

Servant of India

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

American Gestures. THE daily papers are generously pleased to call "The Fiasco at Geneva." For ourselves we prefer to suspend our judgment until we have all the official Minutes before us—sad experience in the past having taught us the lesson, never to depend on telegraphic or other "summaries" for news about any activity connected with the League of Nations. But two points already seem established: (1) that America never went to Geneva to "confer," but to offer an ultimatum; (2) that even the "uprooting of every opium plant" in India would not lessen by one ounce the total amount of opium produced in the world. China, poor thing, simply cannot give any guarantee regarding the reduction of her opium output; Persia has frankly told the League, that unless the League will substitute an equally lucrative crop, the Persian cultivator cannot give up the cultivation of opium; Turkey and Afghanistan, being outside the League altogether, have of course not even contributed pious phrases on the subject. As far as we can make out, the U. S. A. were bent on insisting on a world "gesture"; the ineradicably practical Briton protesting that he refused to join in anything, which he could not afterwards carry out. To abolish—on paper—with a stroke of the pen all opium smoking, may appeal to the melodramatic instinct of some reformers: to carry out administratively such grandiose plan is unfortunately quite another matter. There is therefore something to be said for Britain's backwardness in undertaking an obligation in fulfilling which she apprehends great difficulty.

Constantinople.

THE latest friction between Angora and Athens will, we sincerely hope,

lead to the final extinction of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate at Constantinople as the centre of Greek nationalism in Turkey. If only the Patriarchate were a purely spiritual institution, one would have had every sympathy with the Greeks for the intolerance shown by Moslems. But such is not the question. The matter is best illustrated by our imagining a German Lutheran Church in London, endowed with all kind of extraterritorial rights, forming the centre for all German nationalist intrigues. How long would the English have allowed those privileges to continue? Yet the Turks were and are in exactly that position. The Lausanne Treaty tried to save the Patriarchate, but the Turks managed to insert a change in the treaty, under which every Greek, not domiciled in Constantinople before 1918, would be liable to expulsion: so that, on the face of it, the Patriarchate within one generation was to have been extinguished. The latest Patriarch, Mgr. Constantine, just elected, clearly was not domiciled in Constantinople before 1918: one therefore quite fails to understand, how the Turkish Government's good right can now be questioned. As we have said before, the sooner the Patriarchate is shifted to Mount Athos (the well-known internationalized, monastic area near Salonika), and the sooner a final end is made, the better for Turkey, the better for Greece, the better for the Orthodox Church and for religion in general.

South Africa and
the Church.

AT a time when most of the news from South Africa is of so distressing a nature, it comes as a welcome relief to find that the (Anglican) Church of that "Province" is increasingly making a definite stand against the racial discrimination for which that country in general and the Boer régime in particular are so notorious. We were able to report only the other day the honourable rôle played by that Church in a monstrous case of the manslaughter of a little African girl by a Boer. Today we have before us an account of the closing meeting of the Provincial Synod, at which the Archdeacon of Durban declared: "Far better to have a black civilization which is Christian, than a white civilization which is decadent and oppressive." The correspondent of the London *Church Times* (December 19th, 1924) rightly observes: "To English ears such words may sound mere truisms but in face of the constant cry here, redoubled lately as the result of the census figures, of the 'menace of colour', 'white civilization at stake'—which really means white domination at

stake—and so forth, the Archdeacon's words were timely." Again, on November 30th the Bishop of Bloemfontein ordained in his cathedral seven priests, of whom six were black and one white—there being present (*vide* the *Church Times* of January 9th) an "enormous congregation, native, half-caste, white." And this in the Orange Free State, the very stronghold of the Boer rule that there must be no equality of white and black in State or Church! We cannot forbear quoting as apposite from the same paper (of December 24th) a few lines (slightly adapted) of an "In Memoriam Frank Weston" by A. S. Cripps:

"Whence was his faith? For him Emmanuel glowed
In faces dark and wild.
To some race hides the Christ; to him faith showed
A Black Christ bow'd beneath a heart-break load."

The Situation in
Bengal.

H. E. LORD LYTTON is to be heartily congratulated on having convened a conference of the leaders of political groups in the Bengal Legislative Council to consider whether or not Ministers should be appointed for the next administrative year and what their salaries should be if appointed. The letter convening the conference rightly said:

"This question should be considered definitely apart from any personal considerations and if possible before the presentation of the budget so that if the first question is decided in the affirmative by the Council, Ministers may be appointed in time for the Council to express its confidence or want of confidence in them before the demands for grants are made for the transferred subjects."

The conference was attended by representatives of all parties including the Swarajists. In opening it Lord Lytton referred to the opinion widely expressed in Bengal and outside Bengal, that the Council's refusal to vote for the salaries of Ministers was expressly a vote of no confidence in the persons chosen as Ministers and not a vote for the abolition of Ministerships. As we very much regretted at the time, Lord Lytton obstinately put a wrong interpretation on the vote and refused to appoint new Ministers and ask for their salaries. If he had then taken the action he has now taken, how much strife and trouble would have been avoided and how much better it would have been for all concerned! However, we are sincerely glad that he took the action now. As was to be expected, the conference achieved its object. In spite of the Swarajists' representative telling them that the opposition of his party would continue, they decided that a non-official member should move a resolution recommending to Government that provision be made for Ministers' salaries in next year's budget. The Swaraj party's representative too now holds out a threat to continue obstructive tactics, not till dyarchy is replaced by full responsibility as was the former stunt of Swarajists, but only till the Bengal Ordinance is repealed. So there is now an appreciable lowering of their demand. We hope this inaugurates a new era of co-operation and progress.

Bread and Stone.

THE Bombay Government's Bill to amend the Rent Act has been publish-

ed. It is so utterly disappointing in its provisions that it has created almost a consternation in Bombay City. At the end of last week a meeting was convened in Bombay by representatives of thirteen leading associations and public bodies, which clearly voiced the general feeling on the subject. The new Bill, in the first place, does not apply to non-residential premises, in respect of which the rents have increased even 733% in certain cases; in the second place, it applies only to such residential premises as are charged less than Rs. 85 by way of rent (the corresponding limit in the Bengal Rent Act being Rs. 250). It suffers from several other grave defects. The Bombay meeting in fact expressed its opinion that the Bill would "inflict untold hardships" upon tenants and Mr. K. F. Nariman, who had withdrawn his own Bill in the Bombay Council on the promise of the Government itself undertaking that ask, said in very pathetic terms that he had asked for bread and had been given stone. He has no right, however, to expect any sympathy from the public, because surely he knew as well as others that the Government Bill would do scant justice to the tenants, and still he withdrew his Bill, because he was conscious that his party, the Swaraj party, which leant heavily on the side of the landlords, would not allow him to go far with it. In fact, the Government Bill would have been far more liberal if, Mr. Cowasji Jahangir had not felt sure that the Swarajist leaders had more sympathy with landlords than with tenants. It is not therefore Government which has given Mr. Nariman stone for bread, but it is Mr. Nariman himself who has treated the Bombay tenants in that manner.

Tolstoy and a
Tolstoyan.

WHEN some time ago the news was flashed along the wires that Mahatma Gandhi, in his Convocational address, as Chancellor, to the Gujerat Vidya Peeth, asked the students to leave the University if they would not spend at least half an hour every day in spinning, the public might have thought that this was merely the Mahatma's way of emphasizing the usefulness of the charka, and that anyhow all students, irrespective of their opinions on hand-spinning, would continue to obtain admission to the University. We have reason to know, however, that Mahatma Gandhi's dictum is being literally carried out, and that the doors of the University are barred against all—teachers as well as students—who would not do the prescribed *tapasya*. This National University has been founded, because, forsooth, in the bureaucracy-ridden Universities there is no trace whatsoever of academic freedom. Apparently, to Mahatmaj's mind, academic freedom consists in imposing upon every one his own *charka* cult! The most surprising part of it of course is that this proceeds from one who is reputedly the best disciple Tolstoy ever had. Tolstoy himself had such a horror of compulsion that, in the school that he established in 1861, there was no discipline of any kind and no prescribed course, so that "the children came and went as they pleased, learned what they pleased, and were subjected to no sort of punishment." No course of studies was fix-

ed, because Tolstoy held that "the student must have the right to refuse those forms of education which do not satisfy his instincts. Freedom is the only criterion." To Tolstoy so hateful did everything seem that savoured of compulsion, but to the greatest living Tolstoyan that education alone appeals as national which enforces half an hour's spinning on every pupil—and on every teacher too! So the *National University* is reduced to one for the narrowest sect of charka worshippers only! National indeed!

* * *

Legislators not to be approached. WITH all his rhetorical devices Sir Charles Innes failed to convince the Assembly that the railway subordinates had no grievances or that what they had heard about them existed only in Mr. Joshi's imagination. Representatives of diverse interests like Sir Purshotamdas, Col. Gidney and Dr. Datta supported the motion for an enquiry into those grievances and it was passed without a division. If early in the debate Sir Charles attempted to score against Mr. Joshi by reading out a circular letter issued by him to labour unions, later on he had to look small on account of a circular issued by the Railway Board prohibiting railway employees from approaching members of legislatures for ventilating their grievances. Now we understand the reason for Sir Charles's wrath at Mr. Joshi's circular!

* * *

Slavery! In the course of a University extension lecture at Nagpur on the landless labourer on January 31st, Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee made a statement regarding the Kamiyas of Bihar and Chota Nagpur, which requires the immediate attention of the Government and the non-official members of the Assembly and of the Bihar Legislative Council. Dr. Mukerjee said that these Kamiyas could not bargain about their wages and yet obtained no guarantee of daily work, and that their movements were restricted like those of the Negro slaves of old. "An absconding Kamiya cannot seek refuge in another landlord's village, while the sale and purchase of Kamiyas is by no means unusual in Hazaribagh." Sale and purchase! We had thought that slavery in all forms had been abolished in India before 1840 and that no sale or purchase was tolerated, though practical serfdom was in existence in some parts of the country owing to the ignorance and destitution of the victims. Apparently slavery obtains nearer home than in the obscure hilly recesses of the Naga tribes. We hope no time will be lost in setting right this disgraceful scandal.

* * *

A Detached View. WRITING on the Calcutta pact between the no-changers and the Swarajists, the *National Christian Council Review*, the organ of the N. C. C. of India, Burma and Ceylon, says in its current number: "There is one obvious defect in the new arrangement whereby the Swarajist party alone is to have the coupon of the Congress in its work in the Assembly and the Councils. On that basis it is mere idle talk to expect other parties to come into the Congress again. Why should the leaders of the Liberal party, some of them men of great knowledge and experience, accept the Congress when in the Councils and the Assembly they are to be regarded as only the illegitimate offspring, or at best the poor relations, of the Congress? The Swarajists gain everything by this pact, for they are able to quote the still great authority of Mr. Gandhi, if not as a backer of their policy, at least as the head of the Congress which has endorsed it, as the sole official expression of the Congress in the Councils."

COMMUNALISM.

WE were interested to find that Mr. C. R. Reddy in his speech at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on the 5th inst. has taken up the idea of a bi-cameral system consisting of a Territorial and a Communal Chamber, which we had advocated over two years ago. Mr. Reddy is reported to have said that "he with his friends had thought fit to submit to the jurisdiction of public opinion the adoption of the two-chamber system of legislature in which one Chamber would be elected on mere citizenship, i.e. without reservation, and the other Chamber would be made to represent various credal and racial divergences." For the sake of comparison we may quote our remarks in our issue of November 2, 1922: "We believe that the method of a two-chamber legislature lends itself admirably to satisfy the needs both of national unity and of sectional interests. When the Provinces are given complete autonomy, it might be well to introduce a second chamber, elected on a principle of uniform voting qualifications, without any regard to the voter's race, religion, caste or profession; whilst the present 'Council' might be turned into a chamber, purely and solely representing the very sectional interests, which the second chamber does not recognize. And if feasible and advisable in the Provinces why should not the Central Legislature be similarly reformed on a clear principle—the Assembly to reflect the electorate in their capacity of Indians, and the Council of State in that of Moslems, Mill-owners, Domiciled Europeans or what not? The present compromise seems to us to be getting less and less satisfactory."

The lines penned by us then, seem, if anything, more *actuel* to-day than at that time. Mr. Reddy is not very explicit about his scheme, but our own idea has been all along that the only way to get rid of communalism is to hoist it by its own petard. As long as the communalist mind is exercised about Hindu vs. Moslem or Brahman vs. Non-Brahman interests only, not much headway will be made in that direction. Nor does communalist fissiparity actually stop at such broad divisions. Increasingly do Sikhs, Lingayats, Catholics, Protestants demand representation of their respective sectional interests. The mistake hitherto has been, to give special representation only to those who most loudly clamour for their communal "rights": whilst justice surely demands that every voter should have such "rights" of his safeguarded. If anything, electoral rewards surely should go to those who feel most strongly the common citizenship of all Indians—not to those to whom it means least! What we therefore would advocate is that every voter at every Provincial election should have two votes: one to be cast on behalf of the Territorial, the other of the Communal Chamber. How would this plan work out?

Let us, for argument's sake, assume a membership of 200 in the Bombay Communal Chamber, corresponding to a population of about 20 millions in the British districts of the Presidency. Communities, which count each a minimum of one lakh, would

aggregate 157, made up as follows :

Agri	2	Dhodia	1	Memon	1
Ahir	1	Dubia	1	Moslem (Gen.)	15
Baluch	6	Hajam	1	Pathan	1
Berad	2	Jain (Gen.)	1	Rabari	1
Bhandari	1	Kanbi	8	Rajput	3
Bharvad	5	Koli	16	Sayyad	1
Bhil	7	Kumbhar	1	Sheikh	7
Bohra	1	Kunbi	14	Siudbi	7
Brahman-Audich	1	Liogayat	11	Sonar	1
„ Chitpavan	1	Lohana	5	Sutar	1
„ Deshasth	2	Lohar	1	Teli	1
„ Sarasvat	1	Mahar	9	Thakur	1
„ Others	1	Mali	2	Vanjari	1
Chambhar	2	Mang	2	Vani (Hindu)	2
Christians	3	Maratha	3	„ (Jain)	1
				Varil	1

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It follows, that even 40 more representatives would have to be elected by smaller castes voting together, so as to aggregate at least a lakh of adherents. It is quite unnecessary here to go into such details: the above figures alone are more than sufficient to bring out the paramount fact, that, communally, every Indian necessarily is in a minority. If he rejoices in that, well, then, we suggest, let nobody be deprived of that joy. Let us all vote *qua* minority and look forward to a Communal Chamber where there will be the fullest possible scope for communalist log-rolling.

Only one more proviso we should insist upon: viz. that in addition to all communal classes there should be one, open to all who wish to vote for anti-caste, anti-communal, anti-sectional, representatives. So that, when, in due efflux of time, the majority of voters elect to vote in that class, the Communal Chamber itself may be scrapped, as having—quite clearly and unmistakably—declared itself unnecessary. And by that time few, we trow, will bewail its passing.

“ AS THE LAYMAN SEES IT. ”*

BY V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI.

MR. GANDHI was reported to have said to the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay that he had not seen any statement on the Government side that the Viceroy's Ordinance was not aimed at the Swarajist Party in Bengal. If so, he must have missed a passage in His Excellency's introductory remarks containing a clear disclaimer of such intention. If that was not enough, there have since been emphatic pronouncements by Lord Lytton, which put the question of intention absolutely beyond doubt. That, however, cannot reconcile one to the measure. To admit the existence of anarchical crime and the evident anxiety of Government to put an end to it is not the same thing as to approve of every step taken with that object. The Anglo-Indian press has been writing as though there was no alternative. The crudeness of this reasoning is not less than that of the reasoning by which young Non-Cooperators used to jump to the conclusion that every one who believed in the wrongs of the Jallianwala

The remedy of Government against the Bengal situation is no more justifiable on its inherent merits than was the remedy promulgated by Mr. Gandhi in 1920. The protestations of Lord Reading and Lord Lytton amount only to this—that they wish the Ordinance to be put into effect only against those Bagh and the Khilafat was bound to join their ranks. whom the authorities believe, from the papers submitted to them, to be guilty of revolutionary crime. Perhaps, too, we shall be told hereafter by apologists that they felt considerable hesitation in sanctioning the obnoxious measure, that they actually delayed it by a few weeks, and that there were several persons in whose case they refused permission for proceedings to be taken under the Ordinance. But these facts afford no consolation to those who complain that their liberties are placed at the mercy of the executive. It is well-known that even experienced judges, if compelled to decide cases on the evidence of the prosecution only, might occasionally convict innocent persons, that no evidence can be really trusted which was not submitted to cross-examination and that no condemnation of a prisoner can be safely accepted till he has had an opportunity of confronting his accusers and producing evidence in defence of himself.

Where punitive action is taken against individuals merely on the papers produced by the police against them, there are no means of ascertaining in how many cases out of a hundred injustice has been done. The judgment of another set of people who read the same papers is all that is available. A test of this dubious type was made a few years ago, and the percentage of error that it disclosed was about five. If an open trial had been possible in all the cases, the percentage would certainly have been much higher. Let us assume that among every hundred proceeded against under the Ordinance, ten are innocent. In the ordinary judicial process, every chance would be given to these ten, of escaping through an open trial or in appeal. The ninety, whom we assume to be guilty, have their own rights in the matter, as subjects of a constitutionally governed State. They are not outlaws, as a high authority recently described them in a moment of vexation. Government and its critics are alike in the habit of confining their attention to the innocent, as if it did not matter one whit what happened to those who were supposed to be guilty. Even they must be tried and judged according to the forms of law. An Ordinance which suspends the law and substitutes the will of the Executive, is for this purpose, not a law. Besides the innocent and the guilty, who come within the scope of the Executive action, there are the outside public, who in a country like India, have to be eternally vigilant against the inroads of an administration which they cannot control in law. Not only are the governments in India irresponsible, they do not care to conform to a high standard of propriety. If they respect public opinion, it is the opinion of the Anglo-Indian community, which stands to lose nothing by repressive legislation and always eggs the executive on to it. A public enquiry is granted as a matter of course in Western countries when a riot has had to

* This article appeared in the Silver Jubilee number of the *Indian Review*.

be put down by recourse to firing. In India, even after a protracted exercise of martial law, during which official terrorism was carried to incredible lengths, it required strenuous agitation to secure the appointment of a public commission; and it is highly doubtful whether it would have been secured but for the happy accident of Mr. Montagu being the Secretary of State at the time.

We are bidden on occasions like this to put our trust in Viceroys and Governors. We respect and honour them duly; but where do they come in here? They proclaim, they authorise and they disappear. The daily exercise of arbitrary powers is not theirs and cannot be. Political workers in this country have to deal with the members of a bureaucracy, largely foreign in personnel, without active sympathy with popular movements, and always concerned about their special prerogatives and privileges. It is notorious that they are in a state of perpetual irritation against the educated classes, against lawyers and particularly against political agitators. They have their own notions of what suits the genius of the east and lament nothing so much as the modern tendency in India to replace personal rule by the operation of law and to spread among the people a taste for enlightened citizenship, a love of individual freedom and a zeal for representative institutions. Barring honourable exceptions and allowing for the broadening effect of time, this characterisation is still true of the main body of public servants who initiate policy and execute it. Is it any wonder that they welcome arbitrary power at all times and regard it as an administrative convenience in times of trouble? It is an essentially demoralising practice to read the reports of the C. I. D. You may be never so full of the milk of human kindness, but if there is a system under which reports pour in upon you from all sides, apparently emanating from different quarters, and conveying something or other against the best men in the land, you cannot help living in an atmosphere of suspicion and believing that human nature in India is cursed with a double dose of every sin. We have reason to flatter ourselves that our C. I. D. is among the best of its kind in the world, and we all know that a government cannot get on without spies and informers of sorts. But a jealous bureaucracy necessarily exalts secret reports to unduly high rank among the aids to administration, and the evil assumes a most irritating aspect when those reported on belong mostly to one race and those reported to mostly to another. Supposing the future ministers of autonomous governments started a system of espionage and secret reports against the prominent members of the Anglo-Indian community, what strange things they would read from day to day, most of them false but so seemingly true that one might see around one many plotters against the advance of India to dominion status!

Surprise is frequently expressed at the exclusively destructive character of public criticism in this country and the apparent incapacity of the ordinary Indian politician to appreciate the necessity of maintaining law and order and therefore of support-

ing Government when engaged in the performance of that primary function. The former criticism is beside the mark in this particular instance. Those who withstood Non-Co-operation, even where it was non-violent, as a barren method of agitation, have not been slow to condemn disorderly outbreaks whenever they occurred. If they now and then criticised Government, it was when its officials exceeded with impunity the necessities of the situation and encroached without discrimination on the liberties of the subject. If in Bengal at the present moment there is need for drastic action on the part of the executive, sober opinion would support the adoption of extraordinary measures provided they stopped short of the closure of all chance of redress to the aggrieved subject. The gravamen of public displeasure is against the indefinite duration and the apparent permanence of detention, imprisonment or other restrictive order. If it is necessary to put out of action certain suspected persons, let it be done, subject to the condition that after a certain period, say, three or four weeks, the executive is under an obligation to bring the victims to trial before a regular court of law. Some day the executive must disclose the reasons for their drastic action, or the liberty of the subject is gone. The public are invited to believe that every person against whom action has now been taken under the 1818 Regulation or the present Ordinance is in some way connected with anarchical crime but one would not be right to believe it in any particular case merely on the word of the executive, though one may be willing to believe it in some cases. Certainly the people of India have shown no general disposition to believe it in the case of Mr. S. C. Bose. Are they to believe it, for instance, in the case of Mr. C. R. Das if he should be one of the future victims?

At first, when drastic powers are assumed or asked for, promises are made of the most scrupulous care in their exercise. No doubt at the time they are sincerely made. Once, however, a repressive measure finds its way to the statute-book and subordinate officials here and there begin to put it into operation, they interpret the promises in their own way, look into the letter of the law and decline to be bound by statements of intention or interpretation made at the time of enactment. This is precisely what happened in the case of the Press Act of 1910. The member in charge and the Law Member undertook that existing presses would not be affected prejudicially, and the statement of objects and reasons had words to that effect. But not many months passed before magistrates brought old presses also under its operation. Mr. Gokhale, who had lent reluctant support to the Act, felt compelled to make public protest against this abuse of its provisions. Other safeguards too were pronounced to be illusory by the highest courts in the land. Still the Act was worked in all its rigour and, though often requested to do so, Government would neither amend nor repeal it. Officials found it an administrative convenience, and Anglo-Indian opinion favoured it. So it continued till the other day. The advent of a popular legislature makes a

great difference in the situation. Nevertheless, certain rules of caution must be observed in the case of repressive legislation of the drastic nature of the Ordinance. It must never be made permanent. The executive must not be given power to bring it into life by a proclamation of its own without invoking the aid of the legislature. When a citizen is deprived of his liberty to any extent, a limit must be placed on the period of such deprivation, after which the executive must bring him to trial.

OPIMUM CONSUMPTION IN INDIA.

II.

THE Non-co-operation movement can certainly claim some credit for the fall in opium consumption since 1921. There was, however, a more or less continuous fall even before that. Critics of Government of the type of Mr. Andrews are unwilling to allow that the fall is due to the policy and administration of Government, in which case it follows that a silent reformation has been going on in the opium habits of the people. Can this action be trusted to solve the problem without further direct state intervention?

Taking the consumption over a number of years, the situation is distinctly hopeful and not alarming. All the same, the question may be considered if the consumption of over 5,000 chests of opium in 1922-23 was necessary, if that is no cause for alarm, and if that does not call further State action? A decision on this question will determine what new policy, if any, should be followed. If it is decided that the evil is very great, some means must be found to check the evil, however drastic and inconvenient to the parties concerned. If, however, it is considered that the evil is not very great nor growing, then a change in policy will depend on whether or not a plan can be devised which will do no great violence to the concerned interests.

Is there any reason, then, to consider that the situation is very grave and calls for action however drastic? In this connection, the student of the opium problem welcomes with grateful thanks, the publication by the Rev. W. Paton of that very informing, though inadequate, pamphlet "Opium in India"—inadequate because as Mr. Paton himself, with commendable frankness, cautions the reader in his Foreword, "it is incomplete in its range; there has been no questioning of witnesses." Further, the evidence of the indigenous medical practitioners, Vaidyas and Hakims, is not adequately, if at all, represented. That was, however, no fault of Mr. Paton's. All the same, it is difficult to do well without the evidence of these people, particularly in view of Mr. Paton's own suggestion, that they may, if possible, be authorised to administer opium, a suggestion which receives the support of Mr. Andrews as well. It is earnestly hoped that Mr. Paton will continue his praiseworthy labours so well begun. Many of the points brought together in Mr. Paton's book have been emphasised by Mr. Andrews in his numerous articles with all the vividness and charm so characteristic of him. Both these reformers consider the situation so

serious that they call for State action, however drastic. With all due deference to them, the present writer is unable to take so alarmistic a view on the strength of the evidence available to him. Further it cannot be denied that there is some relation between the intensity of an evil and the intensity of public opinion on the subject. Even at the zenith of the puritanic revolt against the drink habit in the heyday of non-co-operation, very little war was waged against opium, except in Assam where the evil was real and felt. After three years of unparalleled agitation, during which Mr. Andrews kept on reminding the people of the opium evil, there is at least one very prominent leader of the N.-C.-O. movement in a province which excelled in non-co-operation, who continues to be an opium-eater, apparently unconscious of any evil in it; who did not feel called upon to drop the habit, much less preach a crusade against it. While open to conviction, the writer is for the present inclined to the view that the situation, taking India as a whole, is not alarming but that if a new policy can be devised which does no violence to the interests to be discussed later, it may well be adopted so as to do away with the evil such as it is.

The question may next be considered as to what exactly is the change of policy that will put an end to the evil. It turns on the question as to what is the "legitimate" use of opium in India. Government say that their policy is based upon "the principle of restricting the consumption to legitimate needs." (Dixon, p. 9) But they do not define what is "legitimate." They seem to have a purely statistical definition of it, in as much as they seem to think that no abuse can occur as long as consumption does not exceed 1,200,000 lbs. a year in all India, a quantity they have estimated as the normal demand. Their Rules cannot and do not prevent the purchase or possession of more than the lawful quantity. One has only to repeat one's purchases at intervals, however short, or send a number of messengers, not excluding children. And it is so easy to conceal opium and evade detection. One is also free to administer the opium to oneself or others for medical or non-medical purposes without the sanction of a qualified medical practitioner. This is certainly an unsatisfactory situation inasmuch as the theoretical possibilities of unlimited expansion and abuse of opium are very great. As against this, however, there is the fact that the consumption is actually falling.

What is the alternative definition of "legitimate?" It has been suggested that consumption on medical prescription alone should be considered legitimate. This definition is based on the opium reformer's knowledge of, and faith in, the allopathic doctors of the West, whose tradition and scientific education strongly incline them against the free and frequent use of opium and ensure their using it for strictly medical purposes only. Where the supply of doctors is adequate and they are of allopathic training, this definition of legitimate consumption meets the needs of the people and causes no hardship.

Could this definition be applied in India and in the immediate future? The acceptance of it will, it must be remembered, save India the singular position it had to take up in the League, and bring it into line with the rest of the world's opinion. But that consummation, however much to be wished, cannot be the sole criterion for its adoption in India. Will it meet the needs of the situation in India itself?

As a remedy for bonafide diseases, opium is consumed in India on the prescription of (1) allopathic doctors (2) Ayurvedic and Unani doctors, and (3) laymen including the consumer. There are over 3,000 allopathic dispensaries in India where the service is free or not prohibitive to the poor. There is a much larger number of allopathic doctors both in Government service and in private practice. The number is perhaps larger than the number of opium shops. But doctors are mainly concentrated in cities and towns and are besides expensive. Only the free dispensaries can be counted upon to be within the reach of the poor. But of these the number is quite too inadequate. The opium reformer welcomes the efforts of the present Minister in charge of the medical portfolio in Madras to devise a scheme of rural medical aid, as that would incidentally help opium control. It may, however, be urged for the present that opium shops should be closed in all areas where free dispensaries under allopathic doctors exist. The case of addicts will be referred to later on.

Both Mr. Andrews and Mr. Paton have advocated that the indigenous Vaidyas and Hakims may be authorised to administer opium. From the opium reformer's point of view this will be acceptable to the extent to which their attitude towards the use of opium, as influenced by their text-books, traditions and current practices, coincides with that of the allopathic doctors. Mr. Paton observes, "There is a good deal of evidence that *hakims* and *kavirajas* and other practitioners of indigenous medicine largely prescribe opium, and are in a measure responsible for the freedom with which it is resorted to in sickness." (Opium in India, p. 9) He gives a list of as many as 17 diseases, ranging from tuberculosis to coughs, for which opium, in the popular mind, is supposed to be a remedy. He drily remarks "Obviously there is little of medical accuracy in it." If, however, this popular opinion is shared by the rank and file of Hakims and Vaidyas and no effective way can be found to educate them out of it, it will serve no useful purpose to authorise them to prescribe opium. It will only be self-deception and false security. The practical attitude of these indigenous medical men towards opium is a matter for careful enquiry. And it is to be hoped that associations and conferences of these practitioners will assist the opium reformer with an unequivocal declaration of their attitude in the matter.

If the attitude is unsatisfactory to the opium reformer, he must rule out the Hakims and Vaidyas, although such a course will create a grievance among them and cause real hardship to the rural population. If their attitude is satisfactory, the question arises how to distinguish administratively a doctor from a layman. There is yet no system of registration for Vaidyas and Hakims as there is for the allopathic doctors. In Madras the Osman Committee has made certain recommendations for a system of registration of these doctors. Pending the materialization of some such scheme, the suggestion may be considered whether the Municipal, District and Taluk Boards, which can well claim local knowledge, be authorised to register local doctors of reputation as fit to prescribe opium.

In any scheme of opium reform, the case of the already confirmed addicts must also be considered. They should be registered as such and rationed.

After a particular date no new names should be added to the roll of addicts. The systems of registration now in vogue in Burma and Ceylon will be found suitable for adoption or adaptation.

If, however, it be found that the Vaidyas and Hakims may not be trusted to use opium properly, at any rate for some good time to come, and if in the meanwhile no adequate supply of allopathic doctors can be provided, either consumption without medical prescription must be allowed or the rural population put to certain hardship. With due deference to Mr. Paton, the latter alternative is not justified. The former means the abandonment of the League's definition of "legitimate."

If restriction of the use of opium to medical purposes in the sense "prescribed by a medical practitioner" is impracticable, are there other means by which we can secure its restriction to medical use in the sense that it is used to cure bonafide disease for which opium is admittedly a cure and at the same time prevent a non-medical use, namely, addiction? The raising of the price of opium still further so as to make it prohibitive except under stress of disease suggests itself as one such method. Persons in need of opium for bonafide medical purposes would not mind paying anything to get the drug. A good proportion of those who go in for opium for non-medical purposes, will be deterred by the prohibitive price. It is not at all improbable that the fall in consumption already noticed had something to do with the Government policy of raising the price. This will be a great hardship to the confirmed addict, more particularly to his dependents. The addict will pay any price for his drug and that will only mean that his dependents will be stinted and starved. This cruelty may be avoided by registering the addicts and supplying their rationed quantity at cost-price. The danger of smuggling will, however, increase, which is inevitable in any scheme to restrict the licit consumption.

Mr. Andrews makes an interesting suggestion in his article "The Opium Menace in India" in the "Indian Review," for April 1924. "We would make it easy, within certain well defined limits, for the villagers in distant village to obtain medicine containing opium as an ingredient." "The effectiveness of this depends on whether or not a compound containing opium will serve the same purpose as raw opium to a would-be addict. If it is ascertained that some at least of the medicinal compounds of opium are not likely to be resorted to by the would-be addict as a substitute for pure opium, then arrangements may well be made to manufacture them in Government factories, say at Ghazipur, and make them widely available, even as quinine is; to be sold at cost price to doctors and laymen, with full instructions as to the composition, use and dose."

This will, however, cause a grievance to the Ayurvedic and Unani practitioners inasmuch as they cannot then obtain opium for their practice. The habit of these people of preparing their medicines themselves individually, though still very strong, is gradually giving place to purchase of medicine made by others. It would be worthwhile to investigate if some of the more important Ayurvedic and Unani medicines can be standardised and manufactured in Government factories or in reputed firms under control, and made readily available to the medical practitioners.

If none of these alternatives will effectively check or eradicate the evil, the only other alternative is to hold on to the present policy of the Government, which, in spite of obvious theoretical defects, has somehow or other resulted in a gradual fall in consumption, and to trust to the growth of enlightened

public opinion, encouraged by the efforts of reformers, to reduce the evil further.

It is clear that the problem of opium consumption in India is not a simple one. There is need for a fresh inquiry, comprehensive and authoritative, to determine the extent of the evil, and to devise means to restrict or suppress it. In view of India's predicament in the League of Nations in this matter and also because the people of India, through their Legislatures and Ministers, have it in their hands to determine their opium policy and will be held responsible for it, the enquiry becomes urgent. This Conference of social workers will thus be perfectly justified in requesting the Government of India or the provincial Governments to appoint a committee consisting of representatives of the Allopathic, Ayurvedic and Unani practitioners and of social workers to investigate the problem, unbiassed by the financial aspect of the question.

P. KODANDA RAO.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, JANUARY 22.

FINIS TROTSKY?

SO Trotsky is at last deposed. There is almost a note of regret in the British newspapers that have contained and commented upon the latest news from Russia. Lenin is dead. His alter ego is now—apparently for good and all—out of the picture. Seemingly, Trotsky would not remain ill to order, nor would he resign on grounds of health. He preferred a straight fight with his opponents in the inner circle of Sovietism. Possibly he gambled upon obtaining greater support than in fact he received. However that may be, he has been compelled to resign his important office of president of the Revolutionary Military Council. That Trotsky was, from his enemies' point of view, a dangerous person has been clear for some time, since he was the object in the official press of an unceasing campaign of vilification, as possessing a "bourgeois" mind and playing the part of a little Napoleon. All his past services to the Russian Communist Party have gone for naught. His bulding-up of the Red Army and its conversion from a rabble, of which no one was afraid, into a formidable and fairly well-armed and equipped fighting force, is all but forgotten. The fact is, of course, that, with the Jewish sense of realism that is characteristic of Mr. Bronstein (his real name, by the way), he is not going any longer to waste his time on foolish economic theories that are doing Russia no good and that are preventing her re-establishing herself among the great nations of the world. There is not much of the sterile fanatic about Trotsky, and his romanticism, about which Lenin once rallied him, is strictly conditioned by the facts to be faced. But is this really the last of Trotsky? He is too well informed of the inner secrets of his colleagues for them entirely to break with him yet, and it may be that he will come back later, when they have discredited themselves, and Russia once more needs a strong practical man to restore the situation.

THE OPIUM CONFERENCE AT GENEVA.

Lord Cecil of Chelwood, the British spokes-

man at the Opium Conference that has resumed at Geneva this week, is not having the best time of his life, to judge from his own complaint yesterday. No more agreeable to the Americans than this British representative could possibly be found. He has only just returned from America, where a valuable peace prize was presented to him, and he was, whilst in the United States, persona gratissima with Uncle Sam, his wife, and family. But at Geneva he is not finding things very much to his liking. Lord Cecil is very much in earnest, even to the extent of not verifying his figures. It is only really earnest people that can afford to be inaccurate. The British proposal had been that opium smoking in British Far Eastern territories shall be abolished within 15 years from the date on which the effective execution of the measures taken by China to suppress opium-growing has reached such a stage as to remove the danger of opium smuggling from China. Mr. Porter, the American leader, declared that the United States delegation could not admit that any justification existed for even a temporary suspension of the obligation which rested upon every nation signatory to the Hague Convention to take effective measures for the progressive suspension of the traffic in prepared opium. The United States, in effect, proposed that these effective measures should be completed within fifteen years from now, with freedom to the countries concerned as to the methods that they employed to that end. Dr. Sze, the Chinese delegate, criticising the British proposal, denounced it as an attempt to escape from a definite obligation and to subordinate it to a condition depending upon the internal situation of his country. The Irish Free State representative supported the United States proposal, whether on the merits or as a pin-prick against Britain does not appear. It was in answer to these criticisms that Lord Cecil remarked that he did not remember addressing an international meeting under such difficult circumstances. It appears that the whole question is complicated by the problem of smuggling from Persia and China on an immense scale, and for this reason, France was inclined to support the British proposals. It is likely that the Conference will be postponed for a few days, to give the various delegations an opportunity of cooling down and seeing if they cannot reach a satisfactory formula.

SECOND CHAMBER REFORM.

It will, perhaps, be remembered that Mr. Baldwin, at the General Election, sought and will doubtless claim to have obtained a mandate for the reform of the House of Lords, in order to make of it a more efficient Second Chamber. The tendency in quite a number of countries is for the Upper House to assert itself in an increasing degree. This is notably the case, of course, in the United States and France. In France, M. de Selves, the President of the Senate, made a significant speech on the rights and powers of the Upper Chamber of the French Parliament, which was regarded as a veiled warning to M. Herriot, the Socialist Prime Minister, that his party must go slow, if it would not precipitate a con-

stitutional crisis. This tendency at self-assertion is almost certain to increase and spread in proportion as the probability increases of Labour or Socialist Governments coming into office and power on the gust of popular feeling at a General Election caught upon a number of issues, none of which would suffice to give the Government of the day authority to proceed with any wide and far-reaching scheme of reform which might not, in fact, have the substantial support of the majority of the electorate. That the British Conservatives are alive to what they regard as a serious danger, in the light of the Parliament Act, is clear from the resolution passed at the Newcastle Conservative National Conference recently, authorising that steps should be taken to reform the House of Lords and bring it more, as a revising Chamber, into line with the spirit of the times as regards its composition. Lord Selborne has already taken the initiative in the matter, and the Liberals have already taken the alarm. It may quite well be that, in the not distant future, a new constitutional crisis may, notwithstanding all efforts to prevent it, be precipitated. In that event, the stability of the present Tory Administration may not be so complete as at present it appears to be.

THE VICEROY'S SPEECH.

Lord Reading's speech at the opening of the new session of the Indian Legislative Assembly has had a good press here. He will have the fullest support from British opinion in almost anything that he may propose to do or leave undone along the present lines. You will doubtless have many of the press comments reproduced in your papers, and I do not propose, therefore, to quote from them. But I think that your readers may take it that the average British opinion is contained in the views set out in the "Daily Telegraph's" leading article. Curiously enough, whilst the "Telegraph" published Reuter's verbatim report of the text of the Viceroy's speech, the "Times" was satisfied to give a long summary, which, however, omitted some salient paragraphs. The "Daily News", of all the press comments that I have so far seen, is the most sympathetic to the Indian point of view, and, whilst deploring the fact that Indians have refused to give the reforms a fair trial, concludes its remarks by saying that that fact should not delay the realisation of the hopes with which they were framed. "It is no sufficient reason why we should refuse to try out our own experiment."

REVIEWS.

JAGADGURU. By REV. J. C. WINSLOW. (S. P. G. House, London.) 1924. 5 x 4. pp. 63. 1s.

THERE was a time when Christians and Christian missionaries looked upon all other religious systems as of the devil. We ought to feel ashamed of some of the pamphlets produced by our older missionaries, still often placed in the hands of Hindu young men. But a new era has dawned. We no longer study other religions with the desire to expose their evils, but we study them to see how the spirit of God has been working in the minds of men of all races and nations, preparing them step by step in various ways for the final and complete revelation of Himself in Jesus Christ. But I am aware that there are still Christians who call themselves 'orthodox' who would put down such an attitude as 'heretical.' It is interesting to notice that this difference of attitude existed among the Early Fathers of the Church. Some of the Latin writers like Tertullian and Cyprian would have nothing to do with those who did not believe in Christianity. But men like Justin Martyr and Clement of Alex-

andria who had seen the good side of Greek religion and Greek philosophy were more sympathetic. It is the line of the latter that Mr. Winslow follows in his little book *Jagadguru*, which I am very glad to be able to introduce to a wider public.

It is divided into nine clear-cut little chapters. The impression that Jesus Christ made on His first followers was that of a Rabbi, a Guru, who taught 'with authority and not as the scribes.' So naturally 'the teaching of Christ' forms the first chapter. 'The Character of Christ' forms the second chapter, because 'the total impression which Christ has made' upon His first disciples and upon the world 'has been due less to what he taught than to what he *did* and *was*.' The succeeding chapters deal with the Death of Christ, Resurrection, &c. The author would have done better justice to the sixth chapter, which deals with the Incarnation, bearing in mind that the book will be read by non-Christians in India, if he had emphasised, more than he actually does, the fact that the people who first accepted Jesus Christ as God Himself Incarnate were very strict Jews, people who were such strict monotheists that of all the nations of the world they would be the last people to worship any man as equal to God, unless facts actually forced them to, as the case was with the Apostles. The Hindus often do not realise this. The last chapter which I regard as an important chapter, for the Christians, especially the last two paragraphs, is on 'the Christian Claims.' I wish Mr. Winslow had dwelt more at length upon what he says in these two paragraphs for the sake of his Christian readers.

A word ought to be said about the title of the book, 'Jagadguru.' One does not feel happy about it. The word 'guru' only means 'teacher' or 'Rabbi,' though of course the Hindu pays very great reverence to the guru. To us, Christians, Jesus Christ is not primarily a moral teacher, as the Hindus often suppose. He is our very life, as Mr. Winslow doubtless shows in his book. If I had to choose a title I would suggest a term like 'Jagadjiwan,' 'the life of the world.' Right through the book the author introduces several Hindu religious and philosophical terms to explain Christian ideas, a most commendable course, provided these terms do not convey unintended ideas. Now Mr. Winslow uses these terms, without defining them: yet before we even start to expound theological and philosophical ideas we surely ought to make sure of the sense which the technical terms we use will convey to the reader. For instance 'nishkalanka Avatara' does not mean 'the faultless Incarnation,' because to the Hindu Avatara is not the same as what 'Incarnation' means to the Christian. Again 'Suksma Sarira' does not exactly mean the same as the Resurrected Body of Christ.

At all events, the book is heartily to be welcomed for its fresh style and sympathetic outlook.

J. STEPHEN NARAYAN.

INDIA'S FOREST WEALTH. By E. A. SMYTHIES, I. F. S. The "India of To-day" Series. (Oxford University Press.) 1924. 7 x 5. pp. 133. Rs. 2-8.

POPULAR books dealing with administrative problems are not overplentiful in India, and where a problem relates to a technical matter the available literature that can be recommended for the use of the laymen, say, non-official members of Legislative Councils, is reduced to most surprisingly meagre dimensions. On the subject of forests, we believe, the first publication brought out with the object of educating the public was "The Work of the Forest Department in India" by R. S. Troup, I. F. S., and it

was published (will it be believed ?) so late as 1917. It may be that there was not such a pressing need for educating public opinion in India on the subject of forestry till latterly, the forests being managed solely by Government without reference to popular wishes. It was enough if the administrators realised the importance of conserving the country's forest wealth. What did it matter if their policy was subjected to ignorant criticism by the public? Such was probably the feeling of those who were responsible for the administration of forests. This mentality is certainly not conducive to the production of good and reliable but popular literature on forests. But things have now changed. In two Provinces (Bombay and Burma) the management of forests is already transferred to popular control and in other Provinces it will soon be. The need therefore is very great of diffusing information on this important but neglected subject among the general population. This purpose is eminently served by the present volume. It is an excellent popular manual and will be of great help to all who would take an intelligent interest in public affairs. It bears a close family resemblance to Professor Troup's Report, but contains up-to-date information and discusses at greater length certain very interesting questions connected with the development of our forests. It is a non-official publication but has apparently Government's backing as it certainly deserves to have, and we should like to think that this is an indication of the Government's intention to embark on an extensive campaign of educative propaganda as is being done in the United States of America or in Canada, where, the danger of forest depletion was realized later than in India. It took nearly fifty years after the introduction of forestry in India to educate district officials themselves, who used to offer opposition in the beginning. It is now imperative to educate the public in India.

In Chapter I the author describes the effect of civilization on forests and puts in a plea for the necessity of the existence of forests on grounds other than as a mere source of utilizable products. In this connexion it may be noted that the forest area under the Forest Department (there are under the Revenue Department lands classed as forest but they are not of consequence as forests for our present purpose) is 22.7% of the total area of British India, a happy position in view of the fact that 20% is considered to be about the right proportion. Chapter II gives a short sketch of the past history of our forests. Chapter III reckons up in a reasoned manner all the little and great things for which the agriculturist is indebted to our forests. Neither the mere forester nor the mere agriculturist can rightly measure the extent of their dependence, one upon the other. The agriculturist may point with pride to instances quoted by the author (pp. 33-34) of the highly developed state of the Gorakhpur forests due to the intermixture of agriculture. But he must realise that little bits of forest permitted to exist on sufferance amidst cultivated land are not the ideal to be aimed at by the scientific forester, the prudent agriculturist or the wide-awake statesman. In 1921-22 Land Revenue stood to Forest Revenue as 19 : 3, but he would be rash who would conclude this to represent the measure of their true value in the economy of a civilised state. Chapter IV is headed " The Forests of India " and describes the types of forests, their distribution, extent, present outturn and future possibilities as far as can be forecasted.

Chapter V deals with the important minor forest products of India, some of which, the reader will be surprised to know, yield large revenues. Next we come to a very interesting Chapter on future lines of development. It gives an outline

of the great problems that face the Forest officer, what he is doing and hopes to do, provided understanding sympathy is extended to him, in solving them to the benefit of India. While on the subject of the future possibilities of the Burma forests (p.74) the author has touched upon the problem of increasing the " tonnage per acre ". Naturally one would suppose that the development of new uses and the creation of a market for the vast number of hitherto unsaleable species that are found in our forests would first be attempted rather than the entire removal of these species to be replaced by a concentrated crop by more or less artificial means. It is desirable that all the lines of development enumerated by the author should be simultaneously prosecuted, preference being given to any one of them according to circumstances but constantly keeping in mind the possibility of finding a sale for the less known species. This is the most suggestive chapter in the book.

Forests have an important lesson to teach both to the administrators who, alive to the need for conservation, are apt to be inattentive to real hardships of the people and to adopt a too adventurous policy and secondly, to the representatives of the people who, not realizing what an asset the community has in the forests, are likely to oppose even good measures for their development and exploitation. Many instances can be quoted of the miscarriage of schemes, no doubt conceived in the interest of the country, but without exercising the necessary caution. It is equally true on the other hand that the public is often suspicious of sound and even essential projects of forest policy. As an illustration of this one may mention the failure on the part of the U. P. Council's Committee to appreciate the necessity for the existence of forests on the higher slopes of Kumaun in spite of the earnest exhortation of expert foresters. This no doubt results from the inexperience of popular leaders in forest matters. If the Government officers will be more sympathetic in future and give no ground for legitimate complaint, the present attitude of suspicion on the part of the people will soon be replaced by one of hearty co-operation. It is only then that popular assemblies will vote the large sums of money that are absolutely necessary for the development of Indian forests on right lines.

The book is undeniably one that must be read by everyone interested in the problems of the future, for it is certain that our forests will at no distant date occupy a place of importance in our national life.

En passant, it will not be out of place to point out certain typographical mistakes: *Acacia auriculata* for *Cassia auriculata* on p. 55, l. 3 of the paragraph on tans, *Hydrocarpus* for *Hydnocarpus* on p. 08, l. 7, *G. hetrophylla* for *G. heterophylla* on p. 117, l. 12. We also think that certain statements, e.g., the inclusion of pepper and cardamoms in the minor forest produce of Kanara (p. 56), will have to be modified when the book is revised.

S.

CRIME IN INDIA. By S. M. EDUARDES. (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1924. 8½ × 5. pp. 169. Rs. 6.

NOT very long ago the author was a part of the " Steel Frame " and for a number of years the head of the police department in the City of Bombay. As such he must have had exceptional opportunities of studying the problem of crime in India and is no doubt well qualified to handle the subject with which the book deals. If, however, one expected to find in the book a recital of the author's personal experience, one would be doomed to

disappointment. The information is mostly culled from official reports; and there is very little attempt to make figures interesting. Crime is divided under three principal heads, viz., offences against (1) the State, (2) person and (3) property, these again being subdivided into a number of minor heads. The three principal heads are given a chapter each and "prostitution in India" is dealt with in a separate chapter. The remaining two chapters are "Miscellaneous" and "Crime and Indian aspirations." Each sub-head starts with a brief explanation, followed by a comparison of the state of similar kind of crime in the different provinces based on statistics collected from Government reports. The figures are however for 1921. Then follow one or two typical cases, which constitute the really interesting part of the book. False coining inside a jail, of all places, is a thing which sounds incredible, but such a case was actually tried in India. How the name of Mr. Gandhi was exploited by cheats and knaves to trade on the credulity of the ignorant masses can be seen from the following:—

In Bilaspur, for example, some local *kasais* (Muhammadan butchers) toured the countryside, spreading a story that Mr. Gandhi had issued orders that all goats were to be set free after the *Dashara* festival. Having thus established a thorough slump in the goat-market, they proceeded to buy heavily, acquiring a large quantity of live stock at very low rates. In Bihar and Orissa in 1920 an imaginative individual cheated many persons by alleging that the suits won by the Bettiah Raj for enhanced rent had been upset by a new law promulgated by Mr. Gandhi and Mr. C. R. Das, the Bengali agitator, and that he had been appointed *Kanungo* (surveyor) to make the necessary alterations in the survey registers on payment of Rs. 5-12-0 for each correction. He had collected a considerable sum of money before the police were informed of his proceedings and put an end to his career."

It is where the author tries to account for the growth of crime in this country and suggests a remedy that he comes into conflict with politically-minded Indians. Mr. Edwardes, while in India, was not known to have much sympathy with our political aspirations; and the Indian public cannot easily forget the part which the Police under his leadership played in the premature breaking-up of the Muslim League in Bombay in 1915. Since his retirement, it is well-known that as Secretary of Lord Sydenham's Indo-British Association he has been doing at good deal of anti-Indian propaganda in England and loses no opportunity of running down the Indian Reform movement. A perusal of his present book leaves one wondering whether it may itself not be part of the campaign of distortion and misrepresentation of Indian affairs, which has brought so much notoriety to the Sydenham group in recent years. The "agitator" appears to be too much on his brain. He attributes the increase in crime to the agitator's work. According to him, the unpopularity for the police is due to their "constant vilification" by the agitator. The result is, "the police are friends to none and by many are actively disliked and opposed."

His remedy for this state of things is also equally characteristic. "A stern policy of repression," or "a little more determination to grapple sternly with lawlessness, a little less attention to immediate schemes for the political millennium in India," is, according to him, all that is wanted. Could Mr. Edwardes guarantee success by this method? Does he not know that in India itself, not to speak of other countries, this very method has been resorted to in the past without success and that repression has always defeated its own purpose?

If proof were needed to show what a hopeless back number the author is in Indian politics, it is furnished by his views about Kenya. "The men

who talk most glibly about equal rights for all races in Kenya Colony never raise a protest against the unsympathetic and frequently inhuman treatment accorded by the Indian upper classes to the lower or untouchable tribes and castes." Mr. Edwardes has apparently yet to learn that untouchability has not known two more uncompromising opponents than Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Sastri, to mention only two of the more important advocates of equal rights for Indians in Kenya; also that all the political conferences that demand equality of status for their countrymen in Kenya exhort their countrymen, with equal, if not greater, emphasis, to regard untouchability as a blot on Hindu Society and to lose no time in removing it. If to demand equality of status for Indians in Kenya is an offence in the eyes of Mr. Edwardes, he must first arraign the Government of India who have irrevocably committed themselves to the policy of equality for all races in Kenya.

For the reduction of corruption and tyranny in British India, the author gives credit to the Government and only its *European* officers.

The European community in India has reason to be thankful to Mr. Edwardes for supplying them with a novel and ingenious argument to bolster up their unfair demand for the perpetuation of racial distinctions. "It is this widespread habit of laffching false prosecutions and suborning false witnesses that underlies the objection of European witnesses in India to being tried by Indian criminal courts without being granted special safeguards." The author would have strengthened his case if he had vouchsafed to the curious reader some statistics to indicate the extent of such prosecutions against Europeans. This is evidently not very formidable, for a little later he himself speaks of them as being "not very numerous." If so, the claim put forward by him on behalf of his community has very weak legs to stand upon.

The author naturally enough stands up for the police, who, according to him, "are specially liable to be falsely accused of acts of tyranny and extortion." Here, again, the reader looks in vain for statistics to verify this statement, and has nothing to go upon except this breezy statement of the author, the number of such cases in Assam in 1921 and just one instance. This is hardly enough to enable one to judge how widespread the evil is. While we have nothing but sympathy for the members of the police force who were thus put to unnecessary trouble, we would like to know if such a thing as a false prosecution by the police happens in India and if so, to what extent. The author is unfortunately silent on the point. "The amount of pilfering which takes place from goods yards and transit platforms is little short of appalling. The Railway Police Committee discovered that the total value of property stolen on Indians railways amounts to at least one million sterling every year." By the way, this is an interesting commentary on the much-vaunted efficiency of the police, and the work of the European officers, which alone he is pleased to recognise.

To speak of one or two minor points, in the chapter on prostitution the author speaks of the great Mahratta hero, Shivaji as having kept concubines. This is an erroneous statement. There is no historical evidence for it. It is, of course, undeniable that Shivaji had more than one living wife. But however strongly we may disapprove of polygamy at the present time, it would be monstrous not to distinguish between a wife and a concubine. Another mistake, into which the author appears to us to have fallen in the same chapter, is where he describes *Murli* as "a flute". The mistake would have been avoided if he had taken the trouble to refer to, e. g., Candy's Marathi-English dictionary.

D. V. A.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION IN INDIA. A HANDBOOK FOR STUDENTS & SOCIAL WORKERS.** By JOHN MATTHAL. "Books for the Times" Series. (Christian Literary Society for India.) 1925. 7 x 4½. pp. 187. Rs. 1-8-0.
- THE ROLE OF THE STATE IN THE PROVISION OF RAILWAYS.** By H. M. JAGTIANI. (P. S. King & Son, London.) 8¼ x 5¼. pp. 146. 8s. 6d.
- HISTORY OF KERALA, Vol. 1. WRITTEN IN THE FORM OF NOTES ON VISSOCHER'S LETTERS FROM MALABAR.** By K. P. PADMANABHA MENON. (Mrs. Menon, Ernakulam.) 1924. 9¼ x 6¼. pp. 562. Rs. 8.
- LIFE OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA.** (Himalayan Series.) (Advaita Ashrama, Almora, Himalayas.) 1925. 9¼ x 6. pp. 765. Rs. 6-3-0.
- THE OFFICIAL YEAR BOOK OF NEW SOUTH WALES, 1923.** (Government Printer, Sydney.) 1924. 10 x 6. pp. 721. 5s.
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