

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

BOMBAY and Patna have rendered a signal public service by reaffirming their previously registered conviction that they cannot, consistently with their national self-respect, give any sort of recognition to the Statutory Commission.

At both meetings the pronouncements of Lord Birkenhead and other members of Government were carefully examined and the deliberate conclusion was recorded that the facilities that are proposed to be given to Indian opinion to express itself at various stages can never do duty for actual membership of the Commission, which entitles those who sit on the Commission to a participation in the decisions. As Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, who presided at the Bombay meeting, remarked, there is nothing in the present proposals which Indian public men could not do at their own initiative and on their own authority. When, e. g., the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were on the anvil, members of the then Bombay Legislative Council submitted a joint memorandum explaining what lines the proposed reform of the constitution should take. Several of our publicists were taken into consultation by the authors of the reform proposals before the proposals were announced. All political organizations then submitted them to a close scrutiny and "developed their criticisms" before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. In the course of the Committee's sittings and later some of the leaders of Indian opinion were in continuous conference

with Mr. Montagu. The "concessions" that are now offered with such a fanfare of trumpets are therefore nothing extraordinary and can never be a substitute for the active participation in the final decisions such as that of Lord Sinha and Mr. Basu in the constitution-making of eight years ago. There is thus no occasion for Indian public opinion to change its hostile attitude to the Commission, and it was well that this fact was clearly demonstrated at these meetings, which were attended practically by all the politically-minded people in the two cities. The opinion here expressed is a true index of the opinion held all over the country.

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It is but natural that when you once start on the road of boycott of the Commission, all the by-ways of non-co-operation should be urged upon you by the unruly spirits in our public life, who immediately put forward suggestions of civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes. But we were not prepared to have such suggestions proceed from a veteran politician like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. It is curious to remark by the way that Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, who too is anxious to convert this movement of the boycott of the Commission, which is confined to the educated classes into a mass movement did not venture to endorse Pandit Malaviya's wild suggestion. Mrs. Besant however did well promptly to dissociate herself and all those who have joined with her in her manifesto from this threatened development. We must all set our faces against the boycott broadening out into a general passive resistance movement. To be effective the boycott must be a quiet and dignified one and it cannot be so if it extends to the general mass of the population who really are not concerned in it. It is not the purpose of the boycott to extort from the British Government rights and privileges which it is unwilling to confer, but to make an impressive demonstration of the just resentment felt by the people. The boycott is of course a negative weapon, and will be and must be futile if any positive results are expected of it. We must take this occasion, not to launch out on perilous courses like non-payment of taxes, but to bring about a solidarity amongst all sections of the people (and happily the boycott movement is making for it rather than against it) and obtain the approval of all classes and communities to a scheme of our own. The meeting at Patna was very wise in following up their anti-Commission demonstration by a conference for the express purpose of reconciling the claims of Hindus and Mahomedans on the basis of justice. The positive action that is now demanded of us to supplement the boycott is in this direction rather than in the one suggested by Pandit Malaviya. We hope Mrs. Besant's admirable lead will be followed throughout the country.

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THE address given by Dr. Radhakrishnan to the graduates of the Andhra University at the first Convocation is quite in keeping with his reputation as a veteran educationalist and a writer who has entered into the spirit of Indian philosophy and ancient Indian culture. While the term 'University' is a modern one, its meaning, he says, has been familiar to us for ages past. India distracted by deadly feuds of creeds and communities requires more than ever the spread of the University spirit of self-criticism and broad-mindedness. The ideal of a University is the promotion of freedom of thought and a University is antagonistic to universal conformity to a particular standard or creed. The type of mind which denies liberty and upholds privileges or conformity is responsible for communal bigotry. The present, according to Dr. Radhakrishnan, is an age of expansion when we are about to make a great leap into the future and look around on a vaster horizon. The quickening of the cultural life however requires that the sources of our civilization, art, literature, philosophy and religion, should be investigated and he appeals to the University to stimulate this interest in India's past. A discriminating study of the past is a powerful instrument of progress because we thus find out those institutions that have outlived their utility and which yet survive on account of mental laziness. It is not true conservatism but a sentimental one which tries to preserve ancient moulds, although they are outworn simply because they are picturesque. At this point, Dr. Radhakrishnan warns both the conservatives and radicals to come to a *via media*; the former display a passionate loyalty to everything Indian and yet are haunted by deep but secret misgivings, the latter remember the past with shame but are apt to forget that our own culture must furnish the conditions for action although other cultures may give us the light. The one characteristic that pervades Indian culture throughout its long growth is its elasticity and if we retain this spirit we can face the future with growing confidence and strength.

In connection with the question of making Telugu the medium of instruction and examination Dr. Radhakrishnan very properly emphasizes the importance of English as it has been the chief factor in the making of the Indian nation. He also combats the notion that Indians are metaphysically-minded and are not interested in the pursuit of science. The work done at the Calcutta University shows that Indians are competent to do original work of a high quality when they are given an opportunity. Dr. Radhakrishnan also protests against the idea commonly held that poverty and ill-health are ingredients of a spiritual civilization. Indian philosophy recognizes increase of wealth as the legitimate means of human endeavour. Science and its application to the betterment of human conditions ought not to be spurned. As a set-off to the educational policy of the past overweighted on the literary side, he would recommend the institution of new technical courses with an eye to the requirements of industries. Dr. Radhakrishnan, following Lord Haldane, deprecates different centres for Arts and Science. Experimental Psychology and Anthropology are related to both and a professor of Physics might be required to address students of Philosophy. The value of the University training lies in acquiring the scientific habits and for this professors themselves engaged in original research are indispensable. Referring to the financial side Dr. Radhakrishnan thinks that the Madras Government must ultimately find money for three adequately staffed Universities in the Andhra country. At the same time his appeal is addressed to private benefactors who ought not to grudge money in a cause so

noble as the spread of knowledge among all classes. Finally, referring to the inevitable topic of self-government, he reminds the graduates of the fact that we are paying too much importance to the criticism of the machinery and too little to the moral forces necessary for improving it. We must develop, he says, unity and organization, corporate life and comradeship, and education, discipline and constant forbearance alone will help us. If the University supplies a constant stream of young men and women imbued with love of truth and service to man he trusts that it will bring about an intellectual, moral, and spiritual renaissance. The Andhra is peculiarly capable of developing an effective sense of unity more than any other province, in the opinion of Dr. Radhakrishnan.

THE recent opening by His Excellency the Governor of the new buildings intended to house the National Medical College in Bombay constitutes an important landmark in the history of medical aid in the Presidency. The inadequacy of the present arrangements for medical relief is a matter of common knowledge; but this is even better realised when it is remembered that "There are only about 25 qualified medical practitioners serving a population of over half a million scattered in about 1500 villages in one of the districts of the Presidency thus giving one doctor to sixty villages of about 20,000 souls, whereas the statistics of Great Britain give one doctor to about 1000 persons." The quotation is from the statement made by the Chairman of the Council of the College on the above occasion. The tendency among qualified doctors at the present day is to settle in big towns which has led to the profession being overcrowded in urban areas, while the rural parts continue to be neglected and to suffer for want of medical relief. It is time some means were adopted for remedying this state of things. The National Medical College by turning out practitioners who go and settle in the villages is doing work of great humanitarian value while its efforts to shorten the period of instruction without, we are assured, loss of efficiency has led to the avoidance of much waste of time and money. The fact that it has at present 212 students, of whom 13 are women bears testimony to its growing popularity. The hospital attached to the College has a maximum accommodation of 72 beds, 50 of which have been solely maintained by that well-known Bombay philanthropist Dr. A. L. Nair, to whom the public can never be too grateful. In view of the fact that the Hospital treats a daily average of over 100 outdoor and about 50 indoor patients, its immediate needs, which are larger hospital accommodation, a maternity ward of 20 to 30 beds and a hostel for the students, deserve to be sympathetically met by the generous public and by Government.

SIR P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar's tenth lecture under the auspices of the Madras University dealt with the all-engrossing subject of the future relations with Indian States. According to his expectations, the transfer of the Political Department to Indian control will not take place at the next revision of the constitution and consequently the problem is not one of immediate urgency. The princes have been greatly perturbed by the prospect of a responsible Central Government in British India. They want a voice in the determination of All-India questions by the provision of some machinery for recording their views. The anxiety of the princes about their privileges under a responsible government are not easy to understand. There is no reason, says the lecturer, why the rulers should be more distrustful

of their own countrymen than of the British bureaucracy. He quotes a passage from the well-known book by M. Chailley to indicate the position of superiority assumed by the Political officers residing at the courts of the rulers. Indians are proud of the achievements of ruling princes whose rule is beneficent. The Indian States have still a great purpose to serve and a high destiny to fulfil in the polity of India. Indian rulers have opportunities of introducing social and economic reforms which are not open to a foreign Government.

At this point Sir Sivaswami Aiyer analyses the present position of Indian States. The premier states are those with which Government entered into treaties on a footing of equality, the rest are owing their status to *sanads*. They all, however, have a common character, namely, the personal rule of the Prince and his control over legislation and justice. Besides they have no external sovereignty. Gradually a tradition has been established of interfering in the internal affairs of states in certain cases in spite of the internal sovereignty guaranteed by treaties and it cannot be said that this interference is not justifiable in certain situations in the interests of the subjects of the states or of India as a whole. Gradually a body of usages has come into being which, though arbitrary, have been benevolent. It is not possible, in the opinion of Sir Sivaswami Aiyer, to go back to conditions existing at the time of the treaties. The letter of Lord Reading to the ruler of Hyderabad lays down the latest pronouncement on the relations between the states and the paramount power; this letter affirms the right of the British Government to intervene in internal affairs. In his opinion, the princes ought to press for the publication of case law utilised in dealing with cases of such intervention. Many of the princes think that the resolutions passed by the Chamber of Princes should not be binding on them; with such individualistic ideas any sort of federation is impossible.

One important issue in this connection is whether the states are in direct relations with the Government of India or with His Majesty's Government. After examination of the provisions of the constitution Sir Sivaswami Aiyer declares that the treaties must be regarded as entered into with the Crown, as representing the administration of British India and not irrespective of the sovereignty of British India. The Executive in India is fully empowered to transact business with the states. Again legislation affecting foreign states or princes can be introduced in the Central Legislature provided the sanction of the Governor-General is obtained previously. The idea that the Sovereign of a country who enters into a treaty does so in his personal capacity and not as sovereign of the country is too absurd to be maintained. It cannot be said therefore that treaties with Princes were entered into in his capacity as the Sovereign of the United Kingdom divorced from his sovereignty over Indian territories. The right to enforce treaties must, according to Sir Sivaswami Aiyer, vest in the authorities for the time being charged with the administration of India. As for representation given to states by allowing them to send members to the Chambers of the Indian Legislature, it is impracticable because they are sure to be swamped by members from British India and because they will have to refrain from voting when matters connected with British India alone are under consideration. The idea of an expanded Chamber of Princes is equally impracticable as a prince cannot vote without consulting his ministers. Another scheme is to have an Assembly of States which will consider subjects declared by the Governor-General as common concerns and which will have coordinate powers of legislation. This is inconsistent with mutual non-interference and it

assumes that British India will consent to the delay of its legislation by reference to this additional body, whose decisions again according to the proposers of the scheme are not to be binding on the Princes. We hope Sir Sivaswami Aiyer will give us some scheme of his own, if one is practicable.

*The National Christian Council Review* makes a very interesting comment on the East African Commission.

The personnel of the East African Commission has now been announced and, as was expected, it includes the name of Mr. J. H. Oldham, well-known and honoured in India as Secretary of the International Missionary Council. In our last issue we expressed ourselves as confident that, if Mr. Oldham were appointed, his presence on the Commission would be a guarantee that the rights of British Indians in East Africa would not be ignored nor 'the imperial duty' of safeguarding the interests of the native population be forgotten. The Commissioners have a difficult task before them, and, however sincere they may be in seeking a just reconciliation of the claims of European, Indian and African, the probability of their satisfying all the three is not great. India has already, through Mr. C. F. Andrews, expressed her resentment at the absence of any Indian from a Commission that is to consider the future of a region that has been described as the Canada of India. It is impossible to claim for either of the invaders of East Africa that they are disinterested or that the interests of the children of the soil are safe in their hands. Mr. Oldham, as a Christian internationalist, may be trusted to do all he can to find the way of justice and of compromise. 'Everyone,' St. Francis Xavier said of the immigrants into India in his day, and no doubt it is largely true of the immigrants into East Africa today, 'everyone takes the same road—*rapio, rapis*'. Many from among both Indians and Europeans are conjugating that same 'wretched verb,' and the chief duty of the Commission is to protect the African people against the rapacity as well as to protect the weaker of these two communities against the rapacity of the more powerful. The Indians in East Africa have few to champion them; but we trust that on the Commission they will have in Mr. Oldham one who will not forget that they, too, have rights. They have had their fears accentuated by the recommendations made by the recent Feetham Commission, which was appointed to go into the question of the extension of local self-government. One of their recommendations is that Mombassa, which has among its population 720 Europeans and 9,097 Indians, should henceforward have the number of Europeans on its Municipality increased from 7 to 13, while the Indian representation remains still 4 only. It is difficult to persuade oneself that that Commission discharged its task with justice and impartiality. We trust it will be less difficult in the case of the new Commission." We fully endorse all that the *Review* says about the indigenous people of East Africa suffering from the rapacity of both the immigrant communities, and the weaker though more numerous community from the stronger but less numerous. And of Mr. Oldham we would say, in the words of the *Review*, that however sincere he may be in seeking a just reconciliation of the claims of European, Indian and African, the probability of his satisfying—not all the three which is immaterial—but the claims of justice, is not great. For it is notorious that he has come down heavily on the side of the Europeans, admittedly the most rapacious and powerful of all, going back from all his former views. The danger of the non-inclusion of an Indian member in the Commission is certainly not lessened by the inclusion of Mr. Oldham.

## ASSOCIATION, BUT NOT PARTICIPATION.

A GOOD deal of confusion has arisen in the public mind in regard to the extent of the proposed association of Indians in the preliminary inquiry by the Statutory Commission and the scope that will be accorded to public opinion in this country in shaping the final decisions to be taken in Parliament. The official claim is that the opportunities thus offered to India of participating in the determination of her own political future far outweigh in importance any advantages that she could have secured by direct representation on the Commission. To the mind of those who advance such a claim the two methods appear only as possible alternatives, either of which was to be given effect to by itself, but never both together. There is however no valid reason to suppose that a mixed Commission might not have availed itself of any such assistance as this exclusively British Commission (we are told) intends to do in formulating its recommendations. We for our part do not think it inherently impossible to combine the two methods. On the contrary, the appointment of a Commission with a strong Indian element would have rendered quite superfluous any elaborate plans like those which are in Lord Birkenhead's mind for enlisting Indian co-operation; for, assuming that the Commission is to have full discretion in the matter, a Commission so composed would of its own accord go much farther in seeking such co-operation than any purely British Commission, even of acknowledged Indian sympathies, will do at the bidding of a Secretary of State far more liberal than Lord Birkenhead is known to be. The contention therefore that the present proposals will be more beneficial to India than actual membership of the Commission can be is entirely fallacious, though of course it would have been quite possible for the Indian Secretary so to select the Indian personnel as to have made it worse than useless.

Still it would be useful to examine with care what precise status and functions are intended to be assigned to the Committees of the Indian Legislatures. It is not quite easy to unravel from a mass of conflicting pronouncements the rôle that these committees will fill in moulding India's constitution. Of all such pronouncements the most authoritative must of course be the statement made by the Premier in the House of Commons on the 8th ultimo which has been embodied word for word in the press *communiqué* issued by the Viceroy on the same day. There is not the least room for doubt that this statement contemplates the Committees to possess the powers and perform the functions of witnesses appearing before commissions of inquiry. The statement says that His Majesty's Government are of opinion that the Commission's "task in taking evidence would be greatly facilitated if it were to invite the Central Indian Legislature to appoint a Joint Select Committee, which would draw up its views and proposals in writing and lay them before the Commission for examination in such manner as the latter may decide. It should be clearly under-

stood that the purpose of the suggestion is not to limit the discretion of the Commission in hearing other witnesses." This shows quite clearly that the Committee of the Central Legislature (and it holds true of the committees of the Provincial Legislatures too) is one of the witnesses that the Commission will examine and will have no more powers than such witnesses enjoy. The Commission will naturally give greater weight to the evidence tendered by such an authoritative body as an elected committee of the Legislature, but it will still be a witness. It will be used by the Commission for ascertaining public opinion, but will have no hand in formulating conclusions. The Committee will have an advantage over other witnesses only in one respect, viz. that the Commission will not dismiss the Committee immediately after the latter lay its views before it; but it will continue in being so that the Commission may confer with it whenever it deems necessary in the course of the inquiry. The practical advantage that will result therefrom will depend upon the extent to which and the manner in which the Commission will take it into consultation; at its best, the Committee will be given an opportunity of expressing and possibly of enforcing its view. The fact, however, remains that it will be denied any share in the task of framing the report to be submitted to Parliament, such as that to which membership of the Commission would have entitled Indians.

These ideas, which have been expressed in precise language in the Premier's statement, were a fortnight later expounded at greater length by Lord Birkenhead in Parliament, but his exposition does not add materially to our knowledge or dispel any of the misgivings that had been caused by the previous statement. No doubt he asserted that the Committee was to be in a superior position to that of a mere witness. "It has been most irrationally assumed," he said, "that they are merely to appear as witnesses before the Commission. That is not the case. They are invited, in a spirit of great sincerity, to co-operate as colleagues with the Commission". But he never explained in what respect they were better than witnesses: what further functions they would discharge or what greater powers they would enjoy. On the contrary what he said later only confirms the first impression that they are no more than witnesses. They are to formulate their own proposals, such as every witness is expected to do, and then these proposals, like those of any other witness, will be liable to be "accepted or rejected" by the Commission. Although Lord Birkenhead gives the members of the Committee the dignified appellation of "colleagues" of the Commission, there is no indication in any part of his speech as to how these "colleagues" will have better opportunities than ordinary witnesses of moulding the final conclusions, which will be exclusively the conclusions of a Commission of a purely British personnel. Indeed, he himself does not pretend, because he calls them colleagues, that the Committees are to have any but "consultative functions," that the Committees are to be set up only in order that the Commission may have opportunities of ascertaining opinion," and that its report may be "illuminated by the

knowledge of what contemporary Indian politicians are deeply feeling." But for the use of a somewhat misleading expression, it must be said to the credit of Lord Birkenhead that there is nothing in his speech which gives even a colourable ground for anyone to hug the illusion to his bosom that the Committees of the Indian Legislature are to have any part or lot in the recommendations which the Commission will ultimately make.

If the matter had ended here, there would have been no misconception about the status of these Committees, but the Labour Party, in its anxiety to place itself right with Indian opinion, gave these proposals a wider meaning than is warranted by official declarations. Lord Olivier expressed a desire that the Commission "should make it its primary duty to consult on equal terms with a Committee appointed by the Indian Legislature. There should be joint meetings of the two Commissions and reports of those Commissions to the Houses Parliament." That the Committees should have co-equal authority with the Commission is certainly the wish of the Labour Party, but equally certainly it is not what is contemplated by those who have instituted the Commission. The contingency of two reports by the two Commissions, of which Lord Birkenhead had become aware by reason of the talks he had with members of the Labour Party, had already been disposed of by him in his speech, for he had given the warning in advance that "we must take no step which could lead to the risk that we shall have two reports proceeding from two Commissions." Mr. Ramsay MacDonald the following day developed at a little greater length the ideas underlying Lord Olivier's speech, and the most important words he used on the point which we are now considering are as follows: "In the examination of witnesses he strongly urged that the Commission should have the Indian Commission sitting with them, Sir John Simon presiding over the joint sitting of both, and Indian representatives having exactly the same rights and status as the members of our own section." There was not even a faint indication in Earl Winterton's speech that the "joint session" of the two Commissions desired by the Labour Party was contemplated by Government, though he too had said that the Indian Committees "would be more than mere witnesses." As to the Indian Committees submitting their own report to Parliament, Mr. MacDonald indulged in some clever fencing; for he said that the Committees might submit their report to their own Parliament as the Commission will submit its to its own. Surely, no permission was needed from Lord Birkenhead, much less from Mr. MacDonald, for the Assembly to establish a Committee and call for a report. Does Mr. MacDonald seriously think that the Indian Committee reporting to its Legislature is in any way equivalent to the Statutory Commission reporting to Parliament, so far as subsequent Parliamentary action is concerned?

In regard to the other points, like making all the materials that will be collected for the use of the Commission accessible to the Indian Committee, enabling the latter to examine witnesses along with members

of the Commission, including those who will be heard *in camera*, discussing together the recommendations to be made in the report, etc., Government did not give the least countenance to Mr. MacDonald's suggestions. Mr. MacDonald himself argued that the status to be assigned to the Committee was incapable of minute definition; that he had tried his hands at it and failed. This is a contention however which cannot be sustained. Members of the Cabinet could at any rate have adumbrated the position in broad outlines, but they did not even attempt it. Mr. Baldwin took refuge in this supposed impossibility of devising a formula, but beyond saying that the members of the Indian Committee will meet the Commission "as friends, as equals", he did not throw any further light on the important points that Mr. MacDonald had raised. Nor could his silence be defended on the ground that it was for the Commission to determine these matters. For Mr. Baldwin might have said that, subject to the Commission's approval, the Committee could be regarded as integral parts of the Commission and would be entitled to all the rights to which the Commission was itself entitled. The summoning of the Committee to give evidence has itself been left to the discretion of the Commission; it is not mandatory. Similarly the other points on which Indian opinion is keen might well have been settled by Government, so far as it can settle them; for it is these alone which can endow the vague words about "equal status" with reality and substance. As to the Indian Legislature's delegation giving evidence before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament nothing need be said, for there is no question that this delegation is "meant merely to give evidence as witnesses along with any other bodies whom the Joint Parliamentary Committee may desire to consult." We are therefore convinced that there is nothing in the official pronouncements which have been vouchsafed to us so far which gives any ground to hold that Government intends to afford any representative Indians a chance of taking part in the deliberations of the Commission, not to speak of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, or in the decisions these bodies will come to. Opportunities for expression of opinion there are, but none for participating in the conclusions. In face of this we cannot understand how it can at all be contended that the present proposals are even better from the national standpoint than the inclusion of Indian public men in the Commission could be. If the Simon Commission makes any substantial changes in this, it will be a matter for subsequent consideration; but we cannot certainly assume that such changes will take place. And to the Commission announced at present our attitude must remain what it has been—that of strong protest and utter opposition.

#### "FATHER INDIA."\*

##### I.

THERE are two ways of retorting; one is to point out the misrepresentations, exaggerations and to correct

\* *Father India*. By C. S. Ranga Iyer. (Selwin and Blount, Ltd. London.) 1927. 8 x 5. pp. 207. 6s.

them as well as expose the fallacies. The other way is to throw mud at the opponent by showing that his community or country or nation is equally nasty and everything that he says we are ; in short the method of *tu quoque*. We wish Mr. Ranga Iyer had left the latter method severely alone, for the simple reason that it is likely to produce a crop of recriminations, which might never end. As a matter of fact he employs both the methods freely, and considering the impudent, unscientific and unsympathetic presentation of the social culture in India by Miss Mayo, Mr. Iyer presumably thought that she did not deserve to be shown any charity. The result is that in this errand, he had to inspect the drains of America and Europe and lay them bare to the gaze of men and women in India.

Burke wondered whether anybody could indict a whole nation ; but Burke, says Mr. Iyer, was a backward Briton of the eighteenth century while Miss Mayo is a forward American aspiring to belong to the twenty-first century. And she produces the gross misrepresentation of India and its culture, its people and their customs, the only result of which, according to him, would be to produce estrangement between England and India. Judging from the last few months' experience we cannot say that Mr. Iyer is exaggerating. Early marriage is no part of Indian culture and in the Vedas one finds no sanction for it. That is how Mr. Iyer begins to exonerate the Indians. But this would hardly be a proper reply to any one who is referring not to a golden age in the past, but to the last few centuries. Mr. Iyer here quotes passages from a book by Judge Lindsey (which was recently reviewed in these pages) to prove that in the United States half the school girls indulge in half-way sex intimacies that wreck their health and morals alike, that there are innumerable illegitimate children born of unmarried mothers in their teens and that hundreds of girls resort to the abortionist ; and he is clearly of opinion that this is far more dreadful than the Indian early marriage. The assertion of Miss Mayo that an average Hindu has many wives is easily refuted by showing that although polygamy is permissible it is very rarely practised in all the provinces. As for the evil of dancing girls dedicated to gods, mentioned by Miss Mayo as a disgrace to India, Mr. Iyer says that the evil would have been removed long ago by a people's government having a sanction behind it to interfere in quasi-religious matters. It was the recognition of this fact which was responsible for Mrs. Besant's entry into Indian politics with her battle-cry of Home Rule. About Purdah the author says that education alone will lead to the extinction of this custom but education is handicapped by want of resources, which in its turn is due to inability to pay more in taxes ; the cause assigned by Miss Mayo namely lack of teachers is clearly absurd considering the unemployment among the educated classes. With respect to Miss Mayo's revolting description of the goat sacrifice at Kalighat Mr. Iyer quotes from Mrs. Besant's review of the book in which she says that Miss Mayo perhaps did not know that masses of the worshippers of Kali never take part in any blood-sacrifice. If Miss Mayo wanted to know about the life of the Hindu widows, she should have gone to a few good Hindu homes instead of reading a book of Miss Cornelia Sorabji which has been discredited in India as the vapourings of an unbalanced mind ; this is Mr. Iyer's judgment about the highly-coloured picture of the woes of Indian widows. Amongst the torrential generalizations in which Miss Mayo indulges the author mentions one which attributes the innumerable deaths of infants to venereal disease because she saw some cases of it in the hospitals. These deaths are really due to poverty and want of staying power transmitted by

poor parents to their children, and in support of this Mr. Iyer quotes from a speech of Mr. Montagu in 1919.

As for the diatribes of Miss Mayo against the caste system and especially the Brahmans or gods on earth, Mr. Iyer pleads the necessity for the conquering Aryans of a code based on the divine right of the conquerors. While on this theme he remarks that the Aryan Brahmans were much better than the white Brahmans of the twentieth century who lay claim to the same divine right. The Brahmans completed their social conquest of the aborigines by a higher and nobler life ; the white Brahmans however to-day have established a political supremacy which can be maintained only by force. As a matter of fact, Mr. Iyer points out that Buddhism based on socialistic ideas and the principle of non-violence swept off Brahmanism for nearly thousand years. There is a partial truth but not the whole truth in the contention of Mr. Iyer that the Brahmans "have retained their superiority not by threats and curses but by their plain living and high thinking," of which the living signs are their complete abstention from meat and wine, except in Punjab and Bengal. What had to be done in Miss Mayo's country by law Brahmans have successfully achieved by social codes.

Miss Mayo infers that India is a country with prosperous peasants because there is a large consumption of boots, cigarettes, and umbrellas ; also because there is a large third class traffic. As against this Mr. Iyer offers the testimony of a sympathetic Englishman, Mr. Arnold Lupton, who in 'Happy India' describes the real condition of the people as he saw it. The better thing would have been not simply to quote Mr. Lupton but to corroborate his facts and assertions. With regard to the dreadful life of the untouchables Mr. Iyer admits the truth of the picture, but his query is "what have the Government been doing for more than a century before the era of reforms and councils ?" But this seems hardly fair since without co-operation from the people the whole problem could not be tackled by the State single-handed. The administrators could not abolish untouchability except in offices and public places. We do not think that the removal of untouchability is within the field of the legislator's activity and even if a law is passed it would remain a dead letter unless people were prepared to act upon it.

#### THE LATE MR. V K. MAINKAR.

ONE of the noblest citizens of Southern Maharashtra, a staunch Liberal and sincere patriot, suddenly and prematurely passed away on Nov. 30th in the person of Mr. V. K. Mainkar. Physically and morally Nature had cast him in a large mould. A devoted follower of the Ranade School of social and political thought, an ardent disciple of Gokhale, he was one of the few on this side of the Presidency to keep flying the banner of his master's faith by silent work and example. His sensitive modesty, while making him tender towards the bashful and gentle towards the distant, made him also shrink from the lime-light—positively scorn fanfare. Gifted with an almost uncanny shrewdness in the reading of men's character, their subtle varieties and petty selfishnesses, he was able to discern also their hidden strains of goodness by a sort of insight that approached vision. When talking with him one marvelled at the way in which his inborn astuteness lashed up like a sharp wind the

surface of character and revealed the roughness of the bottom only to submerge them the next moment by a kindly flood of charitable emotion welling up from the depths of his soul. It was this intuition into the finer moral elements embedded in drab and apparently uninteresting natures, this selective gift, as of the fabled swan, that made him draw men of all ranks, creeds, and communities to himself with a sort of personal magnetism. To know him was to love him. Never decoyed by the exterior and the shows of things, he went out of his way to befriend friendless strangers, obscure individuals and destitute students, and jealously concealed his love for them from the garish light of day.

Mr. Mainkar's generosity often refused to listen to the stern fiat of his purse; it was his daily and hourly anxiety not to send away disappointed those who sought his help. If it was a young man of some shadow of promise he was welcome at his table; if it was a worker for a public cause he could walk into the good man's house as into his own—and return not unblessed in his mission. Mr. Mainkar's pity gave ere his charity began. In his zeal to help forward public causes he often neglected his own professional business and spoke slightly of the loss he incurred thereby. It became habitual with him to put a matter-of-fact complexion over his charities, and I know instances when he definitely pretended to be receiving when he was actually conferring favours. This recalls a kindred trait of his which one observed most in his recent sorrows, that of concealing from his friends the anxiety that inly gnawed his heart—and alas, his last years were not happy.

As a public worker he loved to put himself behind the scenes and derive from the success of his undertakings for the public weal or for his friends that pleasure which ordinary men derive from the furtherance of their own personal ambitions. Selflessness seemed to be as easy for Mr. Mainkar as egoism is with most. To this high spirit of self-sacrifice he joined a rare tact and charm of manner and winning ways of right compromise that enabled him to rally to himself people of different castes and creeds in Sangli, who came latterly to look upon him as their friend and brother. Social reform demanded no effort from him, for catholic sympathies and ardour for social justice were inborn in him, his humanity leaping all barriers by a prompting of nature, and not in response to the adoption of any such blazon as "reformer". Nevertheless he was one in the best sense. He loved most the company of those who set their face against social injustices, feeling himself blessed in their friendship. He never betrayed his principles to follow the will-o'-the-wisp catchwords of the hour. An incorrigible self-diffidence prevented him from shining as a speaker or writer. Endowed with a fine legal acumen and robust commonsense, he never applied himself assiduously to travel far in Bookland, though none could be more acutely conscious of defects than he. Wherein lies greatness? If it does in a combination of unswerving loyalty to principles, selfless labour for public causes, unquenchable devotion to friends, magnanimity and true nobility of

soul, then indeed Mr. Mainkar was great. His was a "high nature amorous of the good."

Next to the members of his own family, the warmest corner of Mr. Mainkar's heart was reserved for the members of the Servants of India Society (of which he was an Associate and regular attendant at meetings) and of the Deccan Education Society, to whom, as to the present writer, his death comes as an irretrievable personal loss. It is a loving brother they have lost in him. May the giver of all good bless his soul with supreme *Shanti*—the Peace that passeth understanding.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.

## OUR EUROPEAN LETTER.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

GENEVA, November 17,

### HOW IT STRIKES THE EXILES.

WHEREVER Indians gather in this part of the world—exiles all—there is anxious talk of the Simon Commission and of the alarming reports that every despatch from India seems to bring. The Indian abroad suffers under a double burden—the burden of the inscrutability of the coming events at home and the burden of being strictly a spectator of them without taking sides, for he alone may judge in such matters who strives for the cause on one side or another. There is general regret that Mr. Sastri should be away from home at a time so momentous albeit on other duty. His presence next month in Madras would be an almost incalculable factor. The Indian abroad may, however, do one service to the brothers at home; that of telling them how he outer world—counting within it men and places of consequence—interprets the events in India and giving them the benefit of another perspective.

The general feeling in England is that the Tories have made a muddle of it again and repeated their history in the Indian question. Whatever the truth, the rumour has prevailed that Whitehall and Simla have had a tough fight and victory as usual has gone to Whitehall because "The whole conservative habit of speculating in mechanical or utilitarian terms and underestimating the moral factors... encourages a hackneyed way of thinking. Hence a lack of keener vigilance and energy. Hence a continuous psychological dullness as lately shown in dealing with America and India alike as well as with coal, the Trades Unions, unemployment, and industrial peace. Hence, above all, the danger of losing all real power of moral appeal, whether to the soul of the nation at home or to the 'soul of the wide world—dreaming on things to come.'" Somewhat surprising as it may seem, it is Mr. Garvin who argues in the *Observer*: "Nothing in the world at this moment is more important for the Prime Minister and Lord Birkenhead to make at once the explanatory and conciliatory speeches which ought weeks ago to have been directly addressed to native opinion", for, in his own words, "To make the coming problem of India a subject of party debate would be not only a mischief but a catastrophe. Yet Mr. Baldwin's Government with its besetting lack of psychological vision has not made easy the duty of restraint." (Notice by the way another anachronism as between the usage in India and the usage in England of the word "native." Of course the term can be justified in this context, but if Mr. Garvin were to discuss Australian or Canadian affairs the more individual and the less amorphous adjective would have come to his pen.) The same editor urges also the inclusion of Sir Frederick

Whyte in the Commission and in an interview in the same paper Lord Meston makes a plea for a place for Lord Ronaldshay in the body and expresses the hope that "something definite and substantial will be done in the way of providing the Commission with a body of assessors, consisting both of Indian politicians and of officials experienced in the working of the constitution in the last seven years," while the Maharajah of Burdwan, in a special interview, gives his opinion that "in the present stage of Indian development a departure from the practice of partnership can be justified with difficulty" and, regretting the exclusion of Lord Sinha, lays stress on the necessity of the Commission to coopt members in their work in India. The Labour Party would have India be patient until they have brought their influence to bear on the debate on the matter in the House of Commons. But all these signs will turn out to be illusory if stretched too far. There is no doubt that, the prevailing unpopularity of the Tory Government and the anxiety to refrain from pushing India into madness have put public opinion in Britain into a listening mood. That is just as certain as that there is a determination due to various causes and innumerable influences to maintain the principle of parliamentary superiority immutable. On this point Britain is adamant. Let us have no delusions. The principle of equality for us in the British Commonwealth of Nations can only be won at a great price. Side by side with his chastisement of the Tory Government, Mr. Garvin maintains in another column:—"In spite of the Viceroy's wise and warm-hearted appeal and in spite of the example of self-sacrifice set by Sir John Simon, many Indian politicians are already up in arms against the official plan. India, in their view, has a right to determine her future for herself. The facts are dead against them. The power long called paramount in India just because it discharged the responsibilities of government cannot abnegate the right to decide how far its obligations can now be determined." Nothing can be plainer.

#### "LOOK TO THE END"

In his Guildhall speech when Mr. Baldwin spoke about India he said that the question had a bearing on the future of civilization itself though he took care not to expound that idea. We also may leave it at that, but like him "look to the end." A recent Reuter's message from Delhi concludes:—"So far political opinion is in favour of boycotting the Commission while communal opinion favours co-operation." Every despatch from the correspondents of the *Times* in Bombay and Delhi since the announcement of the Commission produced the impression of divergence between Moslem and Hindu reactions. With calculated precision the effect is created that the Moslems would stand by the British Government as in the pre-political days indifferent to India's advance. It is not the British public only which is fed on such news but through telephone it goes to Paris and from Paris spreads all over the European continent. So also is London America's newsagent: "Before two years are over India will dominate all other concerns whatever" is the considered verdict of a prominent British journal and interpreting this statement again in our own way, we should be less indifferent to world opinion. Within the last fifty years—not to speak exclusively of the spectacular span of the last ten—how many States have not owed their independence to the pressure exerted by the Powers on their behalf? Have we not just been reminded of the "diplomatic intervention" at Navarino by its anniversary? Two years hence we may have to appeal to the great World-Powers—as during the War one of our leaders appealed to America—to come to India's help. The enlistment of world-

opinion on our behalf—not of British opinion only—must never be lost sight of.

There is another point for the Indian Moslem to ponder over. It can only be suggested here. As every publicist in Europe is aware and has lately freely said, consciously or unconsciously the Western world is rushing into another war. If the distrust be the atmosphere in which the germs of conflict thrive there has never been more of it in Europe. Every event in the political world finds its interpretation in terms of rivalry. American prosperity and British naval supremacy are regarded as antithesis. So are Franco-Yugoslavian alliance and Anglo-Italian comradeship. There is suspicion about Anglo-Spanish amity and the visit of the German Chancellor and Foreign Minister to Vienna carries with it a definite suggestion inevitably. The Balkan furnace is as hot as it can be and the main outline of the next war emerges as clearly as the Anglo-German clash appeared to observers of the prospect of 1914. If Soviet Russia and Great Britain—the principals—fight, the theatres of war may be presaged. Afghanistan, Persia and other Central Asian Moslem areas will be directly concerned. Nothing can be of greater injury to the population in this region than to strengthen the impression, at this moment, that Moslem opinion in India would back Great Britain. Even sympathetic British historians like Toynbee cannot resist ridiculing Indian Khilafatists for supporting Turkey, but whatever may be the result of that support as regards the Caliphate itself, none can deny that it did signal service to New Turkey. That romantic chapter in Turkish history between the Treaty of Sevres and the Treaty of Lausanne owes much to British diffidence which again may be traced to the position the Indian Moslems took up. Does the cause of the Moslem become less dear just because it is not religious? It may be thought that Russia is working for her own gain, but what lessons have not both Turkey and China taught in this matter? Has Turkey kept Russia a day longer than necessary? Let us make our position quite clear. This is not written out of love for Russia, but Great Britain should be made to understand that if she want Indian backing, Moslem or Hindu, in Afghanistan or Persia, it can only be had for a price. The application of the principle of self-determination in all the countries concerned is the price. If only at this juncture it could be made absolutely certain that not one Indian volunteer nor one Indian rupee would be available for Great Britain for the next war, under the present conditions, that would make the British Government pause to think as nothing else would.

#### BANISH NEGATIVE TERMS.

Above all this is a time when leaders have to be leaders and followers, followers. If one may become hot, the others must keep cool. In a notable speech which he made in his native town of Birmingham Sir Austen Chamberlain said that the British Government wanted to lay down a policy for the next hundred years in China. The sentiment evoked a response in a far wider circle than he may have had in mind because of the general belief that we are passing through a key-period in history. The world in general and the Western world in particular has an old established habit of including the political among cultural achievements for valuation purposes. We cannot appeal to world-opinion for our grievances and bind its gaze to our achievements. Negative terms and negative values have their place in the religious domain where action is largely through isolation and victory through mind. But such a habit is hardly compatible with the political domain where the husbanding of reality rather than escape from it is the main problem. Our aim is to foster a genuine national and cultural.



spirit which would be the stronger for every rebuff and save it from recurrent periods of waning. The search for a positive *modus vivendi* in dealing with Western civilisation and not isolation must be our means, for the negative attitude of isolation would compel our wholesale adaptation of some at least of Western methods of resistance and thereby defeat itself. We are not the only Eastern nation in this predicament. The Western centres and universities are filled with students and workers, all watchful observers and learners intent upon taking away with them the knowledge which makes the Westerner indispensable in their own land. Last winter in Paris when the situation in China was in its most sensational phase I happened to meet a member of the Kuomintang. There was something sage and melancholy about his face, reminiscent of his ancestral spirit, which was in marked contrast with the exuberant hilarity of many another. He told me: "It is a crucial period our people are passing through. One false move, we may lose a century; one clever move, we may win ten." That is how it strikes the exiles about India today.

### REVIEWS.

#### EDMUND BURKE.

**THE POLITICAL WISDOM OF EDMUND BURKE.** By KAMTA PRASAD KULSRESHTH. (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta.) 1927. 7½ × 5. pp. xi, 370. Rs. 6-4.

**EDMUND BURKE.** By BERTRAM NEWMAN. (G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., London.) 1927. 7¾ × 5¼. pp. xiii, 348. 7s. 8d.

MR. KAMTA PRASAD has rendered a useful service to students of politics and literature by publishing his careful compilation of select passages from Burke's writings and speeches. These selections, it need hardly be said, convey a very imperfect idea of Burke's greatness as a political thinker. As Hazlitt somewhere observes, Burke must be read as a whole if he is to be rightly appreciated. The serious student who is prepared to face this task, and who at the same time wishes to acquaint himself with the life and personality of the great writer will find in Mr. Bertram Newman an admirable and most competent guide. We give Mr. Newman's book our highest praise when we say that it is an indispensable supplement to Morley's well-known volume in the English Men of Letters series.

It has become the fashion to regard Burke as a disciple of Montesquieu. Morley declares that the student of the *esprit des lois* will recognize its influence in everyone of Burke's masterpieces. Mr. Newman puts the matter still more strongly when he says that Burke was steeped in Montesquieu. It is difficult to accept these sweeping statements without qualification. It is true that Burke pronounces on Montesquieu a glowing panegyric in his Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs. But as Vaughan points out in his Studies in Political Philosophy (it is strange that Mr. Newman makes no reference to this valuable work) the praise is not altogether disinterested. Montesquieu always expressed admiration for England and his well-known eulogy of the English Constitution came in usefully to Burke to point the

contrast between the 'sense' of the great Frenchman and the nonsense of his own countrymen who ventured to find fault with it. In the second place, the predominating characteristic of Burke was his practical sagacity, which, as Mr. Newman himself points out, is scarcely concealed by the imaginative splendour of his rhetoric; and practical sagacity was certainly not Montesquieu's strong point. For instance history is for Montesquieu "a collection of precedents all of equal value, instead of the record of an evolution" (Leslie Stephen). With Burke on the other hand, though much political wisdom is to be learnt from this "elevation of reason", which places centuries under our eye, that is learnt as a habit, not as a precept. It is an exercise to strengthen the mind, not a storehouse of cases and precedents of a lawyer. As a matter of fact, Burke reminds us much more of Aristotle than of Montesquieu and a parallel between the English thinker and the 'master of those who know' can easily be worked out. In his respect for concrete fact, in his insistence that the true nature of man is to be discovered not in his primitive but in his developed condition, in his grasp of the conception of a nation as a living organism of complex structure, in the intense aristocratic spirit which colours his politics, and above all in his recognition of the State as a moral institution, Burke is decidedly an Aristotelian. He is still more obviously an Aristotelian in his sense of the danger of basing political measures on *a priori* reasoning. "Aristotle, the great master of reasoning," he says, in his speech *On Conciliation* "cautions us not to expect geometrical accuracy in moral arguments as the most fallacious of all sophistries." Burke's own political method is an amplification of this great truth. Politics ought to be adjusted not to human reasonings, but to human nature. The object of political institutions is not consistency or symmetry but happiness. The question to be asked about them is how they work. Government is obliged to discharge the most various functions. It is the custodian of many and even inconsistent interests of a highly complicated society. The scope, therefore, for abstract reasoning in politics is very limited. "There is not, there never was, a principle of government under heaven that does not, in the very pursuit of the good it proposes, naturally and inevitably lead to some inconvenience which makes it absolutely necessary to counterwork and weaken the application of that first principle itself, and to abandon something of the extent of the advantage you propose by it, in order to prevent also the inconveniences which have arisen from the instrument of all the good you had in view". "Circumstances give in reality to every political principle its distinguishing colour and discriminating effect".

Lastly, just as Aristotle develops his political philosophy in conscious opposition to the teaching of cynics and some of the sophists, Burke develops his political creed in conscious opposition to the teaching of Rousseau, with his glorification (in some of his moods) of the noble savage and a primitive state of nature. Burke does not realise the full significance of the Revolution, nor does he recognize that

Rousseau's teaching has a relative justification. As Kant says, "Rousseau perhaps was not so far wrong as it has been supposed when he preferred the savage state to the state of civilization, provided always we leave out of account the last stage (the establishment of a universal civil society) to which our species is yet destined to rise. We are already in a high degree cultivated by Art and Science. We are civilised, even to excess, in all kinds of social elegancies. But much is wanting ere we can call ourselves moralised. Now, the idea of morality is necessary to culture; whereas civilisation is only such a realisation of that idea as is implied in the love of honour, and a feeling for outward propriety. But as long as States spend all their powers in vain and in violent efforts at aggrandisement, and thus ceaselessly hinder the slow toil of the education of the inner life of their citizens instead of giving to it all the outward support it needs, nothing of this kind can be expected; for the culture of the citizen in this highest point of view must depend on a long process of effort by the community to secure such inner development. Meanwhile, all good that is not based on the highest moral principle is nothing but empty appearance and splendid misery." However this may be, it is undeniable that the revolutionary doctrine rested on a delusive and even mischievous metaphysics and Burke enforces against this metaphysics his rival doctrine with a power "that has rendered all later Conservative writing superfluous and tedious." (T. H. Green.)

No estimate, however, of Burke as a political thinker will be complete which fails to take into account the nobility of his moral nature. Burke is truly great because he devoted his superb gifts of intellect and imagination to the service of the noblest of causes, the cause of freedom and justice. His noble defence of the American colonies against the claim of the mother country to tax them directly is well known. Of the speech *on conciliation* it has been well said that it remains some compensation to English literature for the dismemberment of the British Empire. "Whether we reflect on the art with which it is constructed, the skill with which the speaker winds into the heart of his subject and draws from it the material of his splendid peroration on 'the spirit of the English constitution' and its power to unite, invigorate and vivify the British Empire in all its diverse members; or reflect on the temper, passionate and moving yet restrained and conciliatory in which the argument is conducted; or recall simply the greater flights of picturesque eloquence, the description of American industry and enterprise, the imagery in which the speaker clothes his conception of the spirit of the English Constitution and the sovereign authority of Parliament, the speech takes its own place beside the greatest masterpieces of our literature, e. g. the plays of Shakespeare and the poems of Milton. It produces the same impression of supremacy in its own kind; it abounds, like these, in phrases which seem to enrich our language with a new felicity and dignity; 'enjoyments which deceive the burthen of life,' 'a wise and salutary neglect.' 'I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment

against a whole people,' 'a man acts from adequate motives relative to his interest, and not on metaphysical speculations,' 'magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom,' and 'a great empire and little minds go ill together' " (H. J. C. Grierson.)

The last phrase reminds one irresistibly of the great Greek exemplar of all those 'who would give speech the cogency of act.' In well-known words, Demosthenes warns his countrymen that it is not possible to found a solid dominion upon oppression, perjury, and falsehood. "Such an empire may endure for the moment or for the hour; nay, it may blossom with the rich promise of hope; but time finds it out, and it drops away of itself. As in a house, a vessel, or any similar structure, the foundation should above all be strong, so should the principles and groundwork of conduct rest upon truth and justice." Burke's Indian speeches and writings may be regarded as one long sermon on this text. It is now recognized that Burke did less than justice to Warren Hastings, who was no saint but had greatness enough to deserve some of the panegyric lavished on him by his apologists. But the object of Burke's denunciations was not so much Warren Hastings as the system under which a handful of rulers, freed from all sense of responsibility, were given absolute power over the destinies of an ancient nation.

As Burke himself points out in his speech with which he introduced the articles of charge "what in fact the House had to vote that day was not the case of Mr. Hastings. Mr. Hastings was out of the question, matters of much higher interest called for their decision. They were that day to vote a set of maxims and principles to be the rule and guide to future governors in India, to Lord Cornwallis, who was about to proceed thither as Governor-General. What they now determined would decide what the world would think of British justice and British policy". Posterity, says a fine critic, distinguishes Burke's attacks on Hastings which have to be qualified not only in their detail but in their total effect, from his exposure of the system by which India was ruled and of its iniquities; and honours Burke more than any single man with the credit of having made that system impossible. It is no wonder that Lord Acton declared that Burke at his best is England at its best.

N. NARSIMHA MOORTY.

#### BRITISH CITIZENSHIP AND HISTORY.

**THE CITIZEN.** By Mrs. H. A. L. FISHER. (W. & R. Chambers Ltd., London.) 1926. 7¼ × 5. pp. 272. 2s. 6d.

**SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN.** By A. A. W. RAMSEY. (W. & R. Chambers Ltd., London.) 1926. 7¼ × 5. pp. vi, 322. 3s.

IN her simple and unostentatious way Mrs. Fisher has undertaken to acquaint the ordinary English school-boy with the machinery of English Government, its methods of working, the interrelations of its various parts and the part that as a grown-up citizen he will be called upon to play in its working. To her "the task of the citizen is to know so much of the

history of mankind in general and of that of his own country in particular as will enable him to understand something of his own and other social organizations in order that he may play his own small but essential part." Not content with describing the functions of the cabinet, parliament and the parish council and discussing the theoretical aspects of the many problems involved, she has tried to show how great are the pitfalls in actual practice unless every citizen is alert and watchful not only to guard his own interests but also those of his neighbours. Her chapter on the League of Nations tries to break through the insularity of the ordinary English citizen and to show him that the League is nothing more than the natural development of the same old principles of peace and order which he so proudly cherishes. She is careful to place side by side both the achievements and the imperfections of the English polity, its dangers and hopes. Her style rises into eloquence as she deals with the philosophy of citizenship and not until one reaches the last two chapters does one feel the restraint she has observed in order to keep her treatment of the subject within the limited intellectual grasp of the school-boy.

"Social History," says Dr. Ramsey, "tells us about the lives of the people in the past, their customs, manners, and habits, and their relations with one another." Industrial History on the other hand deals with what people worked at, how they earned their living, got their food and made their clothes and built their houses. It must explain to every Englishman how he has come to wear clothes made of Australian wool and Chinese silk, eat nuts from Brazil and meat from New Zealand. In fact Political History, as we teach it in the schools, can be scarcely understood until we know somewhat intimately the day-to-day lives of the people both in the past and in the present. In the book under review Dr. Ramsey takes us from the Britain of the Stone Age, through the Roman rule, and the relapse under the Anglo-Saxon conquest, through the feudal organization of the middle ages and the stirring times of Elizabeth, down to the years after the Great War, its strikes and lock outs. He is always careful to point out the interdependence of the various classes of the community and without departing from the restraints of a school-book lays bare the dangers of class war and the value of forbearance and fair play. His description of the sufferings of the small land-owners in the days when arable land was transformed wholesale into sheep-walks, and of the industrial workers during the evolution of the modern factory methods is truly pathetic. At the same time he has equally succeeded in giving a clear idea of the currency crises in France and Germany after the Great War. The style is both simple and charming and the references to popular literature are a feature of the book.

Both these volumes are admirably suited to be in the hands of every teacher of English History in this country. They will make the teaching of English History effective and interesting. One wonders when it would be possible to find such books in connection with Indian History. Even if these volumes make that want keenly felt by the teachers a great deal will have been done.

R. H. KELKAR.

#### EFFICACY OF PRAYER.

**CULTURE EAST AND WEST.** By BISHAN DASS. (The author, Jullundur.) 1927. 7 x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  pp. 124. Rs. 2.

THIS booklet is a prize-essay on the subject of prayer which was awarded a prize by the University of St. Andrews. It is practically a justification and apo-

theosis of soul-culture and as such is very useful as a corrective of dominance of the materialistic conceptions. In the beginning the author attempts to prove the efficacy of divine communion by the agency of prayer which is defined as an opening of the human mind to the inflow of the Divine Spirit living within us. He says however that to pray for material blessings is useless and shows want of confidence in the Infinite wisdom of God. He then describes eternal bliss through self-realization. He believes in the Church as a place of celestial enjoyments but stipulates that it should be broad-minded. Examining polity, he deplores that the present system is based on force and spiritual education of the people is needed to change this basis; he criticizes the utilitarian theory that morality can work well without piety and divine communion.

About duty also, the author would insist on the accompaniment of prayer. If we begin every work, he says, with the blessings of Heaven we shall find everything turning into a joy. He emphasizes the teaching of Carlyle and the Gita not to attach ourselves to the fruits of actions. In all our perplexities we should seek light from the divinity within ourselves. The efficacy of prayer in moments of temptations is marvellous. Our own judgment is that the efficacy of prayer is a moot point and till more psychic researches are made it will be better to suspend dogmatic conclusion. In spite of this we cannot deny that prayer has a great action in the building-up of spiritual life. In the domain of health he would recommend mental therapeutics in preference to medicine. We must avoid, in his opinion, all thoughts that are gloomy, sad, and full of worry and hatred. The right method of curing a disease is divine communion. As for adversity prayer relieves distress by strengthening character and inspiring faith in the human mind. Nationalism also can be cured by love which would eradicate racial jealousies. Even the religion of humanity cannot be sustained without clinging to God and obeying the dictates of the inner soul or spirit. There can be, according to the author, no progress of humanity without the advancement of soul culture.

The arrangement of the matter leaves much to be desired. Much of the matter is disjointed and the transition to a new topic is sometimes abrupt. In spite of these defects the book will serve the purpose of awakening a desire for self-realization among the educated. It is a powerful plea for a life of spirit.

G.

#### SHORT NOTICES.

**THE EMPIRE BUILDER.** By LORD OLIVIER. (Hogarth Press, London.) 1927. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 4. pp. 48.

THIS slender, delightfully got up, volume is a piece of poetry written in prose. Cunningly interwoven is a love story and a philosophy, deliberately fanciful delightfully hinted at only: and the fancifulness is of the very nature of the whole thing, for it was written to prove that institutions grow and move often enough by the fancies of the men that constitute them; whether they be the Society of Jesus or the British Fleet or the British Empire.

That is the thesis, if so hard and concrete a word may be used in connection with so airy a web of gossamer. And what more is there for a Pantheist to say, than that the whole is merely the sum total of the parts and that, whilst the whole carries along the part, the part moulds the whole. And the categorical imperative? The human evaluation of things? All fancies, we presume: and with that we discover,

alas, behind the delightful smile of the poet, the hopeless grimace of the cynic.

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

**INDIAN STATESMEN.** (Natesan & Co., Madras.) 1927. pp. viii, 384. 7½ × 5. Rs. 3.

THIS is a collection of the lives of 17 distinguished administrators like Sir Salar Jung, Sir K. Seshadri, Rajah Sir T. Madhava Rao, whose names are indissolubly linked up with some of our States. The problem of Indian States is at present looming large on the political horizon; and whether one likes their presence in our midst or not, there can be no doubt that a study of the lives of these great and capable countrymen of ours will be full of interest and instruction. We of the present generation hear a good deal of this or that progressive state; but can have no adequate idea of how much ceaseless labour and anxious thought it must have cost those early Indian administrators to introduce their own progressive ideas into the administrations of the states. The publication supplies a real want.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### A LAWYERS' CONFERENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—Lord Asquith, speaking on July 10, 1908, at the Inner Temple Hall said in the course of his address: "There is no class or profession in our community which has done more—I will go further, I will say there is none—which has done as much (as the Bar) to define and develop and to defend the liberties of England". Then again we find that there has been from time to time ample material for the cheap sarcasm against "the gentlemen of the long robe." In English history when once these prejudices were put into practice and 'the disastrous experiment was tried of a House of Commons from which all lawyers were excluded' and, a notorious body known as *Parliamentum in octam* was formed, even Lord Coke declared that 'the whole of its legislation was not worth twopence'."

In the light of what has been said above, it will be seen that in the political events of a nation and in its unexpected political situations, it is always, as now, the class of lawyers that helps and advances the nation's cause. On the other hand, their intellect and sacrifices are the *sine qua non* of a nation's progress. It is they, more than any body else, who are directly conscious of the rights of the people and the duties of the State and the injustice done by the latter to the former. It is they that have to plead the nation's cause against the foreign Bureaucracy. In view of the great importance of the class, no one will deny that it is absolutely necessary that it should be well organised.

To achieve the above object, it would be necessary to convene a conference of lawyers, preferably at a place like Poona, which always takes the lead in starting new social and political activities. In view of the fact that the past political workers like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Lok. Tilak, Justice M. G. Ranade and others and even the present ones are drawn from the bar, we hope that no one will disagree with the above proposal.—Yours, etc.

L. R. PHADNIS.

Poona, Dec. 4.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

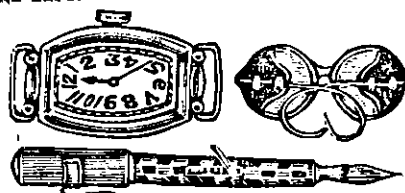
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