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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE recent municipal elections held all over Great Britain except London resulted in a remarkable victory for the Labour candidates. Labour lost 11 seats and gained 158, the Liberals lost 58 seats and gained 38, the Conservatives lost 89 seats and gained 19, the Independents lost 35 seats and gained 14. The usual 'Red menace' cry of the Conservatives fell flat on the electorate, while many did not exercise their franchise. These results certainly indicate the unpopularity of the present government and are full of hopeful significance for the Labour Party in the next general election. The Labour victory cannot be explained away as owing to superior organization of the party and apathy of the electorate. The *New Statesman* remarks that "the apathy which helped to lose Tory seats at the municipal elections, will help to lose them again at the General Election. If November 1st was not such a black day as we have been told for Great Britain, it was certainly an ominous day for Mr. Baldwin."

IN the three contests in which the trial of strength was about the sharpest between Worst Swarajist Swarajists and Constitutionalists, Defeats. Swarajists were defeated and Constitutionalists have come out triumphant, the successful candidates in these contests being Dr. Paranjpye, Dr. Moonje and Mr. Chintamani. We offer our warm congratulations to all the three. Of these Mr. Chintamani deserves particular congratulations as the Swarajists had made a dead-set against him and with Pandit Motilal Nehru it was almost a question of life and death. Mr. Chintamani is about the ablest, best informed and most int-

dependent of all the members elected to any of the Legislatures. It is a pity that no place could be found for him in the Assembly and it would have been a shame if he had not been returned to the Council. His striking success is no less gratifying us to because the leader of the Swaraj party chooses to look upon it as a personal humiliation.

THE Imperial Conference has so defined the international status of Dominions as to give satisfaction to General Hertzog, who was about the most

insistent on the recognition of virtual independence of Dominions. India's status, however, does not seem to have received any more precise definition than that contained in Resolution IX of the Imperial War Conference of 1917. The resolution recorded the view that a readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire "should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth and of India as an important part of the same," &c., &c. The distinction here made between Dominions on the one hand and India on the other is a distinction without a difference so far as external relations are concerned, India being recognised to be co-equal with Great Britain herself and her self-governing Dominions in these matters, however limited may be India's powers in domestic affairs. This tacit understanding, however, required to be given statutory expression as sometimes it is challenged and Indians had expected that the Imperial Conference would place it on record, beyond the possibility of question, that India enjoys, in spite of an apparent anomaly, a status precisely similar and in no way inferior to that of the Dominions in international concerns. The Imperial Conference has however failed, to judge from a cabled summary of its resolutions, to make a pronouncement to this effect. In another respect also a clear definition needed to be given to a former resolution of the Imperial Conference. The Conference of 1921 recognised "an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the Empire," and affirmed that "it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised." This resolution which, on a right interpretation of it, bids all colonies of the British Empire to remove the existing disabilities upon Indians and admit them to rights of equal citizenship with other races, has often been explained away in the past. It was therefore the duty of the Imperial Conference now authoritatively to interpret it so that India's position in the Empire should not be capable of being depressed at the will of the other parts. In these two

matters, where alone India's interests were directly affected, the Imperial Conference has done nothing to improve her position and apparently the Maharaja of Burdwan, who was India's own representative at this Conference, was not over-troubled by these questions.

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The Election of Presidents. THE convention established in Great Britain of the Speaker of the House of Commons being returned unopposed at the General Election is not being followed everywhere in India. While Mr. V. J. Patel, President of the Assembly, and Chaudhuri Shahabuddin, President of the Punjab Legislative Council, both of whom won by their impartial conduct in the chair enthusiastic approval of all parties in the Legislature, did not encounter any opposition at the election, Mr. Ratnaswami, President of the Madras Legislative Council, lost his seat in a contest to an Independent candidate. If the British tradition of the Speaker's abstention from party politics is to be maintained in this country, as it ought to be maintained, some way must be found whereby a President can be returned without having to go through an electoral fight, in which partisan speeches are necessary. The Irish Free State, which cannot follow the British convention on account of its adoption of P. R., is thinking of another solution. A Speaker who has held office for six months or a year (the period is yet to be fixed) will be returned to the Dáil as a member without a constituency. It does not follow however that he, on being returned, will necessarily be selected for the Chair. If he does not happen to be selected, he will be free to take active part in affairs, and thus at the end of the term or on a dissolution he will labour under no disability to carry on a canvass for any constituency he may select as a party man. Whether India adopts this or any other course, it is necessary that Presidents of the Legislatures should be freed from the handicap from which they suffer in conducting themselves in the chair as non-party men and in relying at the election on the votes of one party.

* * *

Poll Tax on Kenya Indians. THE Kenya Government which has embarked on a policy of educational expansion, has laid down the principle that the resulting increase in expenditure on the education of Europeans and Indians should be defrayed by these communities respectively. Accordingly in this year's budget they have provided for £52,000 to be raised from these communities together by means of a tax on wines and champagnes, applicable to Europeans and Indians alike, which will bring in, it is estimated, £32,000, the rest being derived from a Tax on Domestic Servants payable only by Europeans on the one hand and a Poll Cess payable only by Indians on the other. The amounts these taxes are calculated to yield are respectively £7,000 and £12,000. The Indian community in Kenya is indignant that while being subject with Europeans to a consumption tax, they should be required to pay in the aggregate £5,000 more than the Europeans, while a much smaller amount of the produce of these taxes will be devoted to Indian education than to European. The Poll Cess is to be at the rate of 20s. per adult male: this is of course in addition to the 30s. poll tax levied at present. Apart from the fact that an invidious racial discrimination is made against Indians in imposing the Poll Cess on Indians alone, there is a real danger, which the *East African Standard* has admitted, that the

Domestic Servants Tax levied upon Europeans is capable of being passed on to servants. A smaller tax on Europeans in comparison to that on Indians is justified by Government on the ground that a larger proportion of the tax on wines will be paid by Europeans. The figures quoted by Government are admittedly a matter of guess and open to doubt. The injustice of the whole arrangement, however, becomes noticeable when comparison is made between the rate of educational expenditure per European and Indian child. For 960 European children, who at present go without education, an expenditure of £32,000 is allowed: while for £2,318 Indian children the money intended to be spent is only £ 20,000. Which means that on a European child is spent an amount which is four times as much as that spent on an Indian child.

* * *

Mysore University Convocation Address. INDIA is evidently in the throes of a great educational reconstruction. Not a week passes without some Indian thinker or educationist of note denouncing the present system of education in the country and making some suggestions for reform. The latest addition to this chorus is the Convocation address delivered by Sir P. C. Ray at the Mysore University function last Saturday. The great scientist and patriot draws attention to the colossal waste of national intelligence brought about by a system of University education which satisfies neither the ideal of pure learning nor that of professional training. He strikes a sound note of warning against the feverish craze of our young men for a University degree which, according to him, has become "almost a canker eating into the very vitals of intellectual life and progress." He rightly pleads for a clearer demarcation between the two functions of the University: one, the advancement of learning by the cultivation of creative thought and research and the other, the training of men and women for certain professions or careers. We also agree with him in his strong protest against the wanton waste of economic power by the thoughtless multiplication of stereotyped Universities which already stand condemned for their failure to answer the real needs of the nation.

* * *

Mysore Jails. THE Report on the working of Jails in Mysore in 1924-25 shows that the State Government, as in other matters, follows a progressive policy in the administration of jails. The State has several improvements in view, chief among them being instruction up to the elementary stage of all prisoners under 25, grant of gratuities to be remitted home or used in purchasing approved comforts, the provision of separate enclosure and separate methods of treatment for juvenile and adolescent offenders. Usually, "jail industries" do not include agriculture; but as the report rightly remarks, "so far as Mysore is concerned, the term "jail industries" ought to include the agricultural industry" a very large percentage of the prisoners being agriculturists. Instruction in practical agriculture, besides being excellent reformatory training, equips them with a knowledge which they can usefully and easily employ after release.

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WE regret that the series of articles entitled "The Punjab Land Alienation Act" appearing in the SERVANT OF INDIA for the past few weeks is interrupted because its writer, Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, has left for South Africa as Secretary to the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

THE ELECTIONS AND AFTER.

THE General Elections are not yet over everywhere, but the results so far known make it plain that the Swarajists will be now returned in smaller numbers than at the last election. In no province will they be in an absolute majority as they were last time in the Central Provinces, nor will they be numerically so strong as to produce deadlocks after the manner of Bengal. In the former province the Swarajists and the Constitutionalists (whether known as Independent Congressmen, Responsivists or Liberals) are evenly matched and in fact the Swarajists are in a small minority as against the united strength of the Constitutionalists, who are pledged, by accepting office and otherwise, to work the reforms to the maximum advantage of the people. We should therefore confidently expect soon to see a Ministry installed in office in that province where owing to the cussedness of the Swarajists even the transferred departments were being administered for three years by an irresponsible executive. We are not unaware of the difficulties experienced in the coalition and hearty co-operation of different groups, which, though cherishing the same ideals, are accustomed to take separate action. These difficulties are not peculiar to the Central Provinces; they are common all over India. But we trust that the constitutional groups in the Central Provinces will rise superior to personal jealousies and form a united Ministry which, because of its team work, will be even better than a Ministry drawn from a single group.

In Bengal the Swarajists are expected to continue to be the largest single group. The Responsivists and Independents have not been able there to win any appreciable number of seats from the Swarajists. If the Swarajist position is now weaker in that province than before, it is wholly due to the defection of the Mahomedan community from the Swaraj party. The two predominant parties in the Bengal Council will thus be Swarajists and Mahomedans, an ugly prospect for those who, like us, disapprove of communalism no less ardently than obstructionism. The only silver lining is the division of Mahomedans themselves into separate groups, of which Sir Abdur Rahim's group will be much the smallest. It is to be hoped that the other groups will not be so fanatically communal in their outlook as Sir Abdur Rahim has recently shown himself to be, and that it will be possible for Constitutional Nationalists to turn with a feeling of relief from the direct actionism of the Swarajists to the parliamentarianism, flavoured with a little communalism, of the Moslems. In Madras no doubt the Swarajists are decidedly the largest group and would be, with the aid of other parties, in even a better position than the Swarajists were in Bengal for the past three years to bring the governmental machinery to a dead stop. But, happily, the Swarajists of the Madras Presidency are of a far different political

complexion than their confreres of Bengal. It is certain that, if they feel themselves precluded from taking office themselves, they will be willing to keep Independents in office by their support. This is by no means an ideal arrangement, but is the only one possible in the circumstances if Madras is to escape from communalism on the one hand and obstructionism on the other. We expect very soon a large number of defections from the Swaraj party of those who gave but a nominal adhesion to Swarajist principles but who are in fact in greater accord with the policy of the Constitutionalists, unless it be that the Gauhati Congress alters the resolution of last year. The very notable success of the Swaraj party in the elections in Madras is therefore a matter for sincere congratulations by all who wish to rid the country at the earliest possible opportunity of the curse of communalism.

In the Bombay Presidency the position remains very much the same from the point of view of Constitutionalism. The Swarajists were never strong in this province and, deprived of the support of the Responsivists, the party has now shrunk very considerably. The communal groups will be in a slightly weaker position and, in any case, their representatives cannot outnumber those of the Constitutional groups. What, however, is required is that the latter should pull their full weight in the Legislatures, which can only be done by a combination of them in one party and a readiness to give reasonable support to all its members, whatever label they may have held before. If the Constitutional elements remain disparate, communalism will have everything its own way. The Government too can do much on this occasion to check communal spirit. In both the previous terms of the legislature the Governor felt constrained to call leaders of these communal groups to office, and this, in itself, was responsible for greatly stimulating their communalism. In offering office separately to leaders of different groups, the Governor also acted in direct opposition to the terms of the Joint Select Committee's Report, which enjoins the joint responsibility of ministers. H. E. Sir Leslie Wilson has now an opportunity of rectifying the mistake, which will also incidentally lead to the curbing of communalism. As in Madras, he should call upon one who seems to him to hold the most prominent position in the Indian National, Liberal and Responsivist parties, who are essentially one and who together are the largest party in the Legislature, to form a Ministry if he can. It may be feared, perhaps, that by this means a wholly Brahman and Hindu Ministry would be formed, which would be unfair to non-Brahmans and Moslems, seeing that their numerical strength in the Council is not insignificant. These considerations of a proper allocation of office among the different communal and territorial groups—considerations which in themselves are but proper—will weigh equally strongly with the leader of the Constitutional parties, and if he is wise he will include in his Ministry a non-Brahman

and a Mahomedan if the strength of these groups warrants such an appointment. He will also see that none of the sub-provinces—Sind, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnatak—is over-represented in the Ministry. He will certainly be influenced by such considerations and it is but right that he should be so influenced so long as caste consciousness and provincial patriotism are keen, but he will naturally give them a subordinate place, the primary consideration being that of merit and ability to carry on the administration on right principles. All that we advocate here is that the Governor should leave it to the leader of the largest party returned to the Council, as indeed is his duty, to give due weight to all these considerations. If this is done, what will happen is that a Ministry

will be in office which will be homogeneous in its principles but variegated in the communal complexion of its personnel. Only, instead of an extreme communalist being in charge of a portfolio, he will be such as will be watchful in safeguarding the interests of his own community but will not be oblivious of the larger national interest. If, perchance, the leader should neglect the due claims of any of these communities and form a Ministry which is entirely Brahman or Hindu in its composition, the responsibility will be his and the Governor will be free from blame as the Governor in Bengal will now be if, as a result of the elections, an exclusively Mahomedan Ministry comes into office. But it is a contingency which need not be thought of.

EUROPE AFTER THE WAR.

By T. G. P. SPEAR.

II.—FRANCE.

FRANCE emerged from the war the mistress of Europe, but she was the slave of her own past history. To understand her attitude since the war some knowledge of the French mind is necessary, for France is as much the victim of her tradition as Germany ever was of Bismarckian "blood and iron" or Nietzsche's philosophy. From the time of Charlemagne, there has been a French tradition of primacy in Europe which survived the vicissitudes of the Middle Ages, through the unprincipled brilliance of the Renaissance and the splendour of Louis XIV, to its culmination in the blinding brilliance of Napoleon. It survived Waterloo to reappear, refurbished with a little nationalist polish, with Napoleon III, it survived Sedan in the policy of a North African empire to redress the balance in Europe, and it survived the great war to renew dreams of European hegemony in the minds of exultant French statesmen. Though the frock-coated bourgeois republic had replaced the empire, though the battered sceptic Clemenceau wielded the powers of Louis XIV, the spirit of imperialism lived on, and the French love of glory was the same. Again from the partition of Verdun in 843, which included Alsace Lorraine in the middle kingdom of Lothair, France has dreamed uneasy dreams of the Rhine frontier with occasional nightmares of Teutonic invasions. Security and European primacy are in the Frenchman's blood; they are the two golden images at the sound of whose trumpet every Frenchman automatically prostrates himself.

France was dissatisfied with the Peace Treaty. Her exaggerated sense of insecurity made her hanker after the Rhine frontier and her pride had been touched by the necessity of English and American help in the war; now the guarantees she considered essential were refused by those very powers, and in the autumn the situation was aggravated by the refusal of the U. S. Senate to

ratify the Peace Treaty because of its connection with the League of Nations. Nor was this a feeling merely of soldiers and politicians. The new elections gave so large a majority to the patriots of the "Bloc National" that the new Chamber was nicknamed the "sky blue Chamber" from the colour of the French soldiers' trousers. M. Clemenceau retired full of years and honour but was succeeded by M. Millerand, an almost equally militant nationalist. In fact, if France was to maintain her supremacy she had some real cause for alarm; her population was much smaller than the German and her birth rate was stationary, and her finances were burdened with war debts. She therefore adopted the double policy of pressure on Germany to prevent her recovery and of the formation of a "ring fence" of hostile States around her frontiers.

The first bone of contention was Reparations. France relied on Reparations in order to balance her budget and so insisted on full payment; the recovery of Germany was nothing to her. England wished to hasten the economic recovery of Europe, and was therefore ready to moderate her terms in order to prevent the collapse of the German exchange. At the Peace Conference the assessment of Reparations was left to a Commission, but a preliminary 20,000 million gold marks (about £2,000,000,000) payable by transfers of property and deliveries in kind, was to be paid by May 1921, and at Spa in 1920 the French share was fixed at 52% of the whole. In May 1921 the total of Reparations was fixed at 132,000 million gold marks, divided into three series of bonds of which Germany was to pay 2,000 million gold marks a year in cash and in such kind as coal deliveries, etc., plus 26 per cent. of the value of her export trade. In consequence Germany exported bullion to France and imported coal to feed her own industries at a heavy loss and soon found herself both in arrears of reparations and with a depreciating currency.

The remedy of inflation only made things worse and further reduced the value of reparations actually paid.

Faced with Germany's default the Poincaré government proposed to seize the rich Ruhr coalfield as security for French debts, while the English under Curzon wished to reduce the sums required. During 1922 several reductions were made, but when in November Germany announced her inability to pay for an indefinite period the French disregarded British protests and marched into the Ruhr. The Germans offered passive resistance while Curzon denounced the legality of the occupation in a famous despatch. The War had begun again. After nine months' resistance the Germans were compelled to give way but the occupation had cost France far more than it yielded and anti-French feeling had grown ominously in volume. It was intensified many degrees by the wholly indefensible patronage given by the French to the Rhineland Separatists in the hope that they might detach the Rhineland from Germany and form it into a vassal French State. So far had fear driven France from the paths of Justice and Reason.

In 1924 the replacement of Poincaré by Herriot and of Curzon by Ramsay MacDonald cleared the way for American intervention, and the report of a Committee of Experts presided over by General Dawes was finally accepted. The scheme provided for American credits to Germany and arranged a system of gradual payments on the basis of Germany's known capacity to pay; Germany accepted it, and it has worked well ever since.

French fears and financial importunity and her subconscious (if not conscious) effort to prevent German recovery were the negative sides of her policy; the positive aspect is to be found in her policy of alliances. The French first patronised Poland, and sent General Weygand and munitions to help her against the Bolshevik attack in 1919, and then concluded an alliance. By this means France hoped to form a barrier against Bolshevik infection of Europe and German recovery in the East, and Poland to safeguard her bloated frontiers with the magic of the French name. Next she encouraged the formation of the *Little Entente* of Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania and Yugo-Slavia to shut in Germany from the south and to overawe Austria and Hungary. Formal alliances were drawn up at various times, the last being with Rumania in the spring of this year.

Outside Europe French policy was dominated by her Mediterranean interests—Morocco, Tunis and Syria. Her uneasy Syrian government was rendered still more precarious by the objection of King Faisal from Damascus in 1920 and this made her nervous of Turkish hostility. In 1921 therefore, while still officially regarding the Turkish nationalists as rebels and supporting the Greek expedition against them, she receded Cilicia, the coastal province most vulnerable to their attacks, and began supplying them with arms and munitions. These supplies bore fruit in Mustapha's

defeat of the Greeks, and secret French sympathy had much to do with their diplomatic triumph at Lausanne.

Security is a fundamental principle of French politics but its methods of attainment are not always the same. So the return of Radicals and Socialists to power in 1924 saw the democratic doctrine of fraternity substituted for the Napoleonic doctrine of power. The adoption of the Dawes Report, the first sign of this new spirit, opened the way for further negotiations which through the failure of the Protocol led to the success of Locarno. By this agreement Germany recognised her Western frontier as delimited by the Treaty of Versailles and even undertook to attempt no "rectification" in the East without first exhausting two systems of arbitration. France, England, and Germany all agreed to assist a third party attacked by either of the other two, and the arrangement was completed by the assent of Italy and the promise of German election to the Assembly and Council of the League.

Internal policies now demand a word. From the intricate maze of personalities, groups and obscure intrigues, with the resulting succession of ephemeral coalitions, two main tendencies emerge. The one is the traditional imperialism which appeals to the love of "La Glorie;" the other the democratic spirit which looks back to the Revolution and has Fraternity at least for its motto. Under the Third Republic the former has been successively discredited by Royalism, Boulanger, and the Dreyfus case with its consequent struggle of Church and State and has usually been in eclipse, while the latter has itself been divided into Radicals and Socialists. The exhilaration of the war spirit caused the Right Groups to cooperate as "the Bloc National" which dominated the "sky-blue" post-war Chamber much as the Coalition did Parliament after the election of 1918. Its leaders were Clemenceau, Millerand and Poincaré, who, after a year's interlude by the political acrobat Briand, governed France for two and a half years. Truculent abroad, the Bloc satisfied the national vanity at the price of the national finances; reparations did not materialise, the Budget would not balance, and when Poincaré hastily imposed fresh taxes he was swept from office by an indignant electorate. As Taine said of the of the Royalists, he was never so worthy of power as at the moment of losing it. His successor Herriot failed as signally at home as he succeeded abroad; for the united Left voted down any scheme of the Right, the Socialists and the Right voted down M. Caillaux's scheme of foreign credits, while the whole Chamber repudiated the Socialist scheme for a capital levy. The franc went steadily down; Herriot and Caillaux fell and the wizard Briand was called in; but after astonishing politicians for eight months with his political sleight of hand, his fourth Finance Minister Caillaux was defeated a second time by the Socialists, Herriot Radicals and the extreme Right. Angry crowds

gathered in the boulevards and M. Herriot was mobbed on his way to the President; men remembered the barricades and trembled. A sudden cry arose for Poincaré, the bourgeois Bourbon who had forgotten nothing and retracted nothing, but who was fearless if obstinate and above all things honest; for a moment fear transcended group jealousies and a national ministry containing five ex-premiers began seriously to attack the financial problem.

What is the future of France? In face of a reviving Germany, a hostile Russia and an ambitious Italy she cannot dominate Europe, and if she fails to restore her finances at home or repudiates Locarno abroad she may well sink to the level of a second rate State. With African help she may still stand as a "primus inter pares" in Europe, with her historical tradition she may still persuade, rather than drive the powers to accept her leadership, and Paris may still be the intellectual capital of Europe. What is certain is that the days of European hegemony and world power are over for France and that henceforth her triumphs must be those of the spirit. For France the grand result of her triumph has been to confirm the verdict of Waterloo.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

CHIROL ON INDIA.—I.

WRITTEN as a contribution to the "Modern World" series by a journalist whose understanding of India is as thorough as his love for her is sincere, "India" by Sir Valentine Chirol* surveys the entire range of modern Indian problems, and briefly as a conspectus will allow, all along the line. It therefore deserves to be read by thoughtful Indians. The opening chapter, which for colour and eloquence would match a page of Gibbon, unrolls a preliminary bird's eye-view of India, dealing with the tremendous contrasts of her climate, culture, and religion, with her bewildering ethnological and sociological phenomena, with the unique character of two civilizations and with the puzzling divergencies between transcendental ideals and repellent practices. It is followed by four historical chapters serving as a sort of propædutic to what forms the staple of the book, namely, the study of cross and under currents in the spheres of education, political struggles, and constitutional advance. The first of these chapters, entitled "The Bedrock of Hinduism" is intended not merely to take the English reader to a dead past but also to enable him to feel the pulsing heart of living India, not merely to assess the spiritual and moral heritage of modern Hinduism, but also to penetrate to the psychology of the Indian mass-mind, so enigmatically complex to an English observer. What the chapter actually achieves, however, is a concentrated, though not quite unrelieved, picture of the gangrenes that have developed on the body of social India, which no genuine lover of hers could look on with self-complacence, least of all one who desires self-government for his country. If a good section of the intelligentsia of India are determined to ask with one breath immediate grant of *Swaraj*, and with the other to wish good luck to the 2,300 castes (according to the census of

1901) the effect of which is to dwarf the race "physically by narrowing the circle of choice in marriage, intellectually by cramping the energies, and morally by destroying mutual confidence and habits of co-operation;" if they would allow 60 millions of her population to remain some of them untouchables, and part of them unapproachables; if they will not lift their little finger to abolish the baneful customs of endogamy, exogamy, early marriage, seclusion of women and enforced widowhood, all that we can honestly say is that we agree with Sir Valentine in thinking that a land, whose best are afflicted by this morbid contentment, must wait for self-government until the children show a change of heart. We are not pessimistic, nor unaware of the strong colour feeling in countries like the United States or S. Africa, but are only painfully conscious that India's case in this particular matter is rather unique. It was only the other day that Gandhi himself was threatened with excommunication by an influential conference of Hindu orthodoxy, the author poignantly reminds us. He illustrates the acerbity of caste feeling and the arrogance of caste superiority by citing the dramatic episode of 1917 in Calcutta, when the Brahmins, on finding that *ghee* sold in the markets was adulterated, joined together as one man and raised the cry that the sanctity of religious rites was outraged. Sir Valentine's indictment of the many evils that have grown saprophytically on a rigid social system is but harping on an old theme, but one that should be burned into the minds of those who would insist on postponing social to political progress, instead of regarding them as vital interdependents. The pointing out of these sores is all very well and quite in place.

But, as the author glances at ancient India and attempts to give a correct idea of ancient Indian civilization, he might have done a greater service to truth if only he had redeemed his sombre and one-sided picture by touching on its brighter features as well, though it would partly defeat his purpose, namely, to show that poetic panegyrics of India's millennial past gravely offend truth. Hence Sir Valentine errs in his turn by omitting mention of ancient India's glorious contribution to philosophy, science, literature and arts. He could think of only two periods in ancient India, that of Asoka and Chandragupta II, as at all deserving mention. The Mauryas, the Guptas, the Cholas, and the Vijayanagar kings, to select only a few, fostered village self-government, constructed roads, maintained hospitals (under Asoka both for men and animals) and built rest-houses. The irrigation works effected by the Chola kings, like the Gangaconda Cholapuram lake 16 miles long, are no mean models for a modern government to follow. The land revenue system under them was so equitable that even the British system cannot be said to be much in advance of it. Nor were universities like Bologna, Paris and Salerno of mediæval Europe wanting. Of the character of the people and the influence of Buddhism on it, Fa Hien's account "Throughout the country no one kills any living thing, or drinks wine...; they do not keep pigs or fowls; there are no dealings in cattle, no butchers' shops or distilleries in the market places," even if deemed somewhat roseate, is borne out by the testimony of other travellers, eastern and western—by Megasthenes, Strabo, Arrian, Hsien Tsang, Khang-tai, Fei Tu, Idrisi, Marco Polo and others before and after Fa Hien. India's ancient sea-borne trade reached as far as Rome in the West and China in the East, while there was a 'Greater India' too! The craft-gilds of

* Published by Ernest Benn, Ltd., London, 1926. 9x5½ pp. 352. 15s.

mediæval India, like the Gilds of mediæval England, gave special protection and opportunities of co-operation to artisans and artists. If the soul of India is alive now it is not because of the deplorable Brahminical domination, but because there arose during the historical ages a long succession of saints like the Nayanars and the Alvars, and the pariah saint, Nanda, in South India, Tukaram, Namdev, Eknath, Chokamela and others in Maharashtra, Nanak, Kabir, Chaitanya, Mirabai and others in Northern India, most of them sprung from the lower classes who challenged the sacerdotal religion by their higher humanity and simpler piety. The spiritual and social equality of man has never been more nobly preached than by some of the episodes in that heterogeneous epic, the *Mahabharat*, and by Thiru Valluvar and Auvai, the Panchama poet and poetess of Tamil India, who belong to the early centuries of the Christian era. This lady, Auvai, in a memorable verse lays down with solemn emphasis that there are only two castes, the charitable and the uncharitable. A social reformer in India, who can discern gold from dross, need not go outside his own literature for inspiring texts or devices on his banner. Only, Sir Valentine Chirol does not elect for the moment to reveal this side of the shield, which he perhaps knows full well, for he means the chapter to be a counterblast to fantastic nympholepts of India's past. After all, whatever ancient India achieved can be esteemed great only from the standard of a bygone age, and whose would venture to compare it with modern civilization and find the latter kicking the beam must be a singularly unscientific mind. The writer, for one, does not wish he were born in any other age than his own.

After a cursory sketch of Mohamedan India and the story of British conquest, the author comes to dwell on "The flowing Tide of Western Influence" during the middle of the 19th century, and writes with enthusiasm and regret for the days that are no more, when satraps like Bentinck, Dalhousie, Ripon, Sir Thomas Munro, and Elphinstone, and civilians like Cotton, Hume and Wedderburn, addressed themselves to their tasks with a profound sense of England's sacred mission "to train the Indians to govern and protect themselves;" when missionary educationists like Carey, Marshman, Ward and Alexander Duff in Calcutta, John Anderson and Miller in Madras, and Wilson in Bombay, brought a religious fervour to bear on teaching, a fervour that evoked an answering devotion in the hearts of fitting disciples. Under the new leaven the Brahma Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj movements were started; and a proud day saw the birth of the Indian National Congress under the leadership of sober politicians which the then Governor of Bombay, Lord Reay, blessed, and Viceroys like Dufferin, Lansdowne and Ripon looked upon with measured benevolence. The day of racial tension between Indians and Britishers was yet to come. In passing, the author admits with refreshing frankness, of which we are to have more and more as the book advances: "No race has been so successful as the British in ruling primitive and backward peoples who do not aspire to equality, but are content, as children are, to be treated in the spirit of kindness and fair play which most Englishmen possess. But the Englishman is apt to grow impatient when those whom his tutelage has raised begin to chafe under it and demand emancipation from his leading strings." The same judicious note is heard in the next two chapters on "The First Wave of Anti-Western Reaction" and "The Partition of Bengal."

If on one side of the account he mentions Mr. Tilak's investing of the Ganapathi cult with a covert political purpose, the inauguration of the 'Shivaji day', his sinister speech at Raighad on the commemoration of Shivaji's coronation day, his denunciations of British oppression in connection with the plague measures of 1897, the Rand murder, the inflammable emotionalism of the Bengalees, the explosive writings of the *Yugantar*, and the incendiary activities of misguided young men like Shamji Krishnawarma and the murders committed in the name of patriotism, sometimes by promising striplings most pitifully misled, he does not desist from mentioning *per contra* the Englishmen's contribution to the new racial hatred, namely the Public Services Commission of 1887 which, "by segregating Europeans and Indians into pens, very artificially created, tended to deepen the growing racial cleavage;" the Anglo-Indian agitation against the Ilbert Bill; the Cotton Excise duties; the British official's honest belief in autocracy and his intolerance of all criticism; the failure on the part of the government to train and inform public opinion and its wrapping itself in a rarefied atmosphere of official secrecy; the bureaucrat's failure to adjust himself to the growing ideas of equality and national self-respect; the brutal manners of uncultured business specialists and noisy bounders, and their more brutal action in some cases; the *morgue Anglaise*; and the utter indifference of the normal English civilian towards Indian literature, arts and philosophy; the stark inability of Lord Curzon, otherwise so brilliant and such a Napoleon of energy, to understand the mind of India and his political aversion for the Congress movement which was only surpassed by his intellectual contempt for it.

The chapter on "The Tangle of Western Education" tracing the history of English education in India is packed with many a pregnant observation which, though truisms to most educationists, deserve reiteration, and those who shape the destinies of Indian education would do well to remember them oftener than they do. We agree with the author when he says that there is nowadays more mechanical control than helpful guidance and the spirit is often starved in a vain attempt to stuff the brain with undigested knowledge. The average Indian collegian has become a frightful parasite of notes dictated in the class, but distorted in the taking down and translated out of recognition at the examination. Lord Ronaldsday cites a quaint instance of this in his *Heart of Aryavarta*. A student at an examination was asked to explain the meaning of the world 'psychology' and the answer he gave was: "The science of mind ornamental phenomena." This is exactly what we experience in our colleges; nor does it argue superior wisdom on any one's part to attribute it to the system of notes dictation, which is but a fungus-growth on hard and fast examinations that are made such a fetish of in the Indian universities that the professor caught within University regulations and burdened curricula (devised as antidotes to oram and indifference) and under obligation to show good quantitative results, has always to cudgel his brains to reconcile God and Mammon, examination and liberal culture. English education in India, secondary as well as collegiate, is so artificial and unbalanced that Indian students have to know more of British fauna, flora and social customs, and at the higher grades, be able to describe with fidelity to detail the daily life of Englishmen in England. The author's criticism of secondary education is not

less valid : "The dull-witted boy scarcely gets to understand the meaning of the English words in which he has to learn his lessons, and least of all when, as in many cases, his teacher who may be a 'failed B. A.' or even an earlier failure by the wayside, is only a few removes less ignorant. Given that he surmounts these initial difficulties by dint of application and the use of his memory to supply or disguise his lack of understanding, he wanders on in a growing bewilderment of mind with fresh batches of painfully fingered notebooks under his arm, through the labyrinthine maze which leads him from one examination to another." No wonder, higher education in recent years has become "the tree of knowledge of good and evil." Instead of bearing luscious fruits with the juice of initiative and the aroma of character, the Universities turn out ordinarily the artificially ripened, wizened thing in the shape of a "disgruntled B. A." We do not endorse Sir Valentine less warmly when he deprecates the invidious division of Educational Service into the Imperial and Provincial, made by the 1887 Commission—a division, if mischievous in other services, more positively so in the domain of education. There is nothing more discordant in a Temple of Learning than the bureaucratic atmosphere. We are again heartily at one with him when he says : "It is perhaps to be regretted that until quite recent times those (the British) Universities concentrated almost exclusively on literature as the basis of a liberal education, whereas the young Indian, usually endowed with a plentiful imagination and a dangerous facility for loose generalizations, needed even more than British youths the wholesome intellectual discipline of a science course. But this was probably inevitable since the framing of the curriculum as well as the teaching was originally in the hands of Englishmen who had themselves been for the most part brought up on the humanities." The senators of the Bombay University would do well to bestow a minute's thought on this criticism, for this university particularly has, by making English a voluntary subject at the B. A., turned out for a generation graduates whose knowledge of scraps of criticisms learnt by rote, and perhaps also a compendious text-book of literary history, is as sound as their grammar is villainous—graduates who are not only poorly trained for citizenship, because ignorant of politics, economics and history, but also ill-equipped for life, because the little science they learnt at school has not begotten in them the scientific habit of mind. The students lack that preliminary foundation necessary for dispensing with history or science and taking English as their optional. In this same chapter we light on a generous admission in the sentence : "It (Western education) has shown that Indian brains, when given a fair chance, are no whit inferior to European brains. They have succeeded in wrestling with and overcoming the tremendous initial difficulty of learning everything through a foreign tongue." Then there is staunch advocacy of free and compulsory education as one of the sovereign panaceas for many of the ills of India, and of the reform of secondary education. In one place, however, the author has allowed himself to be drawn into a sort of loose generalization. It is when he applies the Calcutta Commission's description of some of the most vilely conducted private high schools of Bengal to all the private schools in India. In the Madras Presidency, at any rate, of which the writer can speak from personal knowledge, such abominable conditions do not prevail, and in this

presidency too they may be true only of stray schools in areas where the school master is not abroad.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.

OUR PARIS LETTER.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, November 9.

THE GARIBALDI AFFAIR.

THE Great topic of conversation in Paris these last two or three days has been the Garibaldi affair. Colonel Ricciolti Garibaldi, a grandson of the famous Deliverer who had taken up his residence in France and was closely connected with the Italian anti-Fascists in this country is now in Paris as the "guest" of the French secret service. It has turned out that he was a secret agent of Signor Mussolini and has been receiving considerable sums of money from him, the principal object of the alliance evidently being that the Colonel should make it easy for the Duce to get at his enemies by sending them over to Italy presumably under anti-Fascist auspices. The examination of the case is not yet complete, but the Colonel has admitted the receipt of the money, though in a dramatic meeting with his brother, Major Sante Garibaldi, he declared, "I touched tainted money, but I never sold my brethren". The inconsistency however, was not explained and though it is not apprehended that any severer measure than expulsion from France could be taken against him, he himself seems to be aware of the effects of this incident in the larger world as he is reported to have appealed to his brother not to believe that he had ever been a traitor who had dragged into the mire the name of Garibaldi.

The Duce has scarcely any friends outside Italy and his manners as is well known are not particularly amiable. Whether in France or in England or in Germany, the Press has rarely a kind word for him and in this country, in particular, there is active animosity as the neighbourhood of the two countries occasions an active intercourse which has lately taken the form of collusions. The Italian Dictator seems to be ever regretful not to have extra-territorial rights so as to be able to consolidate Italians outside Italy like those directly under his thumb with disciplinary measures, the latest of which, it is said, beats the imagination even of the proverbial Czar. But the French, who are temperamentally as zealous of sovereignty as Britain, is of trade, are in no mood to let the Duce get the better of them in the matter of Italian anti-Fascists in France. Nor is the recent behaviour of the Fascists in the frontier station of Vintimiglia and in Tunis conducive to anything but the provocation of antipathy in France against the present régime in Italy. Further, Colonel Garibaldi's implication in the Catalan plot against the Spanish government is interpreted here as an attempt on Signor Mussolini's part to bestow on France a gratuitous cause for Spanish indignation against her. All of which has given rise to vehement discussions in

the Press. The advanced section of it is teeming with headlines and even an organ of the extreme right such as *L'Eclat de Paris* is obliged to say, in an article entitled "Italy and We," "Our actual quarrels with the government of Rome calls for our serious attention; they must not be taken tragically (though)... Each for himself and God for all. For the rest we shall see later." And again, "The quarrel continues. Let us not throw oil on the fire... But the Italian Press would be wise in renouncing to look to us for the attempts (on the Duce's life) with which France is not concerned."

The net result of all this is likely to be just another stitch in tightening the regulations governing the activities of foreigners in France concerning which the government already made an announcement not very long ago. The police were directed to subject the bills announcing meetings to a more severe scrutiny and foreigners were asked not to abuse the hospitality of France. One must admit that Paris is delightfully cosmopolitan and teems with interest in this matter and the *Quartier Latin* is full of the announcements of little groups of Italians and Spaniards and Greeks and Roumanians, Slavs of various hues, and Chinese and Japanese and South Americans. I have heard that there are some Indian revolutionaries also here, but one sees little of them.

EDUCATIONAL.

A recent event which should be of interest to us is the opening of the Canadian house in the *Cité Universitaire* by the Prince of Wales. This institution is one of the many examples of the growing tendency in Continental countries to adopt British ways, since the war. The University of Paris is not a residential university like Oxford and Cambridge and the *Cité Universitaire* which is a conglomeration of hostels for university students is calculated to institute that feature into its life. Paris, which is the very heart of the intellectual life of the West, has owed it not the least to its famous university which is most ancient and has a marvellous history. One of its traditions has been the large number of foreigners that it has attracted within its walls and even to-day the visitor to the Sorbonne will be struck by the large percentage of foreign students on its rolls. Already several nations, including representatives from both the American continents, have a place in the *Cité* and preliminary measures have just been taken for the foundation of a house for students from Great Britain. It would be both becoming and useful if India too should have a place in it. This is a question which is preeminently suited for our Ruling Chiefs to interest themselves in; the Government co-operation will not be hard to find. There are already some Indian students in Paris.

A large percentage of our students who come to Europe now-a-days for their education belong to the post-graduate rather than the graduate grade of studies. It is here that the continental univer-

sities afford us ample facilities. Whether for pure science, or for the applied sciences, and chiefly among the latter for electricity and metallurgy, France holds a leading place, and in the Faculty of Arts as well, France's relations with the East have provided Paris with ample material for research which has been ably carried on by outstanding French teachers under whom our students may work even more happily than they sometimes can in Britain, both on account of the temperamental affinities with the French as well as for lack of direct political bias, I must not forget to add that the universities in France charge no fees for instruction, which, combined with the lower cost of living in France, makes for a very real advantage from the financial point of view. Professor Patrick Geddes at one time of the University of Bombay has quite a few Indians in his Chateau d'Ecosse in Montpellier in South France, and an India house in the *Cité Universitaire* of Paris has every chance of success.

RISE OF THE FRANCO.

The franc, whose improvement has been both continuous and rapid, is no more so much a cause of general congratulation as it is now creating some misgiving specially due to M. Poincaré's recent refusal to give any information which might indicate when or at what rate the government hoped to stabilise the currency, when he appeared before the Finance Commission. It is pointed out that speculation is at the bottom of the present rise and therefore the position is not reliable. The Interior Debt which grows in real value while nominally remaining the same, the heavier taxation which would be necessitated by it, the anticipation of their being placed in an unfavourable relation to their competitors in other countries as the franc rises and the discovery by the exporters that their trade is disappearing as the world-prices rise as well as the greater facility for the foreign importer to compete against French goods in the home market, all of which follow from the appreciation, render it nearly as bad as when conditions were otherwise. Stabilisation is evidently the only way.

The sellers of gold are still numerous at the offices of the Bank of France in response to its offer to buy silver and gold though this week the sales are confined to the latter and only 16½ francs per gramme is given instead of 18 of last week. In the course of six weeks the Bank has taken in over 40,000 gold coins for which it has paid over 1,200,000,000 francs in paper money and it is believed that a great many gold Louis Napoleons are still hidden away in "old stockings", the proverbial treasure chest of the French peasant.

PERSONAL ADVERTISEMENTS.

The administrative economies which M. Poincaré has instituted concerning the local law courts and Sub-Prefects in the country have robbed, it is said, the provincial newspapers of legal announcements in their advertisement columns. But there is compensation for them in the growing practice

of personal advertisements. A country gentleman spent some money in announcing that certain remarks made about him in a café were untrue, that he was a happily married man, that he was wounded during the year, and that if anyone who doubted these statements would call on him between 6 and 7 he would solve the matter by a test of courage. Another who lost a walking stick in a casino promptly inserted an advertisement threatening the unknown robber with prosecution and in the course of the next afternoon so many as eleven walking sticks were handed in, though the advertiser's, it is sad to contemplate, was not included among them.

REVIEWS.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS.

THE USAGES OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION. By HERBERT W. HORWILL. (Oxford University Press.) 1925. 9 x 6. pp. 251. 10s. 6d.

IN his "Gleanings of Past Years" (Book I) Mr. Gladstone laid down in the following words the distinction between the English and the American constitutions. "The one is a thing grown; the other a thing made; the one a *Praxis*, the other a *Poiesis*; the one the offspring of tendency and indeterminate time, the other of choice and of an epoch. But as the British constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from the womb and the long gestation of progressive history, so the American constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." The distinction between the two constitutions laid down in the foregoing lines might have been true, at the time when Gladstone wrote. But since Gladstone's time changes have taken place in the American constitution imperceptibly and gradually. With the publications of the works of Mr. Woodrow Wilson, Professors Woodburn and Beard, and Dr. Cleveland, persons interested in the American constitution have come to know that the American constitution was not a *written* constitution pure and simple, and that the traditional account of the constitution is erroneous. In this illuminating book Mr. Herbert W. Horwill proves very ably how the traditional view of the American constitution is mistaken; for the American constitution is composed of "(1) *The law of the Constitution* comprising (a) *The Fundamental Law of the Constitution*, consisting of the Constitution of 1787 as subsequently amended, (b) *The Statute Law of the Constitution*; (c) *The Common Law of the constitution* and (2) *The conventions of the Constitution*.

The whole of his book is an attempt to show how there are also *conventions* in the American constitution. But we believe that the author has chosen a rather inappropriate title to his excellent book. He calls the book "The Usages of the American Constitution." "Usages" as he himself says on p. 22 "denotes something that people are accustomed to do: convention indicates that they are accustomed to do it because of a general agreement that it is the proper thing to do." I may be asked why the author chose 'usages' instead of 'conventions' for the title of his book. The author says that he has reluctantly adopted the title because the term 'Constitutional Convention' is normally applied in America to the assemblies summoned for the purpose of drafting or amending

the Fundamental Laws of the States. We would have wished the author call the book "The Conventions of the American Constitution," for the book will be read mainly by students of Comparative Politics and they would be the last persons to be confused by the term 'conventions.'

The author rightly points out that in the election of the President certain changes have taken place with the acquiescence of the people—changes which were not intended by the framers of the Constitution. The Fundamental Law to which an amendment was moved in 1804 declared that the President and the Vice President should be elected by electors chosen by the people or by the State Legislatures. It was also laid down that if no one of the candidates for the Presidency obtained a majority of votes the House of Representatives should choose by ballot the President from the three highest on the list. Thus according to the Fundamental Law the election of the President would always be indirect. The object of this arrangement was to make the new world "safe against democracy."

But what is the actual practice? Mr. Horwill very pertinently draws attention to two conventions which have grown up in regard to the election of the President, namely, "the convention which makes it *imperative* for the State Legislatures to direct the appointment of Presidential electors by popular vote, and the other which has transformed the independent electors into mere clerks who record a choice already made by the same vote." (p. 33). The author indicates clearly that the electors have lost their independence and that they are tools in the hands of Party organisations. He therefore concludes that the electors are 'animated rubber-stamps,' registering the will of the party. The author then proceeds to discuss the situation consequent upon the death of a Presidential nominee on the eve of the election. He concludes that in any event the elector will not be allowed to exercise his free choice. So then, on account of a convention, the very object of the framers of the Constitution has been defeated.

Perhaps the most original and interesting chapter in the book is Chapter III entitled 'Accidental President.' The author points out how the practice of a Vice-President succeeding to a Presidency left vacant by the death of its occupant is a thing quite contrary to the Fundamental Laws of the Constitution. This again is a convention to which the American people have become accustomed since 1841, when the Vice President John Tyler became President. Consequent upon the death of President Harrison. On no less than five occasions has a Vice-President been called to the White House through the death of its occupant. "The usage then", remarks Mr. Horwill on p. 76, "which has made a full President of what was meant to be an Acting President, is as firmly established to-day as any constitutional practice outside the Fundamental Law can possibly be."

The far-reaching results of this convention are next dealt with. This convention leaves the government without an actual chief executive whenever the elected President is no longer physically or mentally competent to discharge his duties. The author illustrates his point by a reference to the period of serious illness of President Wilson and shows how the question of the part to be taken by America in political reconstruction of the post-war world was left to be decided by an invalid instead of by a hale man. Again during Wilson's absence from the United States

the heavy and onerous duties of the Presidential office were done by Wilson himself who was already overworked at the Peace Conference. Such a practice as described above was not conducive to efficiency in administration and harmony of relations between the Executive and the Legislature.

Mr. Horwill next deals with the "Third Term" Presidency. Usage forbids a third term in America for even Washington, the Father of the American people desisted from it. But the opinions of writers regarding the acceptance of this usage in America seem to be diverse. Professor J. A. Woodburn, and Hart Gawaliel Bradford regard this usage as almost established, while Professor Thayer and Lord Bryce hold a contrary view. After tracing the history of the question the author concludes thus: "The usage, if usage it be, is not so firmly established as absolutely to deter an ambitious man from making the venture."

The limitation of the powers of the Senate in the initiation of money-bills may be regarded as a part of the accepted usages of the Constitution.

Again, though the Fundamental Law gives Congress perfect liberty "to append riders to appropriation bills, some progress has been made toward the establishment of constitutional usage forbidding the practice."

There has been established the usage which prohibits any one from seeking to represent in Congress a district in which he does not himself reside.

A number of other usages are also dealt with. The creation of the Cabinet, throwing open the doors of either Chamber during debates (except during the Executive session), prohibiting the combination of State and Federal offices in one and the same person, geographical distribution of office, not yielding to the temptation of increasing the strength of the Federal Court according to party exigencies, the growing mania for titles of honour, Presidential 'oral' messages, the absence of the President from the United States during his term of office, the selection of Senators by popular vote and the usage which prohibits Cabinet ministers from speech or presence on the floor of either House except on ceremonial occasions—these are the miscellaneous conventions in the American constitution.

Discussing the general principles governing the conventions, the author avers that most of them were shaped by the needs of the moment. The net result of these conventions has been to make the American government more democratic than its framers intended it to be.

Mr. Horwill has pointed out in a style all his own the conventions of the American constitution. But here and there one finds that he has treated matter quite irrelevant for the thesis he has attempted to prove. Take for instance the President's right of appointment and dismissal.

"A year ago any one would have asserted, without fear of contradiction that there was one class of offices in regard to which the President had obtained, through usage, an unfettered power not only of nomination but virtually of appointment also. He was allowed to use his own discretion in selecting the members of his Cabinet and the confirmation of his choice had become a mere formality" (p. 136). But the author further on gives instances when the President's choice was questioned by the Senate, and on both the occasions that he mentions we are of opinion that the Senate gained a moral victory. The President's right of appointing his Cabinet members has not

gained that general acceptance characteristic of other conventions treated in the book.

The same is the position with regard to the President's right to remove heads of departments. The author says that usage gives the President the right to remove. But there has been an occasion when this usage was questioned. On date 11, 1924 the Senate moved a resolution requesting President Coolidge to cause the resignation of the Secretary of the Navy on account of certain official acts relating to the Tea Pot Dome scandal. The President refused to obey the resolution but the trouble was solved by the voluntary resignation of the Secretary. We believe that such questionable usages are hardly conventions of the Constitution and need not find a place in a book of the kind under review.

The author has very ably proved that the American constitution has grown to be what it is to-day. If the book proves anything it is that a 'written constitution' springing Minerva-like from the head of a legislator cannot serve for all time. It will have to be amended and improved by constitutional practices or conventions. It used to be the boast of English writers that their constitution has "broadened from precedent to precedent." The scholar from Oxford has proved in this work that the American constitution has grown to be the magnificent edifice that it stands today partly on account of the acceptance by the American people of some important constitutional usages.

Mr. Horwill is well-equipped for the work he has placed before us. He is a scholar who has made a special study of the American constitution. His pertinent references to the works on the American constitution prove the depth of his learning. But he is not merely an erudite scholar casting his reflections or evolving his theories from the arm-chair of his studio. His work, as he says in the preface, "is not the product of academic reflection at a distance." He has spent more than six years in the United States and has studied the inner working of the Democratic machine at close quarters. We need hardly say therefore that the book will meet with a ready response from the public.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION. By SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU. (The National Secretary's Office, Adyar, Madras.) 1926. 8½ x 5½. pp. 158. Rs. 2-8-0.

THIS is a commentary on the Government of India Act, 1919, and was written in 1924 on the eve of the deliberations of the Reforms Inquiry Committee. Those who kept themselves in touch with Mrs. Besant's National Convention movement will have no difficulty in recognising it. It was then published in parts by the National Convention as part of its propaganda and was very highly spoken of; it is now presented to the Indian public in handy book form. There are few living Indians who both by practical administrative experience and deep constitutional study are so well fitted as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to handle the subject which he has done with such conspicuous ability in this volume. His treatment of the subject is lucid and his style direct and simple and consequently easily intelligible. The book will be found useful as much by the student of constitutions as by the lay reader, and is unquestionably a valuable contribution to the daily growing literature on the subject of Indian Constitutional Reforms.

D. V. A.

THE INDIAN LIMITATION ACT OF 1908.

By V. S. DESAI. (D. G. Khandekar, Bombay.)
1926. pp. 155 Rs. 2.

THIS is a small handbook of about 150 pages on the Act of Limitation, written by a Bombay legal practitioner. It contains explanatory notes on important sections and articles and also a brief summary of the Act within fifteen pages. We think the author has done well in the discussion of most important issues arising under the Act and from the students' view point Mr. Desai has left nothing to be desired. Principal Gharpure of the Poona Law College has prefaced a note in which he expresses his satisfaction at this compilation and we think no further testimony to its usefulness to the student is necessary. The printing is quite satisfactory and we feel the price of Rs. 2 is within the means of the students for whom this book is primarily intended. A useful index is appended at the end.

S. Y. P.

GOING EAST. By L. E. COX. (The United Council for Missionary Education.) 1926. 7¼ × 4¾. pp. 80.

THIS is a book written in a really delightful style for the guidance of the Christian missionary bound on his first voyage to India, which has meant to him till then only Rajahs, elephants and dancing-girls. By means of graphic descriptions of rural and urban India—rather of the social scene in Calcutta and a typical Bengalee village—the book aims at lifting the curtain of mystery that hangs over a land in which splendour and squalor, poverty and wealth, poetry and vulgarity, civilization and barbarism, religion and religiosity, patriotism and flunkeyism blend in such varying degrees so that the foreign visitor is puzzled, dazzled, fascinated and repelled by turns. "Indians are worth proselytizing," seems to be the inner message of the book; but, that apart, it is very interesting.

R. S.

MISCELLANEA.**NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION OF INDIA, AKOLA.**

(From the Secretary.)

1. PRESIDENT ELECT.

Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer has consented to preside at the Ninth Session of the National Liberal Federation of India, which takes place at Akola in Berar on the 27th, 28th, and 29th December 1926.

2. MEMBERSHIP FEES.

The minimum fees for the membership of the Reception Committee is Rs. 10, while the fee for a delegate is Rs. 5 only. Visitors will be admitted on a nominal fee of rupee 1. Lady visitors will have accommodation reserved for them. Press representatives will be admitted free, on application.

3. ACCOMMODATION.

The session will be held on the premises of the Local Normal School within a few minutes' walk from the Railway Station. Guests will be accommodated in the rooms of the Normal School, and the High School Hostels. A few tents also will be

pitched in the premises of the Normal School. Arrangements will be made for a common vegetarian mess, but special dining arrangements also will be made for those who so desire them. Details will be supplied on reference to the Honorary Secretaries to the Reception Committee.

4. APPEAL.

The Reception Committee strongly appeal to all the Liberal friends in India to attend this year's session at Akola. As it is impossible to address individually each Liberal friend at his place of residence, the Reception Committee publishes this general and earnest invitation to all the members of the Liberal party, wherever situate, not to miss this opportunity to attend and add to the strength of the ensuing Federation meeting at Akola.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE MODERN STATE.** By R. M. MACIVRER. (Clarendon Press, Oxford.) 1926. 9 × 5¼. pp. 504. 21s.
THE SOUTH AFRICANS. By SARAH GERTRUDE MILLIN. (Constable & Co., Ltd., London.) 1926. 8 × 5¼. pp. 280. 7s. 6d.
CASES ON CONSTITUTIONAL LAW. By B. A. BICKNELL. (Oxford University Press, Oxford.) 1926. 8½ × 5½. pp. 215. 7s. 6d.
PRIME MINISTERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By F. J. C. HEARNshaw. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.) 1926. 8½ × 5½. pp. 300. 12s. 6d.

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**Government Soap Factory,
Bangalore.**

CHARLES HARDLESS, Senior, Retd.

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