any other, but we cannot agree that the criticism can be based upon the reason assigned by Mr. Patel.

PROF. KEITH ON MR. SASTRI.

IT is a matter of no small surprise as well as of regret that so close and careful a student of Imperial politics as Prof. A. B. Keith should have been so ill informed, and in consequence, should have so thoroughly misunderstood the policy pursued by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as Agent of the Government of India in South Africa. In his very valuable and highly authoritative book, "The Sovereignty of the British Dominions", Prof. Keith makes himself responsible for the following estimate of Mr. Sastri's policy:

"On the other hand, it must be noted that the policy of the Indians who remain in South Africa has been framed without consideration for native interests, in accordance with the advice of Srinivas Shastri, the first representative of the Indian Government appointed to act as intermediary in regard to the interests of the Indians. He has advised his fellow-countrymen to refuse to make common cause with the native movement for the grant of civil and political rights, though it is clear that the natives' claim in these respects is as legitimate as that of the Indian themselves. Racial exclusiveness is not particular to Europeans." (Pp. 84-85).

The implication of this paragraph is that Mr. Sastri advised his fellow-countrymen to regard themselves as superior to the Natives of country, and, therefore, entitled to rights and liberties denied to the latter. The truth, however, is that on every occasion when he referred to this subject he emphasised the community of interests between the Indians and the Natives, and the beneficial effect on each that the improvement of the other would have. It is true he did not approve of their agitation being carried on in common under the same organisation. One consideration was conclusive to his mind and it appealed instantly to every thinking person to whom it was addressed. The most powerful factor that operates in favour of the Indians in South Africa is the advocacy, on their behalf, of the Government of India. This advocacy is possible because the Indian community stands, as it were, apart from the general polity of South Africa and is very far from being assimilated. The Government of India cannot be accused of interfering in the internal affairs of a friendly power. If an amalgamation should take place between the political activities of the Natives and the Indians the motive of the Government of India would no longer be free from suspicion and the Indian community could not legitimately invoke their intervention.

Prof. Keith says that, on the advice of Mr. Sastri, the Indian policy in South Africa was framed without consideration for native interests. It is well to remember that it was the Union Government that was responsible for a bill specially meant to hit the Indians. And it was to stave off this disaster that the Government of India sent out the Indian Delegation to the Round Table Conference in Cape Town. By the very nature of the Conference, the Indian Delegation was precluded from taking into consideration native interests in its deliberations. Mr. Sastri,

who was a member of the Indian Delegation, subsequently went out as Agent of the Government of India to work the Cape Town Agreement. In his official, and therefore restricted, capacity native interests did not fall within his purview. In this sense it is true that native interests were not taken into consideration in framing the Indian policy; but if Prof. Keith means that thereby native interests were sacrificed or prejudicially affected, he is greatly mistaken. The champions of the native races in South Africa acclaimed with enthusiasm as their charter the uplift clause in the Cape Town Agreement, which runs as follows:—

"The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilised Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their permanent population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities, and accept the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities the considerable number of Indians who remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people."

Although the principle was enunciated in connection with the Indian case, the terms in which it is drawn are catholic in their scope and can well sustain an interpretation which embraces all the peoples now kept out of full citizenship rights. The leaders of the Native peoples and their white champions in South Africa would themselves be surprised to learn that there was any racial exclusiveness worthy of condemnation or even a sneer in the policy underlying the Cape Town Agreement which Mr. Sastri followed in South Africa.

Our European Letter.

THE SITUATION.

LORD BEAVERBROOK'S "The United Empire Party", which had a meteoric career, has come to an appropriate end. Besides joining forces with Mr. Baldwin, he has, in his own words, parted company with Lord Rothermere. The incident carries the lesson that in Great Britain, of all countries, to create a political party overnight is impossible. It has a more particular interest to India also. Roar as long and as loud as he may "No More Surrender in India" through the *Daily Mail*, Lord Rothermere cannot create any considerable impression in responsible political circles on that account. In every such quarter in Great Britain there is the very keenest awareness that the centre of gravity in the Indian political situation has shifted from London to Delhi.

Nevertheless, it would not do to minimise the force of Lord Beaverbrook's crusade. There is every reason for us to be on the alert amidst the sweep of the political forces now confronting us. The only alternative to fiscal unity is the ultimate dissolution of the Empire, said Mr. Baldwin in the speech which brought Lord Beaverbrook down. And in the leading article in yesterday's *Times* entitled "The Larger

Issue", the whole position is put in a nutshell when it is asked, "What part are the Colonies, which bought from us in 1928 goods worth £58,500,000, to play in an Imperial economic system? What place remains in the future for India, our largest single customer? There is no question in these days of asking for one-sided advantage in dealing with any part of the Empire, and in every case the closest common study of the facts will have to precede a bargain in which the parties are recognized as equals." It is upto our statesmen, British and Indian, to see that there is a fair bargain and every economic concession on our part to Great Britain is offset by a political gain.

To appreciate fully our opportunity it would be necessary to be aware of the change that has come over the political and economic position of Great Britain. She has to reckon with the United States. The people of the United States, although they comprise less than seven per cent. of the world's population, produce 39 per cent. of the coal, 35 per cent. of the hydro-electric power, practically all the natural gas, 71 per cent. of the oil, 60 per cent. of the wheat and cotton, 55 per cent. of the timber, 38 per cent. of the lead and phosphates, and 50 per cent. of the copper, iron, and steel of the world. Turning from production to consumption, this one-seventh of the world's population consumes 42 per cent. of the world's iron production, 47 per cent. of its copper, 69 per cent. of crude petroleum, 56 per cent. of its crude copper, 36 per cent. of its coal, 53 per cent. of its tin, 48 per cent. of its coffee, 21 per cent. of its sugar, 72 per cent. of its silk, and over 60 per cent. of its motor-cars. As to foreign investments it is true that America still falls short of Britain by a little over £8,00 millions; but during the last three years American foreign investments have been almost twice as large as those of Britain. Moreover, as a writer in the "Realist" puts it, "The British Commonwealth from Africa to Australia lies in a half-moon round the United States and Washington is likely increasingly to be the centre of power".

There are signs that the diminution of demand as the Coolidge boom years pass the American home market and the endeavour to find a remedy for excessive production by dumping or intensive competition abroad have already started. The result has been great rivalries between Great Britain and the United States for markets in the Far East, and above all, in South America, in connection with which Mr. Hoover and Lord d'Abernon tour and counter-tour. The unemployed in America number over three millions; and according to well-informed observers, hereafter this phenomenon has to be reckoned among the permanent features of the industrial situation in America. The United States would seem to be fast getting hold of markets in the British Empire itself, such as those in Australia and Canada, more accessible to Americans than to the British.

American commercial expansion has, of course, been spreading to Europe, all the more easily because of the reparations arrangements, and the whole cry of the United States of Europe has latterly tended to obtain a distinctly commercial significance: in essence

a resistance to the influence of the United States of America. Great Britain cannot participate in this trend both because of her isolationist political tradition and because the turn given to her entire policy since the assumption of power by the present Government has been directly pro-American.

The political situation in Great Britain for the time being is such that all parties alike are reluctant to force issues. With divisions among all the three parties, a general election will be a rough scramble at a time when the country's affairs, by common consent, need delicate handling. Despite mutual recriminations—perhaps incidental to trying times—there is a general recognition that unemployment, the most depressing economic factor, cannot be spirited away by irrelevant changes of administration, and that better trade and greater stability alone can cure it. Besides, formidable as America is, there is a widespread, if at the present moment not widely articulated, feeling that America's capture of the world's commerce is not as inevitable as destiny. I have already alluded to the large number of the unemployed in America. The other reason for a sober estimate of America's future is the peculiar disregard for sound finance and the fondness for the spectacular in this matter which the Americans have shown. The renunciation of war may bring about the elimination of danger to commerce incidental to war, but it also does away with the possibility of forcibly changing the face of the world so as to grab fresh advantages. Aware of this, the British, realistic as ever, are at last getting busy to consolidate their position so as to prevent any further land-slides. They want to make a dash for recovery and their present mood is, generally, one of sweet reasonableness.

If on our side we could present those possessed of skill as well as courage in negotiating, we have nothing to fear. If it is not a time for bravado: it is the time for negotiations.

R. RAGHUNATHA ROW.

Geneva, March 12

Reviews.

FEDERAL BANKING.

STATE BANKS AND THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM. BY CHARLES, S. TIPPETTS. (D. Van Nostrand Co., New York.) 1929. 23cm. 393p. \$4.00.

BARRING Prof. Barnett's study of the State Banks included in the N. M. Commission there is no comprehensive and up-to-date treatise on this aspect of banking; and we are much obliged to Dr. Tippetts for this timely publication.

This book contains a free and open discussion of the merits of the entry of the State Banks and Trust Companies into the Federal Reserve System. Enjoying all the advantages of membership through City correspondents, most of the State Banks and Companies, numbering 17,000, have been reluctant to join the F. R. Banking system, which is after all controlling $\frac{2}{3}$ of the banking funds of the country. Some of them, numbering about 200, have retired.

from the system and only 1269 are members at present. The recent failures of the non-member banks and member banks numbering 2000 in all during the course of the last eight years have set the American public a-thinking; and Federal supervision is now considered a possible remedy to raise the standard of banking and reduce the mortality rate among non-member banking companies. The author reviews the position of the State banks from the very beginning, i.e., days prior to the Civil War, down to the passing of the MacFadden-Pepper Bank Act of 1927, which permits branch banking on the part of National Banks and protects them from the severe competition of the less closely and less effectively supervised State Banks. Tracing closely the steps and regulations which made the State Banks eligible for membership (Chapter IV), he proceeds to explain the opposition on the part of most of them to membership (pp. 61-102). Membership has been made more attractive, and the amendments of the F. R. Act (p. 102-114) were all brought about with this desirable object. The part that the State Banks played during the war and the vigorous attempts which have been renewed to increase their membership are carefully described in the next chapter. Another chapter deals with the other reasonable measures which can be undertaken to increase their membership. Improvement in the administration of the F. R. System would encourage membership and the primary objective of banking reform, namely, the unification of the banking system can be realised to the good of all. Considering the payment of member's deposits as undesirable, he recommends the wider distribution of the earnings of the F. R. Banks than is taking place at present. The author's main suggestion is to increase the membership by all means; but this object has to be attained as he says "without lowering the standards of banking practice." Qualitative service and not mere quantitative increase of banking institutions should be the guiding motive of our banking reformers at the same time.

A unified banking system embracing in its membership the well managed banks of this country, small and large, whether domestic or foreign, ought to be the aim of the banking reformers. But the future credit system, which should be of nation-wide extent, would fall short of our expectations if it will not include the small loan companies and indigenous banking firms of this country which have certain amount of decent capital and reserves. To make the banking structure rest on stable foundation, the loan companies, small banks and the indigenous banking firms, be they rural or urban, must become integral parts of the banking structure. Without losing their distinctive character their place in the future banking organisation must be made secure. The above object can be secured by making them coordinated institutions and allowing them to work in harmony with the different banking units of the structure. The advantages of their becoming members of the banking system are many. The rediscounting privilege would add increased lending power. They would obtain a feeling of security arising out of the prestige and the supervision of the Central Bank. The gain of public confidence would enable them to transact more business with smaller reserves. That they would be the chief sufferers on account of the non-payment of interest on reserves deposited with the Central Bank of Issue, and on account the extra work and worry from red tape, reports and examinations and the loss arising out of the development of local exchange need not be disputed. The advantages will certainly outweigh these disadvantages. The maintenance of extensive banking facilities in the country depends on the perpetuation of the indigenous banking firms and their well established practices. If some of

them are freed from their trading and other ancillary activities and restricted to pure commercial banking and discounting functions the admission of these as members to the rediscounting list can be contemplated in the case of all city branches of the C. B. of Issue. The weakest spot in our banking system is that several of them do not depend on the joint Stock Banks or the Imperial Bank of India to rediscount their *hundies*. Lacking direct access to a reservoir of credit, for there is no such thing as yet in this country, the *hundi* rates are not being lowered to any extent or to an equitable level as yet. The indigenous banking firms, loan companies and small banks which conduct mortgage business and take on other ancillary operations do not feel the need of access to this reservoir. But those that aspire to specialise in short term financing can be made desirable members of our central banking structure. All these must be connected to the main reservoir of credit. Such and several other useful reflections undoubtedly suggest themselves to the reader by a perusal of this clearly-worded and eminently readable book.

B. RAMCHANDR RAU

FINANCIAL RELATIONS.

PROVINCIAL FINANCE IN INDIA. By PRA-MATHANATH BANERJEA. (Macmillan, London) 1929. 23cm. 367p. 10/6.

THIS is a timely publication in view of the fact that allocation of resources between the Provinces and the Central Government is on the anvil at present and we are sure the Simon Commission and Mr. Layton will find in it very many suggestions of the right kind about the future of Provincial finance. The work is based on reliable documents including Parliamentary Papers and the whole volume bears the impress of the skilful hand of Dr. Banerjea, who is deservedly known for his deep erudition. In the earlier chapters the whole system prior to the provincial contracts of 1877 is described in detail. The credit for inaugurating decentralization must be given to Mr. Laing who in 1861 emphasized the view that "it was most desirable to break through the system of barren uniformity and pedantic centralization which had tended in the past to reduce all India to dependence on the *bureaux* of Calcutta." From the point of view of provincial independence, Dr. Banerjea subjects the provincial contracts to criticism as being more beneficial to the Central Government than to the provinces. The chapter headed "On the eve of Reforms" gives an excellent resume of the financial proposals of the Joint Report and the Meston Committee's Report. Dr. Banerjea seems to endorse the severe criticism directed against the Reform scheme by Provincial Governments but we think he has made insufficient allowance for the difficulties of the post-war period. Our own opinion is that much of this criticism was extremely erratic and showed a good deal of unnecessary spleen. Discussing the reformed system Dr. Banerjea has pointed out the various limitations on the powers of the provinces; amongst which he mentions the almost complete control of the Secretary of State over the finances of the reserved subjects and the power exercised by him under Devolution Rule 27 which detracts very largely from the financial discretion of the Provincial Governments. He also complains of the power of the Finance Department and overriding power to dictate or veto policy and of the extremely restricted power enjoyed at present by Provincial Legislative Councils. The review of the financial position of all the provinces is one of the most valuable sections in the book. In the final chapter Dr. Banerjea offers suggestions

for the solution of the problem of securing complete financial autonomy. He strongly criticizes the system of a complete demarcation between central and provincial heads of revenue and attributes the failure of the present system primarily to this initial mistake. His criticism that the abolition of provincial contributions without a further examination of the whole question of financial settlement was premature and inexpedient appears to us perfectly sound. A re-allocation of the financial resources of the country is absolutely necessary in his opinion and he would like to see the fetish about divided heads is exploded. Some of his suggestions are the handing over to the provinces of the export duties (which would give a large income to Bengal); the making of income-tax a divided head; the handing over of the supertax and the tax on incomes of persons resident abroad to the Central Government and the division of the corporation profits tax between the Central and Provincial Governments, the remaining part of the income-tax going to the provinces; and the retaining of commercial stamps as a provincial source. As for the equitable distribution between the provinces he suggests that a combination of three tests of population, expenditure and total revenue raised should be the basis on which to effect it; and he gives a warning that in considering revenue the mistake made by the Joint Report in labelling certain heads as provincial should not be repeated. On the whole he decides in favour of divided heads in order to effect an equitable distribution and the use of revenue from export duties and a portion of the excise revenue as balancing factors; in any case he does not recommend fresh taxation if it can be avoided.

V. N. G.

MORBID CURIOSITY.

MORE FAMOUS TRIALS. By THE EARL OF
BIRKENHEAD. (Hutchinson) 1928. 24cm.
310p. 21/-

LORD Birkenhead when he first contributed the stories collected in this book was in the limelight: he is not so now. But the present collection as well as an earlier one by the same author will be read with interest during our generation at least by all lovers of stories.

Books of trials, especially State trials, have an interest only for the industrious and the curious; of private trials only for the legal profession. They abound in details, mainly technical details. Occasional flashes of wit or some surprising turns serve to remove the dullness of the legal technicalities. But it is only in the wealth of these technical details that their real value lies. Naturally therefore they appeal only to a limited class of readers.

Lord Birkenhead's Trials, however, read more like story books than books of trial and hence they easily appeal to all kinds of readers. No doubt their value is diminished almost in proportion to the wider appeal; but this is a matter which can scarcely be helped. It is something like a popular book of science. The abstruse and the more valuable portions have to be omitted and the shallower ones have to be spread out to attract and reach the intelligence of the general reader. Lord Birkenhead himself intended as much: and he tells us frankly that his aim has been merely to entertain and not to instruct.

For convenience the stories may be divided into two groups, viz; State trials and private trials. Lord Birkenhead appears more at home when he is narrating modern private trials than when he is conjuring up the distant political indictments. He has, and

perhaps rightly, a great faith in the system of trial prevalent in our days. He has a great regard for the judgment of the persons on the spot, the advocates called upon to lead evidence and to select the line of attack or defence, the judge called upon to control the proceedings and to sum up the case: and the jurors called upon to pronounce verdict. It is easy from a distance to criticise one or the other of them, and pronounce different views. But they had the best materials and the best opportunities, and despite possible difference of opinion as to the propriety of a particular move or decision, the writer has consistently and with apparent sincerity made it clear every time that his predilections should not weigh with the readers as in any sense superior to what was done by persons on the spot. This is a very wholesome rule and well deserves to be borne in mind.

The trials narrated—and I refer, in the first instance, to the private trials, as I have called them for convenience—were all sensational in their days, and mainly because of the mysterious circumstances surrounding them. Only one of them can with propriety be said to have deserved the importance it received: I mean the trial of Burke and Hare. The operations of this pair were by themselves a social scandal of considerable magnitude. But over and above them were the great medical savants who with eyes deliberately shut encouraged this pair in their fiendish enterprises; and they certainly deserved to be immortalised for their inhumanity. They were possessed with a diabolical greed for ripping open the secrets of Nature and they connived at murders in cold blood perpetrated to supply them with material for their studies. If they did not commit the murders themselves it was simply because they had neither the cunning nor the courage.

Of the other stories, none except, of course, the State Trials, deserve to remain in public memory any longer. And it is questionable if any wholesome purpose was served by the publicity they received when they were enacted. But with the current newspaper standards of public taste it seems inevitable that these trifles in our social life should be magnified and preserved while things of grave moment remain unnoticed and are consigned to oblivion the moment they are enacted.

The imposing settings in which these trials were conducted lend not a little to their importance. The awful and solemn Courts of Justice, the brilliant counsels on either side, clothe the otherwise sordid stories with a moral and cultural status. In the trial of the Seddons, for instance, who were charged with murdering their boarder, Miss Barrow, who owned some £4,000 all told, the prosecution evidence, mostly circumstantial, was pieced together by no less an advocate than Sir Issacs Rufus, now Lord Reading. His quiet self-confidence and persuasiveness were pitted against the vigorous methods of Sir Marshall Hall who appeared for the accused pair; and, as will happen more often than not, the quieter man had the better of it: Mr Seddon was found guilty and went to the scaffold, and Mrs. Seddon probably got the benefit of doubt on the strength of her sex. This, like the other stories in the book, is an ordinary tale of greed and vice and has received an importance only from the manner and the setting of the trial.

It surprises one to find that in quite a number of trials mere circumstantial evidence has been considered sufficient to justify a verdict of murder. There is nothing like circumstantial evidence to test the veracity or otherwise of direct evidence, but standing by itself it could hardly, if ever, be considered sufficient to hang a man. It would be difficult to

induce an Indian Jury to bring in a verdict of murder merely on circumstantial evidence and if they are unwilling to do so they err on the safe side.

Of the State trials narrated in the book the first four or five are very famous and have been already narrated with greater ability and worthier enthusiasm. Lord Birkenhead—like the modern journalist that he is—appears to feel no personal interest either in the accusers or the accused, and one feels that he should have left these alone and selected in their stead some additional stories of murder and mystery in which he was more at home. He thinks that the same method which he has followed in describing private crimes could with propriety be extended to discuss acts of omission or commission in State matters. There is, however, a very marked difference between the two. In one the moral indictment of a given crime is undisputed; the only point for consideration is the degree of proof it is necessary or possible to lay before a court of justice. In the other there is a clash of ideals and interests. It is necessary, therefore, to use different methods and apply different standards. Lord Birkenhead has given us very facile and engaging narrations of these affairs of state but his interest in them is too casual to give his contribution any value.

On the whole, however, the entire volume has been written with grace and dispassionateness and this is more than sufficient to recommend it to the general reader.

B. R. DAMLE.

FRONTIER TRIBES.

AFGHAN AND PATHAN. A SKETCH. By GEORGE B. SCOTT. (The Mitre Press, London) 1929. 23cm. 188p. 8/—

As an officer in the Government of India the author accompanied some expeditions on the N. W. Frontier in the last quarter of the XIXth Century, and his experiences are narrated in the sketch before us along with a description of some striking characteristic features of the tribes inhabiting that region. The book makes an interesting reading, more particularly because there is personal experience in it.

The tribes described in the brief sketch are the Hazara, the Yusufzai, the Mohmad, the Afridi, the Shinwari, the Urakzai and the Waziri. These are of course important tribes on the N. W. Frontier, but the list is not exhaustive as there are many more. In the earlier chapters the author has briefly reviewed Afghan history bringing it up to the regime (?) of Bachha-i-Saqqa. A reference has also been made to the history of the growth of the N. W. Frontier Province. All that is said adds to the knowledge of the reader but the curiosity aroused is not satisfied and the reader wants to know more.

About the title of the book one cannot say why it was chosen. 'Afghan' denotes a national status while 'Pathan' is a generic name of a Moslem tribe. There are Pathans in British India, in the tribal territory beyond the Frontier, as also under the Kabul ruler. An Afghan is not necessarily a Pathan and *vice versa*. A grave error mars the value of the book. The murder of Amir Habibullah (Amanullah's father) has *twice* been referred to in it (pp. 50 and 175) as having taken place in 1920. As a matter of fact, Habibullah was shot on 20th February 1919. A misstatement of such a serious nature could be excused as a printer's devil had it appeared only once.

Then, again, in spelling proper names many liberties have been taken. Ali Musjid is wrongly spelt either as Ali Murjid (p. 99), or as Ali Musjids (p. 171); Jamrud as Janrud (p. 102). Similarly

it would be impossible to find the places Parichena (p. 142), Gilglist (p. 170) and Jacobabad on any map. In fact, these are misprints for Parachinar, Gilgit and Jacobabad respectively. These are but a few of the mistakes or unwarranted liberties. They become intolerable when Amir Abdur Rahman is written as Abdul Rahman. Especially in the case of this Amir there should be no ambiguity left in spelling his name. His biography is published in two big volumes, some eight chapters of which he himself wrote. Therein he has always been referred to as Abdur and not Abdul. These two are distinctly different names. In government despatches, in his biography and in all books on Afghanistan there is uniformity in spelling his name which George B. Scott might well have adhered to without any disparagement to his originality.

SHRIPAD R. TIKEKAR.

A JINGOISTIC PADRE.

THE LURE OF SIMPLICITY. By REV. A. W. GOUGH. (Nash & Grayson, London.) 1929. 20cm. 135p. 3/6.

PREBENDARY GOUGH is a redoubtable Saint George and many are his dragons. Socialism, pacifism, racial equality and the missionaries, all fall prey to his sword as he attempts to rescue the fair maiden, in this case, the British Empire. Many and quaint are his arguments: for instance, Christ's Vagabondage is explained away as coming from "his evident love of walking". We confess to a great dislike of all the presuppositions of Mr. Gough: we prefer the outlawry of war to his school-boy heroics. C. O. P. E. C. and reasoned socialism are surely not the villains which he makes them.

The author's view of India is somewhat out of date. He extols Britain's "Matchless administration". Poor Dr. Stanley Jones meets with summary treatment. In the preface we read "an alien spell seems to be upon the land so un-English has the atmosphere of our public life become,—that, excepting when he attends a race meeting or plays with some kind of ball, an Englishman can hardly be unrestrictedly English, save in some parts of his private life". We dislike his view of the Sermon on the Mount: much of Mr. Gough's thought smacks of Nietzsche. For example, his remarks about feminine men. Ahimsa is repugnant to him. His excuses for the exploitation of the natives in Africa would be funny where they not pernicious.

We agree however with some of his criticisms of Marx and in the need for principles and clear-out statements in matters of religion. Generally his whole back-ground is old fashioned and "jingoistic." as when he waxes eloquent over the invaluable world necessity of the British Empire. At times he is definitely perverse in his arguments. We cannot recommend this book for any serious study.

BROTHER LEONARD, C. S. S.

RELIGION AND SCIENCE.

THE BATTLE. By STELLA HAMBLÉN TAPPMAYER. 1929. 22cm. 186p. \$2.00.

THE RIDDLE OF THE UNIVERSE. By CHARLES LUDVIGSON. 1929. 2cm. 59p. \$1.00. (Both published by Meader Publishing Co., Boston.)

THE TRUTH ABOUT EVOLUTION AND THE BIBLE. By HARRIETTE AUGUSTA AND F. HOWER CURTISS. (The Curtis Philosophic Co., Washington.) 1929. 20cm. 243p. \$2.50.

THE first two books seem to be from persons who imagine that science is against religion and put

forward beliefs that are worthless and foolish. Somebody defined the Christian Scientist as being neither Christian nor Scientific. After a careful perusal of these two books we find them neither scientific nor religious.

The first book is called "The Battle" and is dedicated to "every thinking young person who is tempted to accept any of the materialistic beliefs to the exclusion of biblical truths." May God save us from such defenders of the Bible! There is no ranker materialism than the worship of the letter of the book in preference getting its spirit working in our lives. Some samples of the mentality of the book can be quoted for the benefit of the reader. To the question, "Don't you know that the scientific principles which I uphold and which have been substantiated by many scientists are not incompatible with your bible" the reply is given, "I know well enough that old story. To me the bible is the divine word of God and as such I accept it, miracles and all." Meaning thereby that one is not willing to use God-given intellect to verify things. Here is a sample of the conception of creation. "Create primarily means to make something out of nothing. Now this implies instantaneous action." So evolution is disproved!

It is so ridiculous to talk of the battle of religion and science when it is all over and we see only the smoke of the battle. We know that both the defenders of science and religion overstated their case and misunderstood the other side. But the modern interpretation of the bible is God's great gift to this generation and nothing can turn the clock of knowledge back to obscurity. Thus the book shows poor religion. "The Riddle of the Universe" on the other hand shows poor science with the *a priori* judgment that science must be wrong and exposes only the ignorance of the author.

THE authors of the last book have taken great pains in working out their theories. Their hypotheses and premises are true but their conclusions are neither scholarly nor intuitive. There is the vagueness of theosophic speculation which is neither convincing nor satisfying. There are men whom we might not perhaps wholly agree with but who show an immense power of intuitive thinking, like Sadhu Sunder Singh. In such men we find robust views and not the sentimental wishy wishy type we are given in this book.

The real mystics tell us of the subjugation of the body to the soul, but they are not content with the fanciful. Thus, at the outset we would advise any reader not to take this as an authoritative, scholarly book on the subject. But having said that, we would commend much of what has been written, and we believe it would be good for a popular reading on the subject. The authors keep to the ideal inun- ciated in one of their quotations, "Men who know very little of science and men who know very little of religion do indeed get to quarrelling and the on-lookers imagine that there is a conflict between science and religion whereas the conflict is only between two different species of ignorance." It is quite fair comment to say, "that men fail to realise that there are no creeds or dogmas in the Bible. That all such are but man-made interpretations of certain spiritual truths made by groups of men as fallible as ourselves in long bygone ages when the knowledge of nature and her laws was limited and was speculative instead of scientific." Of course we must add that

if they were fallible, so may we be; and it is up to us to show by infallible proofs that they were wrong.

The authors rightly remark that "Science is the handmaiden of religion." But at present she is on a strike because she will not accept as scientific facts man-made dogmas in which she can find no evidence of facts. Materialism is an evidence of intellectual vanity,—the refusal of the intellect to admit that there is a Consciousness beyond its comprehension, and aspects of Causation which it is unable to grasp. With all its vaunted scientific attainments materialism cannot explain the origin of the universe or even of the tiniest spec of protoplasm, much less can it explain life, consciousness, mind, love, altruism, self-sacrifice, duty, etc. Yet all these are just as real as known material forces.

The authors have made several misquotations—especially from the text of the Bible by introducing an unheard of Hebrew meaning for certain words. We feel that they attempt to explain through mere intellect which cannot be done by it. On the whole the book is more picturesque than convincing.

BROTHER YESUDAS, C. S. S.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ. By R. G. PRADHAN-
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