

Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

X'mas and the New Year.

WE send to all our readers our cordial wishes for a Merry Christmas and Happy a New Year. Christmas is *par excellence* the season for goodwill and peace among men. Never was the need for these qualities more urgent than on this occasion. Decisions will be taken in Lahore that are of momentous consequence to India for good or for evil. There is much in the politics of the country to-day that makes the heart tremble with anxiety: pride and prestige are not the monopoly of the Government, and a change of heart is not needed in them alone. We trust and hope that the spirit of the Season will descend on all parties as a blessing, and compose differences and bring about peace and goodwill.

Blacker than sin.

THE attempt to wreck the Viceroy's train near Delhi on Monday last is blacker than sin. No Viceroy within living memory has won the heart of India so thoroughly and so completely as Lord Irwin. His services to India are of the very first magnitude. He has shown courage and statesmanship of a very high and rare order. The very first speech he delivered in India at the Chelmsford Club indicated that here was no ordinary administrator but a man of vision, sympathy and of missionary zeal to speed India along the path of progress. His declaration of the 1st November, published in spite of the disapproval of Mr. Baldwin, his own Party leader, and of Mr. Lloyd George and Sir John Simon, and in the teeth of the opposition of several high authorities who had seen service in India, marks him out as a man with a will combined with far-seeing statesmanship. That he should have been picked out for the dastardly outrage is an utter humiliation to India. We are happy that Their Excellencies escaped without in-

jury. And we trust that the outrage will not adversely affect the high task for India's advancement on which His Excellency is now engaged.

Sanity at Nairobi.

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU returned to India after presiding over a most successful session of the East African Indian Congress held in Nairobi recently. The Congress unhesitatingly condemned the reactionary Report of Sir Samuel Wilson, reiterated its demand for the common franchise and the common roll, and resolved on continuing the non-participation by Indians in the work of the Legislative and Municipal bodies as an indication of the strength of feeling that lay behind their demand for the common roll and of the sacrifices they were prepared to make for the cause they held dear. Some impetuous delegates to the Congress wished to go further and proposed that in case the common roll was not granted, they should embark on non-payment of taxes. After heated debate both in the Subjects Committee and in the open session, the resolution was finally withdrawn, thanks to the sanity and practical sense of the majority of delegates and the wise restraining influence of the President, with her vast and unrivalled experience of Indian politics. Nothing is so futile as the holding out of impossible threats of extreme political action against a future contingency.

Kenya and the Round Table Conference.

IN her speech on her mission to Kenya last Saturday evening Mrs. Sarojini Naidu suggested that the Labour Government had a splendid chance of giving a concrete proof of their goodwill and good faith towards India by a right decision on the Kenya Indian question. We are often told that the Viceroy's declaration and Mr. Benn's speeches mean more than they say; and that they could not be more explicit for the reason that they were parties to the composition and constitution of the Simon Commission, and courtesy required that the Simon Report should not be anticipated. But the Kenya question is ripe for decision, and the decision will greatly influence the Indian attitude towards the Round Table Conference. A right decision speedily given will win the entire confidence of India and complete the reconciliation that the Viceroy's statement only partially achieved.

An Expensive Superfluity.

THE Report of the Indian Central Committee will be received with little enthusiasm in India. The Committee lacks the sanction which the Nehru Committee and the Simon Commission have, the former of the people of India and the latter of the British Parliament. If at least the recommendations were unanimous, the Report would have served some

useful purpose. As it is, it is torn in shreds by numerous dissenting minutes and notes. The justification claimed for the Committee when it was appointed was that it was to sit in "Joint Free Conference" with the Simon Commission and provide the machinery for "free exchange of views and mutual influence." It will be interesting to know to what extent the last purpose has been achieved. We must wait for the publication of the Simon Report to know, if it is possible, what the influence of the Nair Committee will be on the Simon Report. But what has been the influence of the Simon Commission on the Nair Report? Since the Simon Commission has not yet completed its Report and is not likely to do so for some time, it is unlikely that its members had discussed with the Nair Committee the recommendations now published, much less approved of them. The net result is that the Nair Report will serve as yet another memorandum presented to the Simon Commission. Sir Sankar Nair and his colleagues might have straightaway offered to give evidence before the Simon Commission instead of doing it in this roundabout way and in defiance of Indian public opinion.

* * *

Regrettable but not tragic.

THE Conference between the Viceroy and the five Indian leaders has proved abortive as it was bound to be under the circumstances. It is not a case of the Viceroy differing from the leaders but the Viceroy and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jinnah together differing from Messrs Gandhi and Nehru. The last two demanded that the British Government should give previous assurances that the purpose of the Round Table Conference was to consider a draft scheme for Dominion Status and that the Government should undertake to support it. Failing which, they would be unable to participate in the Conference. The Viceroy replied that it was a matter for the Conference to decide, that the Conference was free to decide on full Dominion Status if it pleased, and that he could not restrict the freedom of the Conference by any commitment beforehand. It is understood that Messrs Gandhi and Nehru propose to advise the Congress to reject the offer of the Conference. It will be a first class blunder. Some cruel fate is dogging the footsteps of the Mahatma that at every crisis he commits a Himalayan blunder. We realise the hold of the Mahatma and the Congress on the people of India, and would gladly wish that they co-operated. Nevertheless, if it came to that, we must get on with the Round Table Conference without them.

* * *

Boycott of Commonsense.

MR. A. H. Ghaznavi, as President of the all-India Muslim Conference (By the way, how many are these?) at Cawnpore told a distressing tale of Muslim woe. The Assembly had passed the Sarda Act which was an "engine of tyranny, persecution and innovation" and a gross violation of the Muslim religion. Before it the Viceroy's declaration pales into insignificance. Muslims have no security of religion. And it would be disaster to true Muslims who walk the path of the *Shariat* if the Congress politicians, and among them the Congress Muslims, were allowed to dominate the Round Table Conference. The Raja of Muhammadabad, Dr. Ansari and Mr. Jinnah were not representative of Muslims. These heretics were, however, graciously given a chance to recant their heresy or they would know the reason why. Mr. Ghaznavi seriously, as he thought, suggested that the true Muslims should demand "equal representation on the Round Table Conference with non-Muslims." Mr. Ghaznavi is rather too

trustful of non-Muslims in asking for mere equality! Why not ask for a majority and make sure? The conference proposed to secure the same end by declaring that the future constitution of India should be in conformity with the *Shariat*. Failing which, the Muslims will boycott everything. The convener of the Conference, Maulana Muhammad Ali declared that the Conference was open only to the opponents of the Sarda Act. And yet the resolution against the Act was passed in the name of the representatives of the whole of Muslim India. Opposition to this presumptuous resolution was ruled out of order. All that the delegates were free to debate and vote on was the language of the resolution. The whole Conference is a boycott of commonsense.

* * *

THE Craze for Boycotts.

BABU Jagat Narayan Lal, presiding over the C. P. Hindu Conference at Pendra Road, gave notice to the public that for the purposes of the Round Table Conference no Hindu was a Hindu who was not a member of the Hindu Maha Sabha; and that prominent leaders of the Hindu Maha Sabha must be included on the Conference. Otherwise, the Hindus would not be bound by the results of the Conference! We wonder what earthly chance is there that these rank communalists who can never agree in India will come to an agreement in London. The Conference is not meant to stage in London the communal bickerings that obtain in India. The better course will be for the communalists to meet in India immediately and make one supreme effort to come to an agreement. Failing that, they should leave it to the nationally inclined people to proceed to London.

* * *

The Kettle woos the Pot.

SIR MUHAMMAD SHAFF has addressed an open letter to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya asking the latter to meet Sir Muhammad and Messrs Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Jinnah and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Ibrahim Rahimatullah, to hammer out Hindu-Muslim unity in view of the appeal made to that purpose by the Secretary of State. It must have shocked both the highpriests of communalism that they have not been invited to shape the future of India at Delhi. Sir Muhammad has, therefore, decided to seek the co-operation of the Pandit to save India. But in seeking that co-operation the Kettle started by calling the Pot black! A happy beginning.

* * *

Mimomer.

IN toasting the Viceroy during his recent visit to Hyderabad, His Exalted Highness the Nizam patted himself on the back that in the Osmania University his Government had shown the courage of its convictions using a vernacular as the medium of instruction. Urdu is no doubt "a vernacular" but it by no means is "the vernacular" or "the vernaculars" of the people of Hyderabad. It is not the mother-tongue of the vast bulk of his people. It is just the language of the Muslim ruler and is, therefore, imposed on the people as the State language, even as English is in British India. As well might the British Government claim that the medium of instruction in the British Indian Universities is "a vernacular"! A Urdu University in Hyderabad is as sensible as a Tamil University in Kashmir and a Gujarati University in Upper Burma! Equally amazing is the description of Hyderabad as a "Muslim State" by the Viceroy. Hyderabad is as much a Muslim State as Kashmir is a Hindu State! Or England a German state because of the Hanovarian dynasty!

Articles.

AFTER MONTAGU—BENN.

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY'S resolution in the House of Commons was so innocuous and non-committal that Lord Birkenhead himself would not have cared to oppose it. The essence of the debate was in the speeches that it gave occasion to and in particular, the magnificent speech of Mr. Wedgwood Benn, the Secretary of State for India. Going beyond the terms of his resolution, Mr. Brockway raised three definite issues. He suggested that the Indian representatives at the Round Table Conference should really represent Indian opinion; that Dominion status for India should definitely be the basis of the Conference deliberations, and that there should be an end to political prosecutions in India. With the consummate skill of a practised debater, Mr. Wedgwood Benn skirted very close to, but just avoided, a direct answer to these questions, and instead, entered on an elaborate and passionate protestation of the goodwill of Great Britain towards India. As regards political prosecutions, he could not comment on such of them as were *sub judice*. He avoided altogether the subject of the release of political prisoners and of general amnesty. Instead, he told the House that the Government of India, in co-operation with official and un-official opinion, was contemplating making prison conditions more tolerable! A worthy object in itself, but not exactly relevant to the point at issue. Notwithstanding this disappointing reply, we are not without hope that an amnesty will soon be forthcoming. Mr. Benn rightly said that it was not the uniformed policemen that kept law and order but the average citizen by his co-operation with the State. And in order to secure that hearty co-operation the Government was pursuing, not a harsh and barren policy but an active and responsive one, and he hoped the days of political prosecutions were over. "I am in great hopes," he said "that with the new spirit abroad in India we are closing what must be to us a very painful chapter." As an earnest of the new attitude towards the expression of political opinions Mr. Benn announced that there would be no re-enactment of the Public Safety Ordinance. Far from repressing free expression of opinion, the Government desired it. It was for that very purpose that the Government invited the Indian leaders to the Round Table Conference. Argument was now the winning card and non-co-operation the losing one.

In reply to Mr. Brockway's first suggestion, Mr. Benn gave an assurance that the Conference would be representative not of one section but of all sections of public opinion in India. This is not exactly what the signatories of the Delhi Manifesto desired. If every minority opinion, every reactionary coterie and every obscure junta is to be represented on the Conference, the Government may well save itself the trouble of calling a Conference together, if it

means to speed India towards Dominion status.

Mr. Brockway wished that the basis of the discussions at the Conference should be Dominion Status, though it did not necessarily follow that it should be accomplished immediately. Mr. Benn replied that the Conference would meet with free hands, free to discuss anything. "They will meet absolutely free," he declared, "and the Cabinet will certainly decide, settle and propose to the Conference nothing." We refuse to believe that the British Government have no policy of their own, that they will come to the Conference with a blank mind and contribute nothing to enable it to come to right and helpful conclusions. We rather take it that Mr. Benn felt it due to the Simon Commission that he should make no more explicit statement on the Government's policy. Mr. Benn's speech is as clear an indication as is possible to give at the moment that the Labour Government will back Dominion Status at the Conference. The Secretary of State was at great pains to prove that India was already a Dominion, and was accepted as such. He went over the history of the last ten years since the Montagu Reforms to prove his thesis. India had no Dominion Status conferred on her by virtue of a statute, but had built up the status by "use, custom and wont and tradition" as was the case with the other Dominions. To this progressive evolution, he claimed, that not only the Labour administration, but also the other administrations, were willing parties. This was perhaps more generous than just to the Conservatives. As somebody said of justice, it is not sufficient that the judge feels that he is giving justice but the parties must share the feeling. It is true that when Mr. Montagu was at the helm of the India Office, India felt that she was accorded the status of a Dominion at least in external affairs. But no sooner was he hurled from office and thrown to the wolves, India felt a change for the worse. If the Montagu spirit continued to govern the India Office, India would have developed responsible government by "use, custom, wont and tradition" by now. The very justification for the reiteration of Dominion Status as the goal of British policy in India in the Viceroy's statement was that during the past administration an attempt was made to go back on the Montagu pledges. The instances that Mr. Benn enumerated of Dominion Status in action can be balanced by other actions of the Governments in the past in the contrary sense. But that is not the essence of Mr. Benn's speech. We see in his long dissertation on the subject not a justification of past history but an assurance that the Government will back up the Indian claim for Dominion Status at the Conference. If Mr. Benn had other views, he would not have dwelt on the theme of Dominion Status of India so much and so often.

Nothing stands out so much in Mr. Benn's speech as the tone of passionate sincerity and earnest goodwill towards India. Again and again he pleads that the sincerity of his Government be accepted. His present performance has taken away the bad taste that the last debates on India left in the mouth of the people of India. His friendliness to India is unmistakable.

The division on the Coal Bill shows that the Government, though a minority in the House, can at a pinch deliver goods. The speech of Sir Samuel Hoare on behalf of the Conservative Party is reassuring, and indicates a remarkable change in the attitude of that Party towards the Round Table Conference from the one they adopted on the last occasion. Unity has been restored between the British Parties over the Indian question.

In concluding his remarkable speech Mr. Benn appealed to India to compose her internal differences. "There are great differences of opinion, wide gulfs and divergencies, not here but in India. We regret these. They are obstacles on the path which we wish to pursue. We cannot solve them, and I express the devout hope that when the time comes for the Conference it may have been found possible amongst Indians themselves to compose their differences, so that we may have gentleman coming here, speaking with authority and speaking with unity." There spoke a genuine friend of India, not the clever dissimulating diplomat intent on fishing in troubled waters. We hope this sincere appeal will not be lost on our political leaders in this country. It may be that the Labour Government will not be able to solve our differences, but they can certainly help us to do so. The British Government by throwing its weight in the right scale can materially help the cause of Indian unity. Mr. Benn's speech raises hopes in India which she felt under Mr. Montagu's regime. There is a family resemblance between the two: the one is in the direct line of the other. We hope and trust that India will respond to the call of Mr. Benn more cordially and more unreservedly and more magnificently than she did to the call of Mr. Montagu and not spurn the chance of peaceful evolution by refusing to rise above her suspicions.

BIKANER HITS OUT

WITH the best goodwill in the world we confess that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner's speech at the prorogation of his Legislative Council last week leaves us cold and unconvinced. The Maharaja concedes that some wholesome check must be put on the harmful activities of bad Rulers. He would welcome criticism in the Press and from the platform provided it was genuine and *bona fide*. But that he laments is not forthcoming. Instead, there is only malicious campaign of false, wholesale and sweeping attacks on the Princes. We believe that the Princes are not such helpless victims of hostile propaganda: they have enough power in their own States; and outside, they have an adequate weapon in the Princes Protection Act. There is nothing to prevent the Princely Order from having recourse to the latter, if their traducers are in British India. The fact is they dare not do so. They are safe in their own courts. The second check is the Princes' Chamber, which, he said, "is destined to play an important part in the future even though at the present day its utility is circumscribed by many limitations and restrictions." The Chamber of

Princes is but a trade union of the Princes, which has no place for the representatives of their subjects, who are the people—not the Princes themselves—that suffer from misrule. Even so, the Maharaja himself admits that for the present it is of no use; and it is unfair to ask the peoples of the States to wait till that gilded chamber perfects itself. The third check in the intervention of the Crown. But that should be the last resort, and even then, solely in the interests of the Indian States and of the general Order of the Princes themselves. We agree that the intervention of the Paramount Power must not be lightly invoked, but we insist that the interests of the States includes those of the subjects of the States. The fourth check is the Chief's responsibility to his own conscience and to God. "No single Ruling Prince in India can deny this responsibility imposed on him by God". This stinks too much of Charles I and Kaiser Wilhelm. At this time of the day, it is too comic to be taken seriously.

One other check however, which is uniformly accepted in all civilised countries, he does not mention. He does not believe in Democratic form of Government. Its success in the West is doubtful, and in India it was known in ancient times and found wanting. He is an admirer of the indigenous system of rule in India which has survived the ravages of time. "Surely it is our duty to conserve and improve and not to destroy this system of rule which has in the past peculiarly suited to our States in spite of the frantic efforts made to up-root and exterminate it and divert the ship of State into new channels uncharted and unfathomed." We wonder if the Maharaja would speak with equal enthusiasm if he were a subject of an Indian State and not a Ruler. In the second place, it passes our understanding why the Maharaja so unreservedly and enthusiastically welcomes Dominion rule for British India. Is it an unfriendly act on his part because the people of British India are not his beloved subjects for whose welfare God had not imposed responsibility on him? Notwithstanding it hurts our national pride, it must be admitted that indigenous India has so far produced no system of administration or constitution of which India may be proud today. We have to copy institutions that had their origin in Europe: we have produced nothing that the West may copy. No Indian State has developed a constitution that can be held as a model to British India or to any other State in the world. Even today there is nothing to prevent an Indian State from developing, even by imitation, institutions more advanced than in British India. The Indian States are happily free from racial antagonism and economic clash which vitiate the politics of British India. The Maharaja was guilty of gross exaggeration when he boasted that "some of our States are extremely well-governed and as model States they can proudly hold up an exemplar even for Provinces in British India." Only modesty must have prevented the Maharaja from mentioning one such State! Every Indian State without exception is miles behind British India. And the only two States that approximate to the British Indian standard of administration are Mysore and

Baroda. But it is a disconcerting fact that both these States were under direct administration of British Government for some time in their history. And even these lag behind British India in the matter of constitutional development, though there is nothing to prevent them from forging ahead.

With a naivety that does credit to a child, His Highness proclaimed that "with the shining example of the success of limited monarchy in England no further argument need be advanced in favour of monarchy."! The Maharaja betrays an amazing ignorance when he argues that monarchy and limited monarchy are the same and the success of the latter justifies the former. We may inform him that as wide a gulf divides them as divides democracy from monarchy, and that democracy and limited monarchy are practically the same. At any rate, the subjects of the Indian States and their friends in British India will be quite content if the Princes will accept the system of limited monarchy after the "shining example of England."

After this preliminary discussion of the best system of government for the Indian States, the Maharaja went on to discuss, rather deny, the right of the subjects of the Indian States to be represented at the Round Table Conference. The internal constitution of the States was outside the purview of the Conference, as was authoritatively declared by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. No outside authority, neither the Government of India, nor even Parliament, has a right, he declared, to examine the constitutions of the Indian States, it was a matter entirely between the Rulers and their subjects, on the analogy of the Round Table Conference itself, which was, in his view, a conference between the Rulers and the peoples of British India. The Maharaja would acclaim an All-India States' subjects conference at his capital. We appreciate the Maharaja's kindly offer. But we are not sure his own constitutional theories accord with such a procedure. What will happen to his theory of the internal sovereignty of each of these States, if the subjects of other States examined the administration of Bikaner, for instance? Does he contend that the subjects of Travancore have a right to criticise, albeit with "decorum and dignity, with moderation and restraint," the administration of Bikaner?

We recognise the force of the Maharaja's argument that in the discussion of the internal administration of the States between the Rulers and their subjects the British Indian has no constitutional place. But does it follow from it that the subjects of the Indian States have no right to be represented at the Round Table Conference? They are vitally interested in the relations between the Government of India and the States. For instance, the acceptance of the recently invented theory of direct relations with the Crown over the head of the Government of India and the reduction of the latter to the status of a sister state to the Indian States would spell ruin to them. They must resist it. They are also interested in defining under what circumstances the Government of India, as the Paramount Power, should interfere in the administration of the States.

STAFFING OF THE SASTRI COLLEGE.

THE staffing of the Sastri College, Durban, is of more than ordinary importance and is very much more than staffing a college. When the project for a Training School for Indians was taking shape it was discovered that it was practically impossible to recruit in South Africa a full complement of lecturers both competent and sympathetic. To supply one such European was as much as the Department of Education could do, and it was agreed that he should be the resident Principal in charge not only of the training school and the high school but also of the hostel that was part of the scheme. The rest of the lecturers, some six in number, it was suggested, should be recruited in India, through the kind offices of the Government of India. The proposal gave rise to misgivings in certain Indian quarters. It seems some years ago a European missionary, who had served in India and who subsequently shifted to South Africa, introduced some Indian teachers from India into South Africa to assist him. They made no favourable impression. The experiment was a failure and created prejudice among Indians themselves against teachers imported from India, which has not quite died down. Ultimately, however, the promoters of the College scheme agreed to the proposal, when it was understood that Mr. Sastri would himself be responsible for the selection of the teachers. When they launched the scheme and went about raising funds for the building, it was not known what view the Government of Natal would take on the question, whether they would consent to take over the College and run it as a Government institution, and whether they would, in their turn, agree to the recruitment of teachers from India. In the adverse circumstances of the time, it required remarkable courage and faith to embark on the venture which was then full of uncertainties.

The Indian Education Enquiry Committee, presided over by Mr. Dyson, a member of the Natal Executive, unanimously recommended that the College should be taken over by the Natal Government and run as a Government institution, and that the lecturers, other than the Principal, should, in the first instance, be recruited from India. But when the Report of the Committee came for discussion during the budget debates in the Provincial Council the same Mr. Dyson went back on his recommendation, and advocated the recruitment of the whole staff locally. The reasons were more implied than expressed. If the Government was to pay for the jobs, why should six places go to non-Europeans from India? And since there were no competent local Indian teachers to run the training school, there would be six fairly well-paid places for Europeans. Not an advantage to be thrown away. The importation of graduates from India might mean the importation of agitators who might stir up political trouble. If the local Indians were to be brought up to western standards and made into, *à la* South Africans, it were best they were taught by Europeans than by Indians.

After several months of negotiations on behalf of the disappointed Indians, the Natal Government changed their mind, and finally agreed that the first batch should be recruited in India on a temporary basis. But where was the guarantee that the Government of India, when approached by the Natal Government, would take special interest in recruiting the proper type of teachers? The Government of India was likely to ask the provincial Governments and their educational advisers to make the selection. It was very improbable that these remote authorities with no direct interest in the staffing of the Sastri College, would enthuse over the selection, and not be tempted to dump their wasters on Durban. On Mr. Sastri himself must, therefore, be thrown the responsibility for finding the proper staff for the College which he helped to found.

It is not known, however, if Mr. Sastri was invited to make the selection; but very soon, the first batch of Indian teachers must be sailing from India. Theirs is not an easy job. Qualities far above the average are necessary in them if they are to make good in the new and, in some respects, very different environment into which they are being transplanted. The Indians in South Africa have adapted themselves largely to the European standard of life and outlook. The younger generation speak English more or less as their mother tongue; they speak it as well and as naturally as English children. He must have a good knowledge of the language and speak it fluently indeed who would command their respect and attention.

On landing in Durban they will come up against *tubous* of all kinds on all sides. On trains and trams and busses, in theatres and restaurants, even in public offices and churches they will be discriminated against. Racial humiliations at every turn will be their lot. The bulk of the European community will be more critical than sympathetic towards the newcomers. The influential anti-Asiatics will view them with frank hostility. Well may the spirited Indian graduates fresh from India feel like throwing up the job and returning to India.

But it is not by such that that the cause of Indians in South Africa is served. The European will improve his attitude towards the Indian only when he comes in contact with the cultured Indian who is able to impress him. And the cultured Indian would naturally like to meet the European only when the latter improves his attitude. It is a vicious circle. But it is the interest of the Indian to break that circle. The pioneers must accept the racial humiliations, gain entry to European circles and, by their character and personality, effect a change in the attitude of the Europeans. It is an uphill task; and requires the qualities of the missionary—meekness, faith and courage.

The situation is not without redeeming features. Mr. Sastri's work has made a breach in the wall of racial prejudice. The presence of the Agent of the Government of India is a great asset. Mr. Sastri has left behind a number of European friends—and some of them are in the Indo-European Council—who

are sure to offer their good will and good offices to promote racial understanding and mutual respect. In the Superintendent of Education and in the Administrator of Natal Indians have friends whose sympathies are assured. All these will brighten the prospect and smoothen the road.

But the success or otherwise of the enterprise will depend mainly on the qualities and equipment of the teachers themselves, their personalities, their presentability, their knowledge of English, their capacity to expound and interpret Indian culture and civilisation and to understand European art and culture. The education, sociability and adaptability to European society of the womenfolk that may accompany the Indian teachers are of no less importance to the success of the mission. In a sense the qualities and qualifications of the ladies will outweigh those of the menfolk in establishing equitable relations with the European community. None but the best that India can send are good enough for the staffing of the Sastri College in Durban.

The Indian teachers are embarking on a great adventure in which failure is easy and success difficult. Their primary object is certainly great; to train up efficient Indian teachers in South Africa who, in their turn, will bring up the Indian children in the ways of education and enlightenment. But far greater still is the indirect effect of their sojourn in that distant land. If they are of the right type, they can dissipate the prejudice against Indians; bridge the gulf that now divides the European and the Indian communities, raise India in the estimation of the whites and make Indians more acceptable to them, and thus contribute largely to the permanent and enlightened solution of the "Indian Problem" in South Africa.

THE NIZAM GETS A RAP ON THE KNUCKLES.

REPLYING to the toast proposed by His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, His Excellency the Viceroy gave the Prince some much-needed advice. Lord Irwin read him a lecture on the advantages of Council government over individual rule. In passing, it may be remembered that not long ago the Government of India themselves were not convinced of the advantages, for they resisted for a long time the demand of the Indian politicians for the Council system of government in the provinces then presided over by Lieutenant Governors. However, time has its revenges. The justification for the Viceregal lecture seems to be that the Nizam had "intended" that the Council should exercise the power and the authority formerly wielded by the Chief Minister which, the young Prince, with incredible confidence in his ability, undertook himself to shoulder without the aid of even a single minister. The intentions seem to have remained intentions! The obvious inference from the Viceroy's admonition is confirmed from other sources that the Council form of government has yet to be a reality in Hyderabad. "It is hardly necessary for me," said His Excellency, "to say that the

British Government regard the Council system of administration as fully justified by the results and appreciate the wisdom of your Exalted Highness's step in resorting to it. They feel assured that your Exalted Highness shares the view of the British Government that the Council must be regarded as an organic element in the constitution of the Hyderabad State and I need hardly say that its functions and the method of its composition are matters in which the British Government will always be closely interested." The significance of this plain statement will, we trust, not be lost of His Exalted Highness and the other Princes.

With delicate euphemism no less humiliating than a downright statement, Lord Irwin referred to the "loan" of British Officers to the Nizam's Government. As long as a Prince's relations with the Paramount Power remain satisfactory, the Government of India have been reluctant, far too reluctant, to interfere with the internal administration of an Indian State however much it was unprogressive and even reactionary, and unmindful of the interests of the subjects of the State. Something must have been frightfully rotten indeed in the state of Hyderabad that the Government of India felt compelled to "loan" its officers. The judicial system seems to take the cake for this unenviable notoriety. With all the will to be polite and complimentary at the post-prandial occasion, His Excellency could not resist saying, "I feel confident that the judicial Department will, in course of time, be brought to that state of efficiency so indispensable as an adjunct of modern administration."

The subjects of Hyderabad State can only regard it as a cruel joke which His Excellency perpetrated when he said that His Exalted Highness had started his people on the path of constitutional progress. The resolutions of the Hyderabad State's subjects conferences, which are always held outside that State, and the recent *firman* of the Nizam that previous police permission was necessary for every kind of meeting within his State are an eloquent commentary on the "constitutional progress" that the premier State has made.

While welcoming the Round Table Conference and the participation therein by the Indian Princes, the Nizam hoped that it would define and strengthen the relations between the Princes and the future Government of India. And he added, "we of the Princely Order would always regard it as essential to maintain our historical relations with the British Crown which is the Paramount Power in India today." His Excellency recognised the force of this contention, but added that the object of the Round Table Conference was to find means for the fulfilment of what His Majesty's Government consider to be the underlying purpose of British policy in India. Which, His Excellency, with the full concurrence of His Majesty's Government, declared, in his recent statement, was the attainment by India of Dominion Status. It follows inevitably from this that the Indian Princes may not arrogate to themselves a status that will stand in the way of Dominion Status of India. The theory of direct relations with the British

Crown is a broken reed. The future Government of what is British India today will inherit all the powers and responsibilities of the present Government of India. And the sooner the Indian Princes realise this and cheerfully reconcile themselves to it the better for them and for the peoples of India.

Reviews.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS MADE EASY.

CENTRAL BANKS. By ERNEST HARVEY.

THE CONTROL AND REFORM OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND. By ROY HOPKINS.

A NEW INTERNATIONAL CURRENCY: THE BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENTS. By J. F. DARLING.

INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRY AND THE YOUNG PLAN. By Lord MELCHETT.

WORLD ECONOMIC SUICIDE. By SIR GEORGE PAISH.

All published by the London General Press, 1929. 21cm. 2/- each.

THESE five brochures have the following common features. Written by acknowledged authorities who know what they write, they deal with current topics of almost international importance. Barring the brochure on the Control and Reform of the Bank of England, which of course cannot be considered in purely narrow aspects, for it deals with the reform of an international institution, the Bank of England—the "mother" of all Central Banks of the world—every other pamphlet deals with vital issues concerning the whole world. Again, all the brochures contain succinct and an almost flashing summary of the subjects which they discuss. Appealing solely to the lay people, almost all these are written in a clear and crisp style, so as to appeal to the general wider public, who would of course be frightened at the mere mention of technical terms or the conventional jargon of economic science or the loose nomenclature of the statesmen. For example, if Sir Ernest Harvey had spoken of resolute monetary control, elasticity of credit and currency and absolute control over credit in the wider interests of the society, almost the whole of his reading public would have failed to understand any of these statements. But he lays down the duties of the Central Banks in almost single postulate-like statements, about 13 in number. As these were delivered before an Australian audience, whose sole problem was to reconstitute the Australian Commonwealth Bank into a real Central Bank, we, in this country who are practically sailing in the same boat, would do well to hear most of the statements with respect and awe, which his long-continued experience in the management of the Bank of England deservedly entitles him to receive at the hands of his reading public.

Equally valuable is the pamphlet on "The Control and Reform of the Bank of England." With refreshing candour, the author rightly makes out a case for the reform of the Bank of England, so that the control exercised from within would enable the reorganised

directorates of the quasi-public institution, viz. the Bank of England, to solve the real issues before the public. A socialised Bank of England paying due heed to the Treasury's point of view, always keeping abreast of current thought and developments and publishing its operations so as to be understood by the general public, is an important desideratum at the present time. Every thinker of established reputation almost echoes the self-same opinions. An impartial statement of the arguments for and against political control heightens the value of the essay and makes it specially valuable to us, who are so keen on securing some measure of control over this nationalistic institution, which a Central Bank of any country ought to be.

Of a somewhat similar nature is the short and stimulating essay on "A New International Currency". Mr. Darling has evidently transferred his affections from the Empire to the wider international field. He has this time hatched a scheme for an international currency unit, so as to relieve the present-day world of its anxiety from the pressing gold problem, whose long period value is now to be stabilised by properly devised international action on the part of the leading countries. Evidently dissatisfied with the possibility of the Central Bank management of the new gold standard, he wishes to create a super-control Bank, which would be using a new unit called the International Pound, which is to be a composite unit consisting of gold, silver and international bills. Acting as the banker for Central Banks alone, it has to effect an economy in gold and facilitate international payments including the vexed reparations payments. Being a composite unit gold and silver can be taken as its parts. Silver can thus be raised from the low position to which it has fallen to a position of equality with gold. The rehabilitation of silver is aimed at to solve three issues simultaneously, viz. to solve the present-day gold problem, raise the value of the silver hoards and increase the purchasing power of the Asiatic people. Theoretically speaking, the scheme is a fine and generous idea, but the intensely nationalistic states would not agree to their being deprived of their nationalistic currencies. The parallel and concerted action needed by the nations would not be forthcoming.

But the most fascinating of all the pamphlets is the lucidly written essay of Lord Melchett on the "Young Plan". Leaving aside technical terms as the "transfer problem" etc., the grim realities involved in the payment of reparations which, of course, is nothing but payment on the part of Germany without receiving any exchange in return are stated in their true colours. The realisation of this economic absurdity by the floating of international loans, opening of markets, postponing of payment till Germany's economic rehabilitation becomes an accomplished fact and the investment of German payments back in Germany, in case the creditor country finds it unable to transfer the German currency into her domestic currency, are the simple features of the Young Plan. The creation of an International Bank of Settlements, which was for quite a long time the dream of every

currency frank, to facilitate the reparations problem is a cardinal feature of the Young Plan and how it would have to work is briefly stated by the author. As a brilliant popular exposition of a somewhat knotty problem, on which there has been no agreement up till now, it ought to be read by everybody.

Last, but not least important, is the pamphlet "The World Economic Suicide". Here the great financial and economic expert, Sir George Paish, discusses the economic impasse staring the world at large. Rising Customs tariffs, meaningless prohibitions on trade, vexatious restrictions on the free mobility of the chief agents of production and monopolism in its various forms, have been contributing to the economic suicide of Europe and through it of the wider world. The abnormally high money rates caused by the speculation mania in the Wall Street, high tariff barriers which make a mockery of the economic law, namely, goods and services in return for goods and services, the lack of harmonious exchange between the manufacturing and the agricultural countries and the world indebtedness are the features alluded to. Tariff reduction is the sole panacea, says the author. It is indeed a pity that this sound view, which was so courageously expounded by the World Economic Conference in 1927 at Geneva, has not received universal recognition as yet nor translated into actual practice. I would ask Indian legislators, who are keen on imposition of export duties and other protective measures to read and ponder over these few pages of this ably written monograph. The restoration of Indian economy to normal health does not depend on these imbecile-props or frail crutches or very poor palliatives. India, who suffers from lack of capital and whose main assets are labour and raw materials, requires constructive energy and reintegration of her capital resources under its command so that the maintenance of her increasing population at an improving standard of living can be accomplished.

We are much beholden to these experts and the London General Press for issuing these pamphlets in a neatly bound shape at a very moderate price.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

THE PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS AND OTHER LECTURES. By HENRY CLAY. (Macmillan.) 1929. 22cm. 322p. 12/-

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND WAGES. By W. JETT LAUCK. (Funk & Wagnalls, New York.) 1929. 20cm. 308p. \$2.50.

IN view of the increasing attention that is now being paid everywhere to the problem of industrial relations, these two volumes dealing with the different aspects of that question should prove welcome alike to administrators, the executives of industrial and trade-union organisations, and to the general public. Professor Clay, who has already won his spurs as an author by his lucid introductory treatise on Economics, here presents us with a series of essays and lectures which are all linked up by the fact that, in each one of them, he tries to throw fresh light on one or other of the various complicated

factors which in their totality make up industrial harmony. The notion that industrial disputes are the private affair of the parties engaged in them has now been thoroughly exploded, and even in India a recent legislative enactment has laid down the methods and conditions under which the Government may intervene in such disputes. Though it is now increasingly recognised that the whole community has an interest in the settlement of such disputes, it is not yet quite clear that the general public has realised the inherent difficulties in the way of arriving at a satisfactory remedy for the industrial *malaise* of our times. Once work is resumed after a strike or lock-out, the public interest in it is apt to flag, and no attempt is made to understand or to clarify the many complicated issues raised by industrial disharmony. "Bad conditions, unnecessarily low wages, a smouldering discontent that finds its expression in restriction of output, arbitrary discipline and unwilling service, are results of unsatisfactory industrial relations as important as strikes and lock-outs."

Stoppage of work is only a subordinate aspect of the problem, which includes everything which is involved in the determination of the contract of employment. In short, the problem of industrial relations is the problem of finding an adjustment of the interests of employers and employed that will secure the co-operation of both in the work of production. Professor Clay points out that, so far from there being any single or simple solution, the problem is one of endless and continuous adjustment, because the relations between the employers and the employed are affected by every change in the conditions of industry or the ideals of the workers. Nevertheless, an analysis of the causes of disputes in any country invariably shows that the principal reason for a strike or a lock-out is a demand for higher wages or shorter working hours. Thus in 1911, a normally bad year in England, 607 out of 903 stoppages of work were due to disputes over wages and hours. It follows that if a satisfactory formula could be hit upon to fix wages which will be regarded both by the working classes themselves and by the community at large as reasonable, one of the most fruitful causes of industrial discord could be eliminated.

In dealing with the question of minimum wages, Professor Clay works out a very ingenious diagram showing the relation between the supply of labour and its productivity. Notwithstanding the academic truth of the theory illustrated by his diagram, where population is dense and capital and natural resources per head of population low, as in India, labour productivity will be low, because labour will be pushed into uses which in other countries would be performed by some power-driven appliances, and wages will be low. The raising of wages by authority was at one time considered undesirable, because it was felt that it might produce unemployment. Nevertheless, the practice has now spread and the industries that have been subjected to legal minimum wage regulations

in Great Britain show greater rise of wages in the period since the Trade Boards (Minimum Wage) Act, was passed than other industries. The International Labour Office has recently passed a convention for the fixing of minimum wages in certain classes of industries; but even this conservative measure cannot be said to have won the approval of the majority of the countries which are members of the Geneva Conference.

Governmental interference of this character in the economic life of the people, however much it may meet with the opposition of the diehards, has always proved effective and conciliatory; and confining himself to conditions in Great Britain, Professor Clay remarks that the forward policy of the Government has been the principal factor responsible for the recent improvement in British economic conditions. "Public policy has secured for the lowest paid industrial workers a wage that is reasonable in relation to the wealth of the community, and made provision for them in unemployment, when industry could not pay them those wages. Public policy has again assisted and compelled wage earners to make provision for the risks of sickness, unemployment and premature death, and has made direct provision for old age. Public policy again is responsible for the increased care of child life. Parliament has also materially interfered with the distribution of wealth and has done more in the present century to solve the problem of poverty than any previous generation or any other country has been able to do". Along with the settlement of this vexed question must be taken measures to avoid unemployment and to bring about more cordial relations between the workers and the employers. Whitley Councils and other machinery for conciliation elaborated from time to time are also considered in this connection; and altogether Professor Clay has succeeded in touching upon and illuminating most of the major problems connected with industrial harmony.

Mr. Lauck's book deals with conditions in the United States. There the industrial revolution which has been wrought in the last decade has been the result of better organisation and increased coordination. The American ideal of a living wage as expounded in his seventh Chapter should prove of immense educative value to employers and government in this country, and incidentally it explains why the level of prosperity of the American worker is much higher than in other countries, though the United States is comparatively backward in beneficial labour legislation. There the principle of an adequate basic wage has been generally accepted and authoritatively sanctioned as desirable, not only from the humanitarian and civic point of view, but also from the standpoint of the principle of industrial management and of general economics. The conception of the standard of living which this basic wage should make possible has advanced through the years from a level of bare subsistence of the wage-earner and his family to the recently advocated "cultural" standard, which would embrace not only physical

and social requirements, but also cultural needs, together with the highest ideals of economic freedom. Practically the minimum standard which has been reached at this time is the level of living provided by the so-called "savings wage", or a wage sufficient for a standard of living of minimum health and comfort of the wage-earner and his family, with the added provision for reasonable savings as a protection against the various contingencies of life. Towards the latter part of the book, he discusses the conditions of future progress and makes a great many constructive suggestions among which special attention may be given to the practical methods there suggested for the adjustment of wages. In America, higher wages have not meant increasing costs of production or higher prices. Quite the contrary, and the present economic prosperity of the great Republic is due to the fact that industrial expansion and operation are there regarded as a social function and service. It is permissible to hope that when Indian industrialists adopt the same ideals, we should hear less of industrial disputes and cataclysms in the country.

These two books may be warmly recommended to all interested in industrial problems, the first for its impartial analysis of the various aspects of industrial relations, and the second for the encouraging note of optimism which runs through the author's plan and straightforward narrative of how America is successfully endeavouring to solve the problem by the application of the principles of equity and service to industry.

P. P. PILLAI.

EARLY BURMESE HISTORY.

EARLY ENGLISH INTERCOURSE WITH BURMA, 1587-1743. By D. G. E. HALL.
(Rangoon University Publications: No. 1)
Longmans. 22cm. 276p. 12/6.

To explore hidden records and to bring to light ancient archives and to piece together valuable information from these scraps is no small task. It requires infinite patience, a trained mind and careful discrimination. Professor Hall seems to have done just such a piece of work in this book. In going over the records and correspondence relating to the years 1587 to 1743 he has brought out much information that was previously locked up in dusty godowns and accessible to almost no one.

This is a period of Burmese history about which little has been known and less has been written. It was a time when hardy pioneers went out to conquer unknown difficulties; and except for necessary reports they were not much given to writing.

The writer has gathered his material into eleven chapters comprising 219 pages to which are added eight appendices, a bibliography and index, which bring the total number of pages up to 276. There are no illustrations in the book.

In his introduction he says "the present work constitutes the first attempt to trace its (English Intercourse with Burma) origins in the sixteenth century and its development to the middle of the

eighteenth with such degree of completeness as the records permit. Most of the sources drawn upon have never previously been explored for the light on this somewhat recondite subject." He refers to a previous work by Alexander Dalrymple which made some reference to this subject but did not cover it in any satisfactory way.

Prof. Hall traces the history of the relations of the English with Burma from the first known traveller, Ralph Fitch, who first came to Burma in 1587-8. He makes some interesting quotations from his account of his journey but also shows that he depended somewhat upon an earlier Venetian traveller, Caesar Frederick, for material for his descriptions of the country.

The earliest quest of the East India Company was for spices, and as Burma had no great supply of that fragrant commodity the Company did not pay much attention to her. Goods for barter were also largely lacking. There was some independent trading. Native traders from Madras of the Coromandel Coast carried on some business with Burma but as the Bay of Bengal then, as now, was dangerous for small craft during the monsoon they usually made but about one trip a year during the good weather.

A factory was finally established by the Company at Syriam in 1647. Syriam had been settled and ruled over by the Portuguese for some time previous to 1613 when the reign of de Britto ended. The fact that Burma had been appropriated by the Portuguese and that the Dutch also had trading in the Malay Peninsula made the English, who at that time had not risen to world power, rather chary about trying to get a foothold in a territory where these other nations had already established themselves. But after the Portuguese had been driven out the English established their factory. This had a rather precarious existence due to several reasons.

While Burma was independent of foreign control the reasons which made the factory at Syriam difficult to maintain remained operative up to the time when the East India Company became a political force and was obliged to take over the rule of Lower Burma. And later Upper Burma was also brought into the British Empire. Some of these reasons were as follows.

First there was no settled government in Burma for any great length of time. Each individual, whether King or petty chief, "ate" the country and ruled it to suit his own particular whim and for his own personal gain. There was continual rebellion and civil wars were always on hand. There was little security for person or property. Even if an agreement was reached with one official it would be repudiated by the next. Only by presents and bribes could any foothold be obtained. Then again there was little incentive on the part of the people to enter into trading activities on any scale because if any resident of Burma showed signs of prosperity he was at once a target for the unwelcome attentions of the grasping officials and the ever-present dacoits.

There was little industry in the country. The principal articles of commerce seem to have been as given in one list, Martaban jars, gold, copper, tin,

and lac. Rubies and saltpetre are also mentioned. Mostly native products, but even these were said to be obtained only in rather small quantities. The resources of the country were undeveloped and continued to be so largely as long as Burma remained under its own rulers.

It cannot be wondered at that the trade was hardly a paying proposition and the Syriam factory seems to have faded out by 1657. During the next century conditions were not very different. Trade was carried on in a desultory way by various individuals. Some traders settled for a while in the country and took for wives the Burmese women whom they found attractive, a custom which seems to have not altogether died out to the present time.

Later, on the closing of trade with Burma by the Dutch East India Trading Company, the English company revived its interest in the country. An attempt was made to establish a factory at Negrais Island. Negotiations were carried through for obtaining a grant of this Island, but the island seems never to have been permanently occupied; and not much came of the matter.

In 1695 negotiations were opened with the King of Ava which after many delays and much bargaining resulted in a treaty with the East India Company which secured the release of a trader who had been held by the Burmese and also some concessions for the establishment of a factory and for further trading. But little came of this and the next two or three decades saw only intermittent attempts at establishing relations, some on the part of the servants of the Company in Madras. This period ended with quarrels and in wholesale fighting among the men of the different ships and in the murder of some of them.

But soon after this, lac and saltpetre being much desired articles, trade was again resumed; and though the records are scarce it seems that a number of ships cleared for Syriam and other Burmese ports. The former began to be used as a place where teakwood could be utilized for shipbuilding. But the policy of the Government was too fickle and inconsistent to allow of a very lucrative trade being carried on. Finally with the destruction of the factory at Syriam by the rebellious Talaings in 1744 the account of this early intercourse with the English comes to a close.

The account is well written and evidently makes good use of the materials such as they are. The notes on the life and customs of the Burmese people during the period are very scanty, due no doubt to the fact that the men who wrote reports or kept records were not of the kind to be much interested in the people or their ways, except in so far as they had to do with their trade. The cupidity of the officials and government in general from the king down, however, constantly appears.

In this field in which Prof. Hall has carried on his researches and the fruit of which we now have in this book, he alone is the master. Far be it from the writer of this review to criticise his use of the materials or his conclusion.

From a hasty reading of the book as well as from a general knowledge of the country of Burma in later years, one gains the impression that the narrative gives a true picture of the subject which it purports to cover and one is grateful to the author for his bringing to light this material which has hitherto been inaccessible.

H. I. MARSHALL.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN ENGLAND.

THE THIRD WINTER OF UNEMPLOYMENT. (KING.) 20 cm. 6/-.

THE book gives the results of a study of unemployment undertaken by a non-official body of British economists in the autumn of 1922; these were arrived at inductively after investigations in nine selected localities in Great Britain. It paints the situation as it was without any colouring and gives a true picture of the anxious and trying times through which that country passed. Taking total unemployment and short time together the Report estimates that one-fifth of the industrial power of the country is running to waste. In spite of unemployment relief, it is among the workers most distinguished for their skill, foresight and thrift that distress is greatest. In the opinion of the committee the greater provision of relief has up to the present served as a support to self-respect and a safeguard against demoralisation. The prospects of increased employment in the metal, engineering and shipbuilding industries are very scanty and there is little possibility of the reabsorption of the unemployed in this group. The Report points to two defects in the Insurance Scheme, the first is that it places the greater part of the burden on the shoulders of the employer and the employee, which belongs more properly to the community; and the second is that the scheme is far from being a complete relief scheme. The other relief measures which supplement State insurance are the Poor Law Relief, school meals and War pensions (amounting in March 1922 to nearly £94 millions). As a supplement the State financed relief works and capital undertakings calculated to promote employment and local housing schemes. Careful calculations are made by the committee of the cost of unemployment to the State as well as to the nation; the former for the year ending March 1922 comes to £80 millions of which £25½ millions were contributed by employers and employees and while the latter is calculated at £200 millions. It is clear then that "a broad margin evidently still remains to be covered either by the earnings of supplementary wage-earners, the charity of relatives and friends or the privation of the unemployed worker and his family". One good feature of the situation revealed in the report is that wide spread physical distress has been prevented; but savings are exhausted and there is abundant evidence of mental strain and suffering. Fortunately there is no growing inclination to depend on public relief and reluctance to work, and no political unrest which accompanied the pre-war depressions. As causes of unemployment the local reports mention the dislocation of European markets and an uneven movement of wages and prices which delayed revival of trade. As a result of the survey the committee recommend that a more definite system of co-operation between different authorities should be adopted; they further recommend that an Insurance Scheme should not be extended so as to include relief which stands in a different category. They also recommend the continuance of a permanent advisory committee for developing public utility services and the continuance of the Export Credits Scheme. The most important conclusion which the

committee draw from various experiments in providing work is that the attempts of the State should not be restricted to particular localities but should be directed to give a stimulus to general commercial activity; as for local relief it should only be given after a local survey and inquiry. The present scheme only succeeds in keeping people in localities and occupations in which the chances of re-employment are small. The major portion of the nine local reports has been reproduced in the volume; it constitutes a valuable evidence which might be utilized in various connections. The report contained in the volume is undeniably a valuable document for the purpose of deciding on the future policy with regard to unemployment in Great Britain.

V. N. C.

THE DARK AGE OF MALABAR.

MALABAR AND THE PORTUGUESE. By
K. M. PANIKKAR. (Taraporewalla, Bombay.)
1929. 24cm. 221p. Rs. 6/-.

"A CENTURY and a half of barbarous outrages, of unscrupulous plunder and of barren aggression"—"hardly more than an unimportant incident in the history of India". These words summarise Mr. Panikkar's narrative of the dealings of the Portuguese with the petty princelings of the Malabar coast. In justice to the reader it must be said that the map of the route of Vasco da Gama could well have been replaced by a map of Malabar during the Portuguese period: for, he has to grasp the interplay of mutual jealousy, religious hatreds and commercial greed on the multitude of political and religious units that comprised the Malabar of Mr. Panikkar's book. By his rigorous historical research and critical acumen, Mr. Panikkar has succeeded in producing a book eminently readable and highly valuable. He has utilised not merely rare Portuguese annals and chronicles but the hitherto unknown fields of Kerala tradition, literature and folklore. Mr. Panikkar pricks many a pompous bubble of exaggeration, the largest being the greatness of Vasco da Gama as an explorer of the first rank. Again, besides emphasising the administrative skill and vision of Albuquerque and the military originality of Duarte Pacheco, he has raised from oblivion a wonderful family of local admirals, the Kunjalis, as well as the names of many redoubtable heroes of Malabar, who won renown in fighting either under or against the Portuguese. His chapters on Portuguese policy in Malabar and the causes for the failure of the Portuguese in India are highly instructive and are evidently the result of wide and well-directed study. He shows how all statements about a Portuguese Empire in India are unjustified, since they "never had the mastery of any area in India outside the range of their ships' guns". Nor were they able to win either the confidence or the respect of the people, since their captains and factors were almost always "treacherous, untrustworthy and barbarously cruel." Their political organisation was feeble and chaotic and dangerously subversive of discipline. Finance was ruined by the unchecked right of private trade and the inordinate privileges of the Church and the Religious Orders. The policy of converting the heathen and persecuting the Moor directed their energies and drew a hornet's nest over their heads. The net result of Portuguese rule was, according to Mr. Panikkar, the ruin of India's direct trade and the establishment of a monopoly by alien races. "The Portuguese of the 16th and 17th centuries had nothing to teach the

people of India except improved methods of killing in war and the narrow feeling of bigotry in religion". "The relations between Portugal and India were barren of cultural or political results and there is in that history nothing which any civilised nation can be proud of." Mr Panikkar's own account, however, of the economic changes that Malabar underwent as a result of their introducing new products, of the impetus they gave to the cultivation of coconut, pepper cardamom, ginger &c., and the production of coir and his description of the prosperity which followed the more widespread trade, will make the reader agree rather with Sir Richard Carnac Temple who concludes the Foreword thus—"Although there is much to be said against the Portuguese doings in South India it cannot be truthfully asserted that they produced no good at all."

N. KASTURI.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- SURVEY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS.** By CHARLES P. HOWLAND. (Yale University Press, New Haven.) 1929. 24cm. 535p. \$5.00.
- A PICTURE OF WORLD ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.** (National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., New York.) 1928. 24cm. 118p. \$2.00.
- A PICTURE OF WORLD ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF 1929.** (National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., New York.) 1929. 24cm. 253p. \$2.50.
- FINLAND—THE REPUBLIC FARTHEST NORTH.** The Response of Finish Life to its Geographic Environment. By EUGENE VAN CLEEF. (The Ohio State University Press, Columbus, Ohio.) 1929. 22cm. 220p. \$2.50.
- FOREIGN BANKING SYSTEMS.** By VARIOUS AUTHORS. ED. By H. PARKER WILLIS AND B. H. BECKHART. (Pitman, London.) 1929. 22cm. 1305p. 21/-
- PUBLIC POOR RELIEF IN NORTH CAROLINA.** By ROY M. BROWN. (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.) 1928. 20cm. 184p. \$2.00.
- THE POPE AND THE PEOPLE.** Select Letters and Addresses on Social Questions. By POPE, LEO XIII, PIUS X, BENEDICT XV, AND PIUS XI. (Catholic Truth Society, London.) 1929. 20cm. 260p. 3/-
- SRI AUROBINDO.** (1st Edition.) By JOTISH CHANDBA GHOSE. (Atmashakti Library, Calcutta.) 1929. 20cm. 186p. Rs. 2.
- MANGALORE.** A Historical Sketch. By GEORGE M. MORAES. (J. J. Rego, Mangalore.) 1927. 18cm. 94p. As. 12.

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