

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### Amends.

IN our issue of the 5th June last, under the caption "Amazing!" we commented adversely on the action of the Mission authorities in Bulsar in refusing to give medical attention to wounded satyagrahi volunteers. The explanation of Dr. A. Raymond Cottrell of the incident has since been forwarded to us. It appears from it that the Mission authorities did not refuse medical aid to wounded satyagrahis but they declined to enter into previous arrangements with the satyagrahis by which the Mission Hospital would have been made the "base hospital," as it were, for the satyagraha campaign, and which might create the impression that the Mission authorities were supporters of salt raids and the civil disobedience movement. As foreign missionaries, they were anxious to give no colour to the charge that they had interfered in the internal politics of India. They had, however, given such facilities as they had when the satyagrahi medical staff sought them in order to afford relief to the volunteers actually wounded. In the light of this explanation, we regret the adverse comment that we were led to make on insufficient information.

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### Dr. Ansari Breaks Silence.

TILL the last Congress at Lahore Dr. M. A. Ansari was the right-hand man of Mahatma Gandhi and an apostle of non-co-operation and civil disobedience. But at Lahore he parted company with the Mahatma and went into silence. Last week he emerged from it and issued a statement on the present situation in the course of which he gave his reasons why he differed from the Mahatma.

Briefly stated, my contentions were that the Congress should have fully utilised the peace offer made by the Viceroy; that it should not have closed the door against further negotiations by changing the Congress creed and

that it should not have declared war by calling on the country to launch upon a campaign of mass civil disobedience. Further it should not have shelved the solution of the minority question. My reasons for holding these views were that we were not ready for a country-wide mass movement of this nature; that there were great chances of the non-violent campaign being submerged by breaking out of violence and lastly, that the only sanction necessary for the success of a non-violent campaign, i. e., Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity, was wanting.

Having had unique opportunities of making intimate study of this question for a number of years, I felt convinced that inspite of the apparently formidable obstacles in the way, it was within practical possibility at the time to achieve it, if another concerted and earnest effort was made in that direction. The settlement of this question would have given us unique position and power both in the country and outside. It would have been impossible to withstand a united demand made on behalf of every section of the people of India at the Round Table Conference. In the eventuality, however, of such a demand having been turned down, a campaign of independence started by a united India would have had the moral support of the world public opinion and the combined political and material support of the entire Indian people. These views were placed for the last time before the Working Committee of the Congress on the very eve of starting the campaign of civil-disobedience. They were given full consideration but were not found acceptable.

This is exactly the point of view of the Liberals: they could not have expressed it more clearly and emphatically than Dr. Ansari has done. The future of India is in our own hands, and if in India we agreed on the communal question and went to the Round Table Conference and availed ourselves of the undoubted sympathy and friendliness of the Labour Government, we would have wrought back all that we wanted and retained the most friendly relations with the British Government and saved India the needless troubles and tribulations that she has gone through. The real obstacle in our way is not so much the Labour Government in Britain, but our own internal jealousies and antagonisms. In embarking on a "war" with England we seem to have followed the example of some kings of old who when they had internal troubles, diverted public attention by provoking a foreign war. Himself a Muhammadan but a nationalist to the core, Dr. Ansari deploras that

False leadership has led Muslims into a sad plight. Let us hope the hard lesson would make them set their faces in the right direction and in future they would place greater reliance in themselves and in the good faith of their own countrymen rather than in the intervention of the interested third party to safeguard their rights.

Finally, he pleads that Government should abandon repression and enter into negotiations for a peaceful settlement on the basis of the offers made by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru.

### The Communal Tangle.

A certain number of very estimable Muslims met in Simla at the invitation of the Muslim Minister of the Punjab, Malik Feroze Khan Noon and under the presidency of Moulana Shoukat Ali. The Moulana gracefully unfolded his plans that if the Muslims did not get all they wanted at the Round Table Conference, they should throw overboard non-violence and imitate the worthy examples of Baccha-i-Sacho and King Nadir Shah! After which excellent start, the Muslims reviewed the Simon Report and finally reiterated the new famous fourteen points first formulated in Delhi on new year day last year. Under the circumstances it is not very surprising, though most lamentable, that the Patro Committee came to an inconclusive end. The Conference broke on the two crucial questions of separate electorates and weightage. Though no binding value now attaches to the recommendations of the Patro Sub-Committee, it is no small gain that the members of the Sub-Committee were unanimously in favour of the reserve powers being vested in the Central Government and not in the provinces, as Mr. M. A. Jinnah would have it.

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### Another Ordinance.

AS was anticipated at the time the Press Ordinance was promulgated, Government have discovered that they were merely providing the civil resisters with another and more handy and welcome opportunity to disobey law. The net result of that Ordinance was that the wobbling press felt its restraining influence but the avowed civil resisters cordially welcomed it. They brought out all kinds of news sheets and the Government have been obliged to promulgate another Ordinance for the more effective suppression of unauthorised presses and publications of a seditious nature. We are not sanguine that even this measure will serve the purpose the Government have in view. There is no getting away from the fact that all these forbidden activities have behind them the active sympathy of not an insignificant part of the public. It may be regrettable but it is a fact. The public will have its way, right or wrong, and not all the comprehensive powers of the Government can effectively control what the public have openly or covertly made up their mind to do. The only remedy is a change in public opinion, not the forging of fresh Ordinances. The Government will be better engaged in bringing about a change in public opinion than in attempting to defeat it.

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### Working Committee Unlawful.

WITH the full concurrence of the Government of India, the Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh have declared the Congress Working Committee unlawful and in consequence arrested Pandit Motilal Nehru and Dr. Syed Mahmud, the Ag. President and Secretary of the Congress. Though the civil disobedience campaign had from its very beginning professed to subvert the present system of Government. Government attach special significance to some of the actions of the Working Committee in May last, as for instance, the resolutions asking people to refuse to pay certain taxes, to disobey the Ordinances and in particular, inciting the police and the troops to mutiny and commending the action of the 2/18 Royal Gharwal Rifles, who were found guilty of mutiny. Also Government "believe" without producing proof that the Congress had instigated the trans-frontier tribes to attack British India. Government may be entitled to declare the Working Committee an unlawful body. But does it bring us nearer peace? That is the

only relevant question. Tested that way, we fear the action of the Government is distinctly a blunder, for Pandit Motilal Nehru had just a few days earlier held out the olive branch.

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### Payment by Banks to Illegal Bodies.

THE District Magistrate of Lahore has issued an order to the local banks to withhold the payment of monies to the credit of the 'Punjab War Council' and other Congress organizations on the ground that all of them have been declared illegal. The example has since been copied by the District Magistrate in Mausulipatam in the Madras Presidency. We do not intend to criticize the action from the legal point of view. But it appears to us that such orders are highly impolitic at this stage, when every attempt is being made by the saner sections of both the Indian and European communities to remove political antagonism and revive a feeling of amity. Already it is reported that businessmen are very much agitated over the issue of such orders and the manager of an important bank is said to have remarked that this was the first time that Section 144 of the I. P. C. was used for interfering with the liberty of the banks to transact legitimate business. It is possible that the banks which refuse payment in pursuance of the order might be made to suffer by those who are friendly to Congress organizations by transferring their patronage to other banking concerns. If this spirit is once introduced in business mutual recriminations are only a matter of time and business all round will stand to suffer by an encroachment of politics on the sphere of commercial dealings. Anything which exacerbates the feelings of the Indian commercial community at this time is to be seriously deprecated and a single false step at this time might easily be followed by serious consequences. Under the circumstances we feel it our duty to appeal to enthusiastic custodians of law and order to be more discreet in the performance of their duties and not to sacrifice everything in the interests of administrative technicality.

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### Corrupting School Children.

WE cannot too strongly condemn the action of the leaders of the civil disobedience campaign in seducing young men and women in schools and colleges and even children into political agitation of the most deplorable type. It passeth understanding how the boycott of schools and colleges by students, the parading in procession of immature and innocent children, the defiance of authority by these wee-babies is calculated to further Swaraj. The earlier boycott of schools and colleges of 1920 has left wreckage which has not yet been repaired. It is no wonder that the bitter experience of those who then burned their fingers has had a wholesome and deterrant effect on the present campaign of boycott of educational institutions, and the bulk of the students has declined to fall a prey to the suicidal fireworks of their doubtful friends and leaders. The Vice Chancellor and Syndicate of the Calcutta University have done well in publicly appealing to the better sense and discriminating patriotism of the students not to be led into ways of momentary excitement and permanent harm.

While the College students may be expected to think for themselves and take decisions in spite of the whirlwind of emotional appeals and perfervid oratory, school children have no such protection. In exploiting them, in teaching them to disobey parents, teachers and Government, the leaders are playing a cowardly and despicable game. If they want to fight the Government let them do so and take the consequences, but to fight under cover of school

boys and girls is most unworthy of any fighter, not to speak of those who profess the exalted code of satyagraha.

#### Peshawar Enquiry.

THE final verdict on the disturbances at Peshawar in April last must wait until not only the full text of the report of the official enquiry committee, presided over by Justice S. M. Sulaiman is available but also the report of the un-official enquiry committee presided over by Mr. V. J. Patel, ex-President of the Legislative Assembly. Meanwhile the Sulaiman Report, as reviewed in the Government of India Resolution, finds that the firing on the two occasions by military authorities in coping with the situation as it developed on the fateful day in Peshawar was perfectly justified, and was not in excess of the necessities of the situation. The two Commissioners differ as to the subsequent firing of single shots at persons on the roofs of houses when the riotous mob had been dispersed. Justice Sulaiman doubted the justification of it while Justice H. R. Pankridge was of the contrary opinion. The point at issue was as to when exactly it could be said that the riotous mob had been dispersed. Could it be said to have been dispersed when brickbats continued to be hurled from the roofs of the houses? The Commissioners differed also on the question whether the despatch rider was attacked before or after some persons in the crowd were run over. Justice Sulaiman believed that the armoured cars ran over some people when the exasperated crowd set upon the unfortunate despatch rider, while Justice Pankridge was unable on the evidence to come to a positive conclusion. It appears more probable that Justice Sulaiman was right in his opinion.

The Commissioners estimate that 30 persons were killed and 33 wounded, and the Government of India accept that this number could not be much of an under-estimate. This disposes off the exaggerated rumours of the large number of casualties that were current at the time. The Commissioners disapprove of the use of armoured cars in dispersing mobs and recommend that when firing is contemplated by the police or the military, adequate arrangements for medical aid for the wounded should be made.

#### Sholapur Martial Law.

AFTER seven weeks of martial law, Sholapur has on the 1st July reverted to civil administration, but not to normality. For in withdrawing martial law, Government have prohibited for a period of two months the holding of meetings and processions and the display of the Congress flag. The Sholapur disturbances took place on the 7th and 8th of May last, martial law was declared on the 12th and on the 18th the Viceroy promulgated an Ordinance proclaiming martial law in Sholapur. Military courts took cognisance of offences against martial law regulations between the 12th and 18th, when the civil courts took over. The Government communique says nothing of the nature of offences tried and the punishments awarded by the military courts, except to say that no flogging was inflicted, apart from the caning of four juveniles. There is no reference to the popular charges that there was indiscriminate shooting after the disturbances had subsided or to the savage punishments awarded by the military courts for technical infringements of the martial law regulations, which did not err on the side of leniency. Nor is there any explanation as to why, if there was no occasion to fire a single shot all the time the city was under martial law, it was necessary to prolong martial law for some seven weeks.

The question has yet to be satisfactorily answered as to whether there was justification for martial law at all, and if the aid of the military was not sufficient, and if the relations between the police and magistracy and the people were healthy. It is not yet clear what were the circumstances under which the Police and the District Magistrate came into clash with the people on the 7th May. A mere denial of "false" stories is not enough: nobody expects the District authorities to come out with a true confessional. Only an independent enquiry will bring out the facts. Government have anticipated the results of the enquiry in imposing punitive police and damages on the people of Sholapur. An enquiry may conceivably prove that the whole trouble was due to the incompetence, mishandling and panicky temperament of the district authorities and that the people of Sholapur were being victimised at the altar of official inefficiency. The best course for the Government was to have suspended judgment till a committee of enquiry had reported. We strongly urge on the Government to appoint without a moment's delay a strong committee of enquiry, presided over by a High Court Judge and including unofficial representatives to go into the whole question thoroughly, including the sufficiency of police and the relations between the police and the people even before the disturbances actually took place and the question of damages to be assessed on the people. An enquiry of the kind must be held as a matter of course after every martial law regime and not wait for public pressure.

#### Patiala Enquiry.

IN a statement to the press Mr. Amritlal Sheth reviews the nature of the Fitzpatrick enquiry into the allegations against the Maharaja of Patiala, and gives some details of the interview that Mr. J. A. O. Fitzpatrick gave to the deputation which waited on him at Mashobra some weeks ago. Mr. Fitzpatrick is reported to have admitted that it was possible that he might have in the ordinary course of his duties as the Agent to the Governor General disposed off some matters which now form the subject matter of the enquiry. Under the circumstances Mr. Fitzpatrick, the Special Commissioner, will sit in judgment over the actions of Mr. Fitzpatrick, the A. G. G. The deputation requested that the witnesses against the Maharaja, who are now incarcerated in the Patiala jails, should be transferred to British Indian jails and given protection, in order to enable them to give their evidence without fear. But Mr. Fitzpatrick pleaded the internal sovereignty of Patiala as a stile which he could not jump over. And this was said at the very moment that a British official was solemnly enquiring into the internal affairs of the Patiala State and by the very officer who was infringing the internal sovereignty of Patiala! Mockery could go on further.

Mr. Sheth alleges that during the enquiry attempts were made, and some successfully, to bring about compromises between the Maharaja and some of his aggrieved witnesses, and the presiding officer himself attested some of the compromises! The affair appears to be more an arbitration than an enquiry. Mr. Sheth reports that having effected a compromise between the Maharaja and Sirdar Harchand Singh Jaiji, Mr. Fitzpatrick announced that he would make only a brief note about that case in his report. It appears also that one prisoner, Sirdar Nanak Singh, ex-Chief of the C. I. D. of Patiala, escaped from the Patiala jail! It is quite possible that the ex-Chief of the C. I. D. knew well enough how to dodge his warders and to escape, thanks to his previous official experience. But the coincidence of his escape and the enquiry is not exactly reassuring. It becomes positively suspicious when

Mr. Seth affirms that he has in his possession documentary evidence to prove that the Patiala authorities were privy to his escape from jail.

Mr. Sheth finally tells us that he has in his possession a large mass of documentary evidence, which he intended to produce before the enquiry commission if it had been satisfactorily constituted, but which he now proposes to make available to the public. The sooner he does it the better.

#### Lame Denials.

The Patiala Government have since issued a statement in the press denying the allegations made by Mr. Seth. It seems surprising that the Patiala Government should have come out with the statement rather than the presiding Officer: it was for him to protest that he conducted the enquiry with scrupulous impartiality and fairness, not for the Patiala Government to issue of good conduct certificate to the Officer and incidentally to themselves. Apart from this impropriety, the statement is most unconvincing. Mr. Seth alleged that Mr. Fitzpatrick might have to sit in judgment over some of his own previous actions. While stating that certain of the incidents complained of in the "Indictment of Patiala" took place before Mr. Fitzpatrick came on the scene, the Patiala Government admit that in the matter of the internment of Sirdar Harchand Singh, Mr. Fitzpatrick was informed in the ordinary course of his duties. Obviously if he had approved of the internment then, he will be sitting in judgment over his own action if he is to review that action of his now. The Patiala Government state that there were "insuperable legal difficulties" in transferring the Patiala prisoners to British jails, but the Maharaja gave personal assurances that no pressure would be brought to bear on the prisoners. The difficulties may be real, which is unfortunate. But that does not create confidence, which may be not be helped

#### More Diehardism.

JUDGING from the speeches made at the inauguration of the Indian Empire Society in London on July 4, there can be no doubt that the Society is bound to do the greatest disservice to the Indian Empire by its activities. Lord Sumner had a fling at recent discussions and announcements and declared that the decision of Parliament was not to be prejudiced by the "so-called pledges" given by individuals in England and will not be bound by declarations, officials or non-official. If this philosophy is to be accepted, we must no more bank upon the announcements made by the Viceroy in the Assembly. It is curious that while Indians of all shades and opinions are dissatisfied with the denial of responsibility in the central government by the Simon Commission, Lord Brentford expressed grave anxiety in regard to the all too unsubstantial measure of provincial autonomy outlined in the Simon Report, and recommended that the R. T. Conference should be estopped from discussing a fresh constitution for India, in supersession of the one outlined by the Commission; as if there is anything sacrosanct about the Commission. We did not however expect Lord Meston to take part in this orgy of die-hardism but to our surprise he said that the proposals of the Commission stretched the constitution to the utmost limit of practical safety and that the attack on them organized in India and in England must be repelled if the happiness of the Indian people was not to be gravely endangered. One can only hope that Lord Meston and his colleagues at the Indian Empire Society would cease to occupy themselves about the happiness of the Indian people which can be better looked after by men of a different persuasion.

## Articles.

### DISAPPOINTING.

FRANKLY we are disappointed with the King's speech and the Viceregal statement. In opening the India House in London on Tuesday last the King made a touching appeal for wider sympathy and better understanding, as he knows how best to make it. But the heart of India is too sore to be thrilled by even His Majesty's appeal. It brought no soothing balm, it brought no wished for hope. The leaders of the three British political parties could not agree and the King was denied the opportunity of making a striking pronouncement that would have turned the tide in India.

The Viceregal statement does not advance the position materially. It reiterates that the Round Table Conference shall be free, within the limits laid down by the statement of November last, to discuss any and every proposal. The hope is expressed that conclusions satisfactory to India and England and to all parties and interests can be reached at the Conference, which "would confound the pessimism of those who tell us that it is impossible for Great Britain and India to reach an agreement." It is promised that the agreement arrived at by "the representatives of both the countries" will inform the "precise proposals to be put before Parliament." The Viceroy has coupled this optimism with the affirmation that the civil disobedience movement is "unconstitutional", and is on a par with a general strike, which must be crushed with all the resources that the Government can command.

We have no desire to minimise the difficulties of the Labour Government and the Viceroy nor do we doubt for a moment their genuine zeal to advance India towards Dominion status. It is obvious that the leaders of the Conservative and Liberal Parties in England did not permit the Government to go further in their desire to meet India's demands. The defeat of the Labour Government in Parliament is not calculated to facilitate India's advance, unless as the result of a fresh general election they come to power with an overwhelming majority. Nor would any Government, even a Labour Government, wish to appear that they had succumbed to threats and challenges of the Congress in India.

But we have no doubt what the results of the Conference will be if the personnel of the Conference is wisely chosen. There is such unanimity in India about Dominion status that it is highly improbable, unless the Government deliberately manipulate the personnel, that anything different will emerge out of the Conference. It is a pity that the personnel of the Conference has not been announced. As we have said again and again, the shaping of the constitution of India at the Conference depends a great deal on ourselves and the agreement that we can hammer out in India on the communal question. And it is highly deplorable that

even at this juncture, the Patro Committee, consisting of some of the most patriotic and highly-respected leaders of India, has failed to forge an agreement, whatever be the cause for it.

Though a dispassionate consideration of the situation only confirms the view that our fate is in our own hands, and that we can consummate our desire by peaceful and friendly agreement between the communities in India and between India and England, it must be acknowledged at the same time that those who share these views are not at the moment politically dominant in the country. The most powerful single political party in India is the Congress and unfortunately it is in no mood to abandon its campaign of civil disobedience and to grasp the hand of friendship. It has made up its mind to tread the path of coercion and deliberately turned its back on co-operation. There is nothing in the announcement of the Viceroy calculated to induce a reorientation in the Congress mentality. It is extremely doubtful if the more sober parties in the country will be able to gather sufficient public support to the Round Table Conference under the circumstances.

#### THE FEDERAL GOAL.

SIR John Simon and his colleagues on the Indian Statutory Commission definitely recommend federation as the goal of Indian political evolution. They are impressed with the fundamental unity of India: an arbitrary line divides British India from the Indian States. They are impressed also with the diversity in India, of race, language, religion and history. Federation is the best means of reconciling unity and diversity. They find the Government of India has characteristics of both a unitary and a federal government. As a unitary Government it controls the Governments of the British Indian provinces. Though there has been an increasing devolution of powers to the provinces, the central Government retains the whip hand. On the other hand, there are the Indian States, some 600 in number, varying in their internal autonomy from full autonomy to non-autonomy. The relation between the States and the Government is at the moment anomalous. Constitutionally, several of the States are autonomous internally, though in practice there have been great subtractions from it. It is important to note that in practice the Government of India reduced them to the status of the British Indian provinces whenever it thought fit. And the Indian Princes have resented this interference, irrespective of the moral justification for it. Sir John and his colleagues now propose to confirm and strengthen the autonomy of the Indian States and invite them of their own accord and when it suits them to join the federal constitution of India.

Proceeding on the basis that the relations between the States and British India can only be federal, the Simon Commissioners propose to invest the provinces in British India with the status and autonomy of separate States, so that they may be on a par with the Indian States. To put it briefly, their purpose is to confirm the Indian States in their internal

autonomy and extend the same status to the British Indian provinces, so that India shall consist of a number of autonomous States, with a federal organ for common purposes. With this difference between the Indian States and the British Indian provinces: the latter have no option but to join in federation, while the former are free to join or keep out.

There is much in the circumstances of India and the evidence that the Commissioners received to justify this ideal of federation. The size of India, its population and the diversity of race, religion language and history of its teeming peoples seem to point to it. Indian politicians of all parties have long been demanding full provincial autonomy. The Muhammadans, while heartily supporting this demand, made it clear that it included the vesting of residuary powers in the provincial Governments, while the central Government became merely the agent of the provincial Governments in certain defined matters. The Indian Princes, jealous of their internal autonomy, resentful of any infringement thereof, whether by the British authorities or by the future Indian Government, declined to submit themselves to a unitary Government of India. What could be more natural, therefore, than to concede federation as the political goal of a united India?

It will, however, be worth while to probe deeper into the matter and enquire into the underlying motives of the federalists. It is true the Muslims advocate the conversion of British Indian provinces into federal states. But their sole object is that thereby they shall have the whiphand in some states in India, that some states shall be frankly Muslim states under Muslim rule. Their aim is not the creation of national states in India but the division of India into Muslim states and non-Muslim states. They fear Hindu tyranny in some of the provinces of India; they are not content to ensure against it directly, but they propose to cut up India into Muslim states and non-Muslim states so that in the former they may retaliate if in the latter the Muslims suffer. Is that a policy that is in itself desirable for India and which the British people should support?

It is true that the Indian politicians have pressed for full provincial autonomy. But they did not desire that the provinces should become states with the central Government as their agent for certain purposes. All that they meant was—and every nationalist knows it and the Commissioners would have realised it if they had the evidence of the nationalists,—that there should be greater devolution of power from the centre to the provinces and that within the range of delegated powers the provincial executives should be responsible to the local legislatures. Indian national opinion is strongly in favour of a strong central Government, with power to control provincial legislation, and to step in when things go wrong in the provinces. The integration of India has been the ardent and deliberate aim of the Indian nationalists and the passive result of the British administration. The integration is not complete; the process requires quickening and strengthening, and



one of the strongest reasons for immediate Swaraj in India is that a national Government might quicken and strengthen the process. To promote deliberately the disintegration of India will be the undoing of the work, extending over the last half a century, of Indian patriots; it will be putting the clock back. Is that a process that Britain should initiate promote?

For all their advocacy of federation the Commissioners themselves recognise the need for a supreme central Government. They do not propose to divest the central Government of control over the internal autonomy of the provinces. The Governor General is to retain power to give his previous sanction and his subsequent assent to legislation, and retain other supervisory powers over the provinces. The Governor of a province is not to be a constitutional Governor acting on the advice of his Ministers responsible to the legislature: larger powers of veto and suppression are to be vested in him than he now possesses. Even the Ministry is not all to be drawn from the majority party in the legislature: the Governor may appoint permanent officials as Ministers in charge of portfolios, and the Secretary of State is to retain power to recruit the civil and police services and compel the provincial Governments to employ them. The net result is to make the Governors as autocratic as the Indian Princes, but subservient to the control of the Governor General—even as the Princes are to be, for nothing has been said to limit the paramountcy of the Crown over the Indian Princes.

It is true the Princes decline to submit themselves to the control of the Government of India of the future and wish to be directly under the control of the Viceroy. The farthest they propose to go, if at all, is to join the federation as equals with the British Indian provinces. They claim that their relations are with the Crown, and that they would be responsible to the Government of India as long as it was the agent of the Crown but the moment it becomes responsible to the people of British India, they shall have no subordinate relations with it, but will continue to have relations with the Viceroy as the representative of the Crown. They admit that their relations in the past with the Government of India have been none too satisfactory: the Government of India had by *force majeure* encroached on their rights and practised much *zollum*. Nevertheless, they prefer to trust their future to the Viceroy and the British than to a Dominion Government of India and the people of British India. Their reasons for this preference are not far to seek. With an exception or two, the Indian Princes are autocratic rulers of their states, just mediæval tyrants. They believe in their divine right to rule their subjects; they do not yet acknowledge the reign of law. And they passionately cherish their sacred right to rule or misrule without let or hindrance. It is true that the present Government of India has often in the past interfered with their freedom, but generally it was to safeguard Imperial interests and rarely to ensure good government of the subjects. The

subjects of the Indian States have caught the infection from their compatriots in British India: they too have begun to claim representative and responsible institutions in the States and the end of mediæval autocracies. The agitation of their subjects is inconvenient enough to the Princes, it will be embarrassing if the people of British India actively sympathised with and even instigated it; but if the Dominion Government of India, responsible to the people of British India, should inherit from the present Government of India the hegemony of the Indian States and should use its great powers of indirect influence in favour of democratising the States, the Princes will have to become constitutional monarchs. They fear a Dominion Government of India for this reason, and they feel safer under the hegemony of the Viceroy and the British Government. It is no compliment to the freedom-loving Britisher that the Indian Princes cling to him for they expect him to overawe and hold down their subjects while they indulge in their unmitigated tyrannies.

The vision of the Simon Commissioners does not extend beyond the Indian Princes; the subjects of the States do not come within their purview and they are not concerned with the safeguarding of their rights. That indifference is not shared by the subjects themselves. They see their brethren in British India, with less misrule to complain of, forging ahead towards responsible Government. By contrast, the autocratic and tyrannical rule of the Princes becomes more intolerable to them, but as long as the Paramount Power stands by the Princes, and upholds them in their present rights and immunities, they see no chance of the Princes reforming their administrations, much less advancing the constitutions. Their hope depends on the character and sympathies of the Paramount Power. If it remains neutral, they may achieve some success by their own unaided agitation; if it actively used its powers of persuasion, progress will be more rapid but if it thinks more of the rights and dignities of the Princes than of the rights and aspirations of their subjects they see no hope. They are, therefore, whole-heartedly in favour of Dominion Government of India inheriting the hegemony of the Indian Princes. In other words, they desire a powerful unitary Government of India.

In proposing the federal solution the Simon Commissioners have not consulted the good of India but are open to the accusation that they, too, have exploited every antagonism and widened every division among its peoples in order to perpetuate more securely the domination of Britain over India. It may well be contended that these divisions and distrusts were not created by the British, that they were there and it is only human for the Simon Commissioners to take note of them and accommodate the political constitution to the existing state of affairs. From a static point of view this may be correct but from the dynamic point of view, of what India should be and should be led to, their proposals are mischievous and retrograde. Nevertheless, it must be admitted with sorrow and grief that these divisions exist, that

the Indian leaders have so far failed to compose the differences and create mutual trust. It is a sign of political immaturity to expect the Britisher not to take advantage of our divisions or to blame him for not composing them. If he rose above the natural temptation to "divide and rule" he will have shown uncommon self-sacrifice and generosity. But Indians should not calculate on such windfalls, but must shape their policies in such a manner that they will withstand all interested attacks on them and unite all India in one supreme passion of nationalism. Ordinary patriotism is not enough in India. It must be sturdier and absolutely proof against foreign attacks or temptations.

### THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.

#### THE DIRECTOR'S REVIEW.

IT has been customary to make the discussion of the Director's Report on the work of the International Labour Organisation for the year in the Conference the occasion for an examination of what may be called the general policy of the whole body. The discussion was particularly noteworthy this year in view of the present Conference marking the commencement of the second decade of the history of the Organisation. Monsieur Albert Thomas himself had drawn attention to this point in his Report and had even concluded it with a note of interrogation. He had demanded whether the time for a reconsideration of the position of the whole Organisation had not come, and he repeated the same question in the Conference when he said, "What concerns me at times is not the future of this Organisation, but to know to what extent it will be able to meet all the appeals that are forthcoming in daily life."

These appeals were set forth by some forty speakers, representing all the three groups, Governments, employers and workers, who took part in the discussion of the Director's Report. In his reply to them Monsieur Thomas endeavoured "to deduce the most essential impressions and to define certain aspects of the problems with which we are chiefly concerned and which are closely bound up with the whole future of the Organisation."

At the outset he expressed gratification that as fifty-one States, including Brazil which had temporarily seceded from the League and yet continued to be affiliated to the international Labour Office, should have participated in this year's Conference. Norway, Turkey and Mexico had sent in Observers. He was particularly pleased to see Japan, China and India co-operate in the work of the Organisation.

Referring to the speeches of the Indian employers' and workers' delegates, Messrs. Ojah and Joshi, asking for the help of the Organisation in solving the difficulties confronting India in the peculiar circumstances of to-day, the Director stated: "I cannot pass over in silence the appeals which have been addressed to us by the workers and employers of India. Sir Atul Chatterjee is right. It is essential not to introduce political considerations at this Conference. It is my duty to refer to this guid-

ing principle. Our object is merely to give to our friends in India some assurance of our constant attention to their industrial and social problems. We simply express the hope that the spirit of method and conciliation which is characteristic of Geneva may be of great assistance to them in the present difficult circumstances."

Turning to the future, the Director expressed his conviction that the greatest difficulty facing them was perhaps not the continual expansion in the work of the Organisation nor even the increasing credits necessary for it; the "real problem is whether, in view of all these new aspirations, we are likely to have the necessary strength, the necessary intelligence and the necessary resources to meet these appeals. In his recent book, *"Visions of the Future"*, Georges Duhamel expresses his awe at the inexplicable complexity of the social system, the headlong pace at which it moves, its vast proportions swelling beyond the bounds of human intelligence. We are sometimes haunted by the doubt whether we shall ever succeed in justifying the confidence placed in us."

Undoubtedly, "the measure of success of the Organisation will always be the progress of international labour legislation." Those States which aspired to exert a greater influence on the Organisation than they do at present must first earn the right for it by ratifying the Conventions passed by the Conference. The Conference seemed sometimes to be in danger of sinking into a condition of believing that the ratification of Conventions was a matter of course. Far from this being the fact, it was necessary for the Conference as a whole to bring about ratifications. So also, although the outlook was bright for the moment with regard to the Washington Hours Convention owing to the measures now under consideration in the British and German Parliaments, and also in Italy, it must be clearly recognised that any delay or set back in this regard would cause considerable disappointment among the workers and would deal a fatal blow to the Organisation. The Office must consider that it would be unworthy of the mission with which it had been entrusted if it did not endeavour by all the means at its disposal to accelerate the ratification of Conventions.

It was sometimes stated that the delay in the ratification of Conventions was due to the nature of their drafting. If so, it was for the Conference to arrive at a satisfactory agreement. Sometimes constitutional and economic grounds were urged against ratification, and yet experience had proved that these reasons were, in the long run, untenable. The Director welcomed the proposal of the French Employers' delegate for setting up a special committee by the Governing Body to examine the whole question of ratifications. Nothing could be of greater help to the Organisation than the determination of the grounds on which a member refrained from ratifying a measure passed by the Conference.

The nature of the agenda of this year's Conference had thrown into relief a tendency at work not only in the International Labour Organisation but

in international affairs generally. So far the guiding idea in their work had been that of the universality of the Organisation. But the workers' representatives from India, Japan and Australia had said that the Conventions adopted for the past ten years were European in character. There was a demand for an advisory Asiatic Conference. The proposal was obviously part of the manifestation of the spirit of regionalism, widely discerned. "The International Labour Organisation should take these movements into account. By ignoring them it would run the risk of alienating sympathy, or of witnessing the settlement, without its intervention, of matters in which States undertake the most substantial and the most efficacious mutual obligations. It would run the risk of appearing to be no more than a great academic institution, proclaiming general principles, but having no control over their application."

The consideration of forced labour and the hours of work in coal mines gave rise to a number of new questions of procedure. The application of certain principles of human justice was an obligation on a few countries which had assumed special responsibilities. Problems of competition in a given trade also led to a search for Conventions of a special character. Here again it might be asked how this need for limited Conventions could be harmonised with the general character of the Organisation. These matters, it was quite clear, must be envisaged by the Organisation not as belonging to the parliamentary and legislative sphere, but as questions of contract. Every labour question should be capable of being dealt with by the the International Labour Organisation, and it was in the general interest that they should all be co-ordinated and controlled in the Conference.

The inclusion of questions such as these inevitably increased the scope of the Conference, and more and more it had become necessary for the International Labour Organisation to regard the world economic conditions in their entirety in the pursuit of their work. The present economic depression which was a world-wide phenomenon was an instance in point. But such a universal view of economic and labour conditions tended to create various apprehensions in different quarters. Some had said that the Organisation was intent on attacking the vested interests of Colonial Powers, others thought that it was saddling some nations with a burden of social legislation that they could ill afford to bear, and still others were of opinion that it was time for the Organisation to evolve a definite policy. In view of the prevailing unemployment and its consequences to the workers, it was suggested that the Organisation should definitely espouse a system which would secure general employment even if it tended to lower wages and increase hours of work. It was even contended that "the protectionist policy of the International Labour Organisation as regard workers" was in opposition to the free trade policy of the League of Nations. All these were thorny points and it was plainly both impolitic and impossible to pursue them in the Conference. If the occasion of

the discussion of the Director's Report were to be utilised for arriving at a decision on such points, the consequences would be regrettable. They had all to get back to the fundamentals, the basis on which they could all agree, namely, the Article of the Peace Treaty which was the foundation stone of the International Labour Organisation.

#### CURRENCY OPERATIONS IN 1929-30.

THE Report of the Controller of Currency is as usual clear in its grasp of details but we regret to note that it is vehement in its apologies for the several features of the currency policy of the Government and is occasionally one-sided in its presentation. Referring to the restriction of credit in U. S. after the recent financial crash and the consequent fall of world-prices the Report shows how it reacted on India's exports, reducing the visible balance of trade in favour of India by nearly 7 crores. Industry suffered equally from the world-wide trade depression, one of the worst victims being the Calcutta jute trade. The Report justifies the issue of Treasury Bills as necessary to prevent the outflow of funds from India and to enable the Government to purchase remittances towards meeting the requirements of the Secretary of State. We do not think however that it is wise to denude the Indian money market of large amounts even in a slack season in order to buy remittances. As a matter of fact, the issue of these Bills, in conjunction with the deflation of currency which has latterly become too frequent, has been used as a lever for raising up exchange whenever it has shown signs of going below the gold point. We think it is high time the Government gave up the issue of Treasury Bills as an integral part of its financial system. However necessary it might be to stabilise exchange, it ought not to be made the sole god on the altar of which everything else should be sacrificed. It is unfortunate that exchange has latterly become the chief preoccupation of the Government and Treasury Bills are made to fit into the scheme of stabilising it even at the expense of trade and industry.

The Controller refers to the effects of the decision of the Lahore Congress on the London market for Indian securities which failed to share in the general recovery in gilt-edged stock after the American crisis. It must be admitted that the talk of repudiation of debts in the Congress session did create a measure of nervousness in the minds of investors but we believe that the Controller has exaggerated the effects of the Congress utterances as also the tendency on the part of Indians to invest their funds abroad as a result of the political situation. The response given to the recent sterling loan belies all such gloomy prognostications, and in any case the recent assurance given by Mr. Wedgwood Benn must have removed the doubts, if any, felt by the British creditors with regard to the guarantee for Indian securities. The Controller believes that the recovery of the rupee and sterling securities after March was due to the improved atmosphere created by the Budget for 1930-31 and the confidence



in the Government about their ability to maintain the finances in a sound position. We are inclined to think, on the contrary, that the recovery was due to the natural reaction against the exaggerated depression created by the Congress decisions. So far as we know, the effects of the Budget on the mind of the commercial public in India were the very reverse of a feeling of security and confidence, the serious increase of new taxation having proved the utter futility of the remission of Provincial Contributions.

The total visible trade during the year was Rs. 5,282 lakhs after making deductions for the purchase of gold and silver on private account. Council Bills, telegraphic transfers and sterling remittances account for the small sum of Rs. 2,039 lakhs. The final balance of accounts for the year is in excess of that for the year preceding by Rs. 2,180 lakhs; the result is attributed in the Report to the outflow of capital either by the investment of Indian capital abroad or the repatriation of foreign investments. Both the alternatives are unfavourable to India's financial prestige and the matter needs to be carefully investigated. In the case of exports the fall in prices has been very marked in the case of cereals, the index having fallen from 129 to 103. In the case of raw cotton and tea the index receded from 161 to 107 and 157 to 127 respectively. The fall in imports has been inconsiderable, showing a decrease in the value of Rs. 12½ crores only as compared to the preceding year.

The total contraction of currency during the year amounted to Rs. 3,241 lakhs: Rs. 1,600 lakhs against sterling securities, Rs. 1,200 lakhs against rupee securities and the rest by transfer of silver bullion for sale. This was offset by an increase of silver coin by Rs. 13 crores, an increase of 5,39 lakhs in sterling securities and 2,22 lakhs of rupee securities in replacement of sold rupees, the net result being a decrease in the circulation of notes of Rs. 1,080 lakhs. The fall in the prices of sterling securities led to sympathetic drop in the price of rupee securities; the 3½ per cent paper fell from 71 to nearly 64 and the 5 per cent paper fell from 102 to 100. The rapid easing of money in London in February and the improvement of the political situation, however slight, brought the sterling issues back to their original level as in October last and the 3½ per cent paper to 69 by the end of the financial year.

## Reviews.

### COMPARATIVE RELIGION.

**CHRISTIANITY AND SOME LIVING RELIGIONS OF THE EAST.** By SYDNEY CAVE. (Studies in Theology Series.) (Duckworth, London.) 1929. 20cm. 221p. 5/-.

THE author has made a big attempt within brief limits of space to compare the ruling ideas in some of the living religions of the East with those of Christianity. Students of comparative religions will welcome this little volume, as there is much in it to provoke further thought and enquiry. That Dr. Cave is not only a profound scholar, but that he

is also a sincere religious soul is evidenced by the fact that he approaches the problems with deep reverence, understanding and sympathy. The great problems of God's nature and manifestation, of man's redemption, duty and destiny in the various religions have been carefully and seriously treated. From the earliest times there has been an eager quest to discover the nature of the Divine. In the Rigveda men sought the help of the gods to satisfy the common needs of life. The worship of the many gods failed to satisfy people; and they sought the one behind the many. The conception was more speculative than ethical.

It was a search for an ultimate principle of all existence. The quest was continued during the dreary period of the Brahmanas and many attempts were made to name the nameless Reality. The names, Brahman and Atman, emerged at this period. Man was bidden to realise in his own self the greatest self of the universe. The Upanishads transformed this obscure surmise into a great message of salvation. For the man who realised that he was one with Brahman there was no rebirth. The doctrine of the unity of the self with Brahman brought to these ancient thinkers not only a mystic joy, but the sense of release from the bondage of past deeds. But the One was not only unknowable but attributeless. A people so deeply religious as are the Hindus, the author maintains, could not be content to worship a mere abstraction. Men have, therefore, sought personal gods to trust and love. Saiva Siddhanta spoke of the supreme God as both real and loving. Sankara made a great attempt to unify the divergent interests of philosophy and religion. He says that devotion to the gods and the fulfilment of the demands of duty have meaning only for the unilluminated. For the man of knowledge, the unknowable and attributeless Brahman alone is real. But trust in a personal god has lacked the confirmation of philosophy. The belief in karma made all that was active seem unreal.

Thus, in Hinduism is to be found, side by side with the way of knowledge to which Brahman alone is real, the way of love (Bhakti) in which redemption is sought by love and devotion to a god or gods. The Bhagavadgita, or the song of the Blessed One, proclaims this religion of love. It provides salvation for all alike, to men and women, to lower castes as well as to those of the higher castes. Deliverance can be gained through reliance on Krishna's love which enables devotees to act selflessly, without thought of the effect of the deeds.

Although Buddha ranks among the most influential ethical teachers of our race, ethics was not his chief concern. It was the misery and futility of life that weighed upon him, not the moral evil of the world. His was a message of redemption or release from the cycle of rebirth by the elimination of 'thirst' or desire. His moral teaching was a means to this end. The holy Eight-fold Path could not of itself secure the cessation of misery. It was preliminary to the elimination of desire. The Eight-fold Path, in short, inculcates purity and love. This Eight-fold Path, which sums up the Buddhist morality, is that by following which the layman can earn a future birth in which would come to him the opportunity of redemption. The way of deliverance was open to those who could renounce the world. Nirvana is complete emancipation—the goal of spiritual life; and though regarded as the greatest blessing, could not be described in any positive content. Buddha resolutely refused to answer metaphysical questions; his interest was mainly practical.

In the study of religions, amidst a diversity of conceptions, two great types stand out. In the

one, as in Zoroastrianism and early Islam, God is regarded as primarily a law-giver whose will is known and must be obeyed; in the other, as in the Vedanta and the Sufi movement, God is held to be unknowable and redemption is sought by realising our identity with him. The Christian conception of God, while differing from each of these, has affinities with each. Christianity resembles the legal type in conceiving God as personal and known; like the second it speaks of communion with God, and thus secures deliverance from the pressure of the temporal and the finite.

Jesus upheld the doctrine of the majesty and splendour of God, but he yet spoke of God as the Father caring for His children's need. It was a conception of God which combined utter awe and utter trust. "He was certain of God's love, and yet spoke of it as a love which demands from men their very best. God was 'perfect' and men have to strive to be perfect even as their Father was. As he preached, so he lived. He obeyed God's Will, even though it led Him to the Cross, and even in the garden of His agony, and upon the Cross, He could call God Father."

The author says that, "Christ had but one message: the character of God. The ideals he held up to His followers are merely the reflection of His estimate of God. They describe from various angles the nature of the life lived in humble surrender to the God of love whom He revealed. Christ required purity, not of act alone, but of thought, and abstinence, not from acts of hatred only, but from hate." These hard demands become possible through God's help. "He bade men trust in God as Father, but that sonship with God had to show itself in acts of brotherhood." Christ was Himself the perfect expression of this great ideal of filial trust and brotherly service.

BROTHER MARTYN.

## THE NEGRO.

**THE NEGRO IN OUR HISTORY.** By CARTEB G. WOODSON. (Associated Publishers, Washington.) 1928. 22cm. 628p. \$ 3.00.

THE author of this intensely interesting and important work was born of ex-slave parents in Virginia. He has written a number of works dealing with different aspects of Negro history. A short account of his life is provided in the Introduction by Kelly Miller.

The author traces the history of American Negroes from the unknown African origin down to the present day, and describes vividly the vicissitudes through which they have gone and the deliberate obstructions which are placed by their white masters in their way to further advancement. He has gracefully acknowledged the valuable help rendered by white humanitarians in the uplift of his race.

Long before the dawn of history, we are told, the Negro had reached a certain stage in civilisation. Scholars tell us that the Negroes taught the Mediterranean world the use of iron. Even today the uncontaminated natives of Africa are more religious, more honest and more moral than the people of Europe and America. According to Leo Wiener of Harvard University, the Africans were the first to discover America.

The author then deals with the history of Slave Trade. In closing the War of Spanish Succession in 1713, the English secured for a number of years the monopoly of Slave Trade with the Colonies of Spain. The slaves received better treatment at the hands of their Portuguese, Spanish and French masters than the English. "The English never

treated the slaves" says the author, "with familiarity nor smiled upon them, nor spoke to them, except when compelled. Some of the English actually sold their offspring by negro-women". They never regarded slaves as human beings. Sometimes these human cargo from Africa included the Arabs also. An Arab slave was a great Arabic scholar. He was subsequently associated with a Professor of Cambridge in the translation of oriental manuscripts. Despite the inhuman treatment one of the first to shed blood on behalf of American liberty was a negro. The Government of the States have many laws enacted to separate the whites from the negroes. But the poor whites, who during the days of slavery were just above the slaves, as they were indentured servants, associated with the negroes, but were always punished for the violation of laws. The negroes made various attempts at self-assertion, but were suppressed with ruthless cruelty. In the Southern States the strongest measures were adopted. It was unlawful for negroes above a certain number, usually five, to assemble without the permission of their masters. It was made a crime for a white person to teach a negro, for it was believed that the educated negro was always "misleading" his illiterate brethren. The chastity of negro women was violated by white men with impunity. A faithful slave who had saved his master's life on many occasions handed his gun to his master informing him that he could not live a slave any longer and requested him either to free him or to shoot him on the spot. The master took the gun and shot him through the heart. It was illegal for a white woman to marry a Negro and in some States it was against the law for a free man to marry a slave woman. But the concubinage system was tolerated by the State, Church and Society. There is a well-authenticated account of a respectable "Christian" lady of the South who kept a handsome Mulatto female for the use of her genteel son as a method of deterring him, as she said "from indiscriminate and vulgar indulgences." In some Southern States it was a law that no Christian should be a slave. But when many Negroes turned Christians the law was repealed. The Christian conscience of America, however, was roused and slavery, after a sanguinary civil war, was abolished. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" proved to be one of the most disastrous blows to slavery. The abolition of slavery gave rise to Ku-Klux-Klan and lynching." Negroes are still terrorised with lawlessness and violence. The reactionaries have further curtailed the privileges of Negroes by segregation laws dealing first with railway accommodation and then with schools and places of amusement. The Negro even today is not conceded the right to enjoy the full measure of citizenship. He is tolerated only in recognised inferiority. The Churches, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have separate branches for the Negroes in the Southern States. Dr. Dubois, a Negro leader says, "Negroes are denied education, driven out of the churches! excluded from hotels, theatres, and public places; labelled like dogs in travelling; refused decent employment; forced to the lowest scale of wage; prohibited from buying property in decent neighbourhood; ridiculed in the Press, on the platform and on the stage; disfranchised, taxed without representation, robbed of justice in the courts . . . ."

Negroes contributed their share of man power to the American Army in the Great War and to secure their full support some of them were given the rank of officers. But the Negro officers were not desired in the army and soon there was a campaign against them. It was alleged that they were "coward" and "inefficient". Specific charges against some of them were investigated by the Secretary of War and he

exonerated them. Every effort was made to separate the Negro soldier from the French people. General Erwin proclaimed that Negroes should not associate with French women. General Horn ordered that no officer of the 167th Brigade should be permitted to attend a dance when a fee was charged, although white officers belonging to other brigades could attend. The French were cautioned through official advices not to treat the Negroes with familiarity and indulgence. The French army was advised to prevent intimacy between French and black officers; "not to eat with them nor shake hands nor seek to talk with them outside of the requirements of military service." The author avers from "accessible evidence" that "if some of the American soldiers had struggled as hard to defeat the Germans as they did to implant race prejudice in France, the army would have been much nearer the Rhine when the armistice was signed."

Such are, therefore, some of the salient features of this very valuable book of history. It is almost impossible while reading it not to compare the conditions under which Negroes have been allowed to exist in America and the conditions in India. The only difference that I can discern is that, whereas Negroes are inhumanly treated in a country which the white man has made his own, Indians are no better off in their own land. Our oppressed American Negro brethren will heave a sigh of relief to know that in India, particularly in the British Dominions outside British India, they have fellow sufferers for no crime of theirs but the crime of colour for which God alone is responsible. However, one thing history has again and again proved that oppression is no remedy for a situation which is of your own creation. Oppression has failed to kill the Negro race in America; and no insurgence of British National pride and racial prestige is going to swamp India's ambitions and aspirations.

In the Appendix the author has quoted the following lines of W. L. Garrison:—

Oppression! I have seen thee face to face,  
And met thy cruel eye and cloudy brow;  
But thy soul-withering glance I fear not  
now—

For dread to prouder feelings doth give place  
Of deep abhorrence! Scorning the disgrace  
Of slavish knees that at thy footstool bow,  
I also kneel—but with far other vow,  
Do hail thee and thy herd of hirelings  
base—

I swear, while life-blood warms my throbbing  
veins,  
Still to oppose and thwart, with heart and  
hand,  
Thy brutalizing sway—till Africa's chains  
Are burst, and Freedom rules the rescued  
land,—

Trampling Oppression and iron rod:  
*Such is the vow I take—so help me God!*

S. A. WAIZ.

## THE WORLD COURT.

### INFORMATION ON THE WORLD COURT:

1918-1928. By J. W. WHEELER BENNETT  
& MAURICE FANSHAW. (Information Series  
No. 5.) (Allen & Unwin) 1929. 22 cm. 208p. 10/-.

THIS little book contains a very full and useful account of the Permanent Court of International Justice, which was successfully launched by the League of Nations in the early years of its existence. The genesis, organisation, procedure and jurisdiction

of the Court are carefully explained. A preliminary meeting of the Court was held in the opening months of 1922. Later on in that year the first ordinary session of the Court took place. Up to the end of 1928 the Court had sat 15 times, had pronounced 13 judgments and given 16 advisory opinions. Full information is here set down of the cases decided and of the matters on which advice was sought.

If war is to be abolished from the world, such an International Court of Justice is a necessity. It is most desirable that public opinion in the various countries should be enlisted in its favour. As Sir Cecil Hurst, late Adviser to the British Foreign Office and now one of the judges of the World Court, points out in a brief introduction, "submission to the National Law Courts is a thing we all understand; but the idea of being placed under the control of a Court where the judges are mainly foreigners, who do not understand our laws and who talk foreign tongues—that is something new, and not to be acquiesced in without careful consideration." The International Court, therefore, needs to win its way to the confidence of people everywhere. In view of the possibility of a decision being given at some time adverse to the immediate interests of any country, much education is necessary, so that faith in the International Court may be created and developed and made strong.

It is well to know, as we are informed in this book, that the United States of America have been consistent in their desire for such an institution. In all their opposition to the League of Nations, they have not failed to support the idea of a World Court. "Throughout they have differentiated between the Court and the League, cleaving to the one and despising the other."

The history of the movement reveals most painstaking effort on the part of those who have made this cause their own. Not only have they worked patiently through many apparently unfruitful years, but when their toil seemed to have reached fruition, instead of grasping at victory, they have been content to take the slow method of trying to convince everyone concerned. Acting merely on majorities, they might have made faster progress, but their work would have rested on a less secure foundation. All honour to the men, representing many nations, who have laboured with such patience and such goodwill.

A ten years' review such as is given here suggests that there is every ground to be optimistic for the future. History is now being made very rapidly. Much had happened that was of real importance even between the writing of the book and its publication. Wisely have the authors provided an addendum for 1929. Perhaps, indeed, greater prominence might have been given to this page, or at least special attention might have been directed to it. It is placed at the conclusion of the Table of Contents and is apt to be overlooked. Yet no one is up to date in the subject who has not read it.

With so much detail, the book tends to be a little heavy. For popular exposition a more racy pen and a greater power of selection are necessary. As a book of reference, however, the volume is of great value and should find a place in libraries patronised by men and women interested in the development of international justice. With the steady growth of such people throughout the world, the day must draw near when war shall be no more.

A. R. L.

## A WHITE MUTINY.

**THE WHITE MUTINY. A FORGOTTEN EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN ARMY.** By SIR ALEXANDER CARDEW. (Oxford University Press) 1929. 22cm. 264p. 12/6.

IN a letter addressed to Lord Ellenborough in 1829, the Duke of Wellington said, "Mutiny in the East India Company's army is not a novelty. In my time, there have been three." But none of these has been studied so systematically and with such scrupulous fairness as the "White Mutiny" of 1809. Sir Alexander Cardew, in this finely documented book, has presented a clear and correct narrative of the widespread conspiracy in the Deccan and South India and has attempted to remove the stigma of weakness and vacillation, long attached to the administration of Sir George Barlow at Madras, by means of a deeper study of the underlying causes of unrest.

The reaction on the officers of the army of "the period of transition from an era of youth and expansion to one of settled and ordered administration" is analysed at the outset and the personalities of the chief actors in the fateful drama are sympathetically drawn. His study of Sir George Barlow is specially noteworthy. Sir Alexander believes that Sir George suffered more from an inflexibility of temperament and a constitutional coldness and apathy than from incompetence or want of courage. Causes of discontent and disaffection were long ready in the hands of agitators—the abolition of the Mayors' court, the Carnatic Debt Commission, the rivalries between the Company's officers and the King's, the demand for various allowances, for the Bazar Fund, for the Tent contract system, the doctrines of the French Revolution coloured by Whiggish Councillors and generals, and others. The speeches and acts of successive Commanders-in-Chief vigorously fed the flame, Lt. General Macdowall going so far as to publish a General Order, on the eve of his departure from India, condoning and generally encouraging the army's feelings against the civil authority, in language most exasperatingly aggressive!

The mutiny, thus steadily worked up, reared its head at Masulipatam, Jalna, Secunderabad, Seringapatam and distant Travancore. Sir George Barlow rose to the occasion, and compelled, by sheer force of prestige and personality, all officers in command of divisions and stations, to sign a declaration "to obey the orders and support the authority of the Honourable the Governor-in-Council of Fort St. George, agreeably to the tenor of the Commissions which we hold from the Government." This arrested the plan with surprising effectiveness. Barring a few angry scenes at Secunderabad and the discomfiture of the Jalna force, the "mutiny without method" was scotched, and the 'temporary insanity' of the officers (as Lt. Col. Malcolm characterised it) fizzled out. From the first, the troops were chary of supporting the officers—the British troops feared being led against their own countrymen and the Indian troops discovered nothing to interest them except curiosity. The arrival of Lord Minto at Madras in September 1809 left the award of punishment and the exercise of leniency in the hands of moderation and sound judgment.

Sir Alexander Cardew's account of the affair is a fine example of historical research in the by-paths of the Company's career in India which provides episodes and crises of surpassing significance and enticing interest.

N. KASTURI.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

- CAREERS IN THE CIVIL SERVICE. By A. BARLING AND R. R. MARTIN. (Gregg Publishing Co.) 20cm. 180p. 2/6.
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