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Editor : S. G. VAZE.

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CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	569
ARTICLES :—	
Renouncing The Throne.	571
How to Forefend The Federation?	573
Change of Heart About Egypt.	575
Betterment of Depressed Classes—Work in Madras. By R. Suryanarayana Rao.	577
REVIEW :—	
American Historical Geography. By B. G. Nene.	579
SHORT NOTICE.	580
CORRESPONDENCE :—	
Clearance of Agriculturists' Debt. By Sir Montagu de P. Webb.	580

Topics of the Week.

Elimination of the King.

THE House of Deputies of the Irish Free State considered and passed, just at the time of the constitutional crisis in England, a bill eliminating the King from the constitution so far as internal affairs are concerned. This measure, however, has no connection with the crisis that developed so suddenly and dramatically in Great Britain, but has long been in preparation in the mind of Mr. de Valera. It was known for a long time that in the proposals for a new constitution that were to be placed before the Irish Parliament, elimination of the King from the constitution and abolition of the office of Governor-General would figure prominently. Mr. de Valera had announced on 24th June in the Dail that the new constitution would provide for the abolition of the Governor-Generalship and for the vesting of the functions of that office in an elected representative of the people above party. This has now been done by the Dail, the Speaker being substituted for the Governor-General as the ceremonial head of the State. In so far as the elimination of the King from the constitution is concerned, this has not been achieved in its entirety. The elimination is confined only to internal affairs; the King's name will be retained in the constitution so far as external affairs go. The retention of his name in a part of the constitution is intended to show that connexion with the British Empire is not being severed.

Mr. Binder's Clove Trade Inquiry.

A SUMMARY of the results of Mr. Binder's inquiry into the working of the clove decrees in

Zanzibar is now available. When the inquiry was announced last April, it was fondly hoped in some quarters that its conclusions would result in an end being put to the hated clove decrees. That hope has, however, proved to be very ill-founded. Far from recommending the abolition of the Clove-Growers' Association or the cancellation of the clove legislation, Mr. Binder pleads for the uninterrupted continuance of the virtually monopolistic position of the Association in regard to the purchases of clove. To him this is imperative in the interest of the stability of prices of cloves.

MR. BINDER'S other recommendations, however, seem to mark an improvement from the Indian standpoint. He proposes a reduction in the existing prohibitive fee for an export licence so as to bring it within the reach of the small exporters, who are mostly Indians. A suggestion is also put forward for the abolition of the export levy. What is more, the export licensing authority will, under his proposals, not be the Association itself as at present but the Government. The general complaint against the Association is that this power to issue export licences has been so used by it as to eliminate the small Indian dealer from the clove trade. The transfer of this power to the Government is expected to remove much of the ground for this complaint.

THE claims of the small Indian dealer are recognised by Mr. Binder even in other ways. In the purchase of cloves by the Association it will, under his scheme, be free to engage the services of agents on a commission basis. It is well known that the small dealers are mostly our own countrymen who will largely benefit by this concession. The provision for the inclusion of two exporters' representatives in the Advisory Committee of the Association with a view to discussing the actual fixing of prices will give some voice, so long denied, to Indian interests in the matter of the regulation of the clove trade.

Commercial Careers for Graduates.

THE Convocation address delivered by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas at the Lucknow University differs from the general run of Convocation addresses. Usually these indulge in a platitudinous mention of the benefits of University education and urge the need of education for its own sake. Sir Purshotamdas, however, left the beaten track and used the occasion for impressing on the educated world the necessity of taking to commerce as a calling and a career. His thirty-five years' business experience has strengthened him in the conviction that the business world is the poorer for want of trained men from the Universities. If graduates were to take to commerce in large numbers as required by Sir Purshotamdas, it

is obvious that it would at once serve to relieve to some extent the problem of educated unemployment which is urgently crying for solution.

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BUT Sir Purshotamdas does not look upon the entry of University graduates into business merely as a means of enabling them to earn their livelihood. According to him, there is plenty of room in a commercial career for selflessness and service, for initiative and enterprise, for adventure and even romance. Commerce, he tells us, also enables us to learn methods of organisation, both on a large and a small scale, the need for team work and the capacity to undergo sustained physical and mental strain. In short he believes that the qualities that go to make a successful and progressive nation can largely be imbibed by adequate efforts in the commercial sphere. Integrity, industry, perseverance and enterprise are, he opines, the four fundamental qualities necessary for the commercial career.

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GREATER inclination on the part of graduates towards commercial careers presupposes a change in their mentality. And Sir Purshotamdas naturally wants that their present clerical mentality should change into the commercial-cum-industrial mentality. The change is already in gradual progress but cannot of course be brought about over-night. It is bound to be a very slow process but must come about sooner or later if commerce is to offer attractive careers to our educated young men. All this is very true. But there is another side to this problem of which Sir Purshotamdas cannot be unaware. It is not necessarily for want of will, as is likely to be supposed, but for want of opportunity that graduates habitually keep away from commerce. The tendency on the part of commercial magnates and successful businessmen is, as is well known, notoriously in favour of uneducated and low-paid subordinates. It is this which largely discourages educated youths from seeking admittance into the commercial line. Sir Purshotamdas's appeal to the business community to revise its notions about education and educated persons is from this point of view doubly welcome and will, let us hope, have the desired effect upon those for whom it is intended.

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Indians in Portuguese East Africa.

THE Indian community in Portuguese East Africa numbering over 5,000 has a complaint to make against the Government of that territory. It would appear that what was termed the National Employment Act was issued by that Government four years ago. This required all commercial houses to have at least 70 per cent. Portuguese subjects in their staff. The law, it is true, does not expressly discriminate against Indians but is, it is stated, really aimed against them. Not having its text before us, we are unable to say whether it is so or not.

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BUT leaving that aspect of the matter aside, we find that soon after its enactment the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association sought the intervention of the Government of India for the purpose of safeguarding "the legitimate rights of British subjects." We are further told that, at the instance of the Indian Government, "a vigorous protest" against the enactment was entered by His Majesty's Government. This had the desired result and the operation of the Act was at once suspended by the Portuguese East African Government. It was generally believed at the time that suspension would in practice virtually amount to abandonment.

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THIS belief has received a rude shock by recent happenings in that part of the world. News now comes to hand that some Indian merchants have been fined under the Act for failure to conform to its provision as to the minimum proportion of Portuguese subjects in their staffs. Two things need to be seriously considered in this connection. It must be ascertained in the first place whether in giving effect to the law the Portuguese East African Government are going back on their word to treat it as a dead letter. In the second place, it must be understood that the hardship resulting from its operation will by no means be negligible. It is one thing to insist upon the employment of such a large percentage as 70 of Portuguese subjects on the establishments of business concerns controlled by Portuguese nationals and quite another to demand the satisfaction of the requirement from Indian concerns.

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THEIR establishments might in many cases be so small that the enforcement of the Act in their case would amount to compulsion to have their establishments staffed only by Portuguese subjects. Small business houses having seven or eight subordinates will, under this law, be free to entertain nobody who is not a Portuguese subject in their service, even though such staff might be less costly. In such cases the enforcement of the legislation will assume the form of indirect economic pressure for squeezing the business concerns out of existence. We daresay the framers of the law did not have such an inglorious object in view, but that such would be its result in actual practice can hardly be open to doubt. We cannot believe that the Government of India are not well posted with the facts of the situation which they would do well to share with the Indian public.

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Agricultural Debt Redemption in Hyderabad.

ONE rarely hears about professional money-lenders' anxiety to lend a helping hand in the solution of the problem of agricultural indebtedness. But that rare phenomenon is reported from Hyderabad (Deccan). There a meeting of *sowcars* and private bankers was recently held at which a scheme of debt conciliation was outlined. According to this scheme, there would be debt conciliation boards for every taluka. These would consist of two representatives each of the creditors and debtors and one Government officer. Whether the representatives of the first two interests are to be elected or nominated is not stated, but perhaps nomination is meant to be universally applicable in the constitution of these boards.

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AFTER examining detailed accounts and hearing evidence of both sides the boards are to fix the amount payable by the debtor. A certificate, which would be equivalent to the decree of a civil court and registrable for a nominal fee and exempt from stamp fees, would be issued by the board. An appeal to the civil court against the decisions of these boards is also provided for. The board's decree would specify a limit of twenty years for the liquidation of the debt with interest at six per cent. per annum. Cases of inability to satisfy even this reduced demand owing to causes beyond the control of the debtor and not due to any recalcitrancy on his part are intended to be covered by provision for suitable remissions. Under this scheme, the *sowcars* would be at liberty to recover their dues by sale of the debtor's crop. Should, however, the latter fail to cultivate his land for two years in succession or should he make a default in respect of two yearly instalments, the amount would be recovered by the sale of his land.

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THE scheme proposes the establishment of land mortgage banks as in British India as a means of providing cheap credit to the cultivator. If the money-lender wants the decreed amount to be paid to him in cash, he can have half of it from the proposed land mortgage banks, one quarter in the form of shares of such banks and 25 per cent. in the form of debentures at four per cent. per annum. This means nothing more than that the responsibility for the recovery of the debts would be transferred from individual money-lenders to land mortgage banks or co-operative societies.

BUT the scheme does not content itself with merely looking to the present. It also takes the future into account and makes suggestions so as to minimise the chance of the agriculturist incurring needless debt. Among such an important place must be given to the suggestion which places a ban on debts for unproductive and wasteful expenditure, loans being given only in cases of real necessity or for agricultural improvement. The maximum rate of interest proposed is 12 per cent. per annum and the suggestion is made that primary education be made free and compulsory in the villages so that advantage cannot be taken by unscrupulous money-lenders of the ignorance and illiteracy of the debtors. The desirability of propaganda designed to impress on the agriculturists the evils of indebtedness is also stressed in the scheme.

Mr. Polak and Overseas Indians.

MR. H. S. L. Polak, whose study of the problem of Indians overseas is as deep as it is long-standing, suggests three ways by which their condition is likely to be ameliorated. He attaches great value to the appointment of Indian Agents of the Government of India in parts of the world where Indians are to be found in large numbers. It matters little, so far as he is concerned, whether the proposed functionaries are placed in exclusive charge of the interests of Indian nationals settled in the respective countries as the Agents in South Africa, Malaya and Ceylon are or whether they are there in order to safeguard Indian trade. What he insists upon is the presence of an Indian official in those parts so that in case of difficulty our countrymen could turn to him for help and guidance. The least that such officers may be relied upon to do is to keep the Indian Government closely in touch with any anti-Indian measures which may be proposed by the Colonial governments and of which they may come to know. If East Africa had an Indian Agent, Mr. Polak feels the anti-Indian clove legislation in Zanzibar would not have found so easy a way to the statute book. Any how the Agent's presence would have placed the Government of India in a position to make timely representations to the proper authorities on the strength of information supplied by him.

FOR the purpose of establishing mutual understanding Mr. Polak greatly favours the visit of official and parliamentary delegations, on the lines of the recent one from South Africa, from the Colonies to India and vice versa. The atmosphere of friendliness and harmony to which such visits lead would, in his view, result in the Indian problem being examined from less unsympathetic angles in the different parts of the Empire. The attainment of this object would be still further facilitated by similar visits by non-officials. "Such a visit as that of the late Mr. Gokhale to South Africa in 1912", Mr. Polak testifies, "was productive of very considerable good. It brought the South African Government and people for the first time in direct contact with a recognised Indian

leader of light and culture. It made them realise how deeply concerned was the Motherland in the welfare of her children in the Union and it gave much encouragement to the latter." We hope Mr. Polak's suggestions will be seriously considered by both the Government and the people of India.

The Singapore Indian Strike.

THE difficulties of Mr. Sastri's task in Malaya must have been added to very considerably owing to the Indian strike which has been in progress in Singapore since the commencement of this month. The strikers are all of them employees of the local Municipality and Government departments and their number is said to exceed 12,000. It is described as "the biggest strike in recent years" and its existence is specially felt by the people, as the conservancy service and arrangements for street cleaning and market cleansing are seriously dislocated. The strike doubtless constitutes a menace to public health, but efforts to terminate it have so far come to nought.

ATTEMPTS are being made in interested quarters to make it appear as if the strike was needlessly precipitated and was sudden. For our part we find it difficult to believe that the strikers would have launched upon it in a light-hearted fashion or without the authorities concerned being acquainted with the cause of their dissatisfaction. Their demands as finally formulated by them are:

1. A minimum wage of 60 cents a day (straits).
2. An additional 10 cts. a day for skilled workmen.
3. A maximum working of 8 hours.
4. Double pay for overtime.
5. Full pay on days on which work is postponed owing to rain or for other reasons.
6. Free medical treatment and full pay while in hospital.
7. Free water and light.
8. A rent allowance of \$1.50 a month for labourers not accommodated in coolie lines.
9. Full pay on public holidays, whether working or not.
10. No labourer shall be dismissed without his case being investigated by the head of the Department concerned.
11. Prosecutions shall be withdrawn against strikers arrested during recent disorders.
12. All labourers shall be paid full wages for the period of the strike.

Given a spirit of compromise and accommodation on both sides, there is no reason why the strike should drag on for any length of time. But the authorities are reported to be insisting on a complete surrender on the part of the strikers as a condition precedent to their grievances receiving any consideration at their hands. Let us hope they will be prevailed upon to give up this harsh and unsympathetic attitude which is so prejudicial to an early termination of the strike.

Articles.

RENOUNCING THE THRONE.

AT the time when our last number was ready the constitutional issue arising out of King Edward VIII's proposed marriage with Mrs. Ernest Simpson was still developing and was taking on a different complexion almost from hour to hour. We therefore felt that any comment at that stage

would be futile. Now that the crisis is over we must confess that we cannot understand the mentality of the British people which left to the King only two alternatives : giving up the desired marriage or giving up the Throne. The Britishers' objection to Mrs. Simpson apparently is that she is a commoner, a foreigner from a republican country and a divorcee with her two former husbands living. The third is the strongest ground of objection, though the first two are not wholly negligible. With these no man of liberal views can sympathise. Nor can one at all understand how in a country where divorce is perfectly legal and freely availed of without dishonour it can be said to bring dishonour upon a Royal Family. It somehow seems to be thought that a King would demean himself by doing what other persons can do not only with impunity but without the slightest shadow of ignominy. It is futile to think that the Royal Palaces can be insulated against the practices which have become common in ordinary houses.

That the late King should have thought that nothing but a morganatic marriage with a lady of Mrs. Simpson's position was possible only shows that he realised the depth of prejudice which moves the Britishers and the gulf which they place between the common people and Royalty. So far as Indians are concerned, they traditionally allow to rulers a latitude which they would not tolerate in the case of the commonalty. The Britishers, it would seem, apply a stricter moral code to the Royal personages than they apply to the masses of people. The right thing, of course, is that there should be no discrimination either in favour or to disadvantage of kings ; an identical standard of moral conduct should be made applicable to both. Judging from this point of view, it is difficult to see why a marriage which in ordinary households would be held desirable should be considered undesirable in a Royal household, and why Britishers should stand aghast at the prospect of having to accept Mrs. Simpson as their queen and any issue from her as standing in the line of direct succession to the Throne. All this furore is to us simply unintelligible and can only be due to social prejudice which cannot be defended.

It is said that for a morganatic marriage the consent of Parliament would have to be obtained by a change in the existing law. This is again beyond our comprehension, for surely it is not meant that the king labours under any special disability as regards marriage. If a humble citizen of Great Britain can go to the Registrar's office and get himself married, cannot the king ? The king, of course, would like to have the commendation of his people in marrying the lady of his choice, but the first consideration in such a matter must of course be his own heart's desire, particularly when he does not ask his wife to be recognised as queen. In former days when kings were not mere figureheads but took independent political action which might have far-reaching consequences on the people's destiny, it was perhaps proper that royal marriages should be governed principally by political considerations. But now, when a king is the head of a democratic State, all such restrictions

become unnecessary. It is right that he should be guided in all matters of State by the advice of his Ministers and Parliament, but their advice in matters concerning his household is entirely out of place. It surely does not matter which lady he chooses to lavish his affections upon so long as neither he nor she has the power of interfering in public affairs and when Parliament has complete control over succession. Mr. Baldwin roundly stated that a morganatic marriage such as the late King had proposed would not commend itself to the British people. We take leave to doubt this statement. If the people had been given the necessary time to think out the problem we are not sure that their consent would not have been forthcoming.

But such an atmosphere was created that the ex-King was practically forced to renounce the Throne. He could of course have kept it if he had given up his project of marriage, but he was bluntly told that if he remained faithful to the woman he loved he could not retain his kingship. The great stroke of statesmanship which is supposed to have averted the greatest crisis confronting the British constitution consisted merely in the high-brows of Great Britain—and of the Dominions who are still worse snobs—forcing an immediate decision upon King Edward VIII on the ground that the international situation was alarming and that delay would have a dangerous effect on the world markets. In old days when intrigues in the Royal Family were common and political struggles ranged round one or the other claimant to the Throne this would have been possible. All that delay could do now was to give time to the peoples in the Empire to apply their own independent mind to the problem, and we are not sure that if they had an opportunity of doing so, the peoples would not have stood by the King. He attracted to himself as Prince of Wales and as King the personal devotion of the common man as perhaps few men in the Royal Family did before. His recent visit to the distressed areas in South Wales and his insistence upon seeing things for himself, which was responsible for far more being done for the suffering people than would otherwise have been done, are only characteristic of his general bent of mind. He was at home among ordinary people and was visibly uneasy among folks in high station. One cannot but suspect whether this was not his worst crime in the eyes of some people. Their attitude towards him when the so-called crisis thickened was : "It is best he goes." It was being said then that he was lacking in a sense of public duty. He was certainly lacking in conventionalism and probably, in the view of these men, the king's main duty is to be so immersed in court ceremony as to show no concern for the welfare of the people.

King Edward has, however, chosen to abdicate, and that is the end to this tragic story. All that one can now do is to express one's profoundest respect for his decision that when the only choice offered to him was either of remaining faithful to his love or sticking to his Throne, he chose the former course. To one who had a less firm grasp on moral principles how many compromises, ignoble it is true but easy enough, would not have suggested themselves ! He has shown

himself in this the greatest crisis in his life to be above everything else a man of honour, and what counts for more in the final analysis than this? When he was King fulsome eulogies used to be showered on him, but as soon as it appeared that he would no longer be King stones began to be thrown at him—showing how unreal and dishonest are most of the things that are said of the occupants of the throne

in any country. We consider ourselves fortunate that we who could never join in expressions of conventional loyalty during the reign can bestow praise from the depth of our heart when the reign has come to such an abrupt end. To the new King Emperor and Queen Empress the people of India will give the allegiance that is due to them.

HOW TO FOREFEND THE FEDERATION?

THE draft of two resolutions on the reforms which the Working Committee of the Congress framed in Bombay last week for being submitted to the plenary session of the Congress to be held in Faizpur emphasises the opposition of the Congress to the new constitution and elaborates to a small extent the steps that the Congress proposes to take in order to effectuate this opposition. One of these resolutions declares once again the Congress resolve "not to submit to this constitution or to co-operate with it, but to combat it both inside and outside the legislatures so as to end it." This is strong language, but one would have liked to know a little about the *modus operandi* to be employed by Congressmen, particularly by those in the legislatures. Will their one effort be to sabotage the government machine; or will they, without offering opposition for opposition's sake, endeavour to enact to the best of their ability some of the legislation urgently needed by the masses of the people? Or if they will try both these methods as opportunity for the one or the other may offer, will they lay more stress upon construction or obstruction? These questions call for an answer, and they could have been answered at least in broad outline, but they have not been answered so far, although elections to the legislatures are being fought and a Congress gathering is soon to be held. Whatever policy is intended, the people's verdict must be sought specifically on it, after educating them fully in its implications. But the managers of the Congress do not intend to take a definite attitude on the question yet and the next Congress will apparently say nothing about it.

This is unfair both to the Congress and to the country. It may be that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who is undoubtedly serious about ending the constitution—if it could be ended—would rather desire to take no final decision on the question, fearing that such decision may be adverse to his own view or at least not sufficiently clear-cut and drastic in the direction desired by him, and would try to force his view on the Congress members in the legislatures through the Congress executive which may perchance be somewhat more willing to fall in with his solution of the problem with the help of the rules of iron discipline framed for adoption by the Congress. Whether the Congress executive to be elected in the next session will in fact be more leftist than the present one remains to be seen. If it is he may be able to give to Congress policy the radical turn that he wishes, but if the policy is to be understood and intelligently supported in the country, something more is needed than that a junta should issue decrees from

its office for the people to carry out without question. An extensive popular movement cannot be sustained on this basis for any length of time, nor is it desirable that it should be so sustained even if it were practicable. We should thus have very much wished the Congress to work out its policy in essentials—leaving only details to be filled in later—both for the public's approval and education. Of any clarity on Congress policy to be followed in future no trace is to be seen at present. One finds different propagandists from the Congress ranks holding up to derision and contempt the alternative policies that are open to the country. To peasants and workers large, and in fact impossible, measures of social reform are promised, which ought never to be promised if the Congress is bent upon destruction rather than construction. Before extreme politicians all constructive efforts are scouted and the one aim of the Congress is represented to be that of killing the constitution, whatever setback in social and economic conditions the pursuit of this aim may entail. Such tactics may be useful from the vote-catching point of view, but from the larger interests of the country they are highly injurious. Election must be looked upon primarily as the means of political education of the people. The Congress is, however, deliberately adding confusion of ideas to mass ignorance and is thus doing a great disservice to the country.

It is something that the Congress has remembered the constituent assembly plank in its platform. When the elections for the Central Assembly were held two years ago, the Congress candidates sought the suffrages of the voters on this plank, but after being returned to the Assembly they had forgotten all about it. The Congress naturally exposed itself to much criticism by reason of this question being ignored, and therefore it is now proposed to take it up. The constituent assembly that the Congress is thinking of is to be a body "having the power to determine finally the constitution of the country". It is clear to everybody that such an assembly, which will be in a position to give a definitive shape to the constitution without reference to the rulers of the two Indias—the British Government and the Princes—is not a practicable proposition yet. Our inability to solve the communal question proves it. We have the power, provided the different communities arrive at an amicable arrangement, to settle the question finally. The British Government has promised to accept as its own decision any understanding that may be reached between the communities. But we find that in the present temper of the nation such an understanding is not

possible. Would it be easier to settle all the constitutional questions by a majority vote at a gathering elected on a universal franchise? But, in the interests of political honesty and probity, we welcome this sign on the part of the Congress of its awareness of an issue which enabled it to win a sensational victory at the polls recently. What are the steps that the Congress proposes to take to implement this part of its programme? A convention will be held after the elections composed mainly of the Congress members of the various legislatures, and "this convention shall put the demand for a constituent assembly in the forefront." What precisely this means we do not understand; but possibly it is proposed that in every legislature the Congress members would move a resolution for the holding of a constituent assembly. This can only be the first of the many long steps that are necessary before the kind of constituent assembly that is contemplated can at all be brought within the range of practical politics.

There is one specific task assigned to the convention of the Congress members in the legislatures. It is to "determine how to oppose by all feasible methods the introduction of the federal structure under the new Act." Whether any feasible methods can be found or not to prevent the federation from coming into being, the resolution at least shows clearly to all concerned that the Congress does desire that the federation shall not get going at all. The Congress attitude to this question is not yet fully appreciated in the country. It is thought that though the Congress speaks of rejection it feels somehow a great deal of tenderness for the federal structure. The belief is widespread that the Muslims alone are against federation, and that too for communal reasons, but the Congress is not so. Those who entertain such a belief will be disillusioned when in every provincial Assembly a resolution demanding that the federal part of the constitution be not put into operation is moved and passed, as in all likelihood it will be passed. The least that the Congress members can do in so far as any practical action goes is to move such resolutions, and it will be noticed that both the moderate and extreme sections in the Congress are agreed as to the desirability of this action. For the suggestion now put forward by the Working Committee was first mooted by Mr. Satyamurti, who is easily the staunchest advocate of office acceptance amongst Congressmen. On this subject the *Indian Express* of Madras writes as follows:

This is a most valuable and important proposal. While the new constitution is gravely defective and prejudicial to India in all its parts, the degree of its imperfection varies from part to part. So far as the Provincial constitutions go, it is not the central conception, but the reactionary superimpositions that are to be condemned. A few reforms like the abolition of the upper chambers, abolition of the communal electorate and the substitution of the distributive for the cumulative vote, and the elimination of the special powers of the Governor, will make the Provincial constitutions acceptable even to the Congress.

This is not so about the Federal structure. The very conception is inimical to the growth of democracy in India. The British vested interests, Indian Princes, British Indian reactionaries are sought to be marshalled into a fortress impregnable to any assault but violent

revolution. In the interests of non-violent political evolution, it is the duty of the Congress to prevent, if possible, the introduction of this Federal constitution.

This is not so impossible as it seems. If the Congress wins a majority in all the Provincial Assemblies and these Assemblies pass resolutions expressing unwillingness to federate with autocratic States, a political crisis of great magnitude will arise. If the British Government does not pay regard to such expression of opinion, it will be possible to put into the Central Assembly a solid band of patriots who will do their best to practise constitutional obstruction of all kinds.

The last sentence in the above extract should give much food for thought to the Indian Princes. There is no question that Indians belonging to all sections are totally opposed to the sort of federation that is being foisted upon them. They will certainly do all in their power first to obstruct the inauguration of federation and then its working. We are not so simple as to believe that they will succeed in either, but their efforts will be unremitting; and in this struggle against federation they will certainly have to meet the Princes as their antagonists and as the allies of the British Government responsible for imposing the federal constitution upon British India. Do the Princes relish this prospect? Is it necessary for them to get themselves embroiled, not merely with the Congress, but with all schools of thought in British India? It is so easy for them to avoid a clash with British India—and in addition to avert from British India a calamity that she thinks is about to fall on her. If only the Princes will say no, the federation will be still-born. Why do they insist upon saying yes? They themselves have been crying out that the British Government has played a scurvy trick upon them in getting them entangled into this federation. There is no responsible government in the Centre, such as that to which alone they said they might think of surrendering their sovereignty. British India is implacably opposed to federation, and the Princes have been saying that they would enter federation if only British India would welcome their entry. If the only result of their acceding to federation is going to be: 1. sacrifice of their autonomy; 2. no weakening of British autocracy; and 3. gratuitous incurring of British Indians' hostility, we cannot understand why the Princes should at all accede, assuming that their accession is going to be really voluntary. For doubts have been expressed about this. *Great Britain and the East*, commenting upon the visits of the officials of the Government of India's Political Department to the various Durbars of Indian States, in order it would appear to talk them round into federation, says:

Lord Linlithgow is determined that federation shall come, and come quickly. There are certain obstacles in his path. To accede to federation is held to be a voluntary act. A Prince is free to accede or not to accede, though he cannot withdraw. Those who fashioned the idea, the advocacy and at last the scheme of federation wore velvet gloves. They would not coerce. The Princes were free. Even those Princes who advocated federation left themselves many loopholes for escape. Neither Lord Halifax nor Lord Willingdon would be coercive. Yet federation was the keystone of the new reforms and those reforms are going to work. The day has come, in fact, for Viceregal pressure. There is admittedly room for conciliation. There

is room for redress. We have, for instance, stressed the urgency of reducing, if not removing altogether, the subsidy which the Maharaja of Mysore is compelled to pay each year to the Government of India. But for delay there can be no excuse.

If pressure is used and bribes are offered, cannot the Princes withstand them? If moral suasion alone is used can they be really persuaded to believe that—leaving all other things out of account for the pre-

sent—it will be conducive to their interests to come into permanent opposition with British India? One goes on hoping against hope that they will have the courage and wisdom to stay out of the federation. They certainly have it in their power to give a quietus to it. Anyway, the Congress by passing this resolution will leave no room for doubt as to its own attitude to federation.

CHANGE OF HEART ABOUT EGYPT.

ON 5th November there was a debate in the House of Commons on the ratification of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty signed on 26th August, and in this debate members of the Labour Party naturally emphasised the point, very much apparently to the enjoyment of the House, that though the new treaty is, as Mr. Dalton said, "suspiciously like the treaty which the late Arthur Henderson endeavoured to negotiate, and did negotiate, except so far as the Sudan was concerned," Mr. Henderson at that time was violently attacked by the Conservative Party. An analysis of the Treaty shows: "Articles 1 to 10 inclusive are, in fact—with a few added words or phrases—reproductions of the articles of the previous draft treaty, though differently numbered. The present Articles 12 to 17 are almost the same as before, though the order is different, and the only new one is No. 11, concerning the Sudan." This change of heart both in the British and the Egyptians was no doubt largely due to the doings of Mussolini in Abyssinia and to the fear, as Col. Wedgwood said, of "the Roman Empire being re-established throughout the North of Africa." We have examined this treaty before in detail, but it would be interesting, though perhaps not very profitable, to point out, as several Labour members did in Parliament, the glaring contradictions in the speeches of Front Bench members of the Conservative Party in 1929 and in 1936.

Withdrawal of British Troops.—The Henderson draft treaty proposed the removal of the British garrison from Cairo and Alexandria to the Canal Zone, and this met with fierce attack from the Conservative side. Sir Austen Chamberlain led the attack. He said on 23rd December, 1929:

Our troops are to leave Cairo and Alexandria. They are to be placed away in an isolated zone on the Canal... I view with profound anxiety the consent of His Majesty's Government to the removal of our troops. I thought that when I was negotiating on behalf of the late Government, I made a very generous offer to Egypt (that Great Britain should maintain troops wherever it pleased in Egypt for ten years longer, after which negotiations should be entered upon, the question being referred to the League of Nations if an amicable agreement was not reached). I thought, and I still think, that I had gone to the extreme limit that His Majesty's Government could go. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Henderson) has chosen to destroy one of the few safeguards that I had retained.

He repeated this opinion last year (i. e., on 5th December, 1935). But the Treaty that has been concluded also provides for the evacuation of Cairo and Alexandria. Mr. Eden tried to defend this somersault on the part of the Conservative Party on the ground that "our forces are now mechanised." It is true that

mechanisation has gone further in the last six years, but even in 1929 it had gone far enough to make the removal of the British garrison to the Canal Zone safe. In fact the late Lord Thompson, then Secretary of State for Air, defended the provision on the very ground that armoured cars could reach Cairo from the Canal Zone in six hours. Sir Austen Chamberlain relied chiefly on the arrangements for the construction of a number of strategic roads and railways provided for in the new Treaty for the defence of his former position. The roads and railways would certainly be of great significance inasmuch as they would give mobility to the British troops stationed on the Canal. But Lord Thompson's reply shows clearly that the Labour Government had not neglected this factor, and in any case neither Sir Austen Chamberlain nor any other Conservative member had, in opposing the Henderson draft, made any reference to it.

The present Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, also received blows in the debate on account of his having as a humble back bencher opposed the treaty negotiated by Mr. Henderson in 1929. Captain Eden then argued both from the military and health point of view against the removal of troops to the Suez Canal. He said at the time:

I confess that, although there are some battalions stationed along it (the Canal) now, there is nothing I should like less than to be stationed near the Canal for any long period of time. No one acquainted with the conditions there could view that prospect with enthusiasm... For my part, I believe, if he (Mr. Henderson) is to secure that result (i. e., to see that conditions of the Canal Zone are such as the health and needs of troops require) it will take him not the three to five years mentioned by the Foreign Secretary, but at least twenty. That is the very minimum in which you can make a position on the Canal really habitable as a proper habitation for a large number of British troops... I dislike the Canal not only for military reasons but for health reasons also.

On his elevation to the post of Foreign Secretary, however, Mr. Eden has changed his opinion of the Canal. He said in the recent debate: "So far as health and comfort are concerned, the troops will, if anything, be the better for the move to the Canal." He has also undertaken to complete the move in eight years—not twenty now—and the Military Correspondent of the *Statesman* says: "We shall not need all the stipulated eight years to withdraw to the Canal Zone, and I understand that it is hoped to place the troops in the new barracks within five years. In fact 1940 is spoken of as the first moving day to Ismailia." Although Mr. Eden in 1929 attacked the removal of British troops not to any particular place

in the Canal Zone but to the Canal itself, he now tried to defend himself on the ground that "the location proposed for the troops at that time (in 1929) was quite different from that which is now proposed." But Mr. Hopkin showed up the hollowness of this. He said: "Under the Henderson treaty it was thought that the troops would go to Ismailia and to Mosacar. Under this Treaty they are going to Geneifa. If that is his (Mr. Eden's) point, there is absolutely nothing in it. The two towns of Ismailia and Mosacar are on the side of the Canal and Ismailia is a very fair-sized town. Ismailia is a healthy town while Geneifa is just a little village and is, if I remember rightly, on the edge of the Bitter Lake... If the one is unhealthy, so is the other." That the troops will be away from the temptations which Cairo has to offer will be a decided advantage. Mr. Pilkington said in the recent debate:

It is true that the new barracks will be regrettably far from the lights of Cairo, but I am not sure that that in itself is not, perhaps, a good thing. Ever since the days of Cleopatra the capital of Egypt has exercised a fascination on the military mind and heart, not always to its advantage. If Egypt still has its Cleopatras, I daresay the British Army has its Antonys—I am speaking of the Army, not of the Cabinet (—a jocular reference to Anthony Eden)!

Egyptian Troops in the Sudan:—After the mutiny of Egyptian troops in the Sudan and the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, Sirdar of the Egyptian army, in 1924, the British Government as a measure of reprisal moved all purely Egyptian military units out of the Sudan and replaced them by Sudanese units. In the 1929 and 1930 proposals Mr. Henderson agreed to consider sympathetically the readmission of an Egyptian battalion to the Sudan when time would come for British troops to evacuate Cairo. This proposal was violently denounced by prominent members of the Conservative Party in Parliament at the time. Sir Austen Chamberlain said:

There is a contingent promise to allow an Egyptian battalion in certain circumstances to return into that country (the Sudan). I regard that as a dangerous and retrograde step.

Mr. Henderson said that if the presence of the Egyptian battalion was found to be inconsistent with the interests of civil order the Governor General could order the battalion out, but the diehards were not satisfied with this reservation. Mr. Churchill and Sir Hilton Young continued to oppose this part of the proposed treaty. The latter said: "That is the legal position. The practical position may be otherwise," meaning that if the Egyptian battalion was once allowed to come in it could not be ejected. Sir Hilton Young raised another objection:

Since the withdrawal of the Egyptian battalion the Sudan Defence Force has been organised upon a new basis. It has a wholly new status; its status now is that it owes allegiance to the Governor-General only. What is to be the status of the Egyptian battalion if it returns to the Sudan? To whom is this battalion to owe allegiance? Is it to owe allegiance to the Khedive or to the Governor-General?... It seems difficult to suppose that the allegiance of the Egyptian battalion should be transferred to the Governor-General.

What is the provision in the new Treaty about this? "The Governor-General will give immediate consid-

eration, in consultation with an Egyptian military officer of high rank who will be sent to the Sudan, to the question of the number of Egyptian troops required and the places where they will be stationed." Mr. Dalton rubbed in the point that whereas in Mr. Henderson's treaty there was "a contingent promise" to readmit one Egyptian battalion to the Sudan, in Mr. Eden's Treaty no numerical limit is set to the Egyptian troops that may be readmitted. In 1929, however, Mr. Eden as a private member could not view with equanimity even the contingent promise of Mr. Henderson. For he expressed himself thus in the debate:

Frankly and emphatically, I do deplore the Government's decision in regard to the return of an Egyptian battalion to the Sudan... The return of this Egyptian battalion to the Sudan will be viewed by the Sudanese as an indication that we have weakened in our intentions towards the Sudan. If we agree to accept the return of this battalion to the Sudan, it will be a very sad result of the work, the very wonderful work that this country has done in the Sudan.

Reciprocity in Foreign Affairs.—The treaty which Sir Austen Chamberlain negotiated with Sarwat Pasha in 1927 had the following clause:

His Majesty the King of Egypt undertakes not to adopt in foreign countries an attitude incompatible with the alliance or liable to create difficulties for His Britannic Majesty; not to oppose in foreign countries the policy followed by His Britannic Majesty; and not to conclude with a foreign Power any agreement which might be prejudicial to British interests.

Mr. Henderson changed the terminology of this provision and made the clause one of a reciprocal nature, which naturally went far to satisfy the national *amour propre* of the Egyptians. The clause in Mr. Henderson's draft ran thus:

Each of the High Contracting parties undertake not to adopt in foreign countries an attitude which is inconsistent with the alliance or will create difficulties for the other party thereto, &c. &c.

What contempt Sir Austen Chamberlain poured on the Henderson draft when it was the subject of a debate in the House of Commons on 23rd December, 1929! He said:

There is something fantastic in making a clause of that kind mutual between His Majesty's Government, and in effect the British Empire, and the Government of Egypt. It was natural, it was right, it was necessary, that since under the Sarwat treaty we were to conclude an alliance with Egypt and to guarantee her protection that she should give us that assurance, but it is really ridiculous to say that the foreign policy of the British Government and the British Empire is to be governed by the interests and the circumstances of the Kingdom of Egypt. The elephant undertakes to protect the mouse, and thereafter the elephant's march is to be conditioned by the mouse's trot. The obligations are too unequal to make a clause of that kind based upon a mutuality which does not exist in fact fair or just in practice to the greater of the two and the one which undertakes the greater responsibility and runs all the risks.

And yet in the Treaty now ratified the clause dealing with this matter is not very different in phraseology from that in the Henderson draft: it is a clause mutually binding the two Governments.

The Position of Foreigners.—Mr. Henderson boldly offered in 1929 to entrust the responsibility of foreign life and property in Egypt to the Egyptian Govern-

ment itself. The new Treaty embodies in Article 12 the same provision, and Mr. Eden defended it in Parliament as the only way in which the matter could be dealt with consistently with the recognition of national Egypt's independence. "Responsibility for internal law and order," he said, "is the most elementary form of independence, and the safety of foreigners is bound up with it." But when Mr. Henderson proposed this, the Conservatives made a bitter attack on him and called it treachery to the foreigners settled in Egypt whose protection Great Britain had taken upon itself. Sir Austen Chamberlain asked, in 1929: "Having regard to our declaration to Foreign Powers, we cannot shirk our responsibilities in that way. Do we intend to maintain that declaration?" As a means of effectuating this provision, Mr. Henderson proposed to reduce the European element in the police department by one-fifth annually for five years and to abolish the European Bureau of the Public Security Department. Similarly he proposed that a British military mission would take the place of British officers in the Egyptian army. The Treaty now ratified makes the same provisions, and it is very curious to see that Mr. Eden who now defends them warmly challenged them in 1929. He said, on 23rd December, 1929, in the House of Commons:

This treaty (of 1929) does differ fundamentally on two points from the treaty negotiated by the late Foreign Secretary (Sir A. Chamberlain). There is, first of all, the question of British personnel in the army. . . . Under the Sarwat treaty (1927) the British contact with the army was to be maintained for a period of at least ten years. . . . There is no need to make the abrupt change under this treaty. Very much worse than that, to my mind, is the fact that these proposals do definitely close down the European Department of the Ministry of the Interior. Why od

Government want to do this? . . . It is also a pity that all British control over the Egyptian police goes, too.

Sir Austen Chamberlain objected to the evacuation of Cairo not only on the ground that it would be dangerous to imperial interests but also on the ground that Britain's pledge to the Sudan required a British military establishment in Cairo for all time. His exact words are:

The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Henderson) in his proposal speaks as if the only imperilled communications which were at stake in these regions were those through the Canal. Has he forgotten the Sudan? Our primary line of communication with the Sudan is through the Nile valley, and the presence of our troops in Cairo was not merely a guarantee for the safety of the Canal, but a guarantee for our direct line of communication with the Sudan, for which we are pledged, and under this treaty we remain pledged, in consequence of the guarantee which we gave to the Sudanese people at the time of the reconquest of the Sudan. For that pledge we must ever remain directly and nationally responsible. (Mr. Thurle: Did the right hon. Gentleman say "ever remain"?) Ever remain. Yes, Sir. When the word of His Majesty's Government is pledged, it is not their custom to break it.

That is, Britain must stay in Cairo with her forces in perpetuity because she is committed by the pledge given by her to the Sudan to doing so. This looks very much like the argument urged in India that because Britain is pledged to defend the Indian States British troops can never be withdrawn from British India. But Sir Austen did not raise the same objection to Mr. Eden's proposals. In fact he and Mr. Churchill took no part in the debate. They could not of course do so without exposing themselves to ridicule. The debate on Egyptian affairs shows how politicians put forward very dogmatically theories which suit them for the time being but which are given the go-bye when they no longer suit them.

BETTERMENT OF DEPRESSED CLASSES. WORK IN MADRAS.

THE report of the Commissioner of Labour, Madras, for the official year ending 31st March, 1936, just issued affords interesting reading. It may be remembered that the Commissioner of Labour is responsible for the administration of various Statutes relating to industrial labour such as the Indian Factories Act, the Trade Union Act, the Trade Disputes Act, the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Madras Maternity Benefit Act, besides co-ordinating and controlling ameliorative activities carried on for the uplift of the Depressed Classes. Recently he has also been entrusted with the task of stimulating and co-ordinating the work of the newly formed District Economic Councils. The Commissioner of Labour is also in charge of emigration. How far one officer entrusted with so many duties can discharge them satisfactorily, and especially whether uplift of the depressed classes would receive the attention which its importance deserves, are matters on which the public are entitled to express grave doubts. But it must be conceded that the present position is much better than that which obtained when a member of the Board of Revenue was entrusted with all these

duties. It may also be stated that it would be a great convenience if separate reports submitted by the Commissioner of Labour on the working of various Statutes with the Government review are published at the same time.

Even though it may be deemed unnecessary repetition, it is well to state the lines on which the ameliorative work for the depressed classes is being carried on in the Madras Presidency. They are as follows:

- (1) Maintenance of schools for depressed classes, grant of scholarships, stipends, boarding grants, etc., and giving grants to private educational institutions for the benefit of the depressed classes;
- (2) Provision of wells, tanks, etc., for the supply of drinking water;
- (3) Provision of sanitary amenities, such as pathways, burial or burning grounds, etc.;
- (4) Grants to private agencies employed on the social economic uplift of the depressed classes;
- (5) Assignment or lease of lands for cultivation.

It is interesting to learn that in order to enable the Collectors of districts to have a better conspectus of the more essential needs of their districts as a

whole, a simplified form of village inspection report was introduced and a modified method of investigation was adopted. From a brief account of these given in the report it is seen that the information collected would help to form a comprehensive programme of the needs of the *cheries* in each district and that they will be satisfied in the order of their urgency.

It is seen from the report that 236 house-sites were required while 989 house-sites were assigned out of land at the disposal of Government and in all 36,192 house-sites have been provided since the commencement of operations by the Labour Department. While provision of house-sites has been carried out on a large scale in some districts, very little or nothing has been done in other districts. It cannot be said that the need for provision of house-sites is non-existent or not so insistent in every one of the districts. The revised village inspection reports when they become available may enable the department to rectify this defect. The Commissioner of Labour writes of two important changes introduced by Government in the system of acquiring house-sites. They are :

In G. O. No. 1301 L., dated 4th June, 1935, the Government have ordered that the co-operative movement is so liable to abuse and mismanagement among the depressed classes that it is better to deal directly in future with the individual. According to this order, there will be no more cases of acquisition of house-sites in which an advance has to be given by Government, through the medium of a Co-operative Society.

The Government will bear half the cost of acquisition of house-sites for the depressed classes, and also landless labourers of other castes in rural areas, subject to a maximum rate of Rs. 150 per acre for dry land and Rs. 350 per acre for wet lands as the Government contribution of the balance. The applicant should deposit 50 per cent. before acquisition and should pay the remaining 50 per cent. in a limited number of equated annual instalments not exceeding ten to cover both principal and interest. The present practice under which the Government bear the whole cost of the portions set apart for communal purposes in the area acquired for the provision of house-sites will continue.

The acquisition and assignment of house-sites are also subject to the following conditions :

(i) No alienation may be made without the specific sanction of Government or other authority to whom the power to accord sanction may be delegated by Government ;

(ii) In the event of the site being alienated by sale under sanction from competent authority the sale proceeds will be shared by the grantee and by Government in proportion to their respective shares of the total cost of acquisition ;

(iii) In the event of the cost of acquisition being enhanced by the Civil Court, the Government will pay only 50 per cent. of the value of the land as determined by the Court subject to the maximum of Rs. 150 and Rs. 350 an acre mentioned above ;

(iv) In cases in which there may be a clear risk of considerably enhanced compensation being awarded by the Civil Court, taking possession of the land will be delayed till the expiry of the time within which a reference to the Court should be made by the party, or until the reference to the Court is disposed of ;

(v) The scheme will be confined to rural areas only, but grants to individual municipalities for slum clearance will be considered on their merits ; and

(vi) The scheme will be confined to genuine cases of congestion, and will not be extended to cases where the

landless occupants of houses on private lands are in danger of eviction.

It is gratifying to learn that the maximum of Rs. 125 per acre of dry land and Rs. 250 per acre for wet land announced by Government in their review last year has been raised in the final orders to Rs. 150 and Rs. 350 per acre respectively. But the condition that one-fourth of the value should be deposited before the acquisition, and that the balance only could be paid in not more than ten equated annual instalments to cover both principal and interest are retained. It was pointed out at the time that in most cases the depressed classes may not be able to find even one-fourth of the value and the Government may be pleased to arrange for payment of half the cost of land in twenty equated annual instalments. The Co-operative Societies cannot offer assistance in this regard as the house-site cannot be offered as security since the assignees can become owners only after full value is paid to Government. It is not understood why the scheme of acquisition and assignment should not be extended to cases where the landless occupants of houses or private lands are in danger of eviction. If our information is correct, the whole question of house-sites assumed importance on account of the danger of eviction confronting those living on private land. The late Sir George Paddison took up this question seriously and formulated his scheme of acquisition and assignment to meet such cases of hardship. Why the Government should abandon now their old policy and leave the landless labourers to the mercy of landlords even in regard to house-sites, is a matter which requires further elucidation.

The administration report also makes mention of a large number of proposals for the resumption of house-sites acquired for the depressed classes. As the Commissioner of Labour points out, the proposals for resumption relate mostly to those acquired at a time when the price of land was high and the wages also were comparatively high. The economic depression and the consequent fall in the price of land and the wages have rendered the assignees either unwilling to repay or financially incapable of repaying their instalments especially as most of the assignees are landless labourers getting their wages in a majority of cases in kind and not in coin. Even then it is seen that the total balance due at the end of 1935-36 was Rs. 1,97,887 as against Rs. 2,00,718 at the end of 1934-35. As the change of policy in regard to acquisition of sites has been rendered necessary by the present prevailing economic situation, the Government may be pleased to apply the new terms to past cases as well, so that those who have already paid 50 per cent. of the value may become immediate owners of their plots while others who have paid less may be enabled to pay the balance in equated annual instalments. This would be a far more satisfactory arrangement than resumption of house-sites. Acquisition under new terms while resumption is also in progress would hardly solve the question of house-sites. As the creation of a sense of possession of land and house which he can call his own is the surest and best method of economic uplift, it is earnestly hoped

that Government will not grudge to spend the additional sum involved.

The statement attached to the report gives the extent of land reserved for assignment and already assigned for the depressed classes. It is stated that in the several districts most of the land assigned remains uncultivated and the reasons given are :

- (1) Poverty of depressed class assignees ;
- (2) Want of timely rains or bad season ;
- (3) Neglect on the part of or absence of the assignees ;
- (4) Poor quality of the land or want of irrigation facilities ; and
- (5) Fall in prices and economic depression.

Just as the Government are pleased to revise their policy regarding acquisition of house-sites, it is necessary to consider what changes are required so that the land assigned may be used for raising such crops as can be grown. A detailed investigation of the lands already assigned and those reserved for assignment by the Agricultural Department, if necessary even by a special staff, may be usefully undertaken. As long as the depressed classes are allowed to depend on other classes for land required for cultivation, any attempt to ameliorate their social or economic condition will fail to produce lasting results and the slogan 'Back to land', in the case of depressed classes, will prove a cry in the wilderness.

The portion of the report deals at some length with the educational facilities provided by means of schools, scholarships, boarding grants and financial help to private associations engaged in ameliorative work, the provision of wells, pathways etc., cannot but serve as an example to other provinces where similar efforts for educational uplift are being planned and carried out.

The section dealing with reclamation of criminal tribes, a task with which the Commissioner of Labour is also entrusted, is very interesting and instructive. But how far the human touch necessary in a work of that kind can be provided by a Government agency, especially when the personnel in charge is drawn from the Police department, is a matter which needs careful consideration. The policy successfully followed elsewhere of entrusting the work to non-official bodies may be usefully adopted and thereby not only the cost of administration can be minimised but also the results are likely to be far more quick and satisfactory.

R. SURYANARAYANA RAO.

Review.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY.

ATLAS OF THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE UNITED STATES. By CHARLES O. PAULLIN. (American Geographical Society, New York.) 35cm. 162p. + 166 plates. \$15.00.

THE gigantic proportions of this monumental work, undertaken by research scholars with the aim of "illustrating cartographically, and with considerable detail, the essential facts of geography and of history that condition and explain the development of the

United States" are more than warranted in the case of a nation which, in the course of less than four centuries, evolved from a nation of pioneers into a nation of the most progressive peoples of the world. The need of exploration felt by the early settlers ; the spreading of settlements into vacant lands ; the lessons learnt from American Indians with regard to the clearing of forests and the planting of corn ; their guidance in penetrating into the distant and perilous passes of the Rockies which opened up the West to adventurous people—an account of all these presents a succession of events full of romance. The struggle for existence brought the people into closer contact with mother earth. As the Colonists became interested in the proprietorship of the land they made more earnest experiments with the sowing and growing of cereals with a view to adjust their needs to their surroundings. The introduction of cotton, tobacco and rice opened up a fresh avenue in agricultural pursuits. Nor were advancements in besticultural, nemoricultural, pastoral and saxicultural fields wanting. The most potent result of this *ecesis* was that the thirteen American Colonies no longer remained entirely littoral, but, ultimately, had expanded interests with the continent as a whole. It is significant that the followers of St. Francis 'with sandaled feet' trailed through California and scattered mustard seed, right and left, to mark a path of golden blossoms for those who should come later. Equally significant is the message of Horace Greeley. "Go west, young man, go west." Following the bison tracks, the venturesome colonists pushed far into the west in their Conestoga wagons and express stage coaches. There was a further demand for more rapid means of communication by river, by canals, by rail. Had the east not been linked up with the west by means of transcontinental railway lines, the chances are that a number of independent nations might have been set up in U.S.A. as in Europe. Far-flung accessibility has made New York the veritable Gateway of America.

The upshot of this celerity of communication and of the linking up of the east with the west, of the north with the south, was a remarkable speeding up of industries and of trade. Every source of power—water, coal, petroleum, natural gas and electricity—was tackled and availed of. The standard of living changed. The use of labour-saving machines has been the order of the day. America worships the Big. Machines do the work of sewing coats within 66 hours and 44 ms. where it took 1,000 hours to do the work by hand. Circular disks, operating like buzz saws, cut through almost any number of thicknesses of cloth. Oil-or gas-heating machines and refrigerators have well-nigh conquered the inclemencies of the changing weather. Type-writers, adding-machines, telephones and radio-machines add to the conveniences and comforts of the average American. The specialisation of industries, the formation of trusts, combines and cartels have followed in their wake. This has given rise to a sort of disequilibrium in the economics of America, and a conflict of interests has ensued, between farmers and managers of rolling stock, between workmen and their employers. Unfair competition had to be checked. Legislation against monopoly was sought. It has been remarked that "there are no perennial political plants in the American Garden—that all are annuals torn up when they have served their purpose ; that the real tie which keeps the United States of America together is the citizen—a citizen of the State and also of the Republic."

And yet a good deal of "sectionalism" persists in the social, legal and political problems of the Republic. And no wonder : for laws are made for man ; not man for laws. The vast country is divided

into different geographical regions, each with its own interests and characteristics. The East has given up to manufacturing and shipping; in the South, cotton is king; in the Middle West, grain is gold and the Farther West specialises in cattle-raising and in timber. The onflow of foreigners who were first welcomed without discrimination later presented fresh problems of racial fusion and mass sentiment. The inscription on Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty in the New-York Harbour reads: "Send us your huddled masses, yearning to be free." It is significant that later, in 1927, Lothrop Stoddard declared: "For remember, no foreigner has any 'right' whatsoever to enter America. This admission is a privilege extended to him solely because we think he can benefit America." This agglomeration of people with heterogeneous interests had made it difficult for the different sections of Americans to be at one in all points on questions like the abolition of slavery, woman's suffrage, prohibition, etc.

The Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States by Charles O. Paullin, who was fortunate enough to enlist the sympathetic aid of experts in the fields of Geography, Geology, Politics, Industries, Agriculture, Transportation, Foreign Commerce, Banking and Military History, took sixteen years to complete. Every available document has been critically weighed before being made use of. All statistical figures have been carefully scrutinised before they have been reduced to cartograms. The text, which gives references to the sources of information upon which each map is based, adds to the value of the Atlas. The Atlas by no means purports to be a "history." It is rather an aid to historians and to teachers and students of history. The compilers of this stupendous work rightly hoped that the work would be useful not only as a reference book, but that 'original studies would be based upon the data' it presents. Indeed, since the publication of this Atlas, many of the maps in the Atlas have been freely drawn upon by writers of Social and Economic Geographies and histories of the Economic Development of the United States of America. No more worthy testimony of the excellence and utility of the Atlas could be afforded than this. The Atlas has been divided into the following sections: Natural Environment, Cartography, Explorers' Routes, Indians' Settlement and Population, Lands, Boundary Disputes, Political Parties and Opinion, Social and Economic Reforms, Industries and Transportation, Foreign Commerce, Distribution of Wealth, Plans of Cities, Military History and Possessions and Territorial Claims.

The title of the Atlas is more than justified. It is historical, in so far as it refers to the movement and change that the nation has undergone in its march of events. It is geography because it provides material for the study of relationships between the natural landscape and the cultural landscape of the country. It is calculated to explain and account for the racial and industrial symbiosis which characterises the present position of the United States. As an authoritative record of the romantic past and heroic present of a glorious nation, this splendid galaxy of maps is indispensable to the student of the history, geography, politics, trade and economics of the United States of America.

B. G. NENE.

SHORT NOTICE.

ECONOMICS OF LAC INDUSTRY IN THE PUNJAB. INQUIRY CONDUCTED BY ROSHAN LAL ANAND under the supervision of RAM LAL. (Board of Economic Inquiry, Punjab, Lahore.) 1936. 24cm. 78p. As. 8.

LAC is one of the few commodities in which India enjoys a monopolistic advantage. It is in good demand for industrial uses in foreign countries as well as here. Chota Nagpur, Central Provinces, West Bengal, the Lac Belt in U. P. and the Punjab are the lac-producing areas. Lac is a resinous incrustation secreted by a small insect, which is collected, cleaned and made into shell lac. The year 1923 was a year of highest price for lac, and in that year India exported Rs. 10 crores worth of lac. The price has since considerably fallen (it being Rs. 100 in 1923, and Rs. 10 in 1933 a cwt.), and now there is an annual export of of lac worth about a crore of rupees.

In the Punjab Hosiarpur, Kangra, Gurdaspur, Ambala and the neighbouring States of Nabha, Kapurthala and Jind produce lac. Punjab does not produce enough for her consumption and she imports large quantities from other provinces. The cost of production, collection, cleaning, and making shell lac is indeed high and the special officer of the Lac Research Institute has reported that the cost of production should be reduced and that the commodity should be standardised, if its market in foreign countries is to be retained and expanded. The marketing practices and expenses are described in detail in this book and they are compared with those of Mirzapur, the biggest lac centre in India. The many appendices given are useful. A table of the total population dependent on it as well as the total gain to the province should have been of great value. The results of a scientific study are well set out in this book.

N. S. S.

Correspondence.

CLEARANCE OF AGRICULTURISTS' DEBT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—In your issue of 26th November appears an article headed "Clearance of Agricultural Debt" in which the question is asked: "What are the principles on which debts can be equitably reduced?"

May I point out that there is one first principle that cannot possibly be ignored. Government's "Review of the Trade of India in 1934-35" says that agricultural prices have dropped *over fifty-three per cent.* on the whole between 1929 and 1934. In other words, the rupee — the Public Measure of Value — has been so stretched during that period that the unfortunate agriculturist is compelled to give up roughly *twice* as much of the produce of his land to obtain a rupee as he did in 1929.

At the same time he is called upon to pay Land Revenue, Taxes, Duties, Interest on Debt, etc., nominally the same as before, but in rupees that are now *wice* as valuable as in 1929!! So he is mulcted twice over, in consequence of the grossly mismanaged rupee!!

As the Public Measure of Value has been stretched to twice its 1929 capacity, the first principle that justice calls upon us to observe is to reduce agriculturists' debts by ONE-HALF.—Yours, etc.

M. DE P. WEBB.