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NOTICE.

Owing to the celebration of the anniversary of the Servants of India Society this week, there will be no issue of this paper next week.

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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE long expected resignation of two of the three Ministers to the U. P. Government, **Ministerial Crisis** Rai Rajeshwar Bali and Thakur Rajendra Singh, has at last been announced. While the U. P. Government wants time to issue a communiqué on the subject, the resigning ministers have made it clear that the differences between them and their Government were due to their attitude towards the Simon Commission. Some time ago Rai Rajeshwar Bali stated in reply to a question in the U. P. Council that the ministers accepted the principle of joint responsibility. In accordance with this principle, it is the third minister, Nawab Mohamud Yusuf, who flouted the decision of the Legislative Council to leave the Simon Commission severely alone that should have been asked to make room for a constitutional minister; but actually it is the majority of the ministers who are acting in conformity with the wishes of the Council, that have been asked to resign on the ground that they regard themselves as deriving their authority from the elected representatives of the people and not from the bureaucracy. This is how training is given in self-government! This is how cooperation with the Simon Commission is manufactured! This phenomenon need however cause no surprise, as Madras has already familiarised us with it. The illusion of the independence of the transferred half of the Government has been shattered and one more nail has been driven into the coffin of dyarchy. It is indisputably clear that in all essential

matters the ministers must subordinate themselves to the irremovable executive. Under the present system of government, the Governor is practically the repository of all power. The outward forms of responsible government but ill conceal the reality of one-man rule.

* * *

A STATEMENT made during the last week by Mr. N. M. Joshi throws a flood of light on the series of wrong tactics adopted by the Bombay Mill-owners. In the first place they have all along insisted on negotiating only with registered trade unions. On this point Mr. Joshi rightly says that "there is absolutely no connection between the fact of registration of a union and its capacity to negotiate in a dispute". This insistence has all along created a distrust about the *bona fides* of the Mill-owners and vitiated the whole atmosphere. It is gratifying to find however that at long last the Mill-owners have opened negotiations. Whatever may be the nature of the discussions, we rejoice at the fact of a common parley, which invariably helps to remove misunderstandings between the parties to a conference. It is very likely that on individual demands presented by the Joint Strike Committee there will be an acute difference of opinion and possibly a failure to arrive at an agreement. But we feel that in the long run reason is bound to prevail and a general agreement on essential points will be reached. Already the Mill-owners have agreed that in matters of general policy, individual mills would be guided by the Association and refrain from individual action. They have also agreed to notify beforehand any new departures from present methods of work and present rates of pay. This appears to us a very promising beginning for a successful settlement of the points at issue. We would urge at the same time on the attention of both the owners as well as the representatives of workers, that they should not allow any false notion of prestige to interfere with the good work begun.

* * *

As we pointed out in the last issue, the Committee of the Punjab Legislative Council formed to co-operate with the Simon Commission has already begun to chafe against its inferior position. It is strange that knowing full well that the last word has been said about the procedure of the Commission the Committee still hope that they can induce a better mood in the Commission by the dutiful way in which they are going to co-operate with them. We doubt whether Sir John Simon, even if he has the will, will have the power to confer equality of status on the Committee. According to the correspondent of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, good feeling reigns within the Committee but outside it wire-pulling is still going on. We can only hope that the good feeling inside the Committee

will continue for a reasonable length of time so that it can present a united front to the Commission. In the meanwhile it appears from an interview given to the press by Dr. Gokal Chand Narang that if Sir John Simon denies to the Committee the right to examine all the documents, he would resign. We do not know if some surprise concessions are likely to be showered, between now and October when the Commission will begin its real work; but judging from the emphasis laid on the finality of the procedure by Sir John Simon in his last letter, it seems least likely.

* * *

THE persistence of the idea of Muslim provinces, which was an ingredient of the Calcutta Muslim proposal, makes the task of bringing about unity more and more difficult. Maulana Abdul

Kalam Azad in his recent statement has again emphasized the idea with the proviso that this is the only method by means of which the Muslim communalists can be reconciled to the abandonment of communal electorates so dear to the heart of Muslims. The idea of Hindu and Muslim provinces in which each community would follow a policy of punishing the minority community for the misdeeds it might commit in a province where it is in a majority is so utterly opposed to all democratic traditions that it is high time the ghost is exorcised once for all. In the same way we find Mr. Mahomed Ali insisting on the adoption of the Resolution of the Muslim League as a condition precedent to the Muslims accepting the conclusions of the Committee appointed by the All-Parties' Conference. Now to regard the Calcutta Resolution as a sort of ultimatum is to bar the way to future compromises. Mr. Mahomed Ali wishes us to stick to the conception of Muslim provinces and assures us that Hindus in the provinces where they are in a minority would be properly treated by the Muslims. What is required he says is trust and he believes that if Hindus trust Muslims the latter will reciprocate the feeling. This will be a good education in higher virtues; but it is better to nip the evil in the bud by putting aside the idea of a creation of new provinces designed to secure the domination of a particular community. The proper avenue for a compromise is some sort of scheme for the reservation of seats based on a rational principle which will appeal to everybody.

* * *

THE special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* has outlined a Constitution for India in the last of his articles contributed to that journal. Mr.

Gwynn thinks that as soon as the provinces are able to govern themselves, they will be too strong for the Secretary of State. According to him, the district administration should be retained as the basis of the whole structure of provincial government. The district officer should be at the head of all expert departments as well of the district and other local boards, instead of being as at present a mere spy required to report on their doings. For this purpose he should have the power to nominate and require the resignation of the executive head of each local body, as well as to nominate some of his subordinates on it. Mr. Gwynn would deprive all local bodies of any control over the appointment and discipline of the clerical staff. The head of the district should be a member of an all-India service recruited by the Central Government working through a public service commission, but he should be controlled by the Provincial Government. He is prepared to concede provincial autonomy by substituting ministers for executive councillors. If the ministers' policy and budget are sanctioned by the Provincial

Legislature they should continue till defeated by an adverse vote.

The Central Government should, according to his scheme, deal only with certain specified subjects, among which he would include the control of the High Court and of all-India services. It should consist of the Viceroy and a single Legislature and the head of the executive should be a president elected by all the members of the Provincial Legislatures, and the president should nominate his own ministry. The Central Legislature should consist of deputies nominated by the Provincial Cabinets. Any Indian States with an approved constitution should send deputies to this Central Legislature. Although the Central Government will have the paramount power to ensure peace, a supreme court would decide all issues between Provincial Governments and the States. Mr. Gwynn thinks that it is too early to shift the base of the Central Government; at present Swaraj will be won in the provinces only. When the provinces are self-governing, the Parliament will realize the risk involved in retaining the responsibility for officering the Indian army; for this reason he is in favour of adopting the recommendations of the Sken Committee. There is hardly any item in the scheme with which Indian opinion will find itself in agreement.

* * *

IT will be recalled that the report of the Indian Railway Committee of 1921-22 was first published in England and weeks later in India. This was so probably because of the fact that though it

related to Indian railways, its recommendations were of more immediate interest to the British companies managing Indian railways and to British firms supplying material for them. Meanwhile, probably by pre-arrangement, the Secretary of State for India had cabled out a summary of the Committee's recommendations. Within about two weeks of the publication of this summary, the Government of India in hot haste brought forward and got accepted by the Legislative Assembly a resolution recommending the appointment of a committee to consider the separation of railway from general finance and the requirements of railways in regard to capital expenditure for the next ten years. After only five days' deliberation, this Committee reported that while it found itself unable to recommend the separation of railway finance at the time, it felt so overwhelmed with evidence of the urgency of the rehabilitation and improvement of existing lines, that it recommended the provision of funds to the extent of Rs. 150 crores for railway capital expenditure during the next five years. The recommendation duly secured the Assembly's confirmation at the earliest opportunity with the result that during the quinquennium ending March 31, 1927, covered by the Rs. 150 crores programme, not less than Rs. 80 crores was spent on railway material imported from abroad, much to the benefit of foreign manufacturers and the relief of foreign unemployment.

Now contrast the extraordinary dispatch shown by the Government in this matter with their extreme dilatoriness in the matter of encouragement of railway industries. In the one case it was the Government that took the initiative; while in the other it was left to a private member, the late Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, to move a resolution recommending the appointment of a committee to consider and report as to what steps should be taken by the Government in order to encourage the establishment of railway industries so that as large a part of the Rs. 150 crores as possible be spent in India itself. The resolution was passed on March 2, 1922 and soon after the com-

mittee held two preliminary meetings. A whole year passed by without anything being done in the matter, the Chairman, Sir Charles Innes, deciding to await the report of the Fiscal Commission. This saw the light of day at the end of September 1922 but the final meeting of the Committee was not held earlier than February next year, the report being published in April 1923, i. e., over a year after the passing of the resolution. The Government took another two years for their careful consideration of the report, which, however, instead of resulting in a definite decision, led to the reference of the position of the engineering industry with regard to the manufacture of articles in common use on railways to the Tariff Board for inquiry. Three years have since passed without any report from the Board nor does it appear that the Board have in the meantime been reminded about the matter, so that after the lapse of as many as six years we are practically where we were on the day the Assembly carried Sir Vithaldas's resolution!

To what extent Malaya and Ceylon depend upon this country for their supply of Indian Emigration labour can be seen from the fact that, to Malaya and according to the annual report of the Madras Commissioner of Labour, 133,007 persons sailed for the former and 102,808 for the latter during 1927. The emigration to Malaya was less by nearly 26,000 than during the previous year; but that to Ceylon beat all past record, being higher by about 2500 than even the record figure for 1924. Though Ceylon offers lower wages than Malaya, it continues to be popular because of its proximity to Madras from where the supply is drawn resulting in comparatively lower travelling expenses. There is also the fact that most labourers can take their wives and children who can also add to the income of the family by their earnings which makes Ceylon so attractive to Indian labour. Ceylon has a Minimum Wage Ordinance in operation, while Malaya has none, though it promises to have one before long. The effect of the working of the scheme of assisted emigration under the Indo-South African agreement is to be seen in the larger number of Indians that returned from South Africa during the year. This was 2387 as against 1454 in the previous year. Most of the emigrants are recruited by kanganyes and employment to them on arrival at their destination is assured. The voluntary emigrants, of whom there is comparatively a very small number, have to find out employment for themselves. They are paid 2 dollars for every adult and one dollar for every working minor from the Immigration Fund; but this does not carry them very far in a strange land. A kangany who cannot recruit more than 20 adults is paid Rs. 10 for every adult recruited by him; a part of this he is expected to pay off petty debts or to give small gifts to the dependents he leaves behind; but in most cases the kangany keeps the whole amount to himself. In spite of every precaution to prevent fraudulent recruiting, as many as 3800 labourers had to be rejected for irregularities connected with their recruitment. The irregularities assume the forms of recruitment of youngsters without the knowledge of their elders, representing perfect strangers as relatives, getting recruits of one village passed by munsiffs of other villages and forging their signatures on licenses. Punishment for the less serious offences is cancellation of license, 552 licenses being cancelled in the case of Malaya and 283 in that of Ceylon; while prosecutions are instituted in more serious cases.

INDORE IN 1926.

FOR Indoreans the year 1926 was a particularly eventful one, as it saw a change in the occupant of the throne. Tukoji Rao abdicated early that year and his son Yeshwant Rao was installed as Maharaja. Whatever difference that fact may have otherwise made, it has not led to a reduction in palace expenses. These amounted to Rs. 21,28,257 in 1924-25, but rose by nearly two lakhs to Rs. 23,22,924 next year. The ordinary revenue for the year was Rs. 1,28,10,887, so that the proportion of palace expenses to the total revenue works out at about 18 per cent. But the real proportion appears to be still higher when it is remembered that there were some charges which should legitimately have been debited to the Palace, but have been shown under other heads. Among such must be included the cost of the Lal Bagh Palace works, which came to nearly six lakhs, but is, strangely enough, shown under P. W. D. Repairs to other residences of the Maharaja, which altogether cost a little over Rs. 6,000, are also similarly debited to the P. W. D. instead of being included among Palace expenses. The expenditure on shikar which came to nearly Rs. 12,000 is likewise shown under 'Forests'. If all these expenses are added up, it will be found that Palace expenses do not constitute only 18, but more than 22, per cent. of the total revenue of the State. It does not need much argument to make out that the Palace swallows a disproportionate share of the State revenue, which naturally results in the starvation of such nation-building departments as education and sanitation. The question of a civil list for Indian princes has recently attracted much public attention and its necessity is reported to have been impressed upon the Princes' Chamber by the Viceroy himself. But though Indian Princes are anxious to consolidate their position in the internal administration of the State they do not seem to evince the same anxiety to limit their personal expenses. We do not wish here to blame Indore for its failure to do so in 1926; but what we do insist upon is that the Minority administration should draw a line beyond which the Palace expenses ought not to be allowed to go. What the limit should be it is not for us to say, but we would only bring to the notice of our readers that if the Maharaja of Indore, like that of Bikaner, limits his personal expenses to 5% of the State revenue he would be in possession of no less than Rs. 6 lakhs a year or Rs. 50,000 a month, which is five times the salary of a provincial Governor in this country.

The statement already made that inordinate Palace expenses leave little for education and other public utility services is borne out by the condition of education in the State. With a population of a little over 11 lakhs, it has a school-age population of nearly 1½ lakhs; but the number of children receiving education is about 24,000, which shows what a vast area still remains to be covered. As is to be expected, there is a greater diffusion of education among boys than girls, the percentage of boys in receipt of instruction to those of school age being 23½ and the

corresponding one for girls being less than 6! It is a great pity that compulsory education, though confined for the time being to the capital city, does not seem to be making much progress. The only things done during 1926 in this behalf were the taking of a census of children of school age and the opening of three boys' schools in Indore city. This can hardly be called any advance in compulsory education. As for facilities for the education of the backward classes, there is an institution which provides free boarding and lodging and imparts education up to the matriculation standard. Then a sum of Rs. 25,000 is administered every year by a committee consisting of the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister, and the Education Minister by way of encouragement to students of backward classes. While all these are steps in the right direction, what is needed is more vigorous action to hasten the universalisation of literacy. No doubt this is a question of funds but a state whose palace expenses alone exceed four times the total amount spent on education of all kinds cannot in the name of decency plead want of funds.

Local self-government in the State is in a very backward condition. The premier municipality, viz. that of Indore City, has an equal number of elected and nominated members with a president nominated by the Durbar. As regards the remaining 22 municipalities there is no element of election introduced in their composition as yet, the mercy being that non-officials are not declared ineligible for membership even by nomination! Need it be said after all this that representative institutions like a Popular Assembly are conspicuous by their absence in the State and that it does not seem likely that they will come into being in the near future?

STATE AND COMMUNITY IN ESTONIA.

IN a previous article (see issue of March 29) I have tried to develop the idea that the principle of "Cultural Autonomy," which is being fought for by the minorities of post-war Europe, offers also to India the best hope for solving our "communal" problem. When I was last writing on the subject, I instanced particularly what Carinthia was doing in this direction. Since then I have, by the courtesy of the Ministry of the Interior of Estonia, received the necessary documents which will enable me to supplement what I said previously by reference to the interesting little republic on the Baltic which can claim the credit of having blazed the trail of "Cultural Autonomy," which now-a-days is increasingly being trodden by others.

The independence of Estonia having first been proclaimed on November 28th 1917, the Provisional Government issued on February 24th 1918 a "Manifesto" for the convening of a *Constituent Assembly*: and it is noteworthy that this document already—years before the League of Nations was born and before the "protection of minorities" began to distract the statesmen of Europe—contains the proviso that

"to the Minorities living within the borders of the Free State, Russians, Germans, Swedes, Jews and other people, there is guaranteed their right to a national-cultural autonomy."

Similarly the provisional rules on education (of December 2nd 1918) lay down the principle that the mother-tongue of the pupils must be their medium of instruction and the law of May 7th 1920 accordingly divides all elementary schools, according to the mother-tongue of the children, into Estonian, German, Russian, Swedish and other schools. The minorities were also from the start given the right to use their own language in official correspondence &c. Now, if it is noteworthy that this generosity was shown, whilst the world-war was still raging, it is even more remarkable that, instead of its promises being whittled down as the post-war mentality settled over Europe, they have actually been implemented by further legislation.

FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF 1920.

The Constitution ("The Fundamental Law of the Free State Estonia") was passed by the Constituent Assembly on June 5th 1920 and came into full operation on the day on which the official results of the first elections held under its provisions were gazetted, December 21st 1920. (The "Supreme Council" of the victor nations recognized the Free State as *de jure* on January 26th 1921). This Constitution fully carried out the principles laid down in the provisional regulations already referred to. Section 6 reads:

All citizens of Estonia are equal before the law. In public law there can accrue neither privileges nor disabilities on account of birth, creed, sex, rank or nationality.

§12 says:

"Instruction in the mother-tongue is guaranteed to the national minorities."

But for our purpose the most important sections are §§20-23.

§20. Every Estonian citizen is free to determine his nationality.

§21. The members of the national minorities dwelling within the borders of Estonia may constitute autonomous institutions in their national-cultural and caritative interests, in so far as these do not run counter to the interests of the State; (in an explanation in the "Aims and Objectives" libraries, theatres and museums are mentioned in this connection.)

§22. In places where the majority of inhabitants belongs not to Estonian but to a minority nationality, the language of the said minority may be used as official language in local government, provided that everybody is at liberty to employ the Estonian language. The local self-government bodies however, in correspondence with the central government and with local self-government bodies of other nationalities, must employ Estonian.

§23. The citizens of German, Russian and Swedish nationality have the right of addressing Government in their own language. The use of these languages in courts of law and local government will be further defined by a special Act.

From the above it will be seen, how faithful the Constitution has been to the guiding ideas expressed whilst the future of the country was yet in the melting pot. But the Constitution of course only laid down principles, and these have had to be implemented by special laws. The one as regards language (mentioned in §23) has not yet been formulated, but the one of special interest to us, viz. on cultural autonomy, has been enacted (on February 12th 1925) and come into force, except (see §21 above) that a special law regulating all activities of social welfare is contemplated and that therefore the Enactment of 1925 does not include any provisions to this effect. It deals mainly with education, but even so is most illuminating; and we shall now quote the relevant sections.

CULTURAL AUTONOMY ACT OF 1925.

The opening words of the Act are "In order to

implement §21 of the constitution....."

§12 defines the competence of the cultural (for us in India read "communal") Self-Government bodies to be created by the Act. It extends (a) to the "organizing, administering and controlling of both the public and private educational institutions of the respective minority", and (b) "to the care of the other cultural tasks of the said minority and to the administration of the institutions and concerns created for that purpose;" and §3 states that these Self-Government Bodies of Minorities have the right of framing under §2 rules which are obligatory upon its member.

§5 having laid down that "the organs of cultural autonomy are the Cultural Council and the Cultural Self-Government of the respective nationality," §24 provides that "the Cultural Council shall be elected for three years"; and the "Rules" made under this Act that it shall consist of 20-60 members,* who must not be employees of the cultural self-government or have entered into contracts with it (Rule 16). The "Cultural Council being a kind of communal parliament for the whole country, local councils for ordering of local needs may be formed subsidiary to it" (Rule 36). The Council appoints an Executive of three members (Rule 43) and it is this Executive which appoints and dismisses all employees. The salaries of the latter must be voted by the Council. (Rule 48). The Executive represents the Minority vis-a-vis the Government of the country, its courts, &c. (Rule 55). The Council votes an annual budget and the Executive must remain within the financial provisions thus made (Rule 58). The post of a member of the Executive is open to non-members of Council (Rule 44), but the post in every case is honorary though the Council may vote to the Executive a fee for each meeting of the Executive attended by each member. (Rule 53). The State reserves the right to dissolve the Cultural Council and order fresh elections. (Rule 14).

Membership in the Minority depends on entry upon the minorities' register, which can be demanded by every Estonian of a recognized nationality† who is above 18 years of age. Children up to 18 follow their parents' membership. (§9). Members may resign, but in that case the Minority may refuse to re-enter them upon its register on further application (§10).

The finances of the cultural autonomy are based (1) on the State's obligations towards elementary and middle schools, (2) on the similar obligation of municipalities &c.; (3) on monies voted by the State for cultural purposes; (4) on taxes levied by the Council on the members of the Minority and approved of by Government; (5) on donations, collections, legacies and income derived from property belonging to the Minority as organized under this law (§6). Rule 2 further explains that "the cultural self-government of the minority has the right of acquiring property, enter into contracts, to sue and to be sued." "Members of the minority, wishing to resign as members thereof, have to fulfil their financial obligations for the current budgetary year." (Rule 10).

The power of the Minority to tax its members is laid down for the German Minority in a special Regulation of the year 1923. Liable to be taxed are all persons above 18, appearing on the Register of the Minority, except those who have no independent income of their own. The tax is graded in the same manner as the income tax levied by the State and may be paid either in money or in tokens issued by

* In the case of the German Minority the number has been actually fixed at 41. There are 18,319 Germans in a total population of 1,114,630 i. e. 1.7%

† i. e. German, Russian, Swedish or other minorities exceeding a total minimum of 3000.

the Cultural Council. There are 22 grades of income and the cultural tax ranges from 200 Mk. nett to 1000 Mk. plus a 2% surtax on the total income of the person to be taxed. (At present the *Mark* has been superseded by the *Kroom* which has been made the equivalent of 100 marks. Last year one rupee equaled about 125 Mk.)

The budget for 1928-29 amounts to the respectable total of 320,524 Kr., of which 240,000 is spent on schools. The State, Municipalities &c. contribute 128,000 Kr., 33,000 Kr. is expected by current donations, leaving a deficiency of 50,000 Kr. which is to be covered by "subsidies" which are not specified.

HOW IT HAS WORKED.

These are the leading features of Estonian Cultural Self-Determination and it must readily be admitted that they do not lack in straightforwardness and generosity. The question now is: how has the scheme worked?

The German Cultural Council held its first meeting on November 1st 1925; the Jews who followed suit began on June 20th 1926, but Swedes and Russians have hitherto not availed themselves of the provisions of the law, since their minorities form compact local settlements and are not scattered over the whole area of the State, as is the case with the Germans and Jews. Their needs therefore are already amply met by the local self-government provisions of the Constitution.

As regards the Germans, quite recent information on the point is supplied by the May number of *Nation und Staat* to the effect that at the last meeting of the German Cultural Council in March) the president reviewed the achievements of this policy of cultural autonomy during the first three years of its existence, and that he was able to express his entire satisfaction with the way the policy had worked. Already within this short time, he said, they had been able to establish a complete net-work of schools, private and public, where every German child had a chance of being educated in its mother-tongue; they had been able to get better value out of and at the same time to economize their communal resources, and yet already were offering free elementary education throughout and were paying better salaries to the teachers. (40,000 Kr. more are paid today in annual salaries, than three years ago.) For the future, the speaker continued, they hoped to make education gratuitous not only up to the fourth, but to the sixth schools' year. What better testimony to the working of the Scheme could be desired?

The fact is, that Estonia entered upon this policy freely and consciously, out of a deep conviction that a State must be based, not on Might, but on Right. The very preamble of the Constitution speaks of the "immutable faith in and firm will to" the founding of an Estonian State "on the basis of justice, legality and freedom": and the cultural autonomy granted to the minorities from the outset is thus not an outcome of opportunist bargaining or of careful balancing of political pressure, but of principle. Once more it has been proved that the most idealistic is the most practical way to take, and once more I feel constrained to say that the policy which Estonia has first adopted and since so clearly vindicated, is one which seems to me to cry out for application to our Communal tangle in India.

The scheme will of course have to be adapted to our needs: the very magnitude of India and of our problems demand it. The educational side, so prominent in Estonia, will probably not rank similarly with us: still there are many regions where the Moslem minority would be able to work such a

system of Communal Schools of their own to great advantage.

But the greatest boon to my mind to be conferred on us by such establishment of Communal Autonomy would consist in circumscribing it, instead of letting it roam wild over all departments of national life, however much these latter may be by nature territorial and not communal. It could bring about communal peace and yet would spur each Community to make its maximum cultural contribution to the commonweal. I have already mentioned that Carinthia is on the way to follow the Estonian example for its Slovenian minority; I have just read (in the *R. M. V.* of May 2nd) that the Prussian Government has just decided to do so too in regard to the Polish minority in Prussia. When will India—I will not be so rash as to say adopt, but at least—carefully consider this policy of Cultural Autonomy?*

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS.

SIR LESLIE SCOTT'S SCHEME.

‡III. FUNCTIONS OF THE VICEROY IN THE INDIAN STATES' COUNCIL.

THE functions assigned to the Indian States' Council are as fantastic as its composition. Sir Leslie claims that his scheme represents a natural development of the Princes' original idea of an advisory Council. I do not know that any Indian Prince had ever put forward such a preposterous scheme. A proposal was made suggesting that some Princes should form something like the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes to advise the Viceroy on important questions pertaining to the States. But never was there any idea that a body like the one suggested by Sir Leslie Scott with a permanent European majority should keep the Indian Princes in subjection. Another suggestion from the point of view of the people of the Indian States was made to the effect that the Viceroy should constitute an advisory Council, consisting of the representatives of the Princes, the people of the Indian States and the people of British India. But Sir Leslie Scott's proposal resembles neither of these and the claim he makes for his proposal is groundless. By no stretch of imagination can this Council be called advisory, for it is going to be a body of white bureaucrats holding in subjection the black or brown autocrats of the Indian States in defiance of the growing democracy in British India.

The first function assigned to this Council as described in clause § A, is to safeguard the interests of the States and generally to transact business which arises concerning the States subject to the internal autonomy of the States. I fail to see how interests of the States are to be safeguarded without militating against the autonomy of the States. In the first place, the States are not autonomous, some of them not possessing full control even over internal administration and to talk as if they were auton-

* Of literature on the subject, the only book in English I have come across is the "Estonian Year Book for 1927" published by the Chief of the Estonian Bureau of Statistics. The Constitution has been published in German with annotations by Mr. E. Maddison (Secretary in the Ministry of the Interior), who has also published a little pamphlet in German on "The National Minorities of Estonia and their rights." (Reval, 1926). His "Constitution" was published by Carl Heyermans, Berlin (1928). "The Laws and Regulations concerning the German Cultural Self-Government" have been officially published in German in pamphlet form. (Reval 1926.)

‡ Previous articles in this series appeared in our last two issues.

mous is to indulge in misrepresentation. As in the case of jurisdiction over States' territory occupied by Railway lines, in the matter of excise administration, in restoring peace and good government in any State grossly misgoverned, in case of disputed succession, the obligations of the Paramount Power cannot really be satisfactorily discharged without a sacrifice of the so-called autonomy of the States.

The scheme is intended to protect the rights,—political and economic—of the States, to facilitate their efforts to develop their resources, and to advance the cause of good and beneficent government. While the scheme defines the Princes' rights, it makes no attempt to define their responsibilities and obligations. It is studiously silent about empowering the Viceroy in Council to take the initiative for the introduction and development of good and benevolent government in the States. If a State or its Ruler takes the initiative, the scheme contemplates the giving of facilities to him. But if it is indifferent, or if a ruler deliberately ignores his own obligation towards his subjects there ought to be some power of intervention vested in the Viceroy in Council with a view to securing peace and good government to the people; there is no provision in the scheme for this kind of intervention, which may even be looked upon as *ultra vires* by some legal luminaries and by the Union Supreme Court contemplated by Sir Leslie Scott.

The second function of this Council is to represent the States on the Union Council in matters of common concern to the States and British India. For a Council composed of a majority of non-Indians to represent the States, which in many cases will mean their Indian subjects, is, to put it very mildly, extremely ludicrous and presumptuous as well. Nor can the Princes represent their subjects in such matters of common concern as customs, railways, salt, excise, etc., for their interests conflict with those of the subjects. The Princes are clamouring for a share in the receipts from these sources mainly with a view to swelling their revenue, most of which, as everybody knows, is spent upon pleasure-seeking and luxuries. The subjects on the other hand maintain that no contribution should be allowed to the Indian Rulers in the name of their States unless they give substantial and real guarantees that the relief given would be appropriated for the well-being of the people. In such a matter none but the subjects can say whether the relief is adequate or whether it is or will be used in their interest. It is thus clear that the Council is totally unfit to represent the States on the Union Council. No doubt under the scheme the Viceroy is to take an oath to protect the interests of the States together with the constitutional rights, powers and dignities of the Princes and Chiefs. I can understand the interests of the States, powers of the Princes and their so-called dignity, but not their constitutional rights, which are nowhere defined. If Sir Leslie Scott had taken care to define them with precision he would have rendered a great service to the cause which he is called upon to advocate. By binding the Viceroy by oath to care for the interests of the Princes rather than those of their subjects the utility of the States' Council, so far as matters of common concern are involved, is seriously open to question. For under the scheme it seems to be contemplated that the Standing Committee and the Viceroy in Council are to work together to settle general principles of policy which would be accepted by the Indian States' Council as a guide to the wishes of the States in matters of common concern. So far therefore as general principles of policy are concerned, the authority of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes is co equal with that of the Indian States' Council. Not content

with this, Sir Leslie Scott further makes the Chamber of Princes a superior body by making its ratification of every matter not covered by general principles of policy indispensable before the authority of the Council becomes effective. The *Manchester Guardian* has not indulged in extravagance of language when it characterised the scheme as "fantastic and mischievous."

A safeguard is provided in the scheme by which it will be open to any State to back out of any arrangement arrived at by the Indian States' Council or the Union Council. This is giving concession with vengeance. If the Indian States want any relief in matters of common concern they must be prepared to stand by any arrangement arrived at by any tribunal in which they are adequately represented. States which undertake to form a federation have to submit to a policy of give and take in adjusting their relations with British India for mutual benefit. It is this very defect which has rendered the Chamber of Princes moribund. The constitution of the Chamber does not make it obligatory for each and every State, otherwise qualified, to join the Chamber. The decisions of the Chamber are not binding on all its member States, which are at liberty to represent their views to Government. Thus the Chamber is not really representative even of princely India. The same, in my view, would be the fate of any senatorial institution intended to safeguard the interests of all parties in matters of common concern. They must either be in the Union or outside it. They cannot eat the cake and also have it. The proposed concession is thoroughly ill-advised and impracticable. By far the most dangerous power given to individual States is the one empowering them to obtain a ruling from the Union Supreme Court that any particular exercise of power by the Indian States' Council, by the Union Council, or by the representative of the Paramount Power is unconstitutional and therefore invalid. The relevant clause is so worded that it does not make an exception about anything connected with the disciplinary jurisdiction vested in the representatives of the Paramount Power. The State has moreover not been defined, and the clause as it stands can be applied to every one of the 700 States, and even to the owner of a few acres of land, and a few hundred rupees of income. It is astounding to find that certification by the Viceroy's Council is not made obligatory before any individual State can approach the Union Supreme Court for such a declaration as the one already referred to. This provision in Sir Leslie Scott's scheme would, in my opinion, open out an extensive field for lawyers as the Union Supreme Court would in all probability be flooded with innumerable cases requiring the services of eminent legal advisers.

G. R. ABHYANKAR.

OUR SOUTH AFRICAN LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Pretoria, May 20.

CONDONATIONS.

THE condonation of illegal entrants is still the burning question of the hour in the Indian political circles here. There is a wide-spread opinion that the Indian victory in the recent Daya Purshottam case, in which the Supreme Court held that Sec. 5 had no retrospective effect, has rendered the scheme superfluous, at any rate as far as the Transvaal was concerned. It is however ill-founded because the judgment was not published in the press and the public had no easy access to the full text of the judgment and its impli-

cations. As a matter of fact, the judgment only says this that the Principal Immigration Officer or the Immigration Appeal Board cannot cancel a registration certificate obtained before the recent law was passed. But it is even now open to the regular Courts of law to cancel a certificate if it is proved that the holder thereof was himself guilty of fraud in procuring it. Quite a number of Indians are still in danger of deportation; and they can be saved only by condonation. Further, if the Government appeal succeeds or if the Government introduces fresh legislation, every illegal entrant stands in danger unless he is protected by condonation. The scheme will, therefore, be proceeded with.

The Indian community is very anxious that a line should be drawn at 1914 and only the illegal entrants subsequent to the Smuts-Gandhi settlement should be liable to condonation. It remains to be seen if the Government will agree to this concession.

It is admitted now that not much can be advanced in favour of the line except the fact that 1914 marks an era in the relations between Indians and the Union Government in South Africa, and it is desirable not to rake up things prior to that date. It is however that line is not drawn, there is sure to be great trouble in the Transvaal, great bitterness and discontent. The depth of the feeling can be gauged by the fact that a certain small section go the length of threatening passive resistance if the line is not drawn. But the threat need not be taken seriously, for it has neither the cause nor the public opinion nor the leadership requisite for it. But threats of this kind, even if they will not eventuate, will tend to alienate the sympathy of the Government and make the task of the Agent more difficult. Recently the Agent had to cancel his prearranged three weeks' tour programme in the Transvaal and run down to Cape Town to interview the Minister on the condonation question.

The chief opposition to the condonation scheme is the restriction regarding the introduction of wives and minor children who are not already in the Union. The full implication of this is that those who have not already introduced their sons will not have them to succeed the fathers in business when they eventually return to India or die. They will have to sell off their business and their family connection with South Africa will then cease. The difficulty will not be so great in the case of those who can and will marry in South Africa and beget sons there. In this matter the Muhammadan section has greater latitude while the Gujarati section is severely handicapped. For the latter will not and cannot marry in South Africa and rear sons. The greatest opposition to the restriction regarding wives and minor children comes from the Gujarati section. They want the right retained of introducing their sons. And that would mean a continuous stream of immigration of sons introduced from India. The Government policy seems to be to cut off this stream and permit only a purely South African population. But this cannot be fully achieved. For it is only the present illegal entrants who have not already introduced their sons

that will be debarred from so doing. The legal entrants and the sons of the condoned entrants will continue to have the right of introducing their minor sons.

INDIAN QUESTION IN PARLIAMENT.

The Indian question figured in the Assembly during the second week of May. The Natal members expressed disappointment that repatriation was tailing off. The Minister accounted for it on the ground that it was monsoon time when repatriation generally fell to minimum figures. They again complained of the Provincial barriers and asked that Indians should be allowed to spread over the whole of the Union. To which the Minister replied that it would lead to a revolution, and he did not want any. The minister avowed that the Agreement was working successfully, and that the Indian community were helpful in preventing further illegal entry of Indians. He referred to the condonation scheme and said that all those illegal entrants who did not take advantage of it would be deported after the prescribed date.

When the question of the Old Age Pensions was under consideration, Mr. Patrick Duncan asked why Indians were excluded from the scheme. The Minister informed the House that Mr. H. N. Venn, the Commissioner for Asiatic Affairs, had reported that the arrangements made by the Government of India for the welfare of the repatriates were satisfactory.

INDIAN TRADE COMMISSION.

The Indian Trade Commission arrived in Durban on the 16th inst. and were well received. The Union Government have made special arrangements for their tour in the Union and for their getting into touch with the leading commercial men in the principal cities.

OUR U. P. LETTER.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

ALLAHABAD, June 9.

THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS.

THE expected crisis in the life of the Ministry has arisen. The Hon. Rai Rajeshwar Bali, Minister of Education, and the Hon. Kunwar Rajendra Singh, Minister of Agriculture, have tendered their resignations. Rather, to be more correct, they have been forced to resign. Of course, the Hon. Nawab Muhammad Yusuf, the middle Minister, has been given the reward of virtue and is left undisturbed in the enjoyment of his costly sinecure. He will provisionally be in charge of all the portfolios till he finds his colleagues. The official communiqué announcing the Ministers' resignations states that the Governor's explanation follows later. His Excellency may explain or explain away things. That will be only to his satisfaction. So far as the outside public is concerned, the circumstances leading to their resignations only are too well known to all. The two Ministers have taken the line on the question of the Simon Commission which progressive and enlightened public opinion demanded and which the Council itself laid down—precisely the line which is objected to by the Governor—and they have therefore lost his pleasure. According to the letter of the Constitution the Ministers hold office during the pleasure of the Governor, and Rai Rajeshwar Bali and Kunwar Rajendra Singh, albeit they were only

carrying out the wishes of the Legislature, incurred his displeasure and therefore they could no longer remain in office. That is the real meaning of the issue. However His Excellency has made his choice and he cannot escape the consequences. So far as Rai Rajeshwar Bali and Thakur Rajendra Singh are concerned, resignation of office will not mean any loss to them. On the contrary, it will mean an immense gain in the enhanced prestige and esteem which they will enjoy with their own countrymen. They are patriotic enough, and recent experience must have made it abundantly plain to them that it is the esteem and confidence of their own countrymen which will add to their stature. Their place is now in the Opposition. The Legislative Council will not also fail to give due recognition to the great courage and independence they have shown and to their fidelity to their trust. It is not yet known as to who their successors will be. Five names are mentioned as being in the race, of whom one Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh is a prominent Nationalist and a firm supporter of boycott, having voted in the Council in favour of the boycott resolution. Of the remaining four, three are signatories to the manifesto issued by the "Country League" and so nothing need be said of them. They stand, in order of merit, as follows:—Raja Bahadur Kushalpal Singh of Agra, who won the hereditary title of Raja in the last New Year's honours list, Maharaj Kumar Mahjit Singh of Kapurthala and Mr. J. P. Srivastava of Cawnpore. The fourth, Raja Kalicharan Misra, a habitual supporter of Government, is one of those who voted against the boycott resolution in the Council. For the present there still seems to be a difference of opinion between the Governor and his advisors. The former does not seem to insist so much on new Ministers being appointed only from among those who voted against the boycott resolution, while the latter are very particular on that point. But both are agreed that they should be dummy Ministers, as docile as the Nawab Minister, and ready to sign all despatches to the Simon Commission without demur before the Council meets again.

THE "COUNTRY LEAGUE".

It was Mr. C. T. Allen of Cawnpore who prepared us some time back for a new organization known as the "Progressive League" with vast influential support. That never materialised, but the idea was not altogether abandoned. It has slowly been worked up and a body known as the "Country League", with its offices provisionally at Cawnpore, has come into being. The manifesto issued by the League, signed by a number of Maharajas, Rajas, Nawabs, taluqdars, petty zamindars and other title-holders, has readily received publicity in the Anglo-Indian press and much canvassing for support is being done in reactionary circles. "Progressive realization of responsible government" is what the manifesto states to be the aim of the League. Its objects, as defined in the manifesto, are numerous, significant among them being the formulation of the views of the members of the League for submission to the Simon Commission. Thus, to secure co-operation with the Commission is what it stands for and all that it will do is to work towards that end. That being so, there need be no misgiving as to the amount of success that will attend the labours of its members. Most of the reactionary elements are already there and a few more may yet find their way. There it will end. The League can do no more harm to the boycott movement than has already been done by isolated individuals.

ALLAHABAD WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY.

The Prayag Mahila Vidyapith (Allahabad)

Women's University), an institution modelled on Prof. Karve's Women's University of Poona, has shown a creditable record of work within the past six years. The University came to function in February, 1922, and up to March 1927, it imparted training to 2,670 women for the Vidyavinodini, 336 for the Vidushi and seven for the Saraswati examinations corresponding to the Matriculation, B. A. and M. A. standards. Of these, so far 321 women passed the full course of the Vidyavinodini, 61 of the Vidushi and two of the Saraswati. The Vidushi examination results of the University, which have just been announced, are a further proof of the steadily growing popularity of the institution. At considerable cost and inconvenience the Vidyapith arranged for examination centres at various places, within the province as well as outside it, and it is gratifying to note that their labours have been attended with success. It augurs well for the future that the University will be located in its own building and thus a long-felt need supplied.

REVIEWS.

BENJAMIN ROBERT HAYDON.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN ROBERT HAYDON. Edited by EDMUND BLUNDEN. (Oxford University Press, London.) 1927. 6 x 3½. pp. 424 + xxii. 2s.

THE Romantic Movement of the early nineteenth century has been not inaptly called the renaissance of wonder. The period had all the glory—and something of the instability—of rebirth. Its heroes have ever since entranced and baffled their admirers. There was a strain of madness in the age. Christopher Smart, its herald, died in Bedlam: Cowper was mad, so was poor John Clare: De Quincey and Coleridge took opium: there was insanity in the Lamb family: Blake happened to escape being certified; and Haydon, after a life of magalomania, if not of madness, died by his own hand.

There is much in common between Blake and Haydon. Both were artists, but neither could paint—yet both could write the most brilliant, vigorous prose. They both worked in the grand style: only the giant ages before time began were spacious enough for Blake's imagination: Haydon's failure was partly due to his use of canvas far too large for modern buildings. Both were men of furious and gigantic passions. "Nothing", cries Blake, "can withstand the fury of my course among the stars of God." Haydon, as Mr. Blunden points out, "habitually 'darts' across roads, flies at his canvas, paints 'like a tiger', 'feels like a lion and reads like one', 'shouts like a savage', enters the sea at Brighton like a bull in a green meadow." But there the resemblance ends. Blake's passions were social passions: the woes of children, cruelty to animals, the "dark Satanic mills", the wrongs of an unreformed social order, roused him to fury and to immortal verse. Haydon's rages were the result of his temperament—and his overdraft. In religion Blake was an unorthodox mystic: Haydon an orthodox prig. Haydon was very much a citizen of the world, Blake was a citizen of the other world. Haydon was always painting the things that had actually happened: Blake designed the things that never could happen. Haydon's interests were in history: Blake's in "meta-history." Haydon's "Jerusalem" is the inadequate record of an event: Blake's "Jerusalem" is the inspired foreshadowing of an ideal.

But however inadequate Haydon was as an artist and as a man, there is no doubt that he could write. That in six months two editions of his "Au-

tobiography" should have appeared is striking tribute to this fact. And he knew what to write about. No one can claim to know the literary giants of the early nineteenth century who does not know "The Autobiography." It is like Dante's Hell—all the interesting people are in it. It is one more example of the fact that it is impossible to study English literature by means of text-books. There is only one way—the Oxford way—and that is to abandon all text-books, prescribed books, "periods" and histories and turn your students loose in well-stocked libraries to *browse*. That is not the way to register facts, but it is the way to acquire culture. The Lake Poets cannot be understood by a summary of their lives and views digested by some hack into a history: you must see them at dinner and overhear their talk. Hazlitt's *Reminiscences*, Hogg's *Memoirs of Shelley*, Dorothy Wordsworth's *Journal*, Byron's *Letters*, help us to do this—yet none give so clear and living a picture as Haydon's "Autobiography." Here the great figures of literature cease to be material for mere research: they take hands and feet, and we see them in their habit as they lived.

Here, for example, is Hazlitt, "that singular mixture of friend and fiend, radical and critic, metaphysician, poet and painter, on whose word no one could rely, on whose heart no one could calculate." But he loved his little boy, doted on him, gave a christening dinner. The guests arrived; Haydon among them, nothing was ready. "On my life there is nothing so heartless as going out to dinner and finding no dinner ready." All sorts of odd clever people came. Charles Lamb and his poor sister dropped in. Still no dinner.

"At last came in a maid who laid a cloth and put down knives and forks in a heap. Then followed a dish of potatoes, cold, waxy, and yellow. . . . Neither Hazlitt nor Lamb seemed at all disturbed, but set to work helping one another; while the boy, half-clean and obstinate, kept squalling to put his fingers into the gravy."

A few years later, there was another dinner, an "immortal dinner", at which Haydon introduced Keats to Wordsworth, and Lamb and Monkhouse were among the guests. "It was indeed an immortal evening. Wordsworth's fine intonation as he quoted Milton and Virgil, Keats's eager inspired look, Lamb's quaint sparkle of lambent humour" made a night "worthy of the Elizabethan Age." It is at dinner too that we are introduced to Shelley, a "hectic, spare, weakly yet intellectual-looking creature, carving a bit of cabbage on his plate, as if it had been the substantial wing of a chicken." There is a fine account of Keats, "the only man I ever met with who secured and looked conscious of a high calling, except Wordsworth. Byron and Shelley were always sophisticating about their verses; Keats sophisticated about nothing." Then we are introduced to Leigh Hunt, "with his black bushy hair, black eyes, pale face and 'nose of taste', as fine a specimen of a London editor as could be imagined: assuming yet moderate, sarcastic yet genial, with a smattering of everything and mastery of nothing, assuming the dictator, the poet, the politician, the critic and the sceptic, whichever would at the moment give him the air to inferior minds of being a very superior man." Perhaps most interesting of all, we make the acquaintance of Sir Walter Scott, as yet unrecognised as the author of "Waverley." It will be remembered that the novels at first appeared anonymously. Haydon calls on him in Edinburgh. "I heard him stamping down. At the head of his first landing he waved his stick and cried, 'Hurrah! welcome to Scotland.'" Sir Walter talks of Dick the smuggler, and Haydon's suspicions are aroused. "The details of Dick's dress, his large buttons, his dog...so convinced me who wrote the novels, that

I could hardly help thinking that Scott took a pleasure in exciting your suspicions that he was the author, without confessing it, chuckling that good breeding prevented you from opening your lips." But the greatest soul among Haydon's friends was Wordsworth. "I do not know any one I would be so inclined to worship as a purified being." "Never did any man so beguile the time as Wordsworth." And Haydon understood his genius. "Wordsworth's faculty is in describing those far-reaching and intense feelings and glimmerings and doubts and fears and hopes of man, as referring to what he might be before he was born, or what he may be hereafter."

There are few women in Haydon's pages—but there is one. The artist is giving an exhibition of his "Jerusalem." Its success is in the balance. Its conception of Christ is unorthodox, unfamiliar. "Everyone seemed afraid, when in walked, with the dignity of her majestic presence, Mrs. Siddons, like a Ceres or Juno. The whole room remained dead silent, and allowed her to think. After a few minutes, Sir George Beaumont, who was extremely anxious, said in a very delicate manner: 'How do you like the Christ?' Everybody listened for her reply. After a moment, in a deep loud, tragic tone, she said, 'It is completely successful.'"

It needs no Mrs. Siddons to proclaim the "Autobiography" likewise a complete success: how complete my readers must discover for themselves.

H. V. ELWIN.

THE ROAD TO PLENTY.

THE ROAD TO PLENTY. By WILLIAM T. FOSTER and WADDILL CATCHINGS. (Houghton Mifflin Company, New York.) 1928. 8¼ x 5¾. pp. 231. \$2.00.

THIS is an acute analysis of industrial unemployment and the authors have hit upon a novel method of avoiding the breakdowns in industry causing widespread poverty and discontent. The old theories of markets and balanced production merely solve the problem on paper and would satisfy none but a theorist; for they do not control the situation as effectively. Disappointed with such bourgeois theories for finding out a solution, labour naturally turns to extreme socialistic experiments which appeal to their imagination. Their slogan is a call to a merciless war on capitalists and Governments and they are out to destroy the present fabric; but thoughtful labour is dismayed even at this, for it knows there is no use trying the dynamite. But then the 'eternal problem of plenty' haunts us; for the apparent prosperity of the country conjured up by statistics on paper can hardly solace the bleeding hearts of the unemployed army. What the workers want is a steady and sure job. Once they are assured of it half the economic ills of this world are overcome.

It is not, however, easy to find out a remedy. It requires a clear grasp of the forces in the industrial world, in all its dynamic aspects. The authors have dealt exhaustively with the various causes of these economic ills, the problems of crises and the vicious circles in which they move, and the psychological factor that plays a prominent part in them. The communist plan is not passed over as merely utopian. They see the futility of it because it does away with the chief incentive to productive effort, without providing an effective substitute. The potent cause of the breakdown in industry is found to be insufficiency of the consumer's income. Progress is found to be possible only if the flow of money to consumers keeps pace with the flow of goods and in

order to keep both in equilibrium the authors have suggested a plan of their own. They suggest the establishment of a Federal Board which will watch changes in the price-level of consumer's goods, changes in unemployment and other factors by means of indexes; those indexes will show the right time to increase or to decrease expenditure for capital facilities and public works. Their main business would be to assure a right flow of money to consumers. It thus clearly brings out the mistake that economics is concerned with production only and that consumption would take care of itself. As for the efficacy of the plan the very idea of Government coming to help will restore confidence as no other body can.

The plan suggested leaves private business just as free as ever and does not exercise the slightest restraint on individual initiative. It is not revolutionary either, for

"it does not propose to enrich the poor by despoiling the wealthy; or to abolish private ownership of land; or to print money as the Russians had done."

On the contrary the authors urge the necessity of doing very much what is being done to-day, but doing it intelligently, on the basis of measurement, directed by a principle which is now lacking (p. 113). Such a plan can operate only in a highly industrialised world and where accurate indexes have been compiled, as in America. India cannot at present even think of such a remedy. Written in the form of a novel, it is interesting to follow the viewpoint of a businessman, an economist and a statesman brought to bear on the same subject. It shows the necessity and importance of studying a problem in all its aspects.

S. G. GOKHALE.

SHORT NOTICES.

SPEECHES ON ZIONISM. By the EARL OF BALFOUR. (J. W. Arrowsmith, London.) 1928. 7 x 4¾. pp. 12. 2s. 6d.

THIS small volume contains speeches delivered by Lord Balfour on various occasions from the time when Great Britain accepted the Palestine mandate to the time of the inauguration of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, Jerusalem, in April 1925, and finally a speech made in London in November 1927 to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration.

People who are accustomed to think of the Jews as a race of traders and moneylenders only and fit for nothing besides trade and usury, will be edified by the references to the success which is already attending the efforts of the Jewish agricultural colonists in the new settlements. Nahalal is a co-operative colony founded in 1921, containing about 80 Jewish families; Balfouria, founded in 1922 in honour of Lord Balfour, is supported by the American Zion Commonwealth, and comprises about 500 Jews; Kiryat Shmuel, a suburb of Tiberias, was built in 1923. The Haifa Technical Institute, maintained entirely by the Zionist organisation, has day training classes in building, constructional work and road-making and evening classes in carpentry, electrical work, mechanical engineering, etc. for workmen.

The University of Jerusalem devotes its energies equally to the humanities and pure science on the one hand, and to the development of the practical science of agriculture on the other, as it is recognised that the material welfare of the new State will largely depend on a wise system of agriculture to develop the natural resources of the soil.

Lord Balfour sometimes apologises for calling the establishment of the Jewish National Home an "experiment", for, as he says, "it is not an experi-

ment in the sense that it is as likely to fail as to succeed." It is experimental only in as far as it is an entirely novel adventure. The Zionist pioneers, women as well as men, who have been going out to Palestine in batches during the last ten years, never doubted their ultimate success.

Steady progress is being made, in spite of enormous difficulties, climatic, financial and political. This must be largely due to the fine spirit in which the pioneer colonists, from Russia and elsewhere, have undertaken their enterprise.

H. KOHN.

INDIA BY AIR. By SIR SAMUEL HOARE. (Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., London.) 1927 8 x 5½ pp. 156. 6s. 6d.

THIS is an account of the historic aerial trip to India undertaken last year at considerable personal risk by the Air Secretary Sir Samuel Hoare and his wife. He was the first Minister of State and she the first woman to fly over such a long distance in a civil machine. The story of the journey is charmingly told and Lady Hoare's introduction tells us something of a woman's feelings towards the whole project. The Air Minister's safe arrival in this and return to his country has doubtless quickened public interest in the possibilities of civil aviation, from which point of view the venture must be pronounced to be a complete success.

D.

MISCELLANEOUS.

INDIAN EDUCATION IN NATAL.

COMMISSION'S REPORT.

The full text of the report of the Commission appointed by the provincial Government of Natal to inquire into the condition of Indian education, a cabled summary of which appeared in the press a few days ago, is now available in this country. The Commission had the following terms of reference:—

- (a) The existing facilities as a whole in town and country areas;
- (b) The conditions of service of Indian teachers in Government and Government-aided schools, including salary, promotion, discipline and pension;
- (c) The present system of Provincial grants-in-aid and any change which may be considered to be necessary;
- (d) The financial basis of Indian education, having regard to the resources of the Province, the various demands upon them, and the adequacy or otherwise of the existing Union Government subsidies in so far as they affect Indian education.

In the course of their report, the Commission say:—

The investigation was conducted at the special request of the Union Government arising from the Indian Agreement. This Agreement was entered into by the representatives of the Union Government and the Government of India without any reference to or consultation with the Governments of the Provinces and your Committee desires to record that as soon as the text of that Agreement (as contained in the White Paper presented to Parliament) was known the Provincial Council of Natal considered a resolution in the following terms, which was adopted on the 10th May:—

- (1) "That this Council views with misgivings the general conditions of the Agreement entered into between the Government of South Africa and the Government of India in respect to the Indian question.
- (2) "That this Council further deplores the fact that this Province (which is more seriously affected than any other part of the Union) has not been consulted through

its Provincial Council on those points of the Agreement which contemplate—

- (a) a relaxation of existing licensing legislation, and
- (b) the provision of increased education facilities for the Indian community.

This Council respectfully represents to Parliament that these two matters involve not only questions of definite Provincial policy but in the latter instance considerable financial obligations. Under these circumstances this Council urges that any contemplated action in these two directions should be deferred until the fullest opportunity has been afforded to this Council to represent its views thereon.

(3) "That, in the opinion of this Council, the Agreement does not solve the Indian problem nor does it give protection to the European population against Asiatic encroachment."

The Committee emphasises that the request to the Provincial Administration was merely one for an investigation in order that the Government might be informed as to the position of Indian education in this Province.

The Committee reports that it has taken voluminous evidence from witnesses representing the Indian community from every part of the Province including that of the Agent-General for India (The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P.C.) and has also been furnished with a comprehensive review of the position compiled by Mr. Kailas P. Kichlu (Indian Educational Service) and published in a separate memorandum by him.

The Committee records the fact that demands are put forward from all the witnesses for a far-reaching system of educational facilities based upon those presently enjoyed by the European population.

After fully reviewing all the evidence tendered and taking into consideration the factors of the problem as affecting the general community in this Province, the Committee finds:—

- (a) that the existing facilities as a whole in town and country areas are inadequate for the reasonable needs of the Indian population;
- (b) that there is little left to be desired in the Government schools, but that in the Grant-Aided schools the general conditions of the buildings and the status, salaries and method of payment of Indian teachers are unsatisfactory;
- (c) that the grants-in-aid are inadequate on the present basis and that certain changes are desirable.

It was urged that there was an obligation under the Provincial Subsidies Act, 1925, for the Provincial Administration to spend on each section of the school-going population not less than the amount earned by that section and in this respect the full amount received on account of Indian school-going children had not been spent on that service. The Committee is satisfied that this interpretation cannot be put upon this legislative enactment and that the Provincial Council has not exceeded its powers in allocating a smaller expenditure to this section of education than that earned by school-going children. The Committee also records the fact that a restrictive policy in regard to Indian education has been pursued by the Provincial Council up to the present moment and is of opinion that in so doing the Council was interpreting the views of the general community. It should further be recorded that this policy existed prior to the Provincial Subsidies Act, 1925, and has in no way been affected by that legislation.

The Committee desires to make the following recommendations:—

- (a) That it is necessary to extend the existing facilities for the education of Indian children; the most speedy alleviation of the present condition

can be found by an extension of the grant-aided schools throughout the Province together with the provision of Government schools in large centres of Indian population as and when funds permit, and that there should be no alteration in the present system of voluntary attendance.

(b) and (c) That the present system of grants-in-aid which are now paid purely and simply on a capitation basis should be changed. The Aided schools should be graded by average attendance and the financial aid should be in the direction of Provincial responsibility for the total cost of the teachers' salaries. A proper scheme of salary, scales and conditions of service should be introduced on a more liberal basis than is at present in existence and it should be made applicable to the whole of the Province. It is absolutely essential to establish an Indian Training College in order to supply the necessary qualified teachers to provide for the extension which has been referred to and in this connection the Administration should accept the gift of the Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Kastri, P. C. of a fully equipped training college and assume responsibility for its conduct and maintenance, and further as it is quite impossible to find professors in this country capable of starting the training college the first opportunity should be taken to import them from overseas.

Under the heading of section (d) of the terms of reference, the Committee has considered the possibility of imposing some form of special taxation on the Indian community for educational purposes but has found this to be impracticable. This Committee is entirely opposed to any increase in the general taxation of the Province to provide for the contemplated expansion. If the Union Government subsidy is to remain at the present figure of £5-5-0, which does not err on the side of generosity, the full amount earned by Indian school-going children will hardly be sufficient to finance the proposed alteration of salary scales in grant-aided schools. The Committee is of opinion that the total amount of Indian education subsidy should be allocated to that service.

It must be pointed out that under these circumstances the mere continuance of the present subsidy will leave no funds available for any proposed extension. The Committee is satisfied that a large and immediate increase in attendance can be anticipated, but as the Provincial Subsidies Act provides that the subsidy is only to be paid on the attendance figures of the previous year, a financial problem of some magnitude is presented. It can be stated safely that the Act above referred to only contemplated dealing with conditions existent at the time it was passed, and did not take into consideration any abnormal demands such as have undoubtedly arisen as the result of the Cape Town Agreement. Under these circumstances the Committee recommends that immediate representations be made to the Union Government to meet the financial obligations that will ensue, by providing that the subsidy for this abnormal increase of Indian children should be granted year by year in respect of the current year's increased attendance, for such periods as the anticipated annual abnormal increase shall continue, instead of the deferred system which at present prevails; and further recommends that in the event of such financial assistance being agreed to, the total amount of such funds available be allocated to the provision of Indian education. In this connection attention is drawn to the fact that the Provincial Subsidies Act

makes no distinction as to payment of subsidy in respect of the nationality of student teachers and the Committee urges that the proposed Indian Training College should be subsidised on similar lines to those of European training college.

Capital expenditure will be necessary in order to make provision for some of the recommendations contained herein, and, as this can only be dealt with in the ordinary way on the capital estimates of the Province, the Committee recommends that the question of the funds now in hand belonging to the Indian Immigration Trust Board should be explored with a view to ascertaining whether these funds could not be made available for the purpose of forming a special capital fund for the erection of Government Indian schools and in special circumstances for the improvement of existing aided schools; and further, that representations be made to the Union Government urging that the necessary action, legislative or otherwise, be taken to give immediate effect to this proposal.

The report closes with an expression of the Committee's appreciation of the action of the Government of India in placing at its disposal the services of two educational experts in the persons of Mr. Kailas P. Kichlu, M. A., Deputy Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Agra, and Miss C. Gordon, B. Ed., Professor, Teachers' Training College, Siadapet, Madras, and the acknowledgment of the valuable services which they have rendered to the Committee during the course of the inquiry.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS PUBLICATIONS.

The authorities of the League of Nations have decided to create a new depository Library of the League publications at the Servants of India Society's Library in Poona, and the Society is anxious to share this rare privilege with all who are interested in the League literature. It is intended to keep all the publications, issued by the League in a separate part of the Library building and this section will be accessible to everybody who wishes to make use of it under certain conditions meant to ensure its preservation. We desire to notice some of these publications in these columns, but, before it is done, we shall mention the more important of the publications received (it is not possible to mention all) under this column once a month.

Health Organization in British India.

International Health Yearbook, 1927. pp. 802.

Armaments Yearbook, 1927-8. pp. 1066.

Trade in Arms, Ammunition and Implements of War. Statistical Information. pp. 2123.

Annual Report of the Health Organization for 1927. pp. 59.

Memorandum on Production and Trade, 1913 & 1923-26. pp. 73.

Family Allowances in relation to the Physical and Moral Well-being of Children. Report by I.L.O. pp. 26.

Traffic in Women and Children. Summary of Annual Reports. Protection of Blind Children. (Replies from Governments of Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Japan and Rumania.) pp. 22.

Treaty Series. Vols. 59, 60 and 62.

Official Journal. Vol. IX, No. 3, Special Supplement No. 55.

Monthly Bulletin of Statistics. Vol. IX. Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

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