

THE Servant of India

Editor : S. G. VAZE.—Office : Servants of India Society's Home, Poona (D. G.).

VOL. IX, No. 38. }

POONA—THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1926.

} INDIAN SUBSN. RS. 6
FOREIGN SUBSN. 10s. 6d.

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

A THIRD year has come round since the Bengal Government commenced arresting people on mere suspicion and keeping them in custody without charge and without trial. Few were satisfied at the time of the promulgation of the Ordinance that preventive detention on the large scale on which the Government of Lord Lytton had entered was necessary in the interest of the preservation of the public peace, but even those who were perhaps at the time disposed to acquiesce in a short spell of such repressive policy, crediting officials with knowledge not open to the public, will no longer have any patience with the Government after two years have passed during which the unfortunate persons against whom Government have taken action remain deprived of their personal liberty and are denied all opportunities to prove their innocence. The overriding considerations of public safety, it may be conceded, occasionally require a temporary suspension of judicial forms, but in all civilized countries two precautions are always taken to prevent gross abuses in such cases. First, the Legislature is always taken into consultation, which was no doubt also done in India, only to evoke a storm of opposition even from the most temperate of politicians. Second, the suspension of *habeas corpus* is strictly limited to a short period, generally of six months. These precautions were

scrupulously observed, as we showed on a former occasion, even in Ireland on the morrow of the Republican revolt. In India, however, the life of such Public Safety Acts is always unlimited, and Government never scruple to resort to them long after any possible danger to public security had passed. If the Bengal Government are not even now, after the lapse of two years, in a position to bring the prisoners to justice, the inference is irresistible that the evidence on which they rely is much too flimsy. On another page we publish a proposed Charter of Minimum Rights for prisoners, the very first of which, as indeed it is the basis of all the rest, runs thus : "every prisoner should be entitled to a public trial within six months of arrest". The writer who drafted the Charter insists that it should be clearly understood to embody only a minimum standard of treatment for prisoners already recognised and in force in civilized countries. India, however, and at any rate its Government, is not yet civilized enough to honour such an elementary rule. Lord Reading, with all his vaunted love of justice, was rather indifferent to fundamental rights. Will not Lord Irwin remove this blot on his predecessor's administration ?

* * *

RECENTLY two measures passed by Legislative Councils have been vetoed by Governors, or rather the latter have withheld their assent from two measures passed by legislatures: one, the Punjab Money-lenders Bill, dealing with a reserved subject, and the other, Assam Opium Bill, dealing with a transferred subject. The exercise of the overriding power vested in the Governors has in neither case evoked any adverse criticism in the newspapers, the turning down of the Opium Bill meeting with tepid or that of the Money-lenders Bill with warm approval of publicists deservedly known to be jealous of popular rights. We cannot however approve of the action of the Governors in either of these cases. The Governors in both instances used their exceptional powers because they were persuaded that the Bills passed by the legislative bodies suffered from serious drafting defects. We are not now concerned to maintain that the measures, as passed by the legislatures, are good working measures, but we do contend that any defects left in the Bills after all the care that officials and non-officials bestowed on them could have been removed later by passing amending legislation. But our friends in the Punjab, e.g., are so overjoyed at the rejection of a measure which they hated that they do not pause to consider the constitutional aspect of the question. Apparently to some of our popular tribunes at least what is

obnoxious in an autocracy is not the fact of autocracy so much as that it does things which are not palatable to them. If, however, on occasions it uses its autocratic powers to upset a popular decision which they do not like, they will not even for appearance's sake pull a long face over it before bowing to the autocrat's bludgeon, but hail it with alacrity.

For our own part we should not much regret if the non-official Money-lenders Bill now scrapped is to be replaced by an official one; perhaps it would be better on the whole and in fact the Government itself should have promoted such a Bill in the first instance. But we cannot for that reason cease to protest against an unjustifiable use of his exceptional powers by the Governor. The best course would really be for the Government of India to introduce a carefully thought out measure on money-lending and make it applicable to Provinces at the discretion of the local authorities. But because we are of that opinion we shall not support the Government of India if they turn down a Bill passed by Sir Malcolm Hailey's Government. Some of our Punjab contemporaries in their ill-concealed joy at the head of the Province having come to their rescue, have tried to convict us of want of judgment and good sense in supporting the principle of the Money-lenders Bill by producing what no doubt appears to them a clinching argument that no less a person than the Governor is opposed to the measure. We lay no claim to infallibility. We have without doubt been wrong on many occasions before and may be wrong on this, but we shall not be convinced of the error of our ways by the mere citation of the authority of a Governor. Why, even to the *People* it may not be quite conclusive evidence in all matters.

What we have said above applies with equal force to the Malabar Tenancy Bill from which also, we learn just as we go to Press, the Governor of Madras has withheld his assent.

* * *

RUMOURS are very thick for some time past that the Viceroy has addressed an ultimatum to His Exalted Highness the Nizam and that the latter, without openly flouting the ultimatum, is trying to wriggle himself out of it. What precisely are the subjects in dispute is not known to the outside public; all that they hear is that the British Government insists upon the appointment of some Europeans to which the Nizam demurs. But as to why the British Government should demand the instant appointment of officials of a certain nationality, if there is such a demand, people can only speculate. We cannot believe that so much insistence is laid upon the nationality of the officials as the published news would persuade us to do, and we for our part cannot sympathise with that kind of demand if it should really be made. The demand, we would fain believe, is for immediate rectification of the many clamant evils to be found in His Exalted Highness's administration and further that the evils which the British Government wish to check are not merely truculence of the attitude of H. E. H. to the Governor General or such other official improprieties but gross maladministration from which H. E. H.'s subjects suffer the most. Outwardly, however, it now looks as if the Government of India were foisting upon the Nizam some Europeans, against which the sensitive nationalism of H. E. H. rebels. The appearances therefore are at the present moment in favour of the Nizam and

against the Government. The latter will do well to dispel illusions on this subject and also to give an assurance to the public that it is the interests of H. E. H.'s subjects that have provoked intervention and not exigencies of imperial policy. On these two conditions alone will the British Government be able to enlist sympathy of the general public in India on their side.

* * *

IMPORTANT, though (from the taxpayer's point of view) not very helpful, evidence

Sir George Buchanan's Evidence. was given before the Back Bay Inquiry Committee in London by

Sir George Buchanan. We are unable to give him his proper designation, for it is still in question. Cabled reports of his evidence show that he denies that "he was in the position of a contractor and that the Chief Engineer was in the position of the contractor's agent, or that he was responsible for extravagance and inefficiency." For this he throws the whole responsibility upon Sir Lawless Hepper, who was the supreme executive head. His position apparently is that he merely agreed to act as adviser and his fees were fixed on that basis, the implication being that if he was to be responsible for seeing the project through, they would have been still higher! It is a great pity that his anxiety to go ahead with the scheme should have blinded Lord Lloyd to the necessity of defining Sir George Buchanan's relations with the Bombay Government beyond the possibility of a doubt. With him it was a case of marrying in haste and repenting at leisure; but here the repenting parties are neither Lord Lloyd nor Sir George Buchanan, but the poor taxpayers of this presidency. The creation of the Development Department Sir George regards as a mistake and wants the whole staff to be disbanded before the next working season, tenders being invited for the unfinished work. The idea of getting the reclamation work done departmentally never found very strong supporters in the Government of India and it is a question by what reasoning they were induced to withdraw their opposition to it in the present case. As regards the dredgers, Sir George holds the view that it was not they, but the human element, that was at fault. The suggestion about working the dredgers in three shifts now put forward by the Committee in their *at interim* report is no new idea, the same having been repeatedly pressed by Sir George Buchanan without effect. It was said that in preparing his estimate he had omitted to provide for storm water drains. His explanation is that he did include "drains" by which he meant storm water drains; but had to alter his estimate when requested by Sir Lawless Hepper to provide for "drains" meaning sewers. He frankly admitted before the Committee that "he had no experience previously of reclamation work on the open sea front". If so, the public would like to know Lord Lloyd's reasons for his partiality for him. Was no other more experienced engineer available on the face of this planet? Sir George has now no confidence in the Development Directorate and want the length of charging its Director with making misleading, and even untrue, statements with regard to his estimates. But Sir George Buchanan's own conduct before the Committee at least in one particular had hardly anything to commend in it. He was asked to reveal the details of his 367 lakhs estimate so that the Committee's expert, Sir Frederick Hopkinson, could go into the matter more carefully. This he was at first unwilling to do, though, as pointed out by Mr. Billings

ria, Sir George Buchanan having been paid for the estimates, they were really the property of the Government. Better counsels ultimately prevailed and he was graciously pleased to allow the committee an hour and a half's inspection of his original estimate, not before the chairman had assured him that the documents would not leave the committee room. All this creates the impression that he did not want to lay all the cards on the table.

THE Madras Excise administration report for last year reveals some noteworthy features. One is the decrease in the licit consumption of country liquor.

This, we note, has reached the lowest figure during the last decade, being 3.3 gallons per 100 of the population last year, as against 4.9 per 100 in 1920, which showed the highest consumption. This decline in consumption is no doubt a commendable record. But we must warn the public against being misled by averages per 100 calculated indiscriminately over wide areas or for the province as a whole. The evil works the greatest havoc in urban and industrial areas as compared to the villages where it is not so virulent. Therefore the real progress of temperance can be judged only by considering the exact state of affairs in cities and other small groups where the vice prevails in an intense form. We look in vain in the report for such an intelligent study of figures.

Another feature of the year, which is made much of in the report, is the increase of excise crime, especially the manufacture and consumption of illicit liquor, in the presidency. We should be very sorry if that is really the case. But we have our own doubts in the matter. It is one of the common tactics of the opponents of prohibition to raise the bogey of illicit trade so as to add weight to their contention that it is not advisable to bring down the consumption of licit liquor beyond a certain level. We are not sure that the scare raised in the report in regard to illicit consumption is well founded or justified by actual facts. We may therefore be excused if we refuse to be disturbed over the prospects of a still further reduction in the supply and ask the department to make headway in that direction in licit liquor. We may also be pardoned for observing that a large share of the responsibility for increase in excise crime should be laid at the door of the department itself, which has evidently failed in the adequate discharge of its duties. The report makes a few suggestions for strengthening the supervising staff in some of the circles and appeals for a fuller cooperation from the public and the local bodies in carrying out the Government policy.

We heartily endorse this appeal for cooperation for we learn from the report that the relations between the officials and the non-officials in the presidency, in regard to the work of combating the drink evil, are quite unsatisfactory. Many of the major municipalities and other self-governing local bodies, including the Madras Corporation, we are told, refused last year to send their representatives to sit on the Licensing Boards and Advisory Committees, or make proposals relating to the location of shops within their jurisdiction. Such non-cooperation cannot evidently conduce to the success of the administration. It is, we need hardly add, the duty of the Government to remove all legitimate causes for this prevailing tension and make it worth while for self-respecting non-officials and representatives of the local bodies to offer their hearty cooperation in the matter.

THE SITUATION IN KENYA.

THE decisions of the Kenya White Paper, 1923 went so overwhelmingly in favour of the European and against the Indian colonists that few would have contemplated the necessity of Indians having to take up the cry, "Redeem the pledges of the White Paper." Our fellow-countrymen in Kenya however, are now reduced to that plight. For adverse in most particulars as that document was, its terms are now being violated to our disadvantage even in the few particulars in which His Majesty's Government made a grudging concession to us just to make a show of impartiality. For instance we were told we had gained a capital point in the policy of non-segregation of Asiatics in the township areas which was imposed on the Kenya Government by Downing Street. Whatever advantage was secured in theory to the Indians at the time is now being taken away from them in practice by administrative action on the part of the Kenya Government, for some time ago some plots in Mombasa were sold by auction in which none but Europeans were allowed to bid. On this point the British Committee of Indian Affairs has published the following communique :

It will be remembered, that when last June the Government was questioned as to the propriety of its action in sanctioning an auction of residential plots in Mombasa at which only Europeans would be allowed to bid, the Colonial Secretary stated that in certain cases land in the Kenya townships was legally subject to restrictive covenants entered into under the system (of segregation) which obtained in Kenya prior to 1923 and that where it was not possible to waive such covenants without incurring legal proceedings entailing the possibility of an injunction against the Government, he had decided that it would be necessary to retain the restrictions as to sales.

Pressing for further information, Colonel Wedgwood asked the Colonial Secretary on 28th September, how much land in the township areas in Kenya was subject to these restrictive legal covenants, and whether the existence of such covenants was known to His Majesty's Government at the time of the publication of the White Paper in July, 1923, and whether the fact was brought to the notice of the Indian Kenya Deputation.

Answering, Mr. Amery said that he had not yet received full particulars of the areas affected. In Mombasa they appeared to amount to rather under 200 acres, but it should not be assumed that anything approaching that area was still at the disposal of the Government. In Nairobi the area was much smaller. The matter was first raised, he said, in a telegram from Uganda at the end of March 1924, many months after the White Paper had been issued, and it was then brought to the notice of the late Secretary of State; but protracted correspondence with the Governments of Uganda and Kenya was necessary before the legal position could be fully ascertained and it would have been premature for him (the late Colonial Secretary) to have mentioned the matter to the Indian Colonies Committee, which he met

in the spring of 1924, even had the subject of segregation been discussed at the meetings.

The Kenya Government had slept over the matter till it was rudely awakened by the absolute prohibition laid by the Uganda Government on segregation in pursuance of the White Paper policy. Then it discovered these covenants for the first time and it is not yet in a position to say how many plots have thus been excepted from the operation of the new policy. The Kenya Government is thus clearly going back upon the policy of non-segregation laid down without qualification in the White Paper and it is more than doubtful what practical advantage will accrue to us from this supposedly important point we won in our struggle with the whites of Kenya.

Another point that we were represented to have gained at the time was that the European settlers were told in unmistakable terms that they could not look for rights of self-government for a long time to come. Here also we find however that the demand of the whites is as keen as ever before and receives no kind of discouragement at the hands of the Kenya Government. In fact by their silence they are greatly encouraging this demand. The Governors' Conference, for instance, which referred specifically and frequently to the resolutions of the Conference of non-official Europeans, when it was a question of expressing agreement with them, had no deprecatory word about full powers of autonomy in internal matters for which the Conference asked. This is as good as indirectly inciting the whites to set up a claim which His Majesty's Government has emphatically disallowed. The Unofficial (European) Conference at Livingstone passed the other day the following resolution:—

“And this Conference is of the opinion:—

(a) That in all purely local affairs and in all questions depending for their proper solution on practical experience of the problems involved, which can only be acquired on the spot, the Governments of the Territories represented should be invested with further authority.

(b) That the intervention of the Colonial Office in the decision of the local Legislatures should be confined as far as possible to questions of Imperial Policy.”

The only other point on which the Kenya decision was not adverse to India was immigration, in regard to which His Majesty's Government refused to concede immediately to the Kenya Government's proposal to restrict Indian immigration, but offered to scrutinize the matter further. All that we have gained in respect of immigration is that restrictions have been postponed for the present, but signs are in evidence that they will soon be imposed. Thus by executive action Indians are being deprived of any gains they may be supposed to have won by the White Paper, and the losses which of course are enormous are alone theirs. As to the subordination of the interests of all immigrants to those of native Africans which

the White Paper professed to enjoin, we have shown on several occasions before how that policy is defeated at every turn and it is in fact now being interpreted by His Majesty's Government as giving them charter to safeguard the white interest even though it be at the cost of the native interests. Whatever therefore the intentions of the framers of the White Paper may have been and however unjust it may be to Indians, there is not the least doubt that the Indians themselves will gain much and the native Africans everything if the White Paper, such as it is, is scrupulously adhered to in practice by the Kenya Government. But there seems little chance of even this happening.

FINES IN FACTORIES.

IT is now some time since the Government of India circularised the provincial Governments and administrations calling on them to report on the evils arising from the system of fining in factories and making other deductions from the workmen's wages, and on the desirability of passing laws for countering such abuses on the lines of the Truck Acts in England. In expressing our indebtedness to the Government for instituting enquiries into the evil and taking up the question for solution, we referred to our own humble efforts to make the provincial Governments move in the matter and the scrapping and half-hearted nature of the replies we were favoured with by some of the local authorities. It is to be hoped that the central Governments call for information will meet with a better response and result in the early appearance of a well-considered and liberal measure on the legislative anvil calculated to root out the evil of unfair and arbitrary deductions from the wages of the hard-worked and poorly paid labourers.

There need be no doubt, at this time of the day, regarding the wide prevalence in our organised industries of the practice of levying fines and other impositions on the worker on disciplinary and compensatory grounds. The articles on the subject that appeared in this journal two years ago present a sufficiently strong case for passing legislation in this country on the lines of the English Truck Acts. There Mr. P. G. Kanekar, worker in the Social Service League, Bombay, who is the writer of these articles, points out numerous instances of heavy fines and other unjust exactions imposed on the workers in the Bombay mills, Railway workshops and the municipality. The report of Mr. Thomas Johnstone, M. P., on the exploitation of labour in India also provides, as we observed the other day, some striking facts relating to the hardships caused by the prevalence of bribery, arbitrary fines and other abuses in mill areas. Mr. Johnstone mentions a case in which the fines rose as high as 80 to 90 per cent. of the weavers' wages, resulting, no wonder, in a strike of the mill hands. The statements sent to us by some of the provincial Governments in reply to a letter addressed to them by Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A.,

also reveal a state of affairs which call forth urgent legislation to check the evils of heavy and arbitrary imposition of fines and other deductions from wages. From the report received from the C. P. Government, we note that the practice of cutting off two days' wages for one day's absence without leave is prevalent in more than one mill in the province. A Nagpur mill, it would appear, penalises its workmen who quit service without notice by forfeiting the entire wages for the number of days worked in the month in which the service is left. The Madras Government reports the case of a strike in a jute mill caused by the passing of a new rule by the management that absentees should be fined five annas for each day of absence, in addition to their losing the day's wages. Besides these fines for non-attendance or late attendance, we have also to take into consideration in calculating the heavy drain on the slender wages of the labourer the deductions made therefrom for bad work, damaged material and such other claims for compensation put forward and enforced by the management at their own sweet will and pleasure. The report furnished to us by the U. P. Government tells us that in some of the factories in Cawnpore, if a weaver spoils a piece of cloth he is making, it is compulsory for him to take it for himself as part payment of the wages. This practice seems also to be widely prevalent in Bombay, as a perusal of Mr. Kanekar's pamphlet, will show. According to Mr. Johnstone's report, the fact that sometimes the management itself was responsible for the bad work and damaged piece of cloth by giving bad yarn to the workers, does not seem to be taken into consideration in estimating the workers' liability for the loss.

We have referred here to only a few of the bad cases that have come to our notice while examining the very meagre stock of evidence before us. We shall not own to any sense of surprise if worse cases are brought to light by a thorough and searching enquiry instituted on the lines adopted by the British Truck Committee. For the sake of dealing with the question in a comprehensive and systematic manner, we would even suggest to the provincial Governments the advisability of carrying out their investigation through the help of a mixed committee of officials and non-officials commanding the confidence of both the employer and the employee. The British Truck Committee, we note, took 2 years and 8 months to complete their task. We fear the period of less than 8 months allowed by the central Government to the provincial authorities to furnish their reports is far too short for any searching or systematic enquiry. We would therefore urge on the Government of India the need to extend the time for making enquiries and call for a comprehensive report. Mere tinkering with labour legislation is the last thing we want. It may well do more harm than good to all the interests involved. Hence such a policy deserves to be strongly discountenanced both by the Government and the public.

Before concluding this preliminary survey of the question, we would like to make a few observations regarding the Government of India's remarks made in their circular against the total abolition of fines in factories. We wonder why the Government should thus hastily express their opinions on this particular issue alone on the very eve of an enquiry into the whole problem. They are well aware of the fact that the advanced school of sociologists and labour legislators seriously hold that fines are useless for disciplinary purposes and act only as an irritant and fruitful source of abuse. The one defence that they offer in their circular for thus prejudging this issue and lightly brushing aside the case for total abolition is that the majority of the English Truck Committee had rejected the view. But they forget that the recommendations of that Committee are now nearly twenty years old. Labour is rapidly coming into its own in England as in several other parts of the world; and we are not sure if the view so faithfully adopted by our Government is acceptable today to the general body of the British public. The Government of India concede in an earlier paragraph of their circular that conditions in India are far worse than in England. They admit that the ignorance of the great mass of workmen here and the absence of strong labour organisations demand a greater measure of protection for labour than elsewhere. Under the circumstances it is not at all unreasonable to expect the Government to exercise some patience and caution before blessing a practice which is at the root of the whole evil sought to be remedied. They themselves observe in their circular that they have not at present sufficient information at their disposal regarding the degree to which the system of imposing fines is prevalent in India, the forms which it takes, or the extent to which it is in practice abused to enable them to form any definite conclusions. After this confession of ignorance the least that the Government should have done, in fairness to themselves and the great cause of labour, was to have suspended their judgment till the receipt of the reports they had called for. We are sorry that they had not the patience to do it.

Since the Government have expressed such premature agreement with the majority view of the English Truck Committee, the public might be interested in knowing in some more detail the views of the minority. Here is what they have to say in regard to the system of fines: "In our opinion, disciplinary fines fail in their purpose. We believe them to be not merely negative in good, but active in harm, only inasmuch as they maintain and even create the very situation they are designed to destroy. Irritating in their imposition and ineffective in their result, they occupy in the organisation of industry, where they exist, the place that should be held by supervision." They then refer to the unchallenged fact brought out by the evidence before them, that many firms which have abandoned disciplinary fines have achieved at

least as good, and often better, results without their aid. Speaking of the alternatives to fines they say: "By stimulating a better system of control, a better selection of men and women for responsible posts, better supervision not only of

human beings, but of plant and materials, and by ensuring a closer association of employers with the management of their works, we believe the abolition of fines would be an important contribution towards national efficiency."

THE PUNJAB LAND ALIENATION ACT.

By P. KODANDA RAO.

V.—AGRICULTURIST'S CREDIT.

IN the last section we saw that, despite the Land Alienation Act, the agricultural debt in the Punjab had greatly increased. The advantages expected of restrictions on alienation were thus set forth in the Government of India's Note on Land Transfer and Agricultural Indebtedness:—"Those who would impose restriction of one kind or other on private transfer of land have two objects in view: (1) curtailment of the agriculturist's credit and hence his indebtedness, and (2) the restriction, in whatever degree is thought desirable, of alienation of the agriculturist's land. In other words, they wish to attack the problem of indebtedness on both sides, to minimise on the one hand the inducement to debt and on the other the worst consequences of debt." (p. 131). What Mr. Darling has so emphatically reiterated in his book, that debt follows credit, was recognised as long ago as 1879. For in that year the Famine Commission remarked: "It is commonly observed that landholders are more indebted than tenants with occupancy rights and tenants with rights than tenants-at-will—a result obviously attributable to the fact that classes which have the best security to offer are the most eligible customers of the money-lenders" (ibid. p. 131). It was, therefore, felt that in order to check indebtedness the agriculturist's credit must also be reduced. It was not, however, to be extinguished; for the Government of India Note proceeds: "It may be accepted as an axiom that the agriculturist must borrow money in India as elsewhere to carry on his business, and the advocates of restrictions on transfer have, it is understood, no desire to see the money-lender entirely dispensed with or the cultivator unable to borrow" (ibid. p. 135). The promoters of the Punjab Land Alienation Act, accordingly, sought to reduce, not to abolish, the agriculturist's credit and this was to be secured by restricting, not forbidding, alienations by agriculturists. The Act permitted the agriculturist to borrow from the non-agriculturist money-lender, but under certain limitations. Usufructuary mortgages by agriculturists to non-agriculturists were limited to a maximum period of twenty years within which the usufruct extinguished both the principal lent and the interest thereon. The consequence of this was that a money-lender would lend only such amount as, with the interest thereon at the rate

agreed to in the contract, can be recouped by the usufruct of the land within twenty years. The loan would not bear any direct relation to the sale value of the land mortgaged. In this form of mortgage the period of temporary alienation is fixed but not the rate of interest. Another form of mortgage was also permitted by the Act in which the rate of interest was limited but not the period. An agriculturist was free to give his land in usufructuary mortgage for an indefinite period of time; only he retained the right of occupancy and was liable to pay a net rent not exceeding the land revenue. The rent, which was to cover the interest on the loan, was thus fixed, but not the period for which the alienation might run. In this case the mortgagee becomes the landlord, and the mortgagor becomes the tenant with occupancy right and a fixed rent charge. Here also the amount lent does not bear any direct proportion to the selling value of the land. These then are the limitations on the agriculturist's credit imposed by the Act.

It must, however, be remembered that these limitations apply only to the credit of the agriculturists, i. e. members of the tribes notified by the Government as agricultural tribes, with non-agriculturists. But as between agriculturists themselves the limitations do not apply. An agriculturist can borrow from another agriculturist right up to the hilt of his full credit, viz. the sale value of his land. The natural tendency of this arrangement is to defeat the provisions referred to in the previous paragraph. The agriculturist's credit with another agriculturist is undiminished and hence the scope for indebtedness.

The strength of this tendency depended on the extent of money-lending by agriculturists themselves. A large number of the notified agriculturists are Mussalmans, whose religion forbids money-lending. The Hindu and Sikh agriculturists alone could practise money-lending and they had, therefore, a monopoly. Though such money-lenders were not unknown in the days when the Act was passed, they were comparatively few in number. Both these circumstances tended to reduce the agriculturist's credit in the early days of the Act. But things have since changed. Mr. Darling observes on this point: "Wherever, therefore, there are returned emigrants, ex-officers or large holders, who are not Muhammadans, the agriculturist money-lender will be found; and in these areas the

whole mortgage debt is rapidly passing into his hands. The most prominent type is the Sikh Jat of the Central Punjab, who has some of the uncanny flair of the lowland Scot. Round Jullundur he has already ousted the *Sahukar*, and in Amritsar, Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur he meets him on almost equal terms. In the South the Hindu Jat of Rohtak, a district full of ex-officers, runs him close and here and there even the Muhammadan Jat is finding ways of squaring the precepts of religion with the claims of business" (P. 229). But if emigration, soldiering and high prices have given the agriculturist money-lender his means, it is the Land Alienation Act that has given him the opportunity. "The *Sahukar*, deprived by the Act of the security of the land, can only lend up to the limit of what can be repaid from the produce; but the agriculturist money-lender, to whom the Act does not apply, can afford to lend up to the value of the land, and with land selling at inflated values this limit is considerably higher." (ibid, pp. 229-30.) The net result of the Act was that "for a time the rapid increase in debt was kept in partial check by the Land Alienation Act, but with the tendency of all protective legislation to defeat its own objects, the Act fostered the growth of the agricultural money-lender and borrowing became quite as easy as ever" (ibid, p. 280). Mr. Darling thus sums up his final opinion about this class of money-lenders: "But, when all is said and done, the growing influence of the agriculturist money-lender, which is largely the result of the Land Alienation Act, can only be regarded with apprehension" (ibid, p. 231). It will thus be seen that the Act, by permitting unrestricted alienations between the agriculturists tended to retain undiminished the agriculturist's credit.

It is difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy the extent of the growth of money-lending by agriculturists. The Census Report no doubt gives the numbers of agriculturists who practise money-lending, but the Census definition of the agriculturist is different from that of the Land Alienation Act. The Census Report, however, says that "there is a strong probability, therefore, that the number of money-lenders in the Punjab has decreased during the 10 years 1911-1921." (Para. 237.) The moneylender referred to here is the "bania" and the decrease therein is 10.4 per cent. We have already seen that the agricultural debt has increased and here we find that the professional money-lenders have decreased. It must then mean that a considerable amount of money-lending is being done by agriculturists. The statistics of land mortgages to agriculturists and to others, given in Statement XXVII in the Punjab Land Revenue Report (1925) gives an indication of the extent of money-lending by agriculturists. In 1901-2 the total area mortgaged to agriculturists was 122,569 acres, while the area mortgaged to others was 73,345, the corresponding figures for 1924-5 being 269,053 and 78,859. It will be noticed that while the

land mortgaged to non-agriculturists has remained more or less constant, that mortgaged to agriculturists has more than doubled during this period and in 1924-5 as much as 77 per cent. of the total mortgaged land is mortgaged to agriculturists. It is, therefore, obvious that the bulk of money-lending is now in the hands of agriculturist money-lenders. It is only in the Western Punjab, where 90 per cent. of the agriculturists are Muhammadans and, where, according to the Census Report, "the number of money-lenders has decreased very much during the last decade" that the mortgage by agriculturists is much less than by others and the agriculturist's credit suffered a real and permanent restriction. In other parts the agriculturist's credit remains as high as ever before, and it is therefore not surprising that the Act failed to check agricultural indebtedness.

CORRUPTION IN THE PUNJAB POLICE DEPARTMENT.

THE evil of corruption amongst Government servants in general and in the Police Department in particular is apparently very widespread in the Punjab. In no other province does it appear to have assumed proportions which necessitated an inquiry into the matter by means of committees. But in the Punjab since the Reforms there have so far been two such inquiries. Indeed one of the very first acts of the reformed legislature of that province was the appointment of a committee to deal with bribe-taking by Government servants generally. In spite of the fact that the Police Department did more than any other to carry out the recommendations of that committee, the evil showed no tendency to decrease with the result that another committee was appointed in November last year to grapple with the problem. This committee had a less ambitious task than the earlier one, being asked to confine its attention to the Police Department alone. One of its terms of reference was "to examine and report regarding means for improving the efficiency and integrity of the Police force." In other words, the committee was called upon to report how the evil of corruption in the Police Department could be reduced; and it is really this part of its report that is of more than merely local interest.

It is often said that the evil of corruption will decrease in proportion as education will spread. The committee apparently does not share this view. For it says:—"Education is generally invoked as the panacea, but we are faced with the difficulty that despite the enormous spread of education during recent years, most of the evidence is to the effect that corruption has increased rather than decreased." It also admits that corruption was "as universal now as twenty years ago, the only difference being that the increase in the wealth of the Province leads to the payment of larger sums." It is not our intention to examine here the correctness or otherwise of the view held by the Committee. One thing however is fairly obvious and will be admitted on all hands. It is that the lack of education is an asset to the dishonest official.

There will be general agreement with the Committee when it suggests that the only effective remedy is the existence of a healthy public opinion which would look down upon corruption and shun

it like the very plague. This of course will take time to grow and until then whatever remedies are applied can only be in the nature of palliatives. Many of the Committee's recommendations for tackling this evil are couched in this spirit. The fact of the matter is that it is extraordinarily difficult to bring the guilt home to the dishonest official. The reasons are not far to seek. Under the Indian Penal Code, as everyone knows, both the giver and the receiver of bribe are equally guilty; and as the money changes hands invariably under the seal of secrecy, legal proof is very difficult to have.

Other remedies suggested by the Committee are better supervision, better pay and better education. A word of explanation seems necessary with regard to this last recommendation. Holding as it does that education instead of decreasing corruption has increased it, it is likely to be charged with inconsistency when it advocates better education as a means of checking the evil. But the inconsistency in question is more apparent than real. The fact is that the Committee does not regard the present system of education as satisfactory, in that it does not help the formation of character to the extent it should. Therefore, it "can see no hope of improvement in public morality in the matter of corruption until the latter aspects of education (discipline and formation of character) are more strongly emphasised." It is well known that closer supervision by superior officers has been made difficult by their being tied down to headquarters. But even if the Superintendents of Police were to spend more time in camp life and thus came in contact with the villagers, one fails to see how they would get reliable information about cases of corruption and even should they get it, the difficulty about legal proof cannot be overcome. One of the Committee's recommendations is that when unfavourable reports about a sub-inspector reach the Superintendent, the sub-inspector should be transferred and if similar reports still persist even after his transfer, his further promotion should be stopped. The information that will be poured into the ears of the Superintendent while in camp can only be useful for making such transfers; but what guarantee is there that it was impartially and disinterestedly given? An honest sub-inspector is as likely to make enemies as a dishonest one; and it is by no means improbable that they may to serve their own ends abuse the privilege. In such circumstances the remedy may turn out to be worse than the disease. It is therefore necessary that in utilising such information for official purposes, utmost caution should be exercised. Else injustice will result.

The formation of anti-bribery leagues is a method which is also favoured by the Committee. Such bodies, it is suggested, should be formed in each district under the guidance of Deputy Commissioners. The association of the head of the district with such anti-bribery propaganda will certainly present the Government in better light to the general public; but the leagues will, we are afraid, not do much to prevent the growth of the mischief. In all likelihood the leagues may share the fate of the Aman Sabhas which were started under official auspices during the non-co-operation days and were in several cases still born.

Greater publicity of punishments meted out to corrupt police officers is advocated by the Committee and should be arranged for. Similarly, the instances in which honest members of the Department have been rewarded should also be made public. The recommendation about the yearly

check on the acquisition of property by police officials, though not a sure means of getting at the truth, also deserves to be acted upon as far as practicable.

REACTIONARY BARODA.

III.—EXCISE AND REVENUE.

THE Baroda State has been a pioneer in social reform, but unfortunately when the anti-drink movement started among the aboriginal Kaliparaj tribes of the Navsari District in the hey-day of non-co-operation, the Baroda Government prevented its officers from preaching the evils of drink as it was against State interests; picketing was declared illegal in all the Districts except the Kadi Prant where the Collector refused to issue any such notification himself and asked the Dewan to issue it under his own signature, if he so wished. Some officers were confidentially reprimanded for their anti-drink speeches, and for some time even the teachers were prohibited from preaching the evils of drink. The movement made a cut of nearly six lacs in the Abkari revenue of the State in 1922-23 and Sir Manubhai's Government took strong measures to stamp out the movement among the Kaliparaj, instituted oases for good behaviour against some of the chief workers, tried to terrorise the poor Kaliparaj people in a number of ways, prohibited meetings in Kaliparaj areas affected by the movement. The Baroda leaders with Dr. Sumant Mehta as their chief were prepared to break the notification and hold meetings, but they were not arrested although they were closely watched. In November H. H. the Gaekwar returned to the Capital from Europe in 1923 when a Kaliparaj Deputation waited upon him. After a Committee had heard them, Sir Manubhai's Government is said to have been snubbed a little and the then District Magistrate and Suba of Navsari who was supposed to have obtained the repressive orders from the Council, was quietly transferred from Navsari to Baroda ostensibly as a matter of official routine, but the public in the know interpreted it as a result of the Deputation's allegations. The Abkari revenues of the State were nearly 21 lacs in 1915-16 but rose to nearly 35 lacs in 1924-25. The rise of two-thirds more is an achievement of which no enlightened Dewan can be proud, least of all such a cultured gentleman as Sir Manubhai. It seems the poor Kaliparaj people who number nearly 2½ lacs have contributed the major portion of the 20 lacs revenue of the Navsari District, which shows the alarming extent of the drink habit among them. The Abkari policy of the State is a blot on the Administration and the representations of popular leaders are not heeded.

The Baroda Government introduced revision settlement rates in the Petlad Taluka in 1923 which created consternation among the people as they were quite unjust and the ryots were refused any hearing. They tried all constitutional methods of agitation e. g., petitioning the Government, but the petitions were not heeded and as His Highness was in Europe they started the Petlad Revision Settlement Satyagraha movement and refused to pay the increased rates in the villages affected; but the Satyagraha Committee advised the payment of the old rates as a sign of their reasonable attitude. Sir Manubhai's Government found that they had caught a Tartar, and to avoid a trial of strength with the people the Government suspended the collection of the increased rates, and deputed the Sar-Suba (Revenue Commissioner) Mr. Datar to inquire into the grievances of the ryots in oc-

operation with the President of the Satyagraha Committee. He made a report supporting many of the allegations and recommending concessions as requested by the president of the Satyagraha Committee. In January 1925 Petlad Kheduts met under the presidency of Dr. Sumant B. Mehta at Sojitra in the presence of Mahatma Gandhi when some thirty thousand people assembled together to see him. The grievances were clearly put forward and after some months Sir Manubhai managed to effect a compromise with the leaders of the movement in which the substantial justness of the grievances of the ryots was recognised. The waters of most of the wells had gone very deep and the sub-soil rates were deducted. Bhadrans Taluka was similarly situated and the same benefits had to be extended to them. Although there were a few irreconcilables who wanted the full reduction of the new rates, the compromise was finally accepted as an interim solution, only leaving the door open for further representations to His Highness in the matters in which no relief had been granted. It is said that His Highness politely reprimanded the Diwan on his weakness in yielding to the Satyagrahis, but confirmed the order. This agitation convinced the people of the value of Satyagraha and refusal to pay taxes as methods of getting the ear of the authorities when all other remedies fail. But Sir Manubhai's Government sprung upon the people a new scheme for charging very heavy land assessment for building Bungalows, huts, houses, etc. near Railway Stations etc. in towns and cities and an uproar was caused among the people. Billimora and Gandevi were first selected and as the original orders did not set any maximum amount chargeable per Bigha, the people were in consternation. After some agitation a maximum charge of Rs. 40 per Bigha per year was fixed, but the people were not satisfied. It was the Government who had asked people to build in the open for sanitary purposes and the people had been assured that the Government would not charge them anything extra except the usual $1\frac{1}{2}$ rate of assessment. The new rates popularly known as the Notified Area rates were many times the said assessment and the people were surprised at the breach of faith. The Billimora sessions of the Raoja Mandal (State Congress) strongly protested against this, but no substantial results have been achieved and the Government has added to its revenues by levying the new rates. The Government now thought of outshining the British and with a stroke of the pen abolished the exemption of agricultural rents from the incidence of the income-tax without consulting the Dhara Sabha, but when a protest was made, its operation was suspended under the pretext of the year being a bad one, and was further suspended till the disposal of the report of the Todhunter Commission. It may be noted that agricultural rents are everywhere exempted from income-tax, and that the exemption is quite a sound one especially in Ryotwari areas. The right of appeal or revision petition to the Collector was curtailed in February last, the order being to the effect that no appeal shall be allowed to be filed by a person showing no books of account. When it was pointed out that it was unjust to take away the right at least in the case of people who never could be expected to keep accounts the order was modified, but the Assistant Collectors who hear these appeals manage to break the spirit of it under some excuse or other. Revision petitions against these appellate orders were heard by the Revenue Commissioner for the last 18 years or so, but as Sir Manubhai and his

advisers found that the present Sar Suba was just to the people to a certain extent, the Council has now ordered that no such revision petitions shall be heard by the Sar Suba. It seems the Dewan has left a loophole for himself in his recent order regarding the income tax revision petitions to the Sar-Suba. He qualifies his order by an exception that where gross injustice is perpetrated, the Sar Suba may entertain a revision petition. But the Sar Suba will take the spirit of the order, and unless he is a strong man he will be more inclined to reject all revision petitions without distinction. How is he to get himself satisfied whether there is gross injustice or not at the very beginning from the extremely short unintelligent judgments of revenue Assistant Collectors without seeing account books or hearing the arguments and seeing the other materials relevant to the case? It is noteworthy that even the Legal Remembrancer admitted Income-Tax Revision petitions in the Huzur Sadar Adalat against the orders of the Sar-Suba, but nothing daunted, our Dewan has by one stroke of his pen constituted the Assistant Collector into a Czar against whose decrees there is no appeal to any power! The assessment of income-tax is not really made with the help of the Punch as required by the Act, but cases are known wherein signatures are afterwards obtained by leniently dealing with the Punch. Very recently I came across cases in which the Income-Tax officers' assessment had been modified in favour of the ryot by the Assistant Collector and yet another Income-Tax Officer ignored the appellate order, increased the assessment made by his predecessor and the Vahivatdar (Mamlatdar) coolly required the assessee to pay the difference. Is there anything more strange than the illegal procedure followed in such cases? Even cowherds and shepherds, Pan-Bidiwallas and sundry other people are assessed to income-tax, since the minimum assessable income is not more than Rs. 750. These facts will give one the impression that Baroda is living in the 18th Century.

An alarmingly large proportion of the revenue servants from the village accountant upwards are open to the suspicion of corruption and it is sad to think that the State had to dispense with the services of even revenue officials including Mahalkaris and Vahivatdars and Naik-Subas during Sir Manubhai's regime. He is no doubt desirous of ridding the administration of its corrupt elements; but one cannot be sure his weakness does not prevent him from doing his duty sternly. May it not be that as a Gujarati Nagar Dewan he feels himself insecure in touching some non-Gujarati, Maratha or other servants who are not above corruption as likely to wound the susceptibilities of the Maharaja, or the Royal Family and create an adverse party against him? One Mahalkari has recently been dismissed and one Vahivatdar is under suspension, pending inquiries.

Veth-bigar (impressed labour) is the curse of Indian Administration and Baroda is no exception. Carts are impressed, the untouchables are impressed, even the Bania merchant is asked to go to the camp of an Officer and supply goods for which he may or may not receive payment. Touring officers get all their conveniences by these means and the poor ryots have to suffer. Even if the law provides redress, it is difficult to get it for obvious reasons. The highest and lowest officials are interested in perpetuating this system in some form or other, and the protest of the people in the Dhara-Sabha does not much improve matters in practice. An intense educative campaign inform-

ing the ryots of their rights, under the law and the cultivation of sturdy independence will alone save these people.

J. B.

REVIEWS.

COMPETITION AND SOCIAL WELFARE.

CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL WELFARE. By JOHN BOWEN. (C. W. Daniel Co., London.) 1926. pp. 127. 3s. 6d.

WHILE admitting that the term Social Welfare includes everything that can be of benefit to Society, the author takes mainly into consideration the "material welfare of the poorer classes," and his quest is to find the conditions of a lasting solution of the problem of unemployment and low earnings." His thesis is that competition has been imperfectly understood. He defines competition as "the economic struggle between two or more parties to enter into an industrial or business relationship with a third party." As viewed by him, competition is not necessarily opposed to altruism or co-operation, or nationalization of land or capital, or to the principle of equality. Every producer no doubt injures those who perform the same kind of services, but benefits the purchasers. Every buyer or consumer injures other buyers or consumers of the same commodity or service but benefits producers. According to the author, competition makes possible a perfect distribution of commodities, a perfect production of the commodities required, a perfect production of the productive factors, i. e. capital. But competition fails as a guide to the optimum division of money that is to be allowed to different people for spending. "Wrong and confused ideas of competition", we are told, "have been a great hindrance to the solution of the social problem. Competition is not necessarily a good thing or a bad thing; like fire it can be a great agency for good or a great agency for evil. Hitherto it has been perhaps a greater cause of evil than good but the evil effects have been allowed to follow owing to a misapprehension of its character. If we only accept it as a guide to economic operations, to saving, to vocational training and to the increase or renewal of population, and reject it, or at least overrule it, as a guide to the division of the money that is to be allowed for spending, we shall get all the good that is in it and avoid all its evil."

To achieve the conditions of social welfare, the State should not interfere with competition so far as appropriation of capital for different industries is concerned, nor with what and how commodities are to be produced or purchased, but the State must see that (1) a proper amount of the annual income is saved, (2) that the amount that is not saved is properly divided, (3) that every class of community increases at a rate that is conducive to the highest well-being of the whole. To central saving the author suggests a steeply graduated tax on expenditure instead of income. Of course the income returns are also to be submitted, but the tax is to be according to expenditure. To ensure a proper division of money a subsidy rate is to be fixed for people below the line of minimum incomes. To secure community increase consistent with social welfare, immigration of low earners is to be prevented by the State and low wages are not to be subsidised without stipulating that the recipients shall not marry, while emigration of people of high earning capacity, and

exportation of capital is to be prohibited. Since by increase of saving, interest and profits will gradually decrease towards vanishing point, all land and as much of capital as possible should be nationalised, by giving its equivalent return in the shape of loan notes. This will gradually lead to the diminution of rent also. Consequently wages alone will increase and thus maximum welfare secured. Summarised, the steps towards securing conditions of social welfare are to be in the following order: (1) Prevent emigration of economically fit units and exportation of capital. (2) Stop immigration of low earners. (3) Nationalise land, (4) Increase saving by taxing high expenditures and enforcing compulsory saving of a certain percentage of the income above minimum standard. (5) Subsidise low wages stipulating that those in receipt of subsidy shall not marry and multiply. Carry out this programme, "slowly, leading with argument and persuasion, following with action by consent, and employing compulsion as the last resort." Whatever vocations should show the greatest remainder after deducting the cost of training including interest (if any) should be the onescho

and in that of the community. The State should publish reliable information regarding the cost of training and earnings of different vocations.

Such in brief is the author's thesis. It is, as will be seen, highly suggestive but also open to criticism in many respects. The scope of Social Welfare has been narrowed down to economic aspects of employment and earning. Social Welfare depends not only on remunerative employment, but on devoting enjoyment on health and education, on justice and righteousness and only one of these essential needs has been dealt with others are not so much as mentioned. Subject countries have not been taken into consideration, since they cannot prevent undesirable immigrants, nor exportation of high earners or capital. Restriction on the multiplication of the unfit is necessary for every scheme of social welfare, but the unfit here have been considered to be those economically unfit. The rich require the poor for their cheap labour, and the poor will not consent to be thus restricted in the matter of their marriage and progeny. Then there are the difficulties of a man once above the minimum line, but falling below it on account of an additional child. Are the parents then to be compulsorily divorced? Again the essay fails to consider inter-racial competition. What about political conflicts and wars, imperial and aggressive exploitative policies, that militate against social welfare? The author does not even refer to the scientific management solution of unemployment and low wages, nor to solutions offered by other thinkers. Despite these drawbacks, the book is suggestive of social and legislative policies that deserve to be tried in some restricted area and the results watched and published for the welfare of other social groups and small states. The ultimate basis of social welfare is to be found, as pointed out by Ruskin and Spencer and other sound sociological thinkers, resting on moral culture, development of the altruistic side of human nature and disciplining of the egoistic and anti-social instincts. Righteousness alone exalteth.

S. N. PHERWANI.

THE QUART WITHIN THE PINT POT.

WESTERMANN'S WELTATLAS. 137 Haupt- und 118 Nebenkarten auf 109 kartenblättern mit erläuterndem Text und einem alphabet-

ischen namenverzeichnis. Bearbeitet von ADOLF LIEBERS. Auageführt in der kartographischen Aualt von Georg Westernmann, Braunschweig. 16th Auflage. 1926. (Mk. 30.)

ANY book which within five years calls for sixteen editions evidently provides something which readers are anxious to obtain: and even the most cursory glance through this latest atlas from the well-known cartographic institute of G. Westernmann in Braunschweig fully explains the justification for such popularity. The plan is novel; we are no longer given merely a succession of maps, continent by continent, country by country, with a gazetteer at the end: but rather a book, giving condensed information about World-History, World-Geography and World Economics, illustrated by graphs and maps. This "atlas" falls distinctly into the category of "reference books to read," about which I wrote only quite recently,* when reviewing two other specimens of this new genus: and one does not know whether to marvel more at the amount of solid facts packed so closely into such small space, or at the readable manner in which they are presented.

The first 23 pages give a complete "Outline of History"—from Memphis in 3400 B. C. to Versailles in 1900 A. D.—and the marvel of it is that this outline is neither jejune chronology nor tendentious essay, but actually gives, what it presumes to do, a sketch of the historical events which have made the world what it is to-day. All this letterpress occupies the left-hand side of the book, the right-hand side consisting of historical maps from "The world as known to the Ancients" to the "Formation of Colonies and States in Africa in the 19th century."

This historical introduction leads to a consideration of the stage occupied by humanity to-day—"World Geography", as it is called; but even here a good deal of history is included, only no longer as hitherto from the point of view of the whole world, but from that of each country, besides, statistics of areas, population, transport, &c. But we are afraid, no mere enumeration can give an adequate idea of the manner in which this material is treated; and one can only repeat that the book is one to read, and not merely to refer to. Always the idea prevails that humanity is one, that countries can only be understood when taken as parts of a whole. As the sort of illuminating and unexpected information one comes across, I select page 26 showing that before the war Europe was divided into 6 Great Powers (after the war 5), 1 Greater Middle Power (5), 12 Lesser Middle Powers (16) and 8 dwarf States (9) with respectively 83% (64%), 4% (20%) and 13% (16%) of the total population of Europe; and that, whilst before the War 396 millions of Europe lived under monarchical and 50 millions under republican rule, after the war the figures became 184 millions and 270 millions respectively.

Turning to India, "England's Dominion in India," is treated in nine lines which manage to convey the following information (I translate reproducing the telegraphic style of the original): "Has brought about much good: internecine wars stopped, land irrigated, agriculture improved, transportation created. But famines, plague and cholera rather increasing than decreasing. People exploited (taxes, low wages), only badly paid officials Indians. Of higher officials 1250 English, only 50 Indians. In the World War coloured Indian troops rendered England valuable services, especially in Mesopotamia. In return England has

* Vide issue of September 9.

had to grant more political liberty to Indians: see present position of India in relation to England." In the following constitutional abstract, by the way, an unfortunate misprint makes the Council of State to consist of 23 instead of 33, elected members. In the map facing this letter press, the B. N. Railway is shown as crossing the Hoogli at Alipur, whilst the only E. I. R. line shown crosses it at Naihate: with the result that Howrah and the whole left bank of the river is shown as bare of all railways—the exact inversion of the facts of the case. Again, the stressing of Malaya and the omission of Port Swettenham on all Malayan maps bespeaks anticipated information: on map 59 to mark in the whole Malay States Pekan and Tappah as the only towns of importance, is simply grotesque.

But to proceed to the third part of the book devoted to World Economics (pp. 88-117). Here the information is simply overwhelming. Production, Consumption, Commerce, Vegetable and Mineral Products, Imports, Exports, usually of the year 1921, are given in figures, maps and graphs. Sometimes information is pre-war: e.g. the cotton export of India (45% to Japan, 16% to Germany, 11% to Belgium, 8% to Italy, 7% to Australia 5% to France and England) is based on the 1913 figures whilst immediately preceding this, the relative importance of Indian ports is based on 1920/2 figures ("Calcutta dealing with 35%, Bombay 33%, Rangoon 8%, Karachi 8%, Madras 5%, Tuticorin 1%, of goods according to value"). The last six pages are devoted to "the economic war against Germany", written with great and understandable bitterness, and making melancholy reading. The book was first issued in 1921: may we suggest that future editions would gain if a little less stress were laid on "our enemies"? The work is planned on really great lines which are merely marred by lapses into a mental attitude which, thank God, is rapidly becoming out-of-date.

Taken all in all, a really great production this and one bound to become more and more indispensable to every educated person (at least those fortunate enough to know German), as edition succeeds edition and as facts and figures are submitted to testing and re-testing by the alert editorial board and an ever-increasing number of grateful readers.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION.

OUTLINES OF INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. By W. A. J. ARCHBOLD. (P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London.) 1925. 9 x 6. pp. 367. 18s.

THIS book forms a valuable addition to the growing literature on Indian administrative problems. It is a historical treatment of the Indian Constitution of to-day from the days of the East India Company, when even the imperialists of the time had certainly no idea of overthrowing or even seriously encroaching upon the power of the great Mogul. The charter granted to the Company looked rather to the further East than to India; but the Dutch interference diverted it from there.

The author then traces the various activities of the Company which ultimately necessitated interference from Parliament, especially as the Company began to acquire territories. Then follows a detailed account of the various charters granted to it till finally the whole charge was assumed by the Crown in 1858. After this Parlia-

ment had to pass various Acts for the better government of India of which the chief ones are those of 1861, 1892, 1909, 1915 and 1916 and 1919. All these Acts are fully dealt with. In fact most of them are given either in full or in a summarised form with some necessary comments thereon. The author has fixed his attention mainly on the Central Government and the constitution governing it; as also the Central Legislative Council, its development from a merely advisory body of 1861 to the more representative and in some ways more responsible Council of today. But the allied problems of Indian administration like the Home Government, its relation with the Government of India, the relation of Central and Provincial Governments and their various powers, the working of dyarchy, Local Self-Government, Taxation and Finance, are entirely left out. The only other matter that has received adequate treatment is the judiciary. The author himself has admitted his inability to include all these in such a book as this.

Leaving this aside, however, if the constitutional development only was to be traced one feels not a little disappointed at the way in which the events are given and Acts follow one another as if nothing very important had happened in the meanwhile, which really formed the basis of the various enactments. The book would have been far more useful and interesting if the development had been supplemented by information collected from official and non-official sources. As it is, it would be rather uninteresting to the general reader and if the circumstances attending the various Acts are not fully dealt with, as also those that attended the passage of the new Act, one wonders how the author's wish that it may help the English to form an opinion on the desirability of further changes can be realised. More detailed information ought to have been furnished if an honest opinion is to be formed about "further changes that will be suggested or demanded in the near future". The controversy attending the Montford Reforms is given in the postscript which covers barely three pages. The author recognises that the Act fell short of the expectations of the people and that "there can be no true political training without serious responsibility and it was just because that sense of political responsibility was lacking that the Indian felt the reforms unsatisfactory". The recent inquiry has shown little admiration for Dyarchy either in official or in non-official circles. The reforms in fact were frankly acknowledged to be of a provisional nature and to the author further steps are but inevitable. He foreshadows that dyarchy will give place to some more responsible form of government; but he refuses to say what it would be, as he thinks it a matter more in the sphere of the politician than in that of the historian; but he ventures to say that for some time to come the form of government most suitable to India will be a government under a bureaucracy of Indian composition.

The book will hardly be valued for the opinions it expresses; its chief merit lies in the various Charters and Acts which one rarely finds in one single book. Hence it would be found useful to teachers of the subject.

S. G. GOKHALE.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- MODERN TURKEY. By E. G. MAERS. (The Macmillan Company, Ltd., New York.) 1926. 9x5½. pp. 779. 25s.
 THE WORLD COURT By A. S. De BUSTAMANTE. (The Macmillan Company, Ltd., New York.) 1926. 8¾x5¾. pp. 379. 12s. 6d.
 THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND ITS ACTUAL WORKING. By D. N. BANERJEE. (Longmans, Green & Co., London.) 1926. 7¼x5. pp. 497. Rs. 6.

The Servants of India Society's Fire Relief Fund.

(From 25th Oct. to 1st November.)

I.—GENERAL LIST.

Sheth Kasturbhai Lalbhai, M.L.A., Ahmedabad	150
Mr. Amulya Kumar Basu, Calcutta	50
Mr. Ramchandra Vitthal Joshi, Navalgund	10
Mr. N. B. Gadre, Assistant Executive Engineer, Shikarpur	10
Mr. V. N. Barve, Pleader, Dhulia	10
Rao Saheb N. G. Chafekar, Retired First Class Sub-Judge, Poona	10
Mr. N. M. Patvardhan, Hingne	5
Dr. Ramchandra Panda, L.M.S., Parikud	2
	247

II.—COLLECTION IN JODHPUR.

Principal Brahma Swarup, Staff and Students J. N. R. E. C. Inter College, Kburja, U. P.	Rs. 210
Pandit Sir Sukhdev Parshad, C.I.E. Jodhpur	100
R. S. Thakur Mangal Singhji of Pooktan	100
R. S. Kanwar Chaim Singhji, Jodhpur	100
Maharaja Fateh Singhji, Jodhpur	50
Mr. D. L. Drake-Brockman, I.C.S., Jodhpur	25
Col. C. H. H. Twiss, Ajmer	20
Mr. S. Khem Chand, Jodhpur	15
Mr. M. R. Kottawala, Jodhpur	10
Thakur Saheb of Chandlao	10
Mehta Sumer Chand	10
Thakur Sahib of Ras	10
	660

Government Soap Factory, Bangalore.

Manufacturers of High Class Toilet and Household Soaps.

Revised Prices from October 1st, 1926.

- Toilet Soap—Sandal, Jasmine, Gulab and New Lavender Rs. 3-8-0 per dozen tablets.
 Household Soaps—8 oz. bars (twin tablets) Rs. 28/- per gross; 7 oz. (four tablets) Rs. 26/- per gross; 4 oz. (four tablets) Rs. 16/- per gross, or Rs. 31/- per case of two gross.
 Fine Carbolic Soaps—4 oz. tablets Rs. 2-4-0 per dozen tablets.

The prices are *nett* and *ex-Factory*. An advance of 25 per cent. of the order is necessary. The balance will be recovered by V. P. P. or through a Bank.

S. G. SASTRY, B.A., M.Sc. (LOND.), F.C.S., F.M.U.,
Industrial Chemist and
Chemical Engineer.