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TOPICS OF THE WEEK

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Welcome! TOMORROW India will welcome back home the delegations who have tried so hard in the capital of the Empire to save the imperial status of Indians. If they have failed, the fault is not theirs, but of those who now exercise imperial authority and who have made a deliberate choice between the old English and the old Boer ideal of Empire. That choice, we feel sure, does not represent the true sentiment of the majority of the people of Great Britain, whose truer representatives we see in such men as C. F. Andrews and H. S. L. Polak. To these and all other British friends, who during these last few months have rendered to us, and indeed to their own country, such invaluable services, we would extend our grateful thanks, no less than to those of our own race, whom we are now welcoming back—checkmated, but undefeated.

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Kenya. A CORRESPONDENT writes from London: The British press generally thinks that the Indian attitude towards the Kenya settlement is unreasonable. Even friends have misunderstood the Indian point of view and advise acquiescence in the decision and discountenance Mr. Sastri's suggestions for expressing resentment. The atmosphere, in the opinion of most Indians, is too materialist and stifling to high moral endeavour for the Indian viewpoint to be appreciated. The Indian leaders here consider the humiliation of India intolerable. Sir Narasimha Sarma's resignation was expected in some quarters until his speech, in which he seemed to apologise for the decision, on Dr. Gour's Bill. The *Morning Post* attacks what it describes as the Viceroy's pro-Indian attitude. The Viceroy is evidently mistaken about

the Cabinet's decision on immigration. The white settlers gain their point, not on racial but on economic grounds. The natives need the practical training of Indians. When the competition stage comes, Indians will go out by a natural process. The Cabinet makes no allusion to the greatest menace to the natives, namely, the large farming and land-grabbing white settler population. Every page of history shows, and India knows too well, how tenaciously they cling to political domination, and use it for their own selfish purposes. What chance has the unfortunate native to reach self-government till white immigration is stopped? A tremendous effort is essential for India, if she is to reassert herself and her outraged dignity.

* * *

LORD Reading's expression of
A Change of Front. "protest" against the Kenya decision seemed, in its first flush, to bring Indians some relief and even reminded some people of Lord Hardinge's spirited assertion of India's rights against the truculence of the Union Government. This feeling was, however, momentary, for Lord Peel at once emptied the Viceroy's utterance of all idea of protest by interpreting it to mean that therein the Viceroy first undertook not to move in the matter at all till he had received the text of the White Paper, and then delicately hinted that if he thought it necessary to make a further representation of Indian views to the Imperial Government, he would do so "under protest." The recent resolution of the Government of India shows, however, that any intention the Viceroy may have had of "making a submission under protest" he has now definitely abandoned. And this not for the reason that any further representation is not now called for or is not likely to serve any useful purpose, but for the extraordinary reason that the Government is precluded from reopening the question immediately after the Imperial authorities have come to a deliberate decision on the matter. But the Viceroy had known it well enough on the 28th ultimo, when he addressed the Legislature, that the decision was final and it was because, we suppose, it was final that the Viceroy had said that he could then submit a representation "under protest." It may or may not be the case that the change of front on the part of Lord Reading is due to the vituperative attacks made upon him by the *Morning Post* and the die-hards it represents, but anyhow it undoubtedly derogates from the uniformly bold stand the Government of India has made on behalf of Indians overseas.

Flood Relief in S. Canara. THE public have already been informed, in graphic terms, of the great damage and distress caused by unprecedented floods in the District of South Canara, and of the prompt measures taken by various relief agencies in rendering aid to the sufferers. Mr. R. Suryanarayana Rao of the Servants of India Society, who is Joint Secretary of the South Canara Flood Relief Committee in Madras City, has visited the affected area and estimates that over Rs. 50,000 will be required for immediate relief, while the total relief required may mount up to 2 lakhs. It is satisfactory to learn from Mr. Ekambara Rao also of the Servants of India Society, who is now the Joint Secretary of the South Canara Flood Relief Committee in Mangalore, that there is a movement to combine all the relief agencies and form a single central organisation, with affiliated branches, an arrangement which will go a long way to secure efficiency and economy in the relief operations. We appeal to all our readers to contribute generously towards this relief work.

* * *

Hounded Out. THE campaign of vile calumny to which Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar is being subjected has now gone so far as practically to hound him out of public life. We know, especially from the vernacular press in the Deccan, how abominably vulgar is the vituperation which is poured on the devoted head of possibly the best disciple Mahatma Gandhi has in India, merely for the reason that he is the most formidable obstacle at present in the path of the Dasites intent on countering the political philosophy of the Mahatma. He is accused of low intrigue, but one could clearly see quite a long time ago that a plot was being hatched against him by the Dasites, in which the Centre Party in the Congress actively participated. But we do not like on that account that Mr. Rajagopalachariar should retire from all positions of responsibility in the Congress. In fact, he cannot do so unless he retires from politics altogether. If he will go on trying to retain a majority of men sharing his views in the Congress, as he is entitled to do and must do, he cannot shirk the responsibility which attaches to him as leader of giving effect to the policy he preaches. It is no more possible for him to exercise a dominating influence on the Congress and yet have no part or lot in the executive than it is possible for the Swaraj party to obtain a majority in the Councils and yet decline to assume ministerial responsibility. Nor is it at all becoming that simply because one is pursued in the public one should withdraw from all positions of power. In this country none is sacred from the imputation of unworthy motives, however high-souled he may be and, therefore instead of running away from our duty, we must teach ourselves to live down any calumny that we may incur in honestly serving our country. We read of Mr. Rajagopalachariar's intentions with the greatest pain and humiliation.

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End of the Flag Satyagraha. AT last a compromise has been brought about in the Nagpur flag embroglio, and the compromise is announced on the side of the Satyagrahis with a fanfare of trumpets. But it seems to us that although the authorities undoubtedly bungled, the exultation of the non-co-operators about the vindication of national self-respect is a trifle excessive. The organ of the Swaraj party in Poona calls it a mere verbal and empty victory. The crusaders have not thereby secured, it says, the right to settle in prohibited parts of the Empire, or deprived the magistrate of the right to issue a prohibitory order under sec. 144 of the C. P. C., which would have been valuable. Nor, in this none too important affair, did they obtain an unqualified victory. For it was acknowledgedly a compromise, in which, if the Government modified somewhat their unreasonable attitude, the non-co-operators also had to lower their flag, speaking metaphorically, to a certain extent. For the route of the flag procession was previously fixed by the authorities in consultation with the Satyagrahis and the flag was not allowed to pass the European club, the main point of contention, nor were acclamation cries permitted at certain points. Such a compromise, in which gains are counterbalanced by a surrender, could have been arrived at, this paper contends, at the very beginning if the Satyagrahis had then shown the spirit of accommodation which they have now. This criticism, though a little ungracious on this occasion, is not without an element of truth, and anyway it is to be hoped that the Satyagrahis will utilise their unquestioned unselfishness and public spirit in works conducive more substantial good hereafter.

* * *

Appeal for Unity. THE adverse decision on Kenya which has, in the expressive language employed by Col. Wedgwood, "hit India in the eye," has naturally given point to the appeals for unity and for the fusion of different schools of political thought which are frequently made in this country. But very often such appeals mean nothing less than that every one else should give up his individual convictions and come over to the view held by the speaker. Mr. C. R. Das's "resounding" appeal at any rate is of this sort. Of course it is only addressed to orthodox non-co-operators; it does not extend to the Liberals. Indeed the plea for unity is based on the supposed necessity of both the parties of non-co-operation combining to put the Liberals out of action. And though Mr. Das is very fervent in his desire for unity, he will have it only on his own terms, i. e., if the Gandhian non-co-operators renounce their distinctive creed. Mr. Rajagopalachariar does not issue appeals for unity; on the contrary he is often found to be engaged in pointing out to his followers the meaning of all such plausible talk about unity. But we daresay he too will have no objection to securing unity by having the Dasites turn their

backs on Councils. Such a reconciliation demanding the surrender of the basic principles of either party is neither practicable nor desirable, and the sooner such attempts are given up the better for all concerned. Maulana Yakub Hasan hit the nail on the head when he said the other day that the Council entry and non-co-operation sprang "from such divergent ideals that they could never come together." It is therefore bootless to seek an understanding on such a basis, though of course it is always desirable to work in common on matters where there is agreement and in isolation, but without mutual recrimination, on matters where there is disagreement.

* * *

While the gulf between true non-co-operators and Swarajists, being one of principle, is thus unbridgeable, there is no reason why the new-style Swarajists and the Liberals should continue to stand apart. We are firmly persuaded that the adherence of the Dasites to non-co-operation is but a make-believe and their policy of "boycott from within" or of "continuous and consistent obstruction" a logical consequence of such a profession. The policy which they have really at heart is essentially identical with the Liberal policy, and, on this hypothesis, the only thing which prevents a reunion between these two constitutional parties is the *damnosa hereditas* with which the Dasites are saddled and which they are unable to shake off. It is clear, from what the Swaraj party has been saying, that the Government is not the only slave of prestige, but, whatever their real position may be, so long as the Swarajists seek to justify their change of policy by the alleged readiness to subserve the evil designs of Government on the part of those who are at present on the Councils, the Liberals must deem it their duty to repel the implied accusation, and so long as they proclaim that uniform obstruction would be their method and civil disobedience their aim, on the part of those the Liberals must oppose their aim and method alike. Babu Bhagwan Das is recently exerting his influence on the side of unity between these two parties. On the basis on which he proposes unity—responsive co-operation or responsive non-co-operation which is but the obverse of it—there will be no difficulty whatever from the Liberals, whose traditional policy was voiced by Mr. Tilak in that formula. It is the Dasites who are shying at it, and the moment they give up wrecking tactics as the one method of work open to non-co-operators in the Councils, there will be nothing to prevent them from working hand in hand with the Liberals.

* * *

THEIR pretence of obstruction often lands several of the Swarajists into very funny positions, from which they can extricate themselves only by denying the principle of "continuous and consistent opposition." Mr. Satyamurti, for instance, trying to put himself right with the strict Dasites, said recently in effect that, on a measure like the Malabar Tenancy Bill, his attitude would be governed by that of the Government. If the latter opposed it, he would support it and try to carry it against the Government's

opposition. If, on the other hand, the Government supported it, he would oppose it. He proceeded to reassure his constituents, however, that since his party would in all probability be in a minority, their opposition would do no harm to the interests of the tenants. Mr. Satyamurti's admission about the probable strength of his party in the Councils is no doubt useful, but he should have seen the irony of the Swaraj party's position, that they are to offer opposition, after making quite certain that their opposition will not count. The *Tribune* made this suggestion with all possible gravity some time ago, but we thought Mr. Satyamurti was acute enough to see the ridiculousness of it. Now, however, the Madras leader of the Swaraj party gives up the pretence altogether and makes the ingenuous confession that his party "is not pledged to indiscriminately oppose all measures, irrespective of their merits." Then we hope that it will be possible for them to support some measures of Government and to that extent co-operate with the latter, and that they will not be required by the principle of non-co-operation to resist good measures in the assurance that their resistance will be as impotent for evil as it will be for good.

* * *

IF Mr. Satyamurti is the only one among the recognised leaders of the Swaraj party so far who have openly challenged their principle of consistent and continuous opposition," the other leaders also are showing distinct signs of weakening on the point of obstruction. Pandit Motilal Nehru still pays lip service to the Dasite formula, but he is prepared to qualify it to this extent that he "will not resort to responsive co-operation without the sanction of the Congress," implying that he will have no objection to do so if the Congress sanction is obtained. This means that Pandit Motilal Nehru is himself neither a co-operator, nor a non-co-operator. He is what the Congress makes him, and there is no encumbrance of individual convictions in his case. Some Swarajists, however, do not seek the Congress sanction at all for practising the Liberal policy of responsive co-operation; they will go instead to the Council electorates for a mandate. If the electorates will give some sign that blind opposition will not meet with their approval, they will promptly abandon their intention of pursuing wrecking tactics and will subside into co-operation. But very few of them are such strict obstructionists that they will adhere to their convictions even at the cost of losing their seats in the Councils. They will not therefore contest the elections now on the programme of obstruction, nor resign their seats for the purpose of seeking later a mandate on that question, in which case the loss of their seats is certain, but they will go to the electorates with the predetermined idea that whatever the decision of the electorates, they will adjust themselves to it. Indeed, some of them merely want an excuse to enable them to say that they changed because the electorates wanted them to change. They will therefore only go to their constituency and return to the Councils with a letter or two in their pockets authorising them to do as the Liberals do—and then they will practise responsive co-operation. When one sees all these turns and twists to which the Dasite non-co-operators are reduced, one knows something of the depth of moral degradation into which non-co-operation has involved even powerful personages, as Mr. B. C. Pal is never weary of pointing out.

"Not pledged to Obstruction."

REAL AFRICAN OPINION.

SOME time ago we had occasion to comment on the third and fourth hand news communicated by an interested correspondent from Kenya to the *Times of India* under the caption, "What the African thinks". These opinions of the white settlers, whether given out as proceeding from the natives or as from themselves in the interests of the natives, are absolutely worthless, for their interests are no more compatible with those of the natives than the interests of the wolf with those of the sheep. Only last week we dealt with the insincere plea of Sir Robert Coryndon, the head of the local Government which is notoriously under the influence of the white community, that the status of Indians in Kenya had to be kept inferior to that of Europeans, in the interests of the natives. The real fact is not that the presence of the Indian is inimical to the native, but that it makes the continued oppression of the native by the European rather difficult. The missionary and the Indian are the native's only friends against the oppressor. The Indian is not only finding a market for the native's produce and teaching him useful crafts, but is indirectly and directly creating that political consciousness in him which makes for rebellion against the racial domination of the European. Hence the latter's particular animosity against the Indian.

As to what the real African opinion is regarding the influence of Indians on the interests of the Africans, we have at least one unimpeachable source of information—Mr. C. F. Andrews, who, in the current number of *Welfare* (edited by Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee), tells us what he personally learnt from different groups of Africans. In Uganda, the people of which are the most intelligent of all Africans, east or west,—where Mr. Andrews saw with his own eyes Indians doing pioneer work "far beyond the limits of the white man, struggling against fever and ague and every kind of difficulty, opening up vast districts of the interior to the cotton trade and bringing in their bales of cotton to the market at Tanji or at Kampala"—he was invited by Sir Apolo Kagwa, the Prime Minister of Uganda, to attend a meeting of the Lukiko or the native Parliament. At Mr. Andrews' request Sir A. Kagwa asked the members of the assembly whether they wished that more Indians should come to their country. "Each member was asked to give his opinion and when the votes were taken, they were unanimously in favour of the Indians." At that meeting the treasurer of the Uganda Government made every one laugh by saying, "If the Indians had not come to our country, we should have been wearing bark cloth to-day." At the end of the meeting the Prime Minister handed over to Mr. Andrews a document, signed by himself and the Chief Justice, confirming in writing the opinion of the assembly that had already been communicated orally. It said:

"We do want Indians to remain in our country as we consider that their being with us would improve our

country and would do us a lot of good and would do no harm to the country. Besides, we find them moral people. We would of course like better Indians."

On another occasion Mr. Andrews met the "Young Baganda Association, a group of young men, with very strong nationalist tendencies," and asked them whether they wished Indians to come to their country or not. He took care to explain to them that he had gone there on behalf of humanity and not of Indians only. They at once replied, that they wanted *more* Indians to act as intermediaries and to further the sale of their produce. In the course of an address which they presented to him they said:

"Also we are very glad to know that you are very closely connected with the Indians. Therefore we sincerely hope that you will be able to convey our message to the firms in India to come down, as we need them to carry on trade with us, because we find we can get on quite well with the big Indian merchants."

The above was in Uganda—the Bishop of which some time ago wrote in the *London Times* that Indian immigration should be restricted in the interests of the natives! But in Kenya itself Mr. Andrews had occasion to meet an "enormous crowd" of the Kikuyu and other tribes. They presented him with a welcome address, which said:

"Please ask Government on our behalf to give us more education. What a shame, Sir, that we are not allowed to own land as private persons in our own country! The Indians and the missionaries are our best friends. Please, Sir, tell white settlers not to use Kiboko (rhinoceros whip)."

Here is real African opinion not only about Indians but also about white settlers. No wonder that Mr. Andrews should say that in all his life he has not received a briefer and more pathetic address.

In the same article Mr. Andrews explains how the deputation of Kenya natives which was announced in June last to be going to England to place the African view before British public opinion, came to be vetoed by the local Colonial Government. While in London he received a cable, signed by a Muhammadan African, from the East African Native Association, which repudiated the missionary, Dr. Arthur, and expressed the desire of the natives to the represented by their own deputation. The cable said also: "Our troubles come from the white settlers only. We are afraid to declare our mind in Kenya for fear of imprisonment and deportation." As soon as the acting Governor, who is said to be well-known for his strong pro-European views, got wind of this movement, he took steps to prevent the deputation from going, explaining that it could serve no useful purpose, as Dr. Arthur already represented the natives. This incident alone is sufficient to show how well Europeans in Africa, officials not excepted, can look after the interests of the natives and how truly they represent native opinion!

CO-OPERATION IN THE PUNJAB.

BACKWARDNESS OF URBAN AREAS.

SO far as the progress of the co-operative movement is concerned, the Punjab occupies a leading

position among the major provinces. But it is curious that its achievements, unlike those of other provinces, are all in rural co-operation. According to the latest report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab, which was published only a few weeks ago, there were, at the end of July 1922, indeed more than 400 non-agricultural societies, but most of them were small societies with unlimited liability intended for village artisans like weavers and other very poor people. Real urban credit societies were only 20 and of them the only important and successful ones were those of railway and Government employees. Among the others not one is said to be worth mentioning. No explanation is offered for this curious phenomenon. We do not believe that it is due to any circumstance peculiar to the Punjab towns. In other provinces urban banks depend chiefly on the salaried classes, whose needs in the Punjab cannot be different from what they are elsewhere. It should be as easy for the Punjab Registrar's staff to organise societies for them as the staffs of other Registrars have found it elsewhere. When a similar state of things was discovered in Burma some time ago, an officer was put on special duty to organise societies in towns—an example which the Punjab will do well to follow.

ECONOMIC RESULTS OF TEN YEARS' CO-OPERATION.

Among agricultural or rural societies the most numerous are of course the credit societies. In 1921-22, 627 new societies of this kind were registered, bringing up their total strength to 8,232. Very many more societies of this kind could have been started if funds to finance and staff to look after them had been available. A feature that distinguishes these societies in the Punjab is that about 50 per cent. of their present working capital is owned by them—the proportion was higher some time ago—owing to a very satisfactory growth of the reserve fund and the system of share capital prevalent in the province. The report mentions some very interesting results that have been observed in the economic condition of agriculturists as the effect on them of ten years' co-operation. The figures relate to 448 societies, with a membership of about 15,000, which celebrated their tenth birth-day in the year under report.

"Unsecured debt has been reduced from Rs. 41 lakhs to Rs. 23 lakhs. 7,700 acres of land have been redeemed. Over 5,000 acres have been taken in mortgage for Rs. 9½ lakhs whilst 3,000 acres have been purchased for Rs. 8 lakhs. The societies own Rs. 12 lakhs in shares and reserve, and 5445 of their members are free from outside debt. Allowing for the fact that much of the Rs. 1½ lakhs of owned money is on loan with members, they have reduced their debts by Rs. 23 lakhs, and increased their assets by Rs. 17½ lakhs during the past ten years. Figures like these should be sufficient to convince even the most hardened sceptic as to the material benefits of the movement, and dispose of the argument that co-operative credit means cheap credit and nothing else."

These results in the Punjab are indeed very gratifying. They show that co-operation there has taken

root in the moral nature of the people. But it must also be admitted that similar enquiries elsewhere, e. g., in Mysore have not led to the same satisfactory conclusion and have afforded some ground for the pessimistic thought that co-operation has merely cheapened credit.

CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS SOCIETIES.

What, however, interests us most in Punjab co-operation is the progress which two or three types of very useful societies are making—the like of which are not found in other provinces. The most prominent of these are the societies for the consolidation of holdings. The Punjab Government through its Co-operative Department is showing commendable zeal for the promotion of these societies, and in the year under report as many as 43 temporary sub-inspectors were specially employed by Government in propaganda and in effecting the actual consolidation of holdings. Their number rose from 60 to 107, while 27 more societies had been organised but not registered, pending the sanction by the authorities for the mutation. The societies have adopted two methods of consolidation:

- "(1) a system of mutual exchange of fields with a view to bringing all the scattered fields of each owner into blocks, or as near to one another as possible;
- (2) treating all the land offered by its owners for consolidation as common land and dividing it up into suitable compact blocks corresponding to the interests of the several owners."

In the year under report 8,500 acres in 15,474 scattered fields were consolidated into 2,197 compact blocks. Of this area about 5,530 acres were consolidated by mutual exchange of fields. Patwaris or village accountants are said to be generally hostile to these societies, though Government have offered a reward of Rs. 50 for every complete consolidated village and co-operators are eager to give them ample remuneration for any assistance rendered. Obviously the patwaris are shrewd enough to know what pays them in the long run. One is glad to know that the economic benefits of this consolidation are beginning to appear.

"In three or four villages cash rents have risen considerably. The removal of many of the small boundary balks is beginning to be appreciated: there are fewer boundary disputes, and an increase in cultivable area. Many new wells have been sunk in the consolidated areas—in one village no less than 12. In two canal irrigated villages people say that with bigger and less scattered fields they are able to irrigate a larger area with the same water supply.

The scheme is now better known and some villages have of their own accord approached the Consolidation Inspectors to come over and help them in this work."

SILT CLEARANCE SOCIETIES.

Another type of society with immense potentiality for expansion wherever there is canal or tank irrigation, is the silt clearance society. At the end of July last year there were in the Punjab only 12 societies of this kind, but the benefits conferred by them on their members are so striking

that one expects them to have considerably expanded during this year. Owing to the channels of the inundation canals being silted up, the water reaches the fields late in the season and runs only for a short time. Hitherto there has existed in the villages no organisation to remove the silt. The societies arrange for its removal in the cold season and ensure an earlier and longer supply of water. The result is :—

"The area irrigated from the channels where these societies are at work has gone up from 2,100 acres to 5,800; it is estimated that members have benefitted to the extent of Rs. 430 per individual this year from increased acreage of produce."

The vastness of the result compared with the effort is surely amazing.

ARBITRATION SOCIETIES.

Another type of very useful society evolved in the Punjab is the arbitration society. During the year under report societies of this kind increased from 87 to 148, and decided 757 cases. Naturally some societies were more active than others. We are told that in one tahsil 6 societies decided 150 disputes of their members and were complimented on their good work by the Magistrate of the ilaqa. Many of the cases, we are told, relate to cattle trespass and boundary disputes, which are no doubt trivial matters, but often lead to riots and costly civil suits. The services of these societies are sometimes availed of even by the money-lender and the trader, for their decisions are immediately obeyed and all expenses and worries connected with litigation are saved. It is gratifying to read that no award has been taken to Court. But unfortunately the future of these societies is doomed. In reviewing the Registrar's report, the Government observe that legal objection has been taken to the constitution of these societies and that, since an Act has been passed authorising the formation of Panchayats with similar functions, it has been decided to discourage these societies. This decision is very unfortunate. The law obviously is an ass, if it objects to the formation of societies for the amicable settlement of disputes. There could be no intimidation or illegal oppression in a co-operative society. Being a voluntary association, its work is inspired by moral enthusiasm. It could not hinder the success of the Panchayats as its activity is naturally limited to its members. We earnestly hope the Minister will revise his decision and let the societies grow naturally.

MODEL TOWN SOCIETY.

Though the Punjab is exceedingly backward in urban co-operative institutions, it is however rearing a society the like of which is not found in any other province. That society, is a Model Town Society, the object of which is to build on a healthy site which is about 5 miles from Lahore a suburb for the middle classes, planned on the most up-to-date lines and providing every comfort of modern civilization. It is to be a "garden city" of about 1,500 houses, connected with Lahore by tramway, and

having water works, swimming tanks, schools, clubs, town hall, library, places of amusement and of worship, stores, a hotel and a baratghar—a place for accommodation of marriage parties, where durries, buntings, utensils, &c. usually needed at a marriage will be stored and given out for a reasonable rent—a nursery for children, &c. The scheme no doubt looks ambitious, but as the best brains of Lahore, from High Court Judges downwards, are to be found among the members of the Society and as Sir Ganga Ram, the ablest engineer of the Punjab, is one of its leading spirits, there is no doubt that the scheme will fully materialise. The Society has already acquired the site from Government—an area of nearly 2000 acres. It has also settled the lay-out plan and has appointed a highly qualified and experienced engineer. By October next it is expected that roads will have been laid, plots demarcated, designs and estimates for houses and public buildings settled, brick and lime kilns, plant nurseries, &c. started. Undoubtedly the work of the Society is being pushed on vigorously. It is a magnificent undertaking, run entirely on co-operative lines, and will certainly have the best wishes of everyone who knows anything about it.

IS THIS THE TIME TO BUILD MORE RAILWAYS ?

REFERRING to the capital programme of Rs. 150 crores for the rehabilitation of the railways during the five years ending with 1926-27, the Indian Retrenchment Committee, in paragraph 31 at pages 77 and 78 of its report, says :

"A very substantial portion (amounting to Rs. 66.92 crores, of this capital has been allocated to unremunerative lines. We are informed that there are many remunerative schemes such as the opening up of lines for the development of mineral resources, the electrification of suburban lines, etc., which at present cannot be taken up owing to the difficulty of obtaining capital. This being so, we cannot believe that it is legitimate under any circumstances to put Rs. 67 crores of capital, borrowed at a high rate of interest, into lines which are already a heavy drain on the resources of the State. If the full amount of the capital cannot immediately be employed on remunerative works on open lines, it would, in our opinion, be a matter for consideration whether some portion of it could not with advantage be devoted to the construction of new lines promising an adequate return."

Any idea of constructing, in the present circumstances, new lines of railway not designed to improve the position on existing railways is to be strongly deprecated and in view of the space at our disposal we shall set out only a few of the principal grounds on which the objection rests.

The first ground is that expenditure on new railway development would be in direct violation of the recommendation made by the Indian Railway Committee of 1920-21, to the effect that railway extension should be postponed until the existing railways are fully rehabilitated and improved. The recommendation of the Committee is so unequivocal and emphatic, and the reasons on which it is based are so convincingly described that we need make no apology for reproducing below the relevant portions from report of that Committee.

"The need for large capital expenditure for fresh railway development is great, and will continue as far as we can see for an indefinite number of years to come. But the question to-day is not one of development, but of putting the existing railway system into such a condition as to be able to handle with reasonable efficiency and despatch, not the traffic of the future, but the traffic which at present is clamouring for accommodation that the railways cannot give. In the present circumstances we feel that, broadly speaking, future development must wait. But the rehabilitation and bringing up to date of the existing system in the shortest possible time cannot in our judgment be postponed. We believe that having regard to the economy of operation which may be expected once the railway machine is relieved of its present intolerable overloading and is able to receive and handle economically the traffic actually in sight, new money spent for this purpose will pay for itself directly. It is impossible to put into figures the loss which Indian trade and industry are suffering from the crippled condition of the railways; nor can the Government afford to ignore the discredit which is being brought upon the railway administration by the present conditions, and the bitter feelings aroused in millions of passengers by the overcrowding to which they are now subjected.

"We therefore consider that, while new development should, as far as possible, be postponed to a more convenient season, the money required to put the existing lines into a position where they are capable of dealing adequately with existing traffic should be raised even at today's price, as soon and spent as fast as the railways can put themselves into a position...to use it advantageously."

The second ground is that the appropriation to new development of the balance of monies remaining unspent out of the annual grant of Rs. 30 crores meant primarily for existing lines, would constitute, in substance if not in form, a breach of one of the fundamental conditions connected with the guaranteed grants of Rs. 30 crores a year for five years. This condition, in the words of the Railway Finance Committee of 1921 is that "there should be no lapse of money voted for any one year but not spent within that year: such sums should be carried on to the credit of the railway administration up to the limit of the total amount fixed for the quinquennium." The "lapse" here referred to means surrender of the unspent monies and, in so far as the rehabilitation and improvement are concerned, it makes little difference whether such surrender is to the Treasury or to New Development. The fact remains that the money borrowed by pledging our present credit will all be spent and that for the completion of the necessary rehabilitation and improvement of the existing railways we shall have to depend on our future credit to a larger extent than would otherwise be necessary. It is true that the Railway Finance Committee, in view of the urgent necessity for improving the present coal position, has itself recommended the construction, out of the annual grant of Rs. 30 crores, of feeder lines which would have the result of opening up new coalfields, but this is by way of an exception to the general rule. This recommendation has been accepted by the Legislative Assembly. According to the statement referred to at page 1021 of the Assembly Debates, Vol. III, the total cost of the construction of the five coal lines mentioned in paragraph 9 of the Explanatory Memorandum on the Railway Budget for 1923-24 amounts to Rs. 3.22 crores and the average return to 5.39 per cent. with prospects of a larger dividend with the development of the coalfields. It is to be hoped that this return will not be falsified and that the construction will not constitute a form of subsidy to the coal trade at the expense of

railway funds, in the attempt to increase the sources of indigenous coal supply and thereby minimize the dependence of Indian railways on the more expensive foreign coal. Railway estimates appear to have a habit of falsifying themselves to an inconvenient extent. For instance, according to the "History of Indian Railways," and the statements referred to in the replies given in the Assembly to unstarred questions No. 231 of January 31, 1922, No. 247 of February 6, 1922 and No. 4 of September 6, 1922, the Katwa Barharwa Railway was expected to earn nearly 6 per cent but never earned more than $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.; the Dasghara Jamalpurganj promised a return of 5.33 but never gave more than 2.91 per cent.; the Ahmadpur Katwa was estimated to yield 4.60 per cent. but the actual yield never rose above 2.36 per cent.; the Bankura Damodar River was expected to give 5 per cent. but never gave more than 2.32 per cent.; the Burdwan Katwa was calculated to produce 4.84 per cent. but actuals show an average return of only 1.84 per cent.; the Trans-Indus promised the bounteous return of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. but in actual performance yielded 0.68 per cent. in 1913-14, 0.20 per cent. in 1916-17 and regular deficits in other years, until in 1920-21 the deficit amounted to over Rs. 18 $\frac{1}{6}$ lakhs; the Arakan with no traceable promise of a return is loaded with guarantees aggregating to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. but in actual working it has always shown deficits which now amount to over Rs. 50,000 a year; while in respect of many another new railway no record at all is kept of the actual returns obtained and this makes it impossible to ascertain how the actuals compare with estimates. It is very necessary that such records should be maintained at least for the first five years after the lines have started working and we hope Government will do this in regard to the lines which may be opened hereafter.

The third ground is that the acceptance of the recommendation made by the Indian Retrenchment Committee would mean a deliberate return to the oft-condemned method of hand-to-mouth railway finance. The late Sir Thomas Robertson in paragraphs 154 to 160 of his "Report on the Administration and Working of Indian Railways," advocated the creation of a Railway Fund in which monies not required for immediate use would accumulate and be available for use as required. In paragraphs 1143-1144 of the minutes of evidence given before the Mackay Committee of 1907-08, Lord Rothschild recommended raising money when times were favourable, even though the programme of works might not be such as to require the whole to be spent in any one year, and said that he would not hesitate, if the moment were favourable, to bring out a larger loan than might be necessary for that particular year. This recommendation was endorsed by the Mackay Committee, who in paragraph 19 of their report said:

"It may be possible in some years to obtain larger sums than are required to provide for expenditure at the annual rate which we contemplate, while in other years there may be strong reasons for reducing the loans. We assume that the Secretary of State will, as far as possible, take advantage of periods of easy money to raise funds in excess of his immediate requirements, thus minimising the risk of having to reduce the expenditure at a time of stringency."

The Indian Railway Committee of 1920-21, in paragraph 245 of their report invited attention to this recommendation and observed: "This advice was not followed during the period of cheap money before the war. We think the Government will do well not to forget it when market conditions

are again favourable." It is true that the surplus money which the Government will have on their hands after meeting open line capital expenditure is not due to larger amounts having been borrowed by deliberate design, but is due to heavy retrenchments found necessary in the interest of the economic rehabilitation of our railway business. The fact, however, remains that Government now have a chance of building up a reserve of capital funds and it would be sheer folly to throw this advantage away by undertaking schemes of new development not calculated to ease the situation on the existing railways. Further it must be remembered that the expenditure on unremunerative railways which is being curtailed is being merely postponed and will have to be incurred later on; meanwhile there is no guarantee that it will be possible to maintain the present rate of borrowing. In fact, the large amount which it has been found possible to borrow this year would not have been available according to the Government version, if special steps had not been taken to support credit by the unpopular doubling of the salt tax and the equally unpopular guarantee given to the Imperial Bank of India against any losses arising from the Bank undertaking to pay 50 per cent. of the amounts due to depositors in the Alliance Bank of Simla. But it may not always be possible or politic for Government to have recourse to similar expenditures in the future.

(To be continued.)

ECONOMY.

LITERACY IN BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

A COMPARISON with Burma shows that Buddhism is doing more for education than Hinduism. For 120 literates per mille in this Presidency Burma shows 376; for 14 literate females per mille in this Presidency Burma gives 61 per mille. The Hindus show twice the number of Mahomedan literates, both male and female, in the whole of India.

The Baroda experiment is watched with interest by everybody in India. The progress of literacy in Baroda can be gauged from the following figures of literates:

In 1901, 163 males and 8 females per mille ;
In 1911, 175 males and 21 females per mille ;
In 1921, 210 males and 40 females per mille.

In twenty years only 47 more males per mille were made literate. Still there is a marked tendency for the lower social strata to be better educated than before and to that extent the compulsory education must be pronounced to be satisfactory.

In the British districts, in 1891, there were 102 male literates per mille, while in 1921 there were 140 male literates. In 30 years therefore the increase is only 38 per mille. According to religion there are 138 literate males per mille among Hindus; 543 per mille among Jains; 88 among Mahomedans; 787 among Parsis and 428 among Christians. This places the Parsis at the top, while the Jains occupy the second place.

There is a vast difference between literacy in towns and literacy in adjacent rural areas. For example Ahmedabad City shows 342 male literates per mille, while the rural area shows only 171 per mille. This indicates the need to proceed with the rural education in right earnest. In literacy by caste the Vani Khadayata and Kayastha Prabhus and Bhatias occupy the first three places. Sutars and Telis come at the bottom, showing only about 75 literate males per mille. The Audich Brahmins show a higher literacy than the Chitpavan Brah-

mins. The ratio of male to female literacy amongst Brahmins is 4 : 1 and in other castes about 20 : 1.

In British districts the following are the figures for English literacy: 19 males and 1 female per mille amongst Hindus; 8 males and 1 female per mille for Mahomedans; 54 males and 3 females per mille for Jains; 539 males and 247 females per mille for Parsis and 154 males and 78 females per mille for Indian Christians. This again shows the vast superiority of the Parsis and next to that of the Jains in the matter of literacy. The Mahomedans ought specially to bestir themselves in this matter. Compared to the figures for 1901, there is undoubtedly some progress but a very slow one. On an average only 10 more males per mille have been made literate in English after a lapse of 20 years.

If we compare the literacy in cities with the same in the adjacent rural area, the contrast is again marked. For instance Ahmedabad City shows 62 males and 8 females per mille, while the rural area of the district shows only 8 males and 4 females. The City of Surat gives 91, males and 10 females as literates in English, while the rural area of the district gives only 3 males and 8 females as English literates.

The report gives some interesting figures for education in general. In 1911, there were in all 8,65,000 scholars. In 1921, the number increased to nearly 12,24,000. Arts Colleges increased from 11 in 1911 to 15 in 1921. Secondary schools increased from 529 in 1911 to 666 in 1921. Primary schools show an increase of 4,000. Local Board schools show an increase of 2,000. There are only 7 Professional Colleges.

The first comment one is bound to make is about the extreme paucity of professional institutions. When the whole country is demanding with one voice industrial education it is a poor prospect to have only 7 such institutions, which include the Medical and Agricultural Colleges. As a matter of fact there ought to be 7 Technical and Industrial Schools alone.

The progress of primary education is not all that one would wish for, but is fairly steady. In 1891 there were nearly 900 primary schools, while in 1911 there were nearly 12,000 and in 1921, 16,000. In these decades the schools have nearly doubled. The pupils under instruction have also doubled, 1891 showing nearly 5 lakhs while 1921 shows nearly 10 lakhs. Considering however that the total population of school-going age is nearly 64 lakhs in 1921, the number of schools is very small.

By comparison between the figures of 1891 and 1911 we find that the outstanding feature is the great rise in female education, the number of literate females having increased by nearly 60 per cent. From 1911 to 1921 the number of literate females increased from 1,78,000 to nearly 3,00,000, showing an increase of nearly 70 per cent.

The following figures offer an instructive comparison. In 1920 the number of primary schools in England was 21,501 and the number of scholars 59,17,854. England has thus nearly six times as many scholars as the Bombay Presidency, and 5000 more schools, although its population is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ times that of the Presidency. In Belgium there are nearly 8000 primary schools, i. e. half of the number for Bombay Presidency, while the number of scholars 9,60,819, i. e., nearly as many pupils as our Presidency, although the total population of Belgium is only about one fourth. Japan has got 23,625 elementary schools and nearly 81,37,000 scholars, that is to say, Japan with nearly the same area has eight times the number of elementary pupils of this Presidency.

The United States shows 2,04,23,000 pupils under elementary instruction for a total population nearly four times as large as that of this Presidency, i. e., 20 times the number of pupils for 4 times the number of total population.

The effect of literacy on the number of books is very marked. The total number of books published during the last decade is 8593, i. e., nearly as many books as are printed in England during half a year. There is one book for 210 persons in Gujara-ti, one book for 178 persons in Marathi, one book for 889 in Canarese and one book for 153 persons in Sindhi. This places Marathi at the top so far as the demand for books is concerned. The greatest popularity is enjoyed by books on miscellaneous subjects next to that by books on poetry. Science, politics and philosophy are very poorly represented, the total number of books in these subjects for 1920 being 56, 26, 4 respectively. Fiction has a much larger vogue, showing 111 books during 1920. In English there is one book published for every 16,000 persons and for 2400 persons literate in English. The total number of English books published during the decade was 731, of which the majority must have been school books. After 1915 there is a decline in the number of books printed, part of the decline being attributable to the higher cost of labour and materials and the decreasing purchasing capacity of the literate middle class people.

On the whole the progress of literacy must be pronounced to be very slow. The great obstruction to progress is the paucity of money. In retrenchment in wasteful departments and concentration on the nation-building heads of education and sanitation lies the only hope.

V. N. GODBOLE.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, AUGUST 2.

ENGLISH OPINION ON KENYA.

THAT the Cabinet have had an excellent press for their Kenya decision is undeniable. Almost without exception, the papers have been falling over themselves in their expressions of approval of the reasonable compromise that, they have persuaded themselves, has been reached. It is clear that they have never understood the subject or ever troubled really to try to discover the intrinsic character of the Indian claims or objections to the terms of "settlement." Even some of our good friends here have equally failed to discover the rationale of the Indian criticisms, as is clear from a perusal of the speeches of Mr. Charles Roberts, in the House of Commons, last Wednesday, and of Lord Hardinge, in the House of Lords, on Thursday, and of the letter from Sir Thomas Bennett in Tuesday's *Times*. Whilst they may criticise one or two points, they reconcile themselves to these faults on the ground that this is after all a compromise from which nobody could expect to get his whole claim accepted, and they accordingly advise acceptance even of an unsatisfactory decision so as to extract from it the utmost of which it is capable. But why should one be surprised that these gentlemen should have allowed themselves to be sidetracked from the real issues when an

eminent Indian, like Sir Abbas Ali Baig, with the excellent desire of putting Sir Thomas Bennett right, rushes into print to say that the real Indian objection is to the fact that, whether under a common or a communal franchise, Indians would have fewer seats than the white settlers?

EUROPEAN CLAIM TO RACIAL SUPERIORITY ADMITTED.

I sincerely hope that India will get the matter straight. We have all along demanded that, in the interests of the indigenous population, who have a paramount claim upon the British Government for protection, there should be a reversion to the true Crown Colony type of administration, and that in no circumstances should responsible government be thought of for Kenya until such time as the natives of the country should be ripe for it. This demand has apparently been acceded to, but I am not so certain that, even with the best will in the world, it will be possible for Downing Street to ensure the carrying out on the spot of a policy of native trusteeship. I really fail to see in what respect the present position differs from that obtaining up to 1919, before the unfortunate intervention of Lord Milner and Mr. Churchill. The Colonial Office has all along alleged that its administration was intended as an expression of a regard for the doctrine of native trusteeship, and until 1919, at any rate, there was no question of potential responsible government for Kenya. Nay, more; there was not then any elective membership of the local legislature. The non-official Europeans that sat there did so by virtue of nomination. Yet look at the history of native affairs in Kenya up to that date, and ask whether and how the doctrine of native trusteeship was given effect to. Now there is to be a continuance of the Legislative Council, with the same official majority as before, but with European non-official elected members, responsible to their constituencies, entirely European, and in larger numbers than in the old nomination days. All experience of an energetic white British community, granted electoral privileges—and here on the basis of the adult vote, regardless of sex (what comment might one make upon this when one hears the criticism that Indians are not entitled to a better franchise in Kenya than they enjoy in India?)—goes to show that they can never rest until, by aggression and undue influence upon the officials who have to live among them and share their social life, they have, in practice, made the administration of native affairs exactly what they wish it to be. I should very much like to believe that the native of Kenya is going to get a square deal, but I must honestly say that so long as the franchise remains, I do not think he will get it, however well disposed the Colonial Office may be. In any event, this cannot be accounted to Indians as a special gain to them nor ought it to be represented as being yet a further defeat of an attempt on their part to dominate the Colony, as is being attempted in some quarters. In so far as the new policy is a reality, it will be to the

advantage of everyone alike and to the Imperial Government most of all. Let us now cast up accounts still further and what do we find? The white settlers have all along claimed that they are not merely superior citizens, by virtue of their special qualifications, but that they are also racially superior. This claim, in spite of all camouflage contained in the White Paper, has been admitted by the British Cabinet, whether under a threat of *force majeure*, as Colonel Wedgwood plainly stated last week, or not, does not matter very much. The white settlers, therefore, claimed the right to the segregation of the Indian community upon a basis of racial inferiority. That policy has now been formally adopted by the British Cabinet. There were five separate ways in which the policy might have been applied, and because it has not been applied in two of them, we are asked, by Sir Thomas Bennett, among others, to regard the decision as a satisfactory, or, at any rate, not unacceptable compromise. Let us see.

LOST ALL ALONG THE LINE.

The first application was as regards the Highlands, the second, as regards the franchise, the third, as regards commercial areas, the fourth, as regards residential areas in townships, and the fifth, as regards immigration. The Highlands have now been definitely set aside in perpetuity for the agricultural development of white settlers, whether British or alien. That is a clear loss. As to the second, the communal franchise has been adopted, because the white settlers refused to have a coloured voter on a common voters' roll or to vote for a coloured candidate. All the pretence about finding adequate means of representation of the Arab and native voters is mere eye-wash devised to escape the obvious meaning of the surrender. That it has succeeded is evident from the comments of some public men and newspapers who should know better. We have failed there. But more. The Europeans are, in addition to the European official majority, to have an overwhelming majority over all other communities combined in the matter of the elective seats. And this in perpetuity. Finally, whilst they are to have an adult franchise, the coloured communities are to have some other kind of franchise, but, in any event, something inferior. So there has been a complete loss here. Commercial segregation has not been insisted upon, solely because it is officially regarded as impracticable. Residential segregation has not been decided upon, solely because it is recognised that, in practice, it already exists. There is no virtue, therefore, in not applying the principle of statutory segregation in these two cases. Had either been possible or non-existent, they would assuredly have been adopted. It is nonsense, therefore, to talk as though in these two respects there had been a gain to the Indians, of which they might be glad.

Lastly, as to immigration. Here, nominally racial considerations are not to operate. But, in the economic interests of the natives, the Cabinet are satisfied that further restrictions of certain

categories of immigrants, belonging to certain occupations, should be put into operation. These restrictions are obviously aimed at Indian immigrants of the small trader and artisan classes, approximately three-quarters of the immigrants from India, assuming that there are any, for the official figures clearly show that there has been rather an Indian emigration from, than an immigration into, Kenya during the last five years. It is evidently intended, therefore, to apply the policy of racial segregation in the matter of immigration as well. I, therefore, cannot but come to the conclusion that India has lost all along the line.

INDIAN OPINION ON KENYA.

The principal Indians that are now in London are all agreed on this point. Mr. Sastri has biting commentary upon the result of the negotiations of the Cabinet in a severe criticism appearing in the last issue of the *Observer*, and he has strongly approved the policy of reprisals, as you will doubtless have learnt by cable. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is seriously considering his position, having regard to the approach of the Imperial Conference, in the light of the Cabinet decision. Sir Ali Imam, too, is emphatic in his condemnation. Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas strongly shares Mr. Sastri's views, as does Mr. Kamat, who has just returned from the Continent. To-day Sir Ali Imam is inviting a large gathering at an 'At Home,' at the Hotel Cecil, in order to afford Mr. Sastri, who leaves by next mail on his return to India, an opportunity of saying what he thinks about the details of the policy outlined in the White Paper. Sir Ali proposes to make a few introductory remarks, and Sir T. B. Sapru will offer a few comments in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Sastri.

REVIEWS.

REFORMS IN WORKING.

WORK OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE. COMPILED UNDER THE ORDER OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE. Published by the General Secretary. P. O. Box 904, Madras, S. Foolscap folio. pp. 312. Rs. 7.

THE National Conference which met at Delhi in February last appointed five Committees to investigate and report on (1) the working of the Reforms Act, its further possibilities, &c. (2) the question of the Army and Navy, (3) the Indianisation of the services, (4) the relationship between Provincial and Central Governments in matters of Finance and Taxation and (5) the establishment of the Supreme Court. The present volume contains the papers submitted so far to the different Committees. Seeing that they were received only in the last and the current months (July and August) it is a marvel that they have been put through the press so quickly. The volume is indeed an eloquent tribute to Mrs. Besant's wonderful energy and organising capacity. In view of the coming elections the papers have been printed as they were received and made available to the public without any delay. The volume therefore is not complete in itself, but supplementary

volumes will be published as early as possible, the whole set being made available to subscribers for Rs. 16.

The bulk of the present volume is taken up by papers of the Reforms Committee, the first of the five mentioned above. They will prove of particular value to all who are interested in the coming elections. These papers are of three kinds: (1) summaries of the work of the Central and certain Provincial Legislatures; (2) answers to a questionnaire regarding the working of the Reforms Act in the provinces, issued by the Committee of the National Conference; and (3) special papers relating to constitutional development in the Colonies and in British India. The summaries are of the work done in 1921-23 by the Council of State and the Assembly and the Bengal, Bombay, C. P. and Punjab Councils. They have been compiled by Messrs. B. Shiva Rao and N. Sri Ram, the former being helped by Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas, M. L. C., in the case of the Bombay Council. Bills, Resolutions and Budget grants are separately summarised in tabular form for each Legislature. The tables mention in each case the result of voting—the stage reached by each Bill, the fate of each Resolution and any cut that was made in each demand. These tables are preceded by brief narrative statements which under suitable heads sum up the position attained in each province. As Mrs. Besant says in the Foreword, these dry facts and figures

“are the answers to the jeers of Non-co-operators, who have deluded only too many by their statements that the Reforms were a farce and the Legislatures useless.”

“Can those who gibe at the Legislatures shew a record of their achievements comparable with those set down in this volume? Will not the record here made encourage voters to vote at the coming elections?”

The answers to the questionnaire are not as representative as one would wish, and some are by persons who have no inside knowledge of the working of the Councils. The questions are no doubt of great importance, but one would not be quite justified in drawing conclusions from the few answers contained in the present volume. Of special interest among these will be found the answers of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narain Sinha and Mrs. M. E. Cousins, who, as Secretary of the Women's Indian Association, has dealt with the effect the Reforms have had on questions affecting women and children.

Among the special papers relating to constitutional development three are by Mrs. Besant, of which two are reprints of papers published in 1917. Mr. Bhagat Ram Kumar, M. A. (Oxon), has contributed a valuable paper on constitutional changes within the British Commonwealth, setting out the part played by “conventions”, and Mr. S. K. Rudra, late Principal of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, has contributed an outspoken and stimulating paper on communal representation.

The papers of other committees than the one on Reforms are few. There is only one on Defence, but it is a very valuable contribution by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer. The Finance and Taxation Section contains two reprints, one of which is Sir Purshotamdas's striking note on Military Expenditure, which was published in May last; while the section on the Supreme Court contains a paper by Dr. H. S. Gour.

Besides educating the elector, this volume, particularly the summaries of the work of the Legislatures, will prove an invaluable book of reference to the Indian publicist.

V. V. S.

A NEO-MOHAMMEDAN.

AHMED HUSSAIN, SIR, NAWAB AMIN JUNG BAHADUR: NOTES ON ISLAM. Collected and Edited by Khan Bahadur Hajee Khaja Muhammad Hussain. Hyderabad (Deccan). 1922. 8½ × 5½. pp. 97.

THIS little book owes its origin to some notes written by the author in 1917 to his sons at English universities, in response to certain doubts arising in their minds as to the adequacy of their religion. The book is charmingly and kindly written and is permeated by the broad humanity and sympathy of its author. His aim apparently has been to defend Islam against both Christian and scientific objections, and, describing himself as “neither quite orthodox nor quite heterodox”, he distinguishes (p. 43) between “Islam” (the one true religion, existing from the beginning of the world, preached by 180,000 successive prophets who arose, whenever mankind deserted Islam for “idolatry”) and “Muhammadanism” (“an ossified form of Islam, clothed in mediaeval beliefs and disfigured by pagan practices”). Again, perceiving that “adaptability is the *sine qua non* of men's life” (p. 82), he holds that Islam, if the true religion, must be adaptable: whence it follows, that whenever inadaptability is found amongst followers of the Prophet, it is, because they have fallen away from Islam into Muhammadanism. It is a fruitful idea and may, one hopes, lead to that Muslim Reformation, of whose coming the editor is eloquent (p. 96).

Much of the book centres round the beautiful first chapter of the Quran, the Moslem's favourite prayer, and again and again the point is made “that there is no inherent antagonism between Christianity and Islam” (p. 83), “true Islam being but true Christianity writ short” (p. 85). But whilst the charity of the “Notes” is wholly admirable, accuracy, I think, demands mention that such “shortening” leaves out the one great problem, which lies at the very heart of Christianity—the universal fact of Suffering. Hinduism is only incidentally referred to and its problem of how to resolve the antithesis Universal—Particular (Paramatman—Ishwara) consequently likewise finds no place in this volume, though at one point (p. 58) the—for a Moslem—surprising assertion is made that “Islam conceives that there is but one Universal Soul.” The philosophical ideas introduced in the latter half of the book unfortunately lack depth and clarity and land the author, e. g., in the ludicrous belief that evolution tends to preserve the average (p. 72 and 78), when quite obviously evolution depends on the survival of the variations of what at first are small minorities, who survive just because they differ from the average, which has become unsuited to changed environments. This laudation of the mediocre is to be sure not very attractive and tallies only too well with the ardent recommendation to “read Dr. Smiles' book on Self-help” (p. 62) and with the absence of even a hint regarding the problems presented by democracy and industrialism in modern life. Quite obviously, “The Moslem Reformation” has got plenty of leeway to make yet.

The appendix by Mr J. C. Molony seems to us as uncalled for, as it is crude. Typographically the book is beautifully turned out.

Z.

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