

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Conference of subjects of Bhor State which met early this week under the presidency of Mr. L. B. Bhopatkar has passed some very important resolutions. While the Chamber of Princes safeguards the interests of rulers of Indian States, there is at present no machinery for the protection of the interests of their subjects. The Conference has asked that a corresponding Chamber for Indian States subjects should be soon set up. Similarly it has demanded representation for them on the statutory commission which will go into the question of Indian constitutional reform. The relationship between a state ruler and his subjects is at present undefined. This is regrettable and the Conference has done well in suggesting that the task of defining it should be entrusted to a commission appointed presumably by Parliament. But in addition to these resolutions of more general interest, the Conference has also passed resolutions affecting the Bhor State. It called upon the ruler of the State to establish responsible government in his State as soon as possible and to limit his personal expenses to 10 p. c. of the State's income, the legislative council contemplated by the resolution having otherwise full financial control. This is a necessary resolution, in view of the very common experience of state subjects, from which Bhor cannot unfortunately be exempted, that the rulers indulge in a good deal of unnecessary and useless expenditure. The reforms pressed by the Conference are, in our opinion, long overdue and Shrimant Babasaheb Pant Sachiv ought to lose no time in giving effect to them.

OUR countrymen in East Africa have done well in submitting to the Government of East African Indians' Grievances. Indian National Congress a statement of their grievances. Naturally enough this makes prominent mention of the frantic efforts that are being made by the local Government to revive racial segregation, though perhaps under a different garb. Reference was made to this matter in a recent issue of this paper; but there are other hardships, not less humiliating, to which the Indians in East Africa seem to be subject. Thus, e. g., the higher grades of the civil services are at present closed to them. But what makes this disability far more galling is the fact that some times even non-British subjects like Goans are preferred. It is not necessary in order to give it our backing to subscribe to every argument set forth in the statement in support of this demand; but the request made by them is obviously reasonable and ought therefore to be met as soon as possible. Following the precedent in Kenya, Indian representation is claimed in the Executive Councils of Uganda and Tanganyika. Then Indians are at present refused arms licenses which, especially in the outlying districts, has often resulted in loss of Indian life and property and exposes them to serious risks. There is also no reason why they should not be allowed their proper share in the defence of their adopted country and the Defence Force Bill now under the local Government's contemplation, ought to include them within its scope. It is a pity that while Europeans are given the right of trial by jury, Indians have been excluded from it. The statement mentions an official promise in this respect which should be made good without avoidable delay. We hope the Government of India will be able to secure redress for the difficulties of Indians mentioned in the statement.

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It is a happy sign that the question of the position of the Indian States in the future constitution of India is being increasingly discussed publicly, and as we have reasons to believe, by the authorities in some of the important States. No one will deny that the question is full of difficulties, but it would be wrong to allow them to drag aside the fundamental and supreme issue, namely, the life and condition of the seventy millions of State subjects. We agree with most of what Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar says in this connection in the last issue of the *Hindustan Review* in so far as it relates to obvious facts. But we are unable to agree with him in his advocacy for the assumption on the part of British Indians of a distant and detached feeling such as one is likely to have for the in-

habitants of the South Sea Islands for instance. Facts of geography and the basic community in economic organisation and in cultural development of the people in British India and the States remain unaffected by the sanads and treaties made in the storm and stress of political exigencies. Isolation being thus impossible the future of Indian States cannot be a matter of indifference to British India. As a result, a certain conformity in political development between them is inevitable. The rulers of States may have genuine grievances; they may have certain legitimate rights which they do not enjoy at present and to which they may lay claim. All these are matters for careful discussion and settlement among the parties concerned. But the central fact remains that no solution of the problem of the Indian States which fails consistently to recognise the rights of these seventy millions of State subjects can have any assurance of permanence; and chief among these rights is the right of self-government.

THE presidential address of Prof. S. Radhakrishnan to the College and University Teachers' Conference recently held in Calcutta has unfortunately not received the attention it deserves. The aim of education should be, he said, to keep alive the spark of national pride and self-respect in the midst of circumstances that tend to undermine them. This the present educational policy of the Government has failed to achieve. Prof. Radhakrishnan holds that it has only succeeded in training men into efficient but docile tools of an external authority. He is of course not unaware of the contribution of Indian Universities to our public life, social service and the learned professions, but regretfully observes that they have failed to influence the literature and philosophy of the world, its art and science. Those who look upon educational expenditure as so much waste and stint money for its expansion would find much food for reflection in his address. In this connection he says:—"Expenditure on education and the development of industrial life is not merely an economic investment for which a steady income may be expected in later years but even a political investment which will divert the intelligentsia from dreams of anarchism and bolshevism." While pleading for the development of the idea of nationhood among our people, he rightly condemns the present day sectional tendencies; for, as he so pithily puts it, communal warfare is another name for national suicide.

IN the whole civilized world the heinous custom of slavery is no longer an object of mere condemnation, but of speedy abolition, wherever it exists. In some of the Indian States however, it is still lawful to own slaves. In the *People of the 10th Inst.* Mr. H. B. Sarda M. L. A. writes about the slavery of the Darogha caste in Rajputana States. Mr. Sarda says that in exchange of food, clothes and marriage dowry from the master the Daroghas bind themselves to render any service that the master may demand and not to leave the master's service. Their children are similarly liable to render service to the masters. The daughters of Daroghas are given away in dowry in the marriage of the master's daughters. The master can also dispose of the surplus Daroghas under him, but retains the right to requisition their service whenever necessary and to give away their daughters in dowry. A

Darogha can buy his freedom by paying back to the master all the expenses incurred on his behalf by the master. A Darogha naturally has no scope to earn money and the master sees to it that he gets none. He therefore remains a slave all his life and transmits his slavery to his children. In the memorandum submitted to the Temporary Slavery Commission of the League, the British Government said that this type of slavery was practised only in a part of Northern Burma and in two districts of Assam. It is curious that these States were not mentioned in the memorandum. Sir William Vincent signed the League Slavery Convention in September last year on behalf of the Government of India with the reservation that his signature did not bind that Government "to bring about, progressively and as soon as possible, the complete abolition of slavery in all its forms" in territories of any Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty. The reservation was a shameful betrayal of an obvious duty of the suzerain power. We, however, do not think it outside the legitimate power of the Government of India to intervene to wipe out this disgrace even though they have not undertaken to do so under an international covenant. Rajputana is nearer to Delhi than Hukawng valley where the government are carrying an anti-slavery campaign.

IT is indeed a matter for regret that the stores purchase policy of the Government should not yet come into line with the dictates of public opinion. All these years India has been asking that this policy should be so designed as to encourage indigenous industries. But orders for stores required for Government use which could as well be obtained in this country still apparently continue to be placed in foreign markets. In a recent representation to Government the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay draw prominent attention to the matter and point out how the admittedly prior claim of Indian manufacturers to Government patronage fails in practice to secure recognition at their hands. The difficulty under the existing rules seems to be that they throw rather too much responsibility on the indenting officer. This he tries to escape by taking the safe course of ordering his requirements from the United Kingdom. The Chamber therefore demands that the new rules should be so framed as to give positive preference to Indian-made goods. There is nothing unreasonable in this demand which Government ought to have no difficulty in satisfying. It is also suggested by the Chamber that the stores purchase rules now under preparation should be framed after consultation with the Indian mercantile and may we add, public, opinion. In our opinion the acceptance of this suggestion of the Chamber would result in a decided improvement of the rules.

WE have received a copy of the First Report (1920-1927) of the Servants of the People Society, Lahore, which records the many useful activities of the Society during the last seven years and makes an appeal for Rs. 50,000 for a lecture hall. Lala Lajpat Rai, the founder of the Society, made a gift of his splendid library to the Society, but it appears from the Report that owing to lack of accommodation the public use of the library has been restricted. The Society needs a spacious lecture hall for holding lecture meetings. We have no doubt that the appeal will meet with the generous response it deserves.

## THE ROYAL INDIAN NAVY.

WITH the passage, in the House of Commons, of the third reading of the Indian Navy Bill, which seeks to insert in the Government of India Act necessary amendments providing for the control of India's naval forces, the scheme, announced by the Viceroy more than a year ago, for taking the first steps towards the creation of an Indian Navy, may be said to have been set on its feet. The scheme is very modest one, and will immediately do nothing more than put the existing Royal Indian Marine on a combatant basis. The Royal Indian Navy, as it will hereafter be called, will perform the functions of defending India's harbours, policing the Persian Gulf, transporting troops, &c., and the extra cost that will be involved in its constitution will for the present be Rs. 11 lakhs or so. The amount that is being spent at present on the Royal Indian Marine is Rs. 51 lakhs a year; it is expected that on the Royal Indian Navy as contemplated at present the annual expenditure will be Rs. 62 lakhs. As against this additional expenditure, however, there will very likely be a saving of £100,000 a year: for the annual contribution of this amount which India makes to the naval expenditure of Great Britain cannot continue after India has her own navy. But it is surprising that no authoritative statement was made on this subject in the debate that took place in the Commons. We may take it, however, that this contribution will now be withdrawn. The public in India is naturally averse to anything which will increase the non-votable expenditure of the Government of India. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas gave forcible expression to this feeling when he declared, on the discussion of the army budget in the Legislative Assembly last month, that Indians would oppose the creation of an Indian Navy if it would add even a pie to expenditure put outside the control of the Indian Legislature. If India is no longer required to make a grant £100,000 toward the upkeep of the East India Squadron, this objection obviously will not apply, and the net result will be, as was often repeated in Parliament, that India will have handed over to her the control of a force which at present is controlled by an outside authority.

When it is said that India will have control, what is meant is the Government of India, the Indian Legislature being as effectively shut out from a voice in the control of the Navy as of the Army. Those who took part in the debates in the House of Commons have no idea of the real position of the Assembly *vis a vis* military expenditure. One member said: "The Army Vote is submitted to the Assembly in very great detail every year and very full discussion takes place." As a matter of fact, however, not a pie of military expenditure comes up for sanction before the Assembly; it is only, as every one in India knows and as Sir Basil Blackett explained in the Assembly, "part of the civil expenditure controlling the Army." Another member, speaking in the same strain, said: "The

Assembly can refuse if they choose to vote the 50 lakhs of rupees or more which may be necessary for the provision of the naval services." The Assembly of course will have no chance of refusing this grant because the naval estimates like the military ones will not be placed before them at all. We in India can have no delusions that the representatives of the people will have at present any share in the control which the Government of India will be able to exercise. The utmost that Indians can hope for is that if the Government of India has the control they may participate in it, to however small an extent, at some date in future, but that after all is a poor hope. The position under the Bill will be this: that the naval forces will be at the disposition and under the control of the Governor General in Council and will be used normally for local defence alone. The Governor General, however, can lend these forces for service in foreign waters in a state of emergency, when he will hand over the control over them to the Admiralty. In such a contingency the expenses will be borne on the British exchequer. When, however, it is proposed to cast the burden on the Indian people, the consent of both Houses of Parliament will have to be taken. It is no doubt true that in theory the Governor General himself declares an emergency and offers to lend the use of the Indian Navy to the Admiralty; but in effect it is the Admiralty which command the Indian Navy in case of an Imperial emergency. As Mr. Ammon observed: "No one would imagine that the Governor General would place these forces at the disposal of the Admiralty unless he had received instructions from the Government on this side. He would be acting on those instructions alone, and it is reducing the whole thing to a farce to talk about the Indian people being consulted or considered in any manner." For it was claimed by some members that the Assembly would decide on the use and destination of the naval forces. Mr. Pilcher, e. g., said: "The Assembly is in entire control until a given moment when an emergency arises... and then the head of the Executive has the power to hand the Navy over for the time being to the Admiralty." The fact however is that the Assembly does not come in at all in this business and the Governor General will practically obey the behests of the Admiralty. The only control the Assembly will have is over the Naval Discipline Act as applied to the Indian naval forces—that is, as Lieut.-Col. Howard-Bury put it, "The Legislative Assembly have control over the personnel of the Indian fleet," which for the present is entirely white so far as officers are concerned, and in this respect, it must be admitted, the Indian legislature will have larger control over the Navy than over the Army or the Air Force. But in other respects the position of the Indian Navy will be just as unsatisfactory as that of the Army.

There was much criticism in the House of Commons for want of adequate facilities afforded to

Indians for sea-training. The arrangement contemplated at present in this respect is that "all the lower ranks of the Indian Navy would consist eventually of Indians, but with regard to the higher ranks, one-third of the commissioned ranks would be reserved in the first instance for Indians, provided that qualified candidates were forthcoming." Three cadetships a year would be available every year, of which one would be reserved for an Indian. In this connection Lieut.-Col. Headlam, Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, made a statement which raises a doubt whether the Dartmouth College will be closed to Indians, for he said: "So far as the Admiralty is concerned, every effort will be made to train Indians, where suitable, for the position of officers in this new force. The Admiralty has lent two sloops to the Indian Navy already for that purpose. I take it that the arrangement will be that, supposing suitable candidates for commissions can be found, they will be treated very much as our special entry candidates at the Admiralty are treated in this country. We cannot expect the parents of Indian boys of youthful age to send across to be trained at Dartmouth in the way in which English boys go to school, but afterwards, as a special entry, when they are older, I can foresee that Indians who are willing will have every opportunity of learning their naval work and receiving commissions in the Royal Indian Navy." It is not clear whether the public school entry, to which Lieut.-Col. Headlam referred, is in addition to or in place of entry through Dartmouth, and though a question to this effect was specifically asked by Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy the Admiralty Secretary did not vouchsafe an answer to it. The present officers' list in the Royal Indian Marine is as follows:—9 post-captains, 25 commanders, 21 lieut-commanders, 29 lieutenants and 9 mid-shipmen on the officers' list, and an engineer-captain, 25 engineer-lieut. Commanders and 11 boatswains on the engineer officers' list. It is easy to calculate how many ages it will take for the Indian Navy to be entirely officered by Indians, if only one Indian cadet is admitted every year. Many members pressed on Government the necessity of establishing training colleges in India itself and providing sea-going training ships. That was how officers were trained in the Dominions. Col. Wedgwood also suggested that the Government should persuade the great steamship lines which trade with India to take Indian cadets, and, what is more important, to accept as engineer officers and as executive officers a number of Indians. More than everything else the whole mentality of the British public must undergo a change in this respect, for they seem to think—a thought which found expression in the House of Commons—that the Hindus must be left entirely out of reckoning in connection with sea-training, and even of the 70 million Mahomedans only 5 millions or so who are familiar with sea-faring duties, can at all be expected to undergo naval training. Unless opportunities are liberally

provided to all, without distinction of creed, for receiving such training, it is clear that there will be no possibility of the Indian Navy becoming truly Indian at an early date, and so long as it continues to be Indian only in name, Indians cannot be expected to feel any enthusiasm for this new scheme. Col. Wedgwood, we think, correctly interpreted Indian opinion when he said that the proposed creation of the Indian Navy is perhaps a start in the right direction, but "a pitiful start at that."

#### THE LAW OF CONSPIRACY AS AFFECTING TRADE UNIONS.

MR. N. M. JOSHI, the representative of labour in the Indian legislature, has given notice of his intention to introduce in the Legislative Assembly a Bill for relieving all trade combinations of workmen and employers from the conspiracy branch of the criminal law. The Trade Unions Act, which was passed last year, has already secured this result in so far as registered trade unions are concerned, but such workmen and employers as are members of trade unions which do not choose to register themselves under this Act or as do not join any trade unions at all are still liable to prosecution for conspiracy if they take any collective action in furtherance of their objects. There is no reason why a discrimination should be made between registered trade unions on the one hand and unregistered trade unions and unorganised wage-earners and employers on the other in respect of immunity from criminal responsibility in industrial disputes and in fact such a discrimination is not made in the criminal law of England, from which the common law doctrine of conspiracy in restraint of trade has been almost entirely eliminated. It is the purpose of Mr. Joshi's Bill to assimilate Indian criminal law to English by extending to those workmen and employers who do not belong to registered trade unions the exemption from prosecution for conspiracy which is conferred by the Act of last year upon those who do.

For a proper understanding of this question it is necessary to refer to the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1913, which for the first time introduced the offence of criminal conspiracy into the criminal law of this country, on the lines of the English common law doctrine of conspiracy. This offence is thus defined in the Indian Penal Code, §120 A:—

When two or more persons agree to do, or cause to be done,

- (1) an illegal act, or
- (2) an act which is not illegal by illegal means,

such an agreement is designated a criminal conspiracy:

provided that no agreement except an agreement to commit an offence shall amount to a criminal conspiracy unless some act besides the agreement is done by one or more parties to such agreement in pursuance thereof.

The word "illegal" is applicable, in the Indian Penal Code, "to everything which is an offence, or which is prohibited by law, or which furnishes ground for a civil action" (§ 43). The effect of this new provision relating to conspiracy on disputes between masters and workmen will thus be plain. To take an illustration. A workman who breaks his contract of service commits no offence and is not criminally punishable; he only commits a civil wrong thereby involving himself in an action for civil damages. If, however, two or more workmen combine to break their contract, then the wrong done amounts to an offence under the criminal law rendering each of them who committed the wrongful act liable for criminal proceedings on a charge of conspiracy. This doctrine of conspiracy, according to which, when a wrong is inflicted by one person upon another, it is left to be redressed by recourse to the civil law, whereas when it is inflicted by a combination of persons it is regarded as a danger to the State necessitating the State's intervention with all the resources of criminal punishment, is, in its general application, beyond civil. The justification of this differentiation is forcibly expressed in the following passage from the Report of the Royal Commission of 1874: "If it be asked on what principle a combination of several to effect the like wrongful purpose becomes an offence, the answer is upon the same principle that any other civil wrong, when it assumes a more aggravated and formidable character, is constituted an offence, and becomes transferred from the domain of the civil to that of the criminal law. All offences, it need hardly be observed, are either in their nature offences against the community or are primarily offences against individuals. As regards the latter class every offence against person or property or other individual right involves a civil wrong which would have entitled the person injured to civil redress, were it not that, owing to the aggravated nature of the wrong and the general insecurity to society which would ensue from such act if allowed to go unpunished, the State steps in and, merging the wrong done to the party immediately interested in the larger wrong done to the community, converts the wrong done by the infraction of individual right into a crime, and subjects the wrong-doer to punishment to prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence of the offence. Thus the dividing line between private wrongs, as entitling the party injured to civil remedies, and private wrongs thus converted into public wrongs, in other words, into offences or crimes, is to be found in the more aggravated and formidable character which the violation of individual rights under given circumstances assumes. It is upon this principle that the law of conspiracy by which the violation of private right, which if done by one would only be the subject of a civil remedy, when done by several is constituted a crime, can be vindicated as necessary and just. It is obvious that a wrongful violation of another man's right committed by many assumes a far

more formidable and offensive character than when committed by a single individual. The party assailed may be able by recourse to the ordinary civil remedies to defend himself against the attack of one. It becomes a very different thing when he has to defend himself against many combined to do him injury".

While it may be conceded that the law of conspiracy is sound in itself, it is universally recognised that those who conduct trade disputes must be put in a special position as regards that law; in fact, members of Trade Unions, whether registered or non-registered, and even non-Union men, must be exempted from the operation of that law in so far as the purposes of such disputes are concerned. At any rate workmen can have no chance against employers unless they are permitted by law to take concerted action among themselves. In their fight with masters the only weapon which men can employ with effect is that of combination. If, in the name of free labour, workmen are deprived of the resources of organization and combination, masters are in effect given sole control of the labour market, making it impossible for wage-earners to improve labour conditions. It is however unnecessary to enlarge on this point, because the Act of 1926 has already given to registered trade unions the exceptional position which we wish to see conceded to all others to whom it falls to conduct trade disputes between employers and workmen. In fact when the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1913 was passed, making the law of conspiracy operative in India, the necessity of taking the organizations of employers and labourers out of its scope was clearly foreseen by non-official members and admitted by official. Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar, who was then in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, pointed out that in England combinations of workmen on the one hand and of employers on the other are exempted from the operation of the conspiracy law, whereas the "infantile organisations" existing in India will have no similar protection. Sir Reginald Craddock, as Home Member of the Government of India, fully admitted the force of this criticism but refused at the time to make an exception in favour of labourers' and employers' organizations on the ground that such organizations had not yet come into existence. It is worth while to quote his exact words: "If at any time after this law were passed, it should be found that there were organizations of employers or of servants which were formed and managed on lines similar to those in England, no doubt at that time similar measures might be taken to provide for such exceptional cases: at present they do not exist." Here is a definite promise to confer upon organizations of labourers and employers protection of the same extent as is conferred on similar organizations in England, and the Government of India can no longer consistently limit it to members of registered trade unions alone.

That the protection from the law of conspiracy is limited at present to registered trade unions is

the merest of accidents. The Government undertook legislation for the purpose of registering trade unions and it was found technically impossible under that Bill to incorporate in it amendments extending its scope, but there is no reason to suppose that on merits the Government of India are opposed to giving to all other organizations the immunities now given to registered trade unions. The member in charge of the Bill, Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, recognising this position, made a friendly invitation to the champions of labour (see p. 173, Vol. VII, Legislative Assembly Debates) to bring in a private Bill to extend immunity provisions to non-registered trade unions, and it is in response to this invitation that Mr. Joshi's Bill has been framed. We have therefore a right to hope, and indeed we hope, that the Government will not only not oppose the Bill, but give it their warm support. Mr. Clow no doubt made some remarks in the course of the debate which seemed to show that he entertains some misgivings about the expediency of immediately extending to other bodies the privileges conferred upon registered trade unions. As one who would like to see as many trade unions registered as possible, he would, it appears, withhold certain privileges from non-registered trade unions with the object of inducing them to seek registration. We agree with him in thinking that the conditions of registration are by no means onerous and that it is in the interest of the movement that all labour organizations should shoulder the responsibilities and enjoy the privileges attaching to registration. But we have no right to deny to non-registered unions any advantages which of rights belong to them merely with a view that such denial may serve as an impetus to registration. Whatever force there may be in Mr. Clow's contention that "responsibility and power must go together" in regard to the protection of union funds to which Mr. Clow was then referring, that argument has no application whatever to a proposal, such as Mr. Joshi's, to exempt all organisations of labourers and employers from the conspiracy sections of the criminal law. For, as Mr. Joshi pointed out in the debate, immunity from the law of conspiracy is not a privilege to be conferred upon trade unions at our discretion; it is an inherent right which belongs to all trade combinations from the very nature of their transactions, irrespective of whether such combinations are registered or not. Since combination is of the essence of such organization to place them under the law of conspiracy is in effect to declare them illegal, and surely it is not contended by Government that because certain trade unions do not get themselves registered they should be treated as unlawful bodies. Perhaps, even without such a law expressly safeguarding unregistered trade unions against the provisions of the conspiracy law, they will in practice be left alone, but it is not right to keep any organizations in a state where all their transactions will in theory be tainted with illegality. From that point of view it is necessary to legalise unregistered

trade unions as registered trade unions have been legalised and Mr. Joshi seeks by this Bill to do nothing more than to give a legal sanction to such bodies. We have every hope that such a simple and non-contentious Bill will meet with unanimous support in the Indian legislature.

The law of conspiracy has also a civil side to it; but we have considered it above only in its criminal aspect.

A LABOUR ADVOCATE.

## ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

### LIMITS OF VOLUNTARY SYSTEM.

IT has been the boast of the Government of the United States that as a colonial power it has done more for the subject people in the Philippines than any other power has done for the people of its colony. The boast is substantially legitimate with regard to elementary education and the remarkable rapidity with which literacy has spread within the brief period of a quarter of a century during which the Islands have been under the United States adds force to such a claim. America conquered the Islands in 1898. In 1903 only about one person in forty was enrolled in the public schools. In 1923 the proportion was one to ten. In India in 1925 6.05 per cent. of the male population and 1.24 per cent. of the female population were attending recognised schools. In the Philippines nearly 40 per cent. of the population are literate. In India only about 7 per cent. of the population are literate.

It is necessary at the outset to note that attendance in primary schools is voluntary in the Philippines. If the present rate of progress is maintained, at the end of the next ten years all the children of school-going age will be at school. This proves that much can be achieved under a well-thought out voluntary programme, although it is impossible to ignore the evils which are inherent in a voluntary system and can be avoided only under a compulsion scheme. These evils are brought out in bold relief in the recent Report of a Survey of the Education System in the Philippines (Bureau of Printing, Manila. P. I.) It proves the prime necessity of providing a compulsory system as the basis of educational structure. Sixty-five per cent. of the total school population of twelve hundred thousand in the Philippines are in the two lowest grades in the elementary schools. This practically reduces the education system of the country to a lowest 'two-grades' organisation. This excessive concentration in the lowest grades is most marked in India also. Of a total attendance at schools and colleges in India of 7,594,000 no less than 4,898,000 are in the infant and the first classes, which in some provinces are synonymous. The Philippine system nearly touches the limit of possibilities in a voluntary system. There after a growth of twenty-five years it is a fact of crucial importance that nearly one-third of all the

pupils are in the first grade. Experience during this period has shown that there is a sharp drop in number from the first grade and that for a period of ten years (1909-1919) the enrollment in the second grade had remained wholly stationary. It is very recently that what had been so long a 'two-grade' school system is slowly tending to become a 'three-grade' system. The significance of the increase in grades higher than the first is largely reduced by the fact that a very considerable number of these pupils are repeaters. It will be interesting to compare the condition in the Philippines with the following figures relating to India:—

No. of children in	1923-24	1924-25	Wastage
Class I	3,685,792	4,045,684	...
Class II	1,218,758	1,252,507	2,433,285
Class III	874,760	897,512	321,246
Class IV	619,760	615,823	258,937

The report remarks that the whole system of elementary education in the Islands is characterised by the extreme maturity of its pupil body. The most serious cause of this 'overageness' in the schools is the extraordinary amount of failures. Taken as a whole and over a period of years, more than half of the pupils are marked 'failure' and are compelled to repeat the work of the various grades. The authors of the Report observe: 'Schools are established in order that the children may be taught, not that they may be failed. The community and the nation build buildings, employ teachers and administrators and finance equipment, libraries and laboratories in order that a generation of young people may be educated and prepared for useful living. Everything should be done by the school officials to facilitate the smooth progress of pupils through the grades.' The Report further observes that one of the fundamental causes of failure of pupils lies in the lack of adaptation of the curriculum to the needs and the abilities of the individual pupils. The chief need of the elementary schools is to organise a course of instruction which is adapted to the living conditions of the Filipinos and which is graded and arranged to fit the stages of growth of Filipino children typical of the respective school grades. The basic problems are to provide a curriculum which will gradually mature as the children mature and to set up administrative machinery which will keep the enrollment of children "up the grades". Nothing short of a systematic, scientific study of curriculum construction and of school administration will accomplish the result.

The question of curriculum naturally leads to the consideration of an adequate supply of trained teachers. Mr. Sharp while considering the question of short duration of school life and stagnation in Indian elementary schools observed in his Review (1917-22):—"The main causes of this condition of things are the paucity of teachers and the poverty of teaching capacity... Changes in the curriculum are not likely to effect changes in the length of school attendance. But even were

changes in the courses likely to produce such a result, the qualifications of the teaching staff set a limit to what can be attempted. The question of curriculum itself becomes one of teachers and methods." The Philippine Report lays equal stress on teachers' training and radical reform in the curricula. The school system in the Philippines as in India developed without adequate provision for the professional training of teachers. The result is that nearly ninety-five per cent. of the teachers in the primary and intermediate schools in the Islands are without professional training. The condition in India in this respect is far better, for of the 280,000 teachers in primary schools 124,000 are trained (1925).

A very important difference between elementary education in the Philippines (and in India is that while in the latter education is wholly in vernacular, in the former the medium of instruction is English. The problem of a suitable curriculum is therefore far more difficult in the Islands than in India. As has already been noted, a large percentage of pupils enrolled in the first grade leave the school before reaching the next grade and a small percentage only go through the whole course of elementary education. Regarding this evil the authors of the Report observe: "No more important problem faces the Bureau of Education than that of attracting children to and holding them in school. Unless children can be kept in school regularly and for a sufficient period of years, it will be impossible to carry out the purposes for which the school is created... Two years of the present instruction give children practically nothing of permanent value... To give one or two years of primary education of the type now current throughout the Islands is a gross extravagance." Regarding universal education in the future the Report says that "such rapid progress towards this end has been made during the last few years that the quality of the education given has been sacrificed. If formal school training of from two to four years is accepted as fulfilling the general social obligation to the school children, the Philippine people are indulging in a serious case of self-deception." The Report further says: "In the intermediate future the Bureau of Education might continue the policy of the past and seek to make primary and intermediate education universal at the earliest possible date. With this policy the Commission has expressed itself as quite out of sympathy. Its members are convinced that the wiser, and the only defensible, course is rather to strive to make more effective the education already provided."

The Insular Government of the Philippines provide 75.5 per cent. of education revenue and the local units 26.5 per cent. Education in the Philippines is thus predominantly State-supported. During the ten year's period following 1913 while the non-educational Governmental (Insular, Provincial and Municipal combined) expenditure increased by 77 per cent., the annual amount of

expenditure on education increased by 230 per cent. At the present time the per pupil cost of instruction in the primary school in the Philippines is 11 Pesos (1 Peso=4 shillings) while that in India is Rs. 8-2. If the opportunities of the primary schools under properly trained teachers are to be extended to all the children of primary school age, more than ten million Pesos will be necessary. In the opinion of the Commission a very large part of this must be raised by local taxation. The outstanding fact that emerges from the voluntary education system so generously supported by the Philippine Government and carried out under programme is its wasteful nature. While the percentage of literates to the total population and of children in school to the total number of children of school-going age show steady increase from year to year, its significance in real educational achievement is meagre. To believe that a year or two in an elementary school equips a child with an education which will be useful in real life is to practise self-deception and to add a ritualistic value to such education. This wastage can be checked only under a compulsion scheme. No country can afford such waste in child-energy and public money. Few Governments are so poor as cannot educate all the children under them. Indeed the poorer the country, the more it must spend on education.

J. B. S.

#### OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Paris, March 24.

##### THE BALKANS AGAIN.

NOT a week passes in Europe but brings with it the fear of war and the gruesome prospect of a conflagration which, fanned by the facilities of advanced scientific knowledge, would send the entire structure of society tumbling down into unprecedented ruin. So deep-seated is this suspicion among the peoples that all talk of peace and disarmament and the like could scarcely obscure it even when Geneva wears its busiest aspect. They instinctively know that it is when Governments speak of army reorganisation and deal with military budgets that they mean business. Now it is the ambition of Italy, now the readiness of France, and now the recuperation of Germany which causes alarm; but the tension is always there. The latest cause springs from the Balkans and that fertile field of European dissensions compels the scrutiny of all Europe. The relations of Rome and Belgrade is a matter of genuine anxiety to several Governments. As on previous occasions of greater or less moment, the trouble this time arises out of the status of Albania, "that nominal republic which is actually organised, so far as it is organised at all, on a mediaeval class system, complicated by sharp religious differences and a long tradition of intrigue." Pursuing a traditional policy, Fascist Italy has been expanding its influence in the Balkans. It is on good terms with

Hungary, Bulgaria, and Greece. An important treaty with Rumania has drawn that country nearer to it. And of recent months, Italian preponderance in Albania, both economic and political, has increased in such fashion as to bring friction with Albania's neighbour on the north, Yugo-Slavia.

By the treaty of Tirana signed last November, the Italian Government, under Article one, undertakes to support the Government of Albania which Ahmed Togu heads—this against all attempts to overthrow it. An immediate consequence was the resignation of M. Ninchich, the Foreign Minister of Yugo-Slavia, because of the set-back to his policy, as it was argued that once Italy was supreme in Albania she would control all the nearest outlets to the sea for Yugo-Slavia. Now Italy announces in an identical note to the principal capitals of Europe that war-like preparations are being made on the Yugo-Slav side of the Albanian border in the region whence Ahmed Togu set out on the invasion which won him his present position. The Government in Rome, it is being declared, cannot remain indifferent to the concentration of troops which Belgrade is alleged to be making, for the purpose, according to the Italian thesis, of overthrowing Ahmed Togu. Simultaneously Belgrade declares that Italian troops and munitions are being landed on the other side of the Adriatic.

##### A DIPLOMATIC CHESS.

"The whole crisis is a game of diplomatic chess between Italy and France" in the words of the London correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, and is a sequel to the recent strained relations which led to alarms of wars on the Franco-Italian frontier and which were reported in these columns. As has already been pointed out by me, Signor Mussolini's diplomatic success with Albania was interpreted as the establishment of a virtual protectorate over that country and caused considerable apprehension in France as by this means Albania was drawn away from Yugo-Slavia. The Italo-Rumanian understanding and the Italo-Bulgarian rapprochement which followed it isolated Serbia and alarmed both her and France. And what makes these complications yet more complicated is Great Britain's obvious backing of Italy in her support of the present Albanian Government against Serbian-inspired attempts. Certain references which Mr. Baldwin made to Signor Mussolini and the latter's vehement protests against them are now forgotten, and the present Conservative Government in England, for its own very good reasons, has ended by making friends with the Italian Dictator.

It has been reported that the Serbian generals believe that they could duly deal with Italy now if they only had a chance, and a military clique set to work to provoke an incident through Albania; and that it was Signor Mussolini who spoiled the game by his policy of publicity and the Serbians were forced by European public opinion.



to announce that they welcomed the League's intervention. Whatever that be, there seems little doubt that a conflict will be averted by the unanimous endeavour of Paris, Berlin, and London, through the intervention of the League if not outside it. But, as the *Paris Journal* points out: "The actual test is more serious to the League of Nations than that of the Greco-Bulgar conflict. It is relatively easy to prevent two peoples from battling when they have no desire for conflict. It is more difficult to reconcile them. Yet that is what is required for peace in the Balkans and harmony in the Adriatic." For the time being it is true that "the Great Powers are united" in the cause of Peace, as Mr. Garvin says in the *Observer*.

But one may well wonder how long is this unity going to last. With Italy eager for adventure, France prepared for a crisis, Germany on the look-out for opportunities to enhance her status better than the present slow method of acting through Geneva; with the Baltic States serving as a chess board for the game of British and Soviet diplomacies and the Balkans a race-course where France and Italy back different horses, it needs but the slightest incident to create disastrous complications.

Already the situation is not without its amusements, or, as Mr. Garvin would say, those lighter touches which relieve the heaviness of diplomacy. News comes from Geneva that Great Britain invokes Article XI of the Covenant of the League of Nations with a view to put the machinery of the League into force to oppose a war in the Balkans, following the precedents of 1920 and 1921, when she asked the Council to use its good offices in the Finnish-Swedish dispute over the Åland Islands and in the Albanian-Yugo-Slavian conflict over the Mirdite revolt. And this, after Great Britain despatched not only her own troops but also Indian troops to China and Sir Austen Chamberlain sent a note to Geneva persuading the League to spare the trouble of bothering about China, in spite of all three countries being Members. So also in the event of the League's action becoming a necessity in this crisis, the initiative will have to come from the German Foreign Minister, Herr Stresemann, as he is the president of the Council until the next regular session. And thus does Germany emerge as the arbiter of Europe's destiny. Coming events cast their shadows before?

#### DISARMAMENT TALKS.

Meanwhile delegates from twenty-one nations are now assembled at Geneva to talk of disarmament and invent formulas. The preparatory Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations wish only to establish the basic principles of disarmament which may be submitted to the Council in June and to the Assembly next September. Suggestions for disarmament formulated by France and adopted in the past few days by the Mixed Commission of the League will be submitted to the Preparatory Commission. The United States of America has already categorically declar-

ed its refusal to accept these suggestions causing thereby much disappointment at Geneva. Great Britain is expected to vote with the United States in this matter with the possibility of Japan and Argentina joining them.

The French proposals, as I have indicated in a previous letter, harp on the interdependence of land, naval, and aerial armaments, and on the "war potentials" of States. The British proposals expounded by Lord Cecil, which are almost diametrically opposite to the French, leave the size of armies, navies, and air forces blank, that is to say "to the scale set by the General Disarmament Conference." It is interesting to note that these latter proposals include the stipulation that each one of the parties may increase the forces "in case of rebellion or if unforeseen circumstances required military operations of a large kind." The last of the points included in Lord Cecil's Convention providing that "each signatory power shall be bound to take part in any action judged opportune and effective in order to preserve peace between the nations" is regarded as sure to be vetoed by America. In addition to these proposals there are the disarmament conventions of the Military Sub-Commission of the Preparatory Commission, and another Convention embodying the special points of view of Rumania, Poland, Yugo-Slavia, and Czecho-slovakia.

#### MR. WELLS AT IT.

A notable event in Paris in the past few days is a lecture by Mr. H. G. Wells at the Sorbonne on "Democracy under Revision." Judging from the enthusiasm with which he was received and the approbation from the weighty men of learning, the grey-haired and bald-headed professors, (which punctuated his speech it is doubtful whether the man or his ideas would evoke a similar response in the same circle in his own country. Incidentally it may perhaps also be taken as a clue to the sort of thought-currents which warm up learned men in France. As usual Mr. Wells was provocative and far more comprehensive than consistent. His thesis may be summed up in his own striking sentence: "Democracy is entering on a phase of revision in which Parliaments and Parliamentary bodies and political life as we know them will disappear."

Starting in the sixteenth which he characterized as the century which gave birth to Democracy, he quickly passed through the seventeenth and eighteenth which marked its ascendancy. With the twentieth he seemed to think mankind stands on the eve of a new era and Democracy was being revised. Summing up the characteristics of the era of Democracy just past or in passing, he pointed out that analysis and fragmentation were its principal features. This was reflected in literature in the novel which has become the most popular vehicle of expression and in the novel as well as in the drama individual lives and reactions rather than broad questions of policy or general masses of thought which were typical of the pre-

vious age, were the central points of interest. Detachment from generalities, lack of circumspection and of a long view of things was the result. The enlargement and application of the principle of representative government quickly culminated in universal suffrage; but there was clear proof that the ordinary voter "cared a rap" about big issues and broad questions. Neither the voter nor the politician who is his creation would seem to be capable of handling the large matters which it has become absolutely necessary should be dealt with in all their vastness and not piecemeal, to be solved at all. The three important world-problems of the day, the prevention of war, the necessity of a stable international currency which will be out of the reach of the preying speculator, and lastly the regulation of raw materials, all eluded the grasp of the politician. Not only that, but also the average man found himself engaged in the contradiction of his deep-seated narrow patriotism struggling with his professed democratic ideal of the equality of all—that is to say, before God and before Law. For, the age of Democracy has also been the age of Nationalism and as the working of the Labour Governments in Australia and South Africa showed, democratic principles did not avail them against restricting brown and yellow emigration.

And here Wells, the prophet, indulged in a little clairvoyance. Judging from the shadows of coming events, he said that while the ordinary voter thus showed indifference to large issues there were everywhere signs of a capable minority filled with ardour and willing to make the questions of public life its main concern. Such were the Fascists of Italy, the Communists of Russia and the Kwomintang of China. In none of these places had the proletariat risen against the central executive with a demand for polling booths. The worst failure of Democracy had been its powerlessness. There was nothing to prevent, concluded Mr. Wells, such a movement of government by capable minorities spreading all over the world, and in each country assuming a form suitable to the local conditions nor would it be incompatible with the spirit of democratic religions such as Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity. A bewildered Wellsian audience left the hall after this exposition grappling with the problem of reconciling their views of their hero as gathered from his writings with that heavy placid looking Anglo-Saxon they had seen who harboured a mind worthy of a Latin in its clarity and penetration and who had dealt them another shaking. But then, if the name H. G. Wells connotes any one thing it is vivacity, and as he himself claimed, his title to recognition is as a journalist in the proper and philosophic sense of that word. Once more this gifted man had interpreted the trends of his times in a manner which first shocks and then makes one ponder.

### REVIEWS.

#### ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BENGAL.

**ECONOMIC ANNALS OF BENGAL.** By J. C. SINHA. (Macmillan and Co., London.) 1927. 8¾ × 5½. pp. 301. 12s. 6d.

THIS book is a careful and laborious review of the economic conditions of Bengal during the years 1772 to 1793. The author who is the head of the Department of Economics of the University of Dacca has tried to bring out some of the important features of the time, which have been neglected by the historians of this period.

The most interesting part of the volume is that which relates to the currency problem of those days. Bengal was suffering from a multiplicity of rupee coins, some local and others imported from other parts of the country. The most peculiar characteristic of the situation was that certain commodities could be exchanged only in terms of certain types of rupees. The opportunities for defacing and debasing were availed of to a great extent, and the coins changed hands by weight only. Warren Hastings tried to introduce uniformity by introducing the Company's Sicca rupee as the sole medium of exchange, but the expensiveness and the technical difficulties came in his way. In spite of the complication due to the premium on the gold mohur, Cornwallis succeeded in bringing about the desired change.

It is popularly believed that the industries of Bengal as also of other parts of the country suffered during the times of the Company because of the restrictive and selfish tariff measures of England on the one hand, and the competition of machine-made goods on the other. Mr. Sinha tries to show that the real cause was the attempt on the part of the Company to establish its trade monopoly in every article of export. This thesis deserves further inquiry not only as regards Bengal but also as regards other parts of the country.

The use of the revenues of Bengal for the needs of the Company's trade, the hopeless character of the trade which was thus financed, and the struggles of the early European banking houses in this country to develop western banking methods in spite of great difficulties—these and other problems of the time have been discussed in an interesting manner.

At a time when among other epoch making changes, the economic reconstruction of India is in the air, a systematic study of her problems and their solution must be greatly facilitated by authoritative works, written by trained Indians, whether they relate to the necessary historical background or to the immediate problem in hand. From this point of view the work of Mr. Sinha must be welcome to all those who seriously consider this difficult problem of the economic development of India.

C. N. VAKIL.

#### INDIAN CONSTITUTION.

**THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND ITS ACTUAL WORKING.** By D. N. BANERJEE. (Longmans Green & Co. Ltd., London.) 1926. 7½ × 5. pp. 497. Rs. 6.

THERE are so few good books on Indian constitution that we have no hesitation in welcoming this addition to their number. This book is mainly designed for college students; but is also full of interest and instruction even to the general reader. The author does something more than merely describe our present Constitution as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919; he points out its defects by comparing it with the constitutions of the self-governing Dominions which India aspires to be in the not very distant future. The Council of State is alone among India's legislative bodies not to enjoy the privilege of electing its President. Herein, as Mr. Banerjee points out, India differs from Australia and South Africa whose Upper Chambers are empowered to elect their own Presidents. We join with him in hoping that this anomaly will be removed at the next revision of the Act.

A discriminating critic of our present constitution, the author has given free expression to his

views about it. It is of course too much to expect that every one of his views will commend itself to the reader; indeed Mr. Banerjee himself has no such illusion. But he has expressed them in the hope that they may elicit discussion. An instance of his views which may not find general acceptance may here be given. The question whether Parliament's sanction is necessary for any expenditure on military operations carried on by Indian troops beyond Indian frontiers is often discussed in Indian political circles and the view generally held is that it is required under the Act. This opinion has also received additional strength by the recent statement of the present Under Secretary of State for India, Earl Winterton, in the House of Commons on the subject of the despatch of Indian troops to China. Mr. Banerjee, however, thinks otherwise. He holds that the phrase "or under other sudden and urgent necessity" occurring in section 20 of the Government of India Act, 1919, is significant and adds:—"Under it the revenues of India may, without the consent of Parliament, be applied to defraying the expenses of any military operations carried on by the Indian forces beyond the frontiers of India and in any part of the world. So long, as that phrase is there, the safeguard provided against the improper expenditure of the Indian revenues appears to be inadequate." (p. 375.)

His general opinion of the 1919 Reforms is given on p. 148:—"It will not be at all an exaggeration to state that in respect of the granting of supplies as in respect of other affairs under the administration of the Government of India, the advance made by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, is, in essence, really insignificant, except in certain matters of form and procedure."

Our interest however mainly lies in the last chapter in which the working of the constitution during the first four years is discussed. It will be recalled that at the inauguration of the Indian Legislature in 1921 Lord Chelmsford claimed for the Reforms that they marked the abandonment of autocracy. Indian opinion has always considered this to be somewhat extravagant. Mr. Banerjee shares this view and feels that such things as the powers of certification, restoration, etc. vested in the heads of the Indian and provincial Governments under the Act belie Lord Chelmsford's description. "Nor again," says the author, "can it be said that the mechanism of the central Government has been constructed according to the principles of democracy." In the centre an irresponsible and irremovable executive is faced with a legislature with an elected majority, but enjoying no power. The result has been constant friction between the Government and the legislature, a phenomenon not altogether unexpected by the authors of the Reforms scheme. The remedy suggested by Mr. Banerjee is nothing else than the one desired by Indian opinion all these years, viz. "the introduction of the principle of ministerial responsibility on the English pattern" in the Central Government.

As for dyarchy, while the author does not deny that it has not had a fair trial, he believes it to be so full of inherent defects that even if such a trial had been possible, our experience of it would not have materially differed. In spite of the fact that the Joint Select Parliamentary Committee had laid so much emphasis on joint deliberation between the two halves of provincial Governments, some governors simply ignored this recommendation and in doing so they clearly went against the spirit of the Reforms. Similarly, barring Madras, corporate ministerial responsibility

was also not encouraged. The relationship between the Ministers and the permanent services as laid down by the Act and the rules thereunder, strikes the author, as it has indeed done Indian politicians, as far from satisfactory. His conclusion is that "if the ministerial system of Government is to be made a success in India, ministers must have full control of the officers of the public services under them" (p. 420). He agrees with Indian politicians in holding that the official bloc in the legislature as tending to obscure ministerial responsibility must either disappear or not be allowed to vote on any question relating to a transferred subject. But it is not our purpose within the limits of space set for a review to follow the author in all his views. His book is doubtless a useful one; but suffers somewhat from being out of date. The lack of any reference to the recommendations of the Muddiman Committee is explained by the fact that though published in 1926, the work was completed a month before the publication of that Committee's report. This was unfortunate and takes away a good deal from its value. Sir Evan Cotton's brief foreword and the numerous appendices at the end, however, considerably add to its usefulness.

D. V. A.

#### GOVERNMENTS AND WAR.

**GOVERNMENTS AND WAR.** By General Sir F. MAURICE. (William Heinemann, Ltd., London.) 1926. 8¾ x 5½. pp. 171. 8s. 6d.

THIS is a book that frankly, but in a most dignified and statesmanlike manner, states the difficulties which modern statesmen and soldiers meet with when a war like the last World war is fought. The author rightly deplors the want of a system of the conduct of war under modern conditions.

The common weakness of Ministers in all ages and in all countries is that being in office they are tempted to rely unduly on their powers and experience and to take too much upon themselves. The position is however different in a country like Germany where autocracy prevails and where both statesmen and soldiers have to carry out policies laid down by the autocratic monarch. In such cases there is less fear of friction between politicians and soldiers. In a country which has not got compulsory military service and where the general public is ignorant of the principles and requirements of military organization and preparation for war, the essential thing is the harmonious relations between statesmen and soldiers.

The last war has been an eye-opener in more ways than one. Never before in the world's history was the destruction of life and property perpetrated on such a vast scale. No nation was free from the dire effects of this world cataclysm. The war experiences were so bitter that people in the belligerent nations still shudder at the thought of war and are not likely to be led into another as easily as they used to be before 1914.

But no certain means of preventing future wars has yet been found. Despite the efforts of the League of Nations and those of President Coolidge, the race for armaments is still going on. War will therefore, for many long years, remain a necessary evil and the final court of appeal for international disputes.

The friction between statesman and soldier has, according to General Maurice, led to very serious disasters as in the Dardanelles and Mesopotamia. Instances of friction between statesmen and soldiers can also be quoted from Indian history, more particularly from Maratha history.

The tension between Nana Faranavis and Mahadji Scindia, the unnecessary interference from the former in the first Maratha war, the East India Company's commanders labouring under a dual system of control are a few of the many instances in point. The principle of the unity of command was followed by the Maratha Confederacy, the Peshva, Scindia, Bhonsla, Holkar, Patwardhan & Co. before the battle of Kharda in 1795 when they elected Parsharam Bhau Patwardhan as their Generalissimo just as the Allies in the last war gave the sole and supreme command to General Joffre, and Field Marshal Foch. The friction is more or less due to the want of system for the conduct of war. The statesman or the diplomat does not know when and where he should allow free play to the soldier. The latter, even though a professional expert, is handicapped by unnecessary interference from the former. The author of the book under review traces many catastrophes in the last great war to this want of system. The authorities, civil or military, must definitely know their functions and powers. Each must work in harmony with the other. Control, policy and strategy must not only not clash against one another, but must have the support of one other.

By describing in detail the American Civil War the author has shown how Abraham Lincoln evolved a system for the conduct of war and how by his coordination and cooperation with General Grant he achieved such brilliant success against his rival, Jefferson Davis.

In a way the author wants full-fledged dictatorship for the soldier only tempered by the nominal control of the President or the Prime Minister whom he describes as senior partner. The statesman at home working in full concord with the soldier on the field ensures the chances of success. The author has thus shown how a golden mean can be found where the defects of both autocracy and democracy can be minimised.

The British Government in the later stages of the War after bitter experience abolished the unwieldy War Council and limited the War Cabinet to five members. General Maurice advocates a War Council of two members only including the Prime Minister or his deputy and the Field-Marshal assisted and helped by a number of experts. The President or the Prime Minister calls in the Field Marshal only when he finds that his diplomacy has failed to prevent war. The task of the soldier, therefore, begins where that of the statesman ends.

The present book is a study of only one aspect of the American War, and can very easily be followed by students of military history. In England military history is an optional subject in the curricula of the Universities. Here in India educated Indians have yet practically no entrance into the superior ranks of the Army. There are also no books dealing with Indian history from a military point of view. For understanding this book, some knowledge of the American war appears to me to be necessary. Indian readers would however do well to study the main theme in the book even by the aid of another parallel Indian campaign.

The soldier, in my opinion, ought to have full control of the situation and need not be in any way interfered with. The statesman's duty is, however, to help the soldier in all possible ways and to mould his policy at home and abroad so as not to hamper the soldier's strategy. This is the

lesson the author wants to inculcate from his reading of the American Civil War, and history proves that he is right in his conclusions.

In an appendix the author has given practical shape to his theme by recommending a Ministry of Defence which deserves careful consideration.

It is a pity that Indian history is not studied in the way it ought to be. General Maurice has shown how the American Civil war is to be studied and what lesson is to be drawn from it. Such books serve their purpose well in countries where the rulers and the ruled are of one race and creed and have a common interest. But in a country like India where the Military Department is a sealed book to the children of the soil, it will be many years before such books will be appreciated at their proper value.

G. V. MODAK.

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