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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

LAST week the Bombay Legislative Council treated the public to several more acrobatic displays while debating the University "Reform" Bill. We have already referred to the somersault turned by the Swarajists, Responsivists and several other self-styled Progressives in making a common cause with the officials and defeating an amendment for the election of the Vice-Chancellor. But this was not the only respect in which these "tribunes of the people" ran away from their pledges to their constituencies and their own cherished principles. In almost every provision subsequent thereto the "popular parties" betrayed a feverish anxiety to whittle away such small improvements as had been effected by the Select Committee so as to make the measure thoroughly acceptable to the official divinities presiding over the Education Department. The power to grant or cancel affiliation of colleges is, thanks to the unwearied concern of the progressive section of our legislators for the rights of the people, now safely vested in this Bill in the Government; the same holds true of the power to cancel degrees and the power to interpret the Act in case of doubt. Instances of such retrogression can easily be multiplied, but we have singled out these merely for convenience sake, because they enable us to show, on the evidence of not a fire-eater like Mr. Bechar or Mr. Swaminarayan, but of a sedate statesman like Mr. Munshi, how thoroughly reactionary the Bill is as it has emerged from the Council. Mr. Munshi on a former occasion characterised the power, reserved to Government, of cancelling the appointment of Fellows as "a barbarous relic of pre-Mutiny days" and of the power of construing the Act, reserved for the Chancellor, he said that in inserting such a provision the Minister was even out-Curzoning Curzon and declared that if the Minister retained these two provisions "it would be my painful duty

to ask this House even at the second reading to throw out this Bill." Not only did he not give such advice to the Council, but he along with others who have a far greater claim to progressivism than he considered it their supreme duty to lend all the support for which they were worth to the Minister in retaining these arbitrary provisions in unmitigated rigour.

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WE are told that these sudden doublings and twistings on the part of the "forward-looking" parties became necessary in order to free the Minister from the necessity of relying on the support of backward class politicians, whose politics are also backward. They no doubt succeeded in redeeming the Council from the influence of this section but they did this by themselves becoming even more backward than the so-called backward part of the Council! For while this part stood out for the election of the Vice-Chancellor, it is the progressives who incited the Minister to hold fast to a nominated Vice-Chancellor. Here too, of course, an explanation is pat to the occasion; only it does not quite fit in. It is said that the non-Brahmans supported the amendment for the election of the Vice-Chancellor only because, smarting under the grievance that the Minister neglected them and sought help in other quarters, they wanted to pull down the Ministry. This allegation however is disproved by the fact that Dr. Ambedkar says clearly in his Minute of Dissent, before these new party alignments had taken place, that he is "not in favour of the Vice-Chancellor being nominated by the Chancellor." He continues: "The Vice-Chancellor is the head of the University Executive, and in consonance with the principles of parliamentary government, he should derive his power from the legislative body of the University, i. e. the Senate. When the principle of nominated presidents has been abandoned from the constitutions of such small bodies as the local boards, its retention in the constitution of the University is absolutely unjustifiable." Dr. Ambedkar comes from the depressed classes and may for that reason be congenitally unfit to be a preceptor to our advanced classes. But anyhow he can give them this first lesson in political philosophy, which they may do worse than imbibe into their lordly minds by sitting at his feet. When our legislators can allow such a blatantly reactionary provision, as the nomination of the Vice-Chancellor advanced it seems most queer that they should boggle at a comparatively minor provision about visitorial powers. These powers, if bad, are not likely to be much exercised, while the evil of a nominated Vice-Chancellor will be in evidence in every day working of the University. There is therefore not validity in the apologia published by the members of the "popular parties" that if they gave in on certain matters, their sacrifice in this respect enabled them to retain

the progressive features of the Bill, which would have been turned down if the Minister had depended upon the support of communalists. The hollowness of this claim is obvious, but those who issued this statement do not seem to realize what a slur it casts on the Minister, for it implies that he will stick at anything rather than fight for principles.

* * *

IT is bruited about that much reshuffling is going on in the groups of elected members and that an attempt is being made to rub out all the old lines of division and to form an all-inclusive party of those who set their face against communalism. Much as we would welcome efforts to combat the communal spirit it is ludicrous to expect that all who are opposed to sectionalism will look at every political question from the same angle of vision and such an artificial combination must needs lead to political incoherence and unprincipled opportunism, which is not a lesser but a greater evil than communalism. Such a party, if formed, is sure to be sundered at the first touch of an important issue, and the Consolidation of Holdings Bill itself, we are certain, would at its first reading have driven a wedge into this Party if it had been then in existence. We are diffident about the fortunes of this new group for another reason, for to the extent that a combination is cemented between different political parties in the Legislative Council, internal differences in the Ministry are bound to be accentuated. For, it should be remembered, that the Bombay Ministers are not bound together by the principle of collective responsibility; that Sir Ghulam Hussain, who on account of his longer standing, naturally occupies the position of something like the Chief Minister, is pulling one way and the other two Ministers are pulling the other way. The more the latter are supported by non-communalist groups, the more will the former be driven into the arms of communalist groups and so a battle royal must rage between the Hindu and Moslem Ministers. So fissures in the Legislative Council will only give place to an open breach in the Executive Government, which again is not a lesser but a greater evil. Attempts at fusion among legislative councillors should therefore be preceded by attempts to bring about a unity of purpose in the Ministry. If such unity cannot be achieved between the Hindu Ministers and the Moslem Minister, it would be necessary for either of them to resign. But anything which entails a sacrifice is repugnant to our politicians, and in the absence of a spirit of sacrifice and a determination to hold fast to principles attempts to unify different parties in the Council are foredoomed to failure. The postponement of the University Bill, however, to the February session in order to get the provision about visitatorial powers amended is much to be welcomed, for it will give an opportunity to the Council to modify some at least of the many retrograde clauses in the Bill. The Swarajists of Bombay have already protested against the apostasy of the Swarajist members of the Council and this storm will, we hope, at least make these members for very shame join with Messrs. R. G. Pradhan and Ginwala in opposing provisions which are on their face reactionary.

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To those who had fondly looked forward to a rapid extension of primary education as a result of the Primary Education Act passed in 1923, the recent press note explaining the Bombay Government's intentions in regard thereto will come as a rude shock. They do not of course need to be put in mind of their statutory

financial obligations in connection with schemes of compulsory education prepared by local bodies; but their finances are anything but satisfactory and the time does not appear to be very far distant when all such schemes may have to be held up owing to their inability to meet their obligations. Instead of going in for compulsion under the Act, most of the local bodies seem to be anxious to explore all avenues of educational expansion on a voluntary basis. This appears strange at first sight, but can be easily explained. Prior to the passing of the Act, the Government's share of the educational expenditure of local boards was as high as very nearly 90 per cent. but was reduced to 66 per cent. under the new Act. Local bodies are apparently under the impression that should they decide upon expansion on a voluntary basis, the Government would pay their share on the old basis. The Government however take a different view. In their recent press note they make it clear that their responsibility in regard to schemes of expansion on a voluntary basis is only moral, and want local bodies to avail themselves of the provisions of the Act more largely than they have done so far. It is doubtless a pity that compulsory education is not spreading as fast as it well might; but that after all is a means to the end of universalisation of education. And if there are local bodies who wish to exhaust voluntary methods of expansion before resorting to compulsion, there is no reason why Government should withhold their help simply because the bodies in question are for the moment not keen on compulsion. It may be that their share cannot be as large as it was before the Act was passed; but for them to refuse to contribute anything towards the expansion of education on a voluntary basis, which is what they apparently intend, is to take a too narrow view of their responsibility in the matter. Everything no doubt depends upon funds; but if the Government are really keen upon seeing illiteracy banished from this Presidency in the near future, they must find the money by proposing, if need be, additional taxation. Where the field to be covered is so vast, it would be wrong to stick to a single remedy to the exclusion of everything else. We do not think this was intended either by the author of the Act or those who helped him in placing it on the statute book.

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IN his address to the Dussarah session of the Representative Assembly Mr. Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, did well to emphasise the urgent necessity of improving towns and villages. As he says, "Very little thought, and still less forethought, plays its part in the growth of our towns and villages, and it is most necessary that each one of them should have its own town-planning scheme, making due provision for its growth and amenities." But it is no use forgetting, as the Dewan of Mysore does not, that the improvement of towns and villages is largely a question of improving the habits of the people inhabiting them. Sanitary conscience is conspicuous by its absence among our people and it is necessary to make the people, whether in Indian or British India, realise that there can be no health without sanitation and no happiness without health. The Mysore Government seem to be fully conscious of their responsibility in the matter and spent last year nearly Rs. 7 lakhs on public works. With a view to ministering to the medical needs of the rural areas, they have put into force a scheme by which private medical practitioners desirous of settling in villages will be given all possible facilities by Government for the purpose. Such a scheme is working in some Indian provinces to great public good and may be expected to yield similar satis-

factory results in Mysore. The problem of middle class unemployment is also engaging the attention of the Mysore Government and the means they may eventually adopt to remedy the evil will be anxiously watched not only in Mysore but outside as well. As a result of the recommendations of a Committee appointed to go into the question of Annachhatrams, those maintained at public expense have been abolished. As in several provinces of British India, in Mysore Excise is the second biggest item of revenue, which yielded nearly Rs. 65 lakhs last year as against Rs. 67 lakhs in the previous year. That the administration of so virtuous a ruler as the present Maharaja of Mysore is reputed to be should make money out of the vice of the people is certainly not as it should be and the sooner this blot on the progressive administration of Mysore is removed, the better for its own reputation and that of the Maharaja. Some of the Indian States have already gone in for prohibition; while some of the Indian provinces are also already committed to a policy of prohibition. We would earnestly suggest to the Mysore Government that it should declare its intention to bring about prohibition in, say, ten years and adopt means to that end. Two events of outstanding importance during the last year were the celebration of the Maharaja's Silver Jubilee upon which we take this opportunity of offering him our respectful congratulations and the Viceroy's visit accompanied by a reduction in Mysore's subsidy to the Central Government.

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IN his presidential address to the session of the U. P. Muslim League recently held at Meerut, Raja Syed Ahmad Ali Khan Alavi, M.L.C., lays the whole blame for the present Hindu-Muslim tension at the door of the Hindus. To do so is utterly one-sided and shows one's disregard of the common experience that it always takes two to make a quarrel. He speaks as if the Hindus have the sole monopoly of ungenerousness and aggressiveness, leaving nothing for his co-religionists, and thinks that no Swaraj is possible until the Hindus behave themselves. Needless to say that he is a staunch champion of separate electorates and would give anything to see them perpetuated for all time. To him the Delhi Muslim proposals are what a red rag is to the bull. His dread of Hindu terrorism is so deep-rooted that he cannot reconcile himself to joint electorates even with seats earmarked for his community. After giving a few instances in which in mixed elections Muslim candidates failed to get themselves elected, he jumps to the conclusion that the system of mixed electorates has proved "a dismal failure." In speaking about the recent Unity Conference at Simla, he characterises the aim of those who had assembled in it as "rotten" which gives a clue to the mentality underlying the whole utterance. He sweepingly remarks that since local bodies in U. P. were allowed to have "elected chairmen", by which he apparently means Hindus, Muslim education has suffered a set-back, but makes not the slightest attempt to substantiate his statement. In this connection it is noteworthy that he even goes so far as to think of a time, not perhaps far distant, when Muslims, following the example of Europeans, would demand that their education should be treated as a reserved subject! We cannot believe that in talking so provocatively about his fellow-countrymen, the Rajasahib is representing the better mind of his own community.

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TRADE OF INDIA IN 1926-27.

DURING the year under review further progress towards world-wide financial stability has been noted and the fluctuations of currencies in relation to each other have been less violent. This means that we are reaching, however slowly, the point of normal trade relations. The balance of trade in favour of India this year is only Rs. 79 crores in place of Rs. 161 crores during the previous year. This again is an indication that the period of war-boom is over and we must expect the pre-war balance to be established.

Amongst imports the top place is as usual taken by cotton manufactures valued at Rs. 65.05 crores. Japan is steadily taking a larger share of the imports of piecegoods, supplying nearly 20 p. c. of the total supply of grey and coloured piecegoods, the United Kingdom claiming a percentage of nearly 75 in both these lines. The imports of artificial silk yarn have increased in one year by 28 lakhs. Sugar occupies the third place in the list, the imports being valued at 19.16 crores. Next to Java, Germany is the best supplier of sugar, the imports from Germany being valued at nearly 1 crore. A larger percentage of the imports of iron and steel is supplied by the continent, Belgium alone being responsible for 30.4 p. c. of these imports; the United Kingdom has lost ground sending only 48 per cent. instead of 50 p. c. in 1925-26. Canada occupies the first place amongst suppliers of motor cars, supplying nearly double the number of cars coming from the United Kingdom and nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total number of cars, the United States coming second best. In hardware the United Kingdom and Germany are close rivals with 36 p. c. and 31 p. c. as their shares in imports. The United States easily leads in the kerosine imports sending 55 million gallons out of a total of 65 million gallons. The imports of coal have been reduced from 88 lakhs to 31 lakhs owing principally to the coal strike in England.

The total value of exports is Rs. 301.43 crores, falling short of the last year's figure by Rs. 73.41 crores. Raw jute and jute manufactures head the list, being valued at Rs. 79.96 crores. Our best customer for gunny-bags is Australia, which took nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the whole stock of bags, the United Kingdom taking one half the quantity demanded by Australia. That India should export raw cotton to the value of Rs. 58.6 crores is an anomaly that needs to be removed by working up as much of it as we can in our own mills. Of the total production of piecegoods of Indian mills only 8.4 p. c. is exported. Compared to the pre-war period the exports of food-grains and flour show a decline in quantity of 45 p. c. Those who regard the export of food-stuff as an evil will rejoice at this decline, but as affecting the balance of trade, the position can hardly be viewed with equanimity as the exports place to our credit only Rs. 39.25 crores instead of Rs. 46 crores as the pre-war average. The exports of tea gave us Rs. 29.04 crores; the United Kingdom absorbing 84 p. c. of the total exports. The value of exports of oil-seeds is Rs. 19.09 crores. The

export of oil-seeds is an old scandal and we should lose no time in starting oil-seed crushing industry in India. A scandal of equal magnitude is the export of hides and skins to the tune of Rs. 14.55 crores instead of working them into leather goods here. With the discontinuance of public sales of opium from April 1926, the exports from India are permissible only on production of a certificate from the Government of the importing country; this restriction has led to a great fall in the export value of opium, which stood at Rs. 2.12 crores in the year under review. Cheap synthetic dyes have completely superseded natural indigo and the export of indigo realises the meagre value of Rs. 4 lakhs only. Nobody seems to take any interest in Indian tobacco and the exports have decreased by 22 p. c. in quantity and 8 p. c. in value, realizing only Rs. 97 lakhs. The exports are negligible, being valued at Rs. 8 crores.

A study of the direction of overseas trade reveals that the United Kingdom sends nearly half of the total imports of India; next to that Germany, Japan, U. S. and Java are to be credited with nearly 7 p. c. each. As for exports also the United Kingdom is the best customer of India, taking nearly 22 p. c. of the total exports, Japan and U. S. coming next, taking 13 p. c. and 11 p. c. in order. Looked at from the point of view of the Empire, the whole British Empire had 45.5 p. c. of the total trade during the year 1926-27. In the matter of exports the parts of the Empire that are good buyers of India's goods are Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Australia and Hongkong. Mesopotamia absorbed Rs. 2.51 crores worth of the exports from India and as a developing market it should be closely watched by enterprising traders. The value of exports to the Union of South Africa was Rs. 2.40 crores and those to East Africa was Rs. 2.44 crores; both these markets are capable of immense development but at present they are sadly neglected by the commercial magnates of this country, who would not think of travelling beyond beaten tracks. The Tariff Board's report on the cotton textile industry reveals the neglected opportunities of developing trade in textiles, for which millowners are responsible. Australia takes exports valued at Rs. 7.80 crores. Amongst the countries outside the Empire Japan's share in the total trade is the largest, with exports to that country valued at Rs. 41.27 crores and imports valued at Rs. 16.47 crores. The United States ranks next, taking Rs. 34.41 crores of exports and sending imports worth Rs. 18.24 crores. Taking exports alone, Germany is a better buyer than U. S., paying Rs. 20.43 crores for our exports.

The surplus of India's exports over imports amounting to Rs. 79 crores need cause no surprise as we are going back to the old level. During the five years previous to the war this balance averaged Rs. 78 crores, almost exactly the figure of to-day. This balance was partly paid off by the imports of treasure valued at Rs. 39 crores, leaving a visible balance of Rs. 40 crores, from which is to be deducted Rs. 1.20 crores, as the balance of remittances, which is against India. This leaves us with a net balance of Rs. 38.80 crores. With the pre-war

average of the sale of council-bills the whole of this would have been wiped out, leaving a deficit of some 2 or 3 crores. It is noteworthy that there was a rapid decline in the price of silver as soon as the report of the Currency Commission was out, since it decided to establish a Gold Bullion Standard and sell out silver. The speculative silver operations in the Far East are however keeping up the violent fluctuations in the price of silver.

The falling off of exports and the increased value of imports call for explanation. The imports for the year under review exceed those for 1925-26 by Rs. 5 crores. A part of the fall in exports is easily explained by the coal strike in England, which weakened England's power to purchase our goods; another part can be explained as a result of the downward trend of prices in Europe. This downward trend of prices would also result in imports being laid in India at much cheaper prices than before; unless therefore tea, jute, and cotton prices for our exports improve next year there is no hope of an increased balance of trade in our favour. One need not be a mercantilist to regard such a balance as a desideratum.

SUB-DIVISION OF AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS.

A BILL has been introduced in the Bombay Council to prevent future sub-division of land into plots which are uneconomic and to consolidate small and scattered plots into holdings which can be made profitable. A like attempt was made in 1916 without success. That excessive sub-division has been the cause of wasteful cultivation and has been responsible for the failure to realize the maximum return to capital nobody can gainsay. Prof. Jevons, Dr. Mann, Prof. Gilbert Slater, Mr. Keating, and others who have made a study of the rural economy of this country have drawn attention to this topic and the majority of them have recommended some sort of legislation for compulsorily preventing the dismemberment of a holding by equal distribution amongst heirs and redistributing the small holdings to form holdings of a standard size.

The most powerful argument that has been brought against such legislation all these years is that it will revolutionize the institution of equal inheritance which has been established for centuries and which has its root in the legislation of ancient law-givers. There is much truth in this argument, but we think the time is past when useful legislation could be withheld in order that current institutions may preserve their even tenour and enjoy a right of prescription. Now that the joint family has been consigned to the limbo of the past there is greater need that the principle of equal inheritance is prevented from being pushed to absurd lengths. The *raison d'être* of the institution of property is social good and if property ceases to conform to this requirement and becomes anti-social it ought to change hands. On the ground of principle, therefore, there is nothing objectionable in the Bill, so far as its object

is to remedy by legislation an evil which has gone beyond the bounds of tolerance.

But it is wrong to suppose that mere sub-division is responsible for most of the indebtedness and improvement of the rayat. The important cause of indebtedness has been want of capital and want of staying power during a year of famine. Unless these are remedied the consolidation of holdings would not avail us much. The cultivator who would take the larger holding after consolidation will be either a rich man like the English farmer who has sufficient capital to manage from 50 to 100 acres of land or an impecunious farmer. In the first case land will pass into the hands of a man not belonging to the class of small holders or yeomen farmers for whom Sir Chunilal Mehta has expressed his solicitude; in the second case the new occupier of the larger holding will find it more difficult to find capital than for a smaller holding. In any case the problem of the dispossessed is sure to be with us as soon as the legislation will come into full operation. We know the problem would not be so acute as it would be if by standard unit we mean an economic holding. It is clear from the speech of the mover of the Bill that it is Government's intention to adopt an economic holding as the minimum below which sub-division will not be allowed to proceed. According to Dr. Mann, for instance, the size of an economic holding ought to be 20 acres. If holdings are consolidated on this basis hundreds of cultivators will be ousted. The Bill leaves the standard unit to be determined by a committee of local men with the Collector as chairman by taking into consideration the particular conditions of the district, the nature of the soil and similar factors. In this case there would be no procrustean bed of a standard holding; each district or even each part of a district may have a different standard unit from others. This is a commendable feature of the present Bill, for which credit must be given to those who drafted it. But after putting all these things to the credit of the Bill, we cannot rid ourselves of the suspicion that there would be a large amount of dispossession or landlessness. Unless we find some suitable outlet for the holders that will be ousted, in urban areas or in new industries established in the rural areas themselves, they will continue to be parasites living on the bounty of some one else. Although the Bill would not tackle the problem at its source it is an excellent attempt, so far as it goes, at eradicating an evil which has grown to such a large size that it cannot be allowed to continue any longer.

The procedure to be followed in the case of a consolidation scheme is sufficiently gradual to prevent hasty action on the part of anybody. A two-thirds majority of the holders of an area is necessary to launch such a scheme; the Collector may then apply for sanction and a consolidation officer would be appointed. This officer will make a plan of the area and draw up a list of all holders and will invite claims and objections. After hearing these he will value all subsisting rights and in case of dispute refer them to a tribunal of arbitration and make out a

final scheme of redistribution, adjusting all claims. The scheme will be submitted to the Governor in Council who shall notify this scheme if he sanctions it; the Collector will then put the new holders in possession on the date notified. Dispossessed holders who have no desire to accept new holdings will have a right to receive money compensation. As the statement of objects and reasons mentions, this procedure is largely based on the Bombay Town Planning Act of 1915.

The great point about the consolidation scheme is whether it would improve cultivation and lead to a more scientific agriculture. It would do so if the new consolidated holdings are taken over by those who have a genuine passion for farming and who are willing to put any amount of capital in the land. In the hands of absentee landlords, these larger holdings will be of a piece with the smaller holdings. They will be leased to tenants on practically the same terms as small plots and, excepting for an adventurous tenant here and there, the major portion of the new tenants will be men of the same calibre as the old ones. The real staying power in the villages will come only out of wages in industries whether they are employing machine power or not. As the Indian Fiscal Commission said, industries alone will draw the surplus population from the land. Along with consolidation of agricultural holdings we have to pursue the schemes for diversification of industry.

DEMOCRACY—THEORY AND PRACTICE.

PROF. ALISON PHILLIPS' VIEWS.

I.

AS India has decided to adopt a democratic constitution, a systematic survey of democracy and the morals to be drawn from it are just the things that we should study assiduously. Such a survey is given by Prof. A. Phillips in a series of articles to the *Hindu* of Madras and we propose to go over the ground with a view to find out hints for the successful working of democracy in India.

Prof. A. Phillips begins by examining the nature of government, its basis and its purpose. The purpose of government is peace and to forward the general interests of society. Good government has been very rare in history. Like all human activities government is in the nature of an experiment and hence there is "bitter need for the scientific spirit in politics. Political principles should not be regarded as sacrosanct but only as working hypotheses. Bitter experience is bringing the European peoples to realize that stable government is a *sine qua non* of civilized existence. Whatever may be the principle on which government is founded it breaks down if it fails to secure the objects for which a government exists. All government is based on the consent of the governed and it is for this reason that political thinkers thought that that government must needs be most stable which is broad-based upon the people's will, that is democracy. Unfortunately the modern democratic idea came to birth amid the heats of political conflict. But Jefferson's dictum about democracy implied that the consent of the governed must not be tacit only but properly expressed. This leads to the metaphysical tragedy of to-day in that practical exigencies and beautiful phrases are found to be incompatible. Mandates for

instance cannot be given without the expressed consent of the governed. Thus phrase-making has to be carefully indulged in. One such phrase is self-determination. At times other principles limit the principle of self-determination and the doctrine of the consent of the governed.

Next the origins of modern democracy are discussed by him. Tocqueville called a democracy a new deity in 1830. By the time of Lord Bryce's "Modern Democracies" democracy was accepted as the normal form of government. The Great War however spread the creed to parts of the world hitherto untouched by it; at the very time that democracy in the West itself has been rapidly falling into discredit. In some countries the personal rule of the dictator directly responsible to the people is preferred to Parliamentary government. Representative government is still in the experimental stage and hence the conditions under which its principles are applicable must be carefully examined. Up to the end of the 18th century democracy was used in the Greek sense, which was direct government by the whole body of citizens. The same exclusiveness prevailed right up to the American Revolution. The conception of the law of nature was not the result of observation but was spun out of the threads of pure reason. Along with this the Social Contract theory was evolved and developed in various ways by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. The American Revolution made this theory a revolutionary force. But even the makers of the Federal Constitution disliked democracy and in their constitution took elaborate precautions against any direct influence of the people, yet it is true that modern democracy was born at the time of the Declaration of Independence. The French Revolution made the same mistake of starting from abstract natural rights and make a theoretically perfect constitution and under the guidance of doctrinaires and idealists tried to reach a visionary perfection. The sovereignty of the people became actually the sovereignty of a small minority. It is no wonder that the statesmen who fought the French Republic denounced democracy as a false-faced deity. In this confusion the people could not come to a definite conclusion about democracy. The history of governments since the French Revolution has been that of a series of experiments towards the democratic ideal.

From this Prof. A. Phillips passes to answer the questions: 'What is the democratic ideal?' 'What is the meaning of democracy?' and 'What are the conditions essential to the success of such government?' Rousseau himself, while extolling democracy as an ideal, denies that it ever could be realized. Rousseau did not believe in representative government but only in every citizen voting personally. Jefferson's inaugural address is the most eloquent expression of the democratic ideal. This was the ideal of liberty based on equality and safeguarded by the suffrage of an enlightened people. The realization of this ideal however depends on certain assumptions. The first condition, according to Lord Bryce, is that a sense of public duty and an altruistic spirit direct the wills of the large majority of citizens. Actually, however, this condition is many a time not realized. Even at the time of Tocqueville there was intrigue and corruption in the United States. To-day in Chicago the better elements of the people have proved powerless to upset the rule of corrupt bosses based on the suffrage of a venal majority. Jefferson was therefore wrong in maintaining that in a democracy corruption is impossible.

Next modern democracy is examined. At the outset, says Prof. A. Phillips, we are met by a confusion of voices. Some people think that democracy

and liberty are synonymous but, Leckey has shown in his "Democracy and Liberty" that popular government is not favourable to individual freedom. Even when the ruling power is legally vested in the members of the community as a whole, it may be actually exercised by one man or by a dominant class. These latter governments are democratic only in name. In contrast England is a true democracy, although legally the ruling power is vested in the Crown, in whose name all acts of government are carried out. Even Lincoln's definition of democracy as "government of the people by the people for the people" is unsatisfactory. As Mallock has said, no such government has ever existed or can ever exist. We have therefore to modify the definition and say that modern democracy is a form of government in which the few who rule are chosen by the people and are responsible to the people. Next we have to define the term "people." In ancient states people meant free citizens. The French Revolutionists set the fashion of using the word to mean the proletariat. The true meaning of course is the whole population regardless of rank, race, or religion. It follows that no government can stand that does not respect the habits and beliefs of the mass of the governed. These conditions are partly historical and to some extent geographical. The original habitat of representative government is the North. Of the nascent democracies of Turkey, Egypt and Persia it is as yet too early to speak. The democracies in Latin America are failures. Russia is as yet untrained to work a democracy. The Bolshevik regime is but the old Tsardom put into commission. It thus appears that representative government has not acclimatized itself in many countries and even in U. S. and Great Britain it is in an experimental stage.

After this the conditions to the success of representative government are reviewed. One condition is the smallness of the country and ease of communications. The absence of these is sure to act as an impediment, for example in Russia. Without railways the Federal Constitution of United States cannot work. Another condition is the nature and manners of the population. This includes many factors such as unity of religious outlook or at least a spirit of toleration, absence of alien races and classes and the capacity to make a wise choice of representatives and a reasonable degree of education. The absence of any of these conditions may lead to a failure of democracy. The Hapsburg Empire is a good instance of failure due to the presence of several races which are not friendly. Democracy failed in the Netherlands because the Catholics and Protestants could not be recognised. Even recently England had to get rid of the Irish element. The United States with its polyglot population might seem to be a notable exception, but we have to remember the Civil War. The success of democracy in England is due to the fact that for centuries there have been no impassable barriers between classes. In countries cursed by bitter religious rivalries representative democracy is impossible. One reason why in England democracy has developed without violent overturns is her political tolerance. The game of politics has to be played without acrimony. As for the capacity to choose those who would rule, many peoples have not got this capacity. The present idea, to give a vote to masses of ignorant people in the hope that their political education would necessarily follow, is erroneous.

In England there was no appeal to natural rights but always to immemorial custom. So at every occasion of suppressing tyranny the appeal was made to rights established by some earlier law or custom. Reformation of the constitution bit by bit was the English habit. A revolution in the sense of

a complete breach of political continuity was unthinkable in England. From the 14th century Englishmen became familiar with the privileges and usages of Parliament. The ancient system of local self-government kept alive the tradition of common action and capacity for orderly debate. If a constitution like that of England was drafted on to the institutions of a country without religious tolerance and without equality of civil rights it would fail altogether. After 1815 the English example began to be generally followed. English reformers began to see in representative democracy a cure for the political ills of the whole world. This possibility of the adaptation of the British constitution to all peoples has proved a delusion. The mistake made by early Victorian Liberals was in thinking that Parliaments of all countries would contain level-headed men like themselves. Even in England the extension of the franchise has made matters worse and created an electorate practically uneducated. But the effects have not been disastrous in England because the leisured middle-class has delayed the passing of affairs into the hands of mercenary politicians and because the sense of unity and reverence for law induce people to accept the majority decision. In other countries with mixed races and rival classes and religions it is idle to suppose that the majority decisions shall prevail. Even in countries where the minority consists of warlike races and the majority consists of weak races democracy would not work.

After this Prof. A. Phillips devotes a whole article to the United States. The success of democracy in the United States is according to him due to a number of peculiar conditions. The first condition was a clear field for the development of democracy. The blood kinship between the mass of the colonials was the second condition which made the nation compact till the flood of new immigration in the middle of the 19th century. In more recent years sectionalism and regionalism have been a constant source of anxiety and if the U. S. ultimately develops a completed democracy it is only by insisting on the unity of national sentiment and education of the people in order to make them have a correct opinion of national interests. As the party system is essential for the effective working of representative government and this involves party discipline, in every democratic country oligarchic tendencies begin to work and so it has been in the United States. In England the party system has worked well because a change of government leaves untouched the organs of the national and local administration. Conditions in the United States are not similar. The issues that divide parties have no importance and the struggle between parties is more for power than for principles. The party-machine is so powerful as to close its grip on nearly every organ of administration. The party system in U. S. has encouraged the growth of an army of political mercenaries. The very fact that American democracy survives and is generally efficient shows that it was admirably conceived in its origin and it has succeeded because it was admirably adapted to the character and needs of the people for whom it was framed. In recent years attempts have been made to curb the power of the legislatures and make the sovereignty of the people directly effective by methods of Referendum, Initiative, and Recall. There has also been an increasing tendency for the intelligentsia to attempt to secure clean politics. The lesson of the experience of the United States is that representative democracy succeeds only when the mass of the people is politically educated and is thus able to recognize its responsibilities and it is futile to suppose that in a popular government the influence of the educated will prevail.

The concluding portion deals with Latin America. Here civil wars, revolutions, transient dictatorships have been normal phenomena and democracy has clearly failed. The physical conditions are not different from those of North America, and most of the conditions favourable to democracy are present in a marked degree. There is unity of religion, unity of culture, and ethnic similarity. The failure therefore requires explanation. One reason is the application of Anglo-Saxon institutions to people unfit to work them. The new States in South America endowed themselves with constitutions modelled on that of U. S. It is a case of misfit. In the elections no pretence is made of consulting the people; the party in power uses official influence on the electorates openly. Once entrenched in office, the President and the Legislatures rule autocratically. It is clear that representative government is not suited to the genius of the Latin race. One contributory cause of the failure of democracy in Latin America is that the Latin American still regards himself as a conqueror. The South American Republics are veiled military autocracies on account of the military tradition surviving since the Wars of Liberation. The failure of democracy in Latin America supplies the most compelling proof of the proposition that where there are deep-rooted antagonisms of race and class, where the whole population is not permeated by the civilian spirit, where unwarlike people live side by side with warlike people, democracy has no chance of success.

So far we have only summarised Prof. Alison Phillips' own presentation of this most important subject. Although we are in general agreement with his main theses, the application to particular countries of his theoretical propositions is bound to raise a controversy, especially the application of the principles to the case of India. We would point out in another issue where we dissent from the writer of these articles.

OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

GENEVA, September 22.

THE BRITISH POSITION.

THE all-engaging topic at Geneva still centres around the speech of the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Two basic facts must be recognised at the outset about the man and what he said. As to the man himself the League has both affection for and confidence in him. Undeniably he is a favourite here and is regarded as in search for appreciation as much as he is considered deserving of it, though an American wit has said of him: "In his official capacity Sir Austen is surrounded by all the pathos that attends a high-minded and conscientious porcupine in search of affection." About what he has said, all the frankness implied in it has not missed its aim. M. Briand's hint to the Assembly that it should give weight to the political considerations dominating the various countries before bringing up certain proposals was not quite lost upon it, and the Assembly fully recognises that if Sir Austen Chamberlain spoke as forcibly as he did he was impelled to do so at least as much by the political exigencies which hedged round him as by his personal opinions. Not he only, but others in the British delegation who have been, so to speak, underlining his speech, have shown that it is the Protocol

which is a red rag to John Bull. Lord Onslow said the other day in the Disarmament Committee that the "British Government could not enter into any engagements in addition to those which it had already assumed. It could not, therefore, agree to a reopening of the discussion of the Geneva Protocol." Lord Lytton, speaking for India, said that the Committee must come down to concrete practical proposals leaving the region of controversial formulas, though it is perhaps of some significance that he added, in effect, that for the country he represented the conclusions which the Committee would reach would hardly be of any avail against the tribes in the northern border. Her defence, he took care to point out, was the business of the British Empire, whose attitude was already known. Sir Cecil Hurst also, speaking recently at the inauguration of the Institute for Higher International Studies here, said that the belief that they were all in earnest in their efforts to seek peace must be the basis of their success and consequently they must try and understand each other's points of view, obviously pleading for the British position. In an interview to the representatives of the press subsequent to his speech at the Assembly, Sir Austen, dwelling upon the same point, insisted that the Protocol and the British Empire were inconsistent, though neither here nor there was he very clear why it should be so. The temper at Geneva at present is unmistakable and needs to be noticed. What is being asked is why Great Britain should not be questioned as to what she really means to do for the League and the League's programme, as frankly as she has been repudiating the suggestions coming from Geneva in this matter. In the Disarmament Committee, M. Paul Boncour of the French Delegation has been urging a systematic examination of the Covenant and the Protocol for materials of some arrangement which, while taking full account of the necessities and disabilities of the British Empire, should yet enable the Empire to associate itself with the work of strengthening security and promoting disarmament. If the Protocol and the British Empire were incompatible, and if the League and the Protocol were not inconsistent, there is a compelling conclusion for which the somewhat naive and the somewhat paradoxical statement of Sir Austen Chamberlain that he did not believe in logic while dealing with politics is not sufficient answer. So far the British contribution to the disarmament discussion has been principally negative except for Locarno. Even as regards Locarno, M. Motta, the President of the Swiss Confederation, has pointed out that it had its genesis in the Protocol. Besides the element of altruism associated with it finds no recognition here. Many of the delegates to this Assembly are fully acquainted with the Balfour Report of last October on Inter-Imperial Relations and they see a certain incompatibility between it and Sir Austen's tone and gestures at Geneva which have led some of his admirers to write: "he spoke as the representative of an Imperial nation" and that his words were "an

expression of the immanent conviction of an imperial race."

THE COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

Though the results of the Council Elections were in some respects a surprise, they were quite in keeping with the temper of the Assembly. This was most markedly shown in the reply the Assembly made to Belgium's request to be re-elected to the Council. That proposal was turned down, all for three votes, showing how even the smaller Powers may be of consequence in the League at some crucial moment. Though 29 of the 48 votes cast were in Belgium's favour, the absolute majority of 32 required by rules for re-eligibility in the present case had not been forthcoming. Considering the interpretation put upon Belgium's defeat it is necessary to state that Herr Stresemann, representing Germany voted for her and stood by his Locarno colleagues. That interpretation itself will become comprehensible only in the light of opinions which have been given rise to both in France and Belgium. "In whatever manner the vote is explained, however they try to sugar the pill for us", says the *Belgian Soir*, "it is evident that on the morrow of Germany's entry into the League Belgium is considered superfluous." The Socialist *Peuple*, also Belgian: "For a long time to come no other small nation can have the same prestige and moral weight in the Council as has had Belgium, innocent victim of the war, and one of the countries which have closest at heart the maintenance of the Treaty of Versailles." The *Libre Belgique* says that the decision of the Assembly will be a great disappointment to everybody in Belgium; Government and political circles are deeply affected, as well as extremely surprised. The *Metropole* of Antwerp, a Catholic organ, is very bitter regarding what it considers to be an insult to national pride. It says that Belgium's great sacrifices are now completely forgotten, adding that this constitutes a check to those who founded their faith in the League. The *Neptune* of the same city emphasises the fact that just at the time Germany obtains a permanent seat on the Council, Belgium, the first victim of the war, is excluded. "Will Germany," it asks, "see to the furthering of our interests at Geneva?" In France, the press is inclined to consider Belgium's defeat as a proof of the Assembly's annoyance and hardly complimentary to itself. In Germany the press attributes it to what it calls a manifestation of the small Powers against the triumvirate of Great Britain. There would seem to be general agreement that the significance of Belgium's defeat consists in Geneva's challenge to Locarno.

Of the three successful candidates to the Council, Cuba obtained forty votes, fifteen more than the absolute majority required, adding another proof to the already noticeable importance of South American States at Geneva, of which for some reason or other British opinion is not very pleased. Finland got in with thirty-three, thus reviving in some measure the controversies which had clung round her candidature. Soviet Russia had interpreted it as a consequence of British backing to obtain a hold on the

politics of the Baltic in return, and in influential circles in Berlin it had been declared that Germany could hardly support Finland at Geneva out of regard for Soviet Russia. And lastly, Canada got into the Council with just one more vote than the necessary minimum. Canada's entry into the League would and has naturally caused considerable attention over here. At the outset, it gives the British element two representatives in the Council, the League's citadel, an obvious advantage over every other member. It brings also into question the exact nature of Sir Austen's status in the Council. Officially he represents the British Empire, but now does that mean that he represents the whole of the British Empire except Canada, or does he represent still the British Empire as a whole including Canada? In any case, with a constituent of the Empire on the Council, what is the weight to be attached to Sir Austen's usual plea that the constitution of the Empire came in the way of the British Government taking a decision capable of being executed directly as in the case of other Governments in League matters? To counteract the objection, may the League set about enlisting each of the constituents of the Empire represented in it on its side as regards some general decision and thus make it both easy and necessary for the British Empire as a whole to accept the obligations that other members are willing to accept at Geneva? Or is the League to be perpetually thwarted in its general schemes by the mystery of the British Empire which has now become comparable to the theological mystery of the Trinity—One in Three and Three in One. At this point again it has become necessary to reconcile the anti-logical British spirit and the logical spirit of the continent. Much has been said about the support of the candidature of Canada by all the British delegations, and it has been suggested both explicitly and implicitly that the mother country was generous to support the daughter. The argument here has a certain parallel with the argument which the Scottish philosopher Hume puts into the mouth of the believer in his dialogues on the proofs for the existence of God. To the thesis that the interdependence of things in the universe is proof of its governing intelligence, the sceptic calmly replies that it would be inconceivable that the universe can exist in any other way at all. What greater invitation to international immorality can there be than Great Britain's active opposition to the candidature of Canada at Geneva? Let those in India for whom Geneva is nothing think of this a little.

It is noteworthy that the First Delegate for Persia H. H. Foroughi, addressing the Assembly immediately after the election, said among other things: "It would be only fair to grant a seat to a State of the Middle East, the language and civilisation of which have penetrated to all the other States. . . . It would be desirable to increase the number of Asiatic States who have a non-permanent seat on the Council. After carefully reflecting on the conditions under which elections to the Council have

been carried out this year, and in order not to complicate a situation already too confused, we advised you beforehand that Persia was not a candidate. This must be subject, however, to the reservation that we may revert to this matter next year, in view of the considerations to draw the necessary conclusions, in particular to insist on demanding a seat on the Council."

QUIETER WORK.

Henceforth the Assembly turns to quieter, if more arduous and, judging from the results attained in the political sections, also more useful and successful, work. In the fifteenth plenary meeting it discussed traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs, the production of opium in Persia, traffic in women and children, child welfare, protection of women and children in the Far East, alcoholism, health organisation, the results of the mission carried out in certain countries of Latin America by the President of the Health Committee, the Italian proposal for the creation of an International Institute of the Educational Cinematograph at Rome, the establishment of the Bulgarian Refugees, and the work of the Economic Committee. These discussions are not complete yet and I shall refer to them in my next Letter. Sir Ramaswami Aiyar, the Rapporteur of the Second Committee, made a speech on the work of the Health Organisation, and Lord Lytton (India) took part in the discussion on the traffic in opium.

REVIEWS.

MODERN INDUSTRY.

MODERN INDUSTRY. By MALCOLM SPARKES (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1927. 7 x 5. pp. 63. 1s. 3d.

AS the publisher's note makes it clear, Mr. Sparkes is no mere theorist but has a long experience in the building industry; and he applies this practical knowledge to the solution of industrial problems in accordance with the teaching of Christ.

As a result there is much in the book that is reminiscent of Ruskin, at least in the matter of thought if not of style, and the whole treatment is essentially fresh by its freedom from worn-out nostrums of the Ricardo-Mill system of economics and by its ethical tone.

In the beginning the author exposes the error of the notion that the message of Christ is mainly for individuals and not for the community and that there is an essential conflict between Business and Christianity. As a matter of fact we cannot improve industry unless we apply the Christian principles to the very core of it and this, according to the author, is the drawing of men together into unity of spirit and purpose in industry instead of antagonising them. The central fact of industry today is that "we cannot live and work together in comradeship" and Mr. Sparkes attributes this to the dominance of the law of demand and supply. The corollary of this law is buying labour cheap and selling the product dear. As a protest against this

the Trade Union movement came into being and this was followed by the organization of the Labour Party; as a countermove associations of employers were established, ostensibly for defensive purposes only. The author does not however believe that the Federation of British Industries is merely defensive but regards it as a fighting machine organized by Big Business for the purpose of crushing the workers. The great object of the Federation was to reduce costs and the first item in this was wage-reduction. This policy confirmed the belief that the condition of modern industry is that of open warfare between Labour and Capital. The employers fail to realize that reduced wages must mean reduced purchases by the wage-earners and consequently still further depression. Mr. Sparkes describes eloquently the price we have to pay for the century-old doctrine that employers must buy labour cheap and sell the product dear. "How great the price has been in stunted development, in premature death and disease, in slums, in preventable infant mortality, in needless anxiety and wretchedness we shall never know".

Fortunately the author sees a gleam of hope in the new perception by the International Conference of Bankers and Businessmen held in 1926 that trade is not a war but a process of exchange. And the same is true of the Home-trade. Lowering wages means reduced purchasing power and consequent reduced sale. The ideal of Christ in Industry is that of the Team. The author now passes to his main doctrine, which is to raise wages and reduce prices. It looks paradoxical but we believe with the author that it is perfectly true. The prime factor of course is the increased efficiency by making every process progressively more and more productive. Price reduction and improved product mean a brisk demand and larger sales and when a group of manufacturers adopt the plan and combine their experiences by appointing a Joint Board to reduce cost—other than wages—the problem of unemployment is solved. In this connection we are compelled to remark that the author ignores the possibility of over-production and also the possibility of methods of efficiency eliminating man and substituting the machine.

Out of the several methods of controlling the industry the author champions the method of the Guild-Socialists. Industry is to be organized to give service to the society and not to get service for the members and for this the management must be responsible to the workers. With all this, he sees clearly that all great undertakings have been due to the genius of single individuals and not to committees or groups. It is this truth which has been brought to the notice of the Socialists in his "Critical Examination of Socialism" by Mr. W. H. Mallock. Ultimately therefore he has to admit that the Guild must give a free hand to a group of pioneers who progressively raise the general conditions under which industry is carried on. But supposing that the Guild is short-sighted enough not to trust the pioneer then the whole scheme breaks down and the author does not point to a solution. He merely expresses a hope that the great Co-opera-

tive Movement will develop a plan under which its staffs will secure a greater measure of self-government.

The instrument of industrial revolution, according to Mr. Sparkes, is the net-work of Industrial Councils. They constitute a sort of permanent Royal Commission charged with the duty of re-organizing Industry. These Councils would organize conferences of manufacturers and workers, establish the regular interchange of information concerning methods and promote schemes of technical education and apprenticeship. There is no doubt that if the Council achieve the purpose of a forum where constructive proposals for improving the industry may be discussed they will have solved the problem of industrial peace.

The booklet is a vigorous plea for the application of the teaching and example of Christ to modern industrial conditions. It offers bold suggestions and is inspired by the high ideal of the enriching and service of the community. If the Student Christian Movement succeeds in influencing the economic thought of the age it will surely earn for itself the gratitude of a generation sick of economic feuds.

V. N. GODBOLE.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN BENGAL.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN BENGAL UNDER THE BRITISH RULE. By J. GHOSH, (The Book Company, Calcutta.) 1926. 7 × 4. pp. 242. Rs. 4-8-0.

A CLOSE and careful study of the ministerial functions of the State is a recent movement in India. While interest is evinced in all questions pertaining to the wellbeing of the citizens, greater enthusiasm is displayed in those affairs that go commonly under the name of nation-building departments. Education in its various phases is a subject that arouses perhaps the keenest interest of all. The general low level of mental and moral attainment by the young graduate, the defective development of his physical faculties, the divorce between religious and secular cultures which exists in the modern system of education, and, above all, want of creative genius, absence of the gift of initiative and leadership, lack of the quality of thoroughness and disregard of the value of time and opportunities are some of the criticisms levelled against the products of our Universities and Colleges.

The book under review begins with a historical survey of education under British rule from the time of the Calcutta Madrasah and after narrating in a refreshingly interesting manner the controversy between the Anglicists and the Orientalists with which every student of history of Indian education is probably quite familiar, the author in the second chapter traces the foundation and growth of western education in Bengal detailing the steps taken at various stages of development down to the present day. The first two chapters of the book, though historical, are a critical study of the subject-matter for over a century and a quarter, and the author has taken pains to base his criticisms and support his arguments by reference to documents and blue-books which are now the preserves of old archives. But the third and the concluding chapter "A possible Synthesis" contains the principal argument of the book. Here Dr. Ghosh examines the claims of rival cultures in our educational system and, after an ex-

haustive discussion of the pros and cons of western and oriental cultures, arrives at the conclusion that both western literature and Sanskrit have claim to an honoured place in a scheme of higher studies for Hindu art students. The writer of the book advocates greater comprehensiveness than is found at present in the course of study for students and quotes in support the list of subjects and books which members of the first class of the Hindu College were expected to know. Educationalists of to-day in India will probably differ from Dr. Ghosh in his advocacy of widening the course of study although I agree with the author's remark that the university course is not so exacting as to leave to the student no time for leisure. Finally Dr. Ghosh espouses a course with a pronounced vocational character, as in his opinion it will equip our students properly for citizenship and livelihood. The arguments supporting this proposition are set forth in a manner which is clear and convincing.

The study of higher education in Bengal, the easy and flowing style in which it is narrated, the copious references from earlier books and reports with which the book is illustrated, the earnestness and fervour exhibited throughout in behalf of students of higher education in Bengal make the book a useful addition to the growing literature on education in India. The book suffers badly from want of an index which the author will do well to remedy in the next edition.

S. P. ANDREWS-DUBE.

THE AFTERMATH OF THE MUTINY.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA. By B. D. BASU. (R. Chatterjee, Calcutta.) 1927. 7¼ × 5. pp. 118. Re. 1-8.

THIS is another contribution to the authoritative history of the British rule in India by that prolific compiler and editor, Major Basu, I. M. S. (retd.), who has been well-known as the author of the 'Story of Satara,' and the 'Rise of the Christian Power in India'. Profuse quotations, liberally acknowledged, form the main part of the book and as such the book may properly be called a 'source book' for the Indian history of some 20 years, from 1857-1876, to be more accurate, as has been stated by the author on the very last page. But it is not the actual events during this period that form the subject-matter of this book. It deals more with the ideas that influenced the rulers of India or at least a majority of the men on the spot. The quotations, therefore, range over a very short interval of time, few in fact going beyond the very heated days of the mutiny, when judgments were not altogether unlikely to have been clouded, especially of those who were entrusted with the actual government of the disturbed country. Instead of saying, therefore, that the book deals with the post-mutiny policy of the British in India, one would desire to restrict its proper scope to the representation of the aftermath of the mutiny, in administrative psychology of the day. Considered in this light the book is indeed a valuable addition to the political literature of to-day.

The method of treatment adopted by the author to allow the men to speak for themselves has deprived the book of the advantage of a succinctness that is valuable in a book dealing with topics on which feeling is likely to run high. These quotations represent nothing more than a selection made from a very limited range of books and one periodical, covering a very short period and that an extraordinary one, with a

particular view-point, and ought to have been illustrated from actual history besides the sad events of the mutiny, to deserve the solid name that is given to the book, and to be more just to those whose fate it is to succeed to those warm-blooded perpetrators of the tragedies of the mutiny.

As to the general trend of the book, the demagogue has every reason to be satisfied with the performance, though he would sometimes miss the actual whereabouts of certain passages, not indicated in as much detail as one would wish them to be. Some repetitions, not of idea but of actual passages, were perhaps unavoidable in a series of articles first intended for publication in a journal. Thus, for example, the very interesting passage from Sir Robert Montgomery's Sunday letter appears twice, once on p. 20 and again on p. 97. Slight misprints such as the year on p. 88 are negligible. But certain statements can scarcely be justified unless one is content to allow them to justify any argument that they are quoted to support. In the introduction 'the scheming and designing empire-builders' are represented to have been *discussing for nearly a century* the pros and cons of all the methods that had been suggested for consolidating their power; while on p. 85 they are criticised for considering that 'it was the best means of consolidating the Christian power in India to *govern it on no consistent policy*'. A similar discrepancy seems to have crept in in writing about the annexation of the Punjab at pp. 10-11 and again at p. 94, which is perhaps unavoidable, judging from the nature of the subject and the method followed by the author.

One cannot but think that the people of the United States have been unnecessarily dragged in to point a moral, and, may I say, to adorn the tale, on p. 87? No political theory except the one which is propounded after the Great War and not yet universally acknowledged, can seek to condemn the trend of events there after the Greek war of 1813-14. I suspect some flaw in the argument which seems to identify these ideas—(i) keeping India in debt and (ii) keeping Indians in debt (p. 87). One may doubt if both mean the same thing.

What, one may ask, is the purpose of the book. The author obviously seeks to impress upon the reader the injustice of the various methods adopted by the British rulers of India and if he is to be judged from the last paragraph of his introduction and the main part of his conclusion, his object seems to be to free 'the large number of Indians' from the hypnotism or 'their canine mentality' which makes them submit themselves to the British. This object of disillusionment will be best served by the collection of 14 short essays, which include important discussions on political and economic problems concerning India. Many of the arguments sought to be supported by quotations will be found to be conventional such as "The development of the resources of India means only exploitation," and others in similar strain, mostly familiar in speeches from the opposition benches. The severity with which the Europeans thought of dealing with Mahomedans in the mutiny days will be found to be very much in contrast to the 'favoured wife' treatment of the Curzonian phrase. The opinion of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen on the binding nature of the Queen's Proclamation (p. 92) ought to be carefully read. The late Mr. G. K. Gokhale was certainly more hopeful about it when he spoke in London on 'England's Duty to India' (Gokhale's Speeches, p. 926.)

D. V. KALE.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE RAVAGES OF FLOOD IN THAR AND PARKAR.

MR. DEOLE'S REPORT.

THE following is a brief report from Mr. C. S. Deole, member, Servants of India Society, Bombay, who toured in the Jemsabad and Digri Talukas of the Mirpurkhas Division of the District of Thar and Parkar from 11th to 14th September :—

I found that nearly one-third of the houses in Mirpurkhas Town had collapsed including the whole of "Garibabad" consisting of about 300 houses. The poor there have received some relief from a local Relief Committee of non-officials which had received funds from Hyderabad. The people of Garibabad have not yet commenced reconstruction of their houses, and it is understood that they are awaiting the report of the Reconstruction Officer appointed for the district by Government. These people are in need of relief for reconstruction of their houses.

I proceeded to Kachelo by train accompanied by Mr. Dhalumal and the sub-auditor of Co-operative Societies, and Sardar Labsingh. At the station we were received by the Mahomedan Zamindars headed by Mehersahab of Deh No. 270 A. From there we started on horse back and went through Dehs Nos. 269, 299, 300, 268, 268 A and 267 in order. At every one of these places we found almost all houses excepting one or two, levelled to the ground. To reach Deh No. 300, a round of about 6 miles had to be taken on account of the collection of water in the intervening space. At night we stayed at Deh 267 at Sardar Labsingh's Gotha, which has been completely destroyed except the house of prayer where the Granth Saheb is kept. On the 13th morning we started on horse back at 8 a. m. and went through Dehs Nos. 266, 308 A, 308, 265, 264 and 309 in order. The devastation caused in these Dehs is very terrible, especially in Deh Nos. 265 and 264, where not a single house is to be seen. There are three Gothas in 264-A, all inhabited by arains (a class of Mahomedans) all of which have been totally demolished. No man was available at Deh 294, and we had to call people from neighbouring places for information. Having stepped at 305, for a while in the afternoon, we started on horse back again at 4 p. m. and passed through 314, 317-A, reached Judo at 6 p. m. where our party met the Muktiarkar and discussed matters with him. We then proceeded towards Tando Jan Mahomed and halted for the night on the way at Deh No. 202, which was found to be totally destroyed excepting one house.

On the morning of the 14th we started for Tando Jan Mahomed and reached the Railway station at 9-30 a. m. From there I visited Deh No. 194, Hakim Ali's Gotha, where 60 per cent. of the houses had collapsed. I visited then Tando Jan Md., which has suffered very heavily. Nearly three-fourths of the houses in the town have suffered and although it is a place inhabited by good people, still they are undergoing great hardships. From this place I started for Hyderabad in the afternoon and reached the same at about midnight. I had already taken a ride of 50 miles in the Jemsabad and Digri Talukas during my visit to the flooded areas of these two talukas.

During my travel I found that the Kharif crops have suffered to the extent of 12 annas in the rupee. The loss due to destruction of houses will amount to several lakhs. Small Zamindars are in need of cattle

for sowing purposes and these people getting small amounts of Taccavi from Rs. 40 to Rs. 100 for seeds, maintenance and bullocks. Looking to the need of the situation, this help won't go a long way. Loss of human life in Digri Taluka has been 10. During my journey through the flooded area mentioned above I met with some cases of acute distress among the Kolis, Bhils and Meghvals, among whom I distributed gratuitous relief to the extent of Rs. 80 for meeting their immediate wants. It is very difficult to measure the losses suffered by the Zamindars and the Haris by way of destruction of crops, loss of grain stores, cattle and houses. But even at the lowest computation in each Taluka the loss will go up to several lakhs and the total loss in the two Talukas of Jemsabad and Digri will be about Rs. 60 lakhs. The amount of Takavi that has been distributed to these people cannot be considered adequate and more relief by way of gratuitous relief, food and clothing and Takavi and free grant for house building is very essential. At this juncture co-operation between the official and non-official agency is very necessary. The first thing to be done is to establish a committee of officials and non-officials to measure the amount of real distress and to provide adequate relief.—*The Indian Daily Mail.*

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