

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Mr. Thakkar's Appeal.

THE appeal which Mr. A. V. Thakkar was persuaded to prefer against his conviction on the charge of picketing and the abetment of picketing was argued with great ability and skill by Mr. G. N. Thakore, the eminent lawyer of Bombay, before the Sessions Judge of Kaira at Nadiad on the 28th Oct. last. During the course of the argument it was discovered that the charge framed by the trying Magistrate in the lower court was defective inasmuch as it did not specify, as required by the law, the person molested by the picketing—the liquor shop-keeper or the customer. Mr. Thakore offered to argue the case on the merits on the basis of either alternative, but the learned judge observed that a defective charge rendered the appreciation of the evidence unsatisfactory. He, therefore, quashed the conviction and ordered a fresh trial. Against this order of the Sessions Judge an appeal to the Bombay High Court is under contemplation.

A Splendid Bequest.

THE late Rao Bahadur D. Laxminarayan has, by his will, given away almost the whole of his large and hard-earned fortune in public charity. Out of his assets worth about Rs. 40 lakhs, he has given to the Nagpur University over Rs. 33 lakhs for the promotion of Applied Science and Rs. 1 lakh to the Servants of India Society. No cause is more worthy of such benefactions than the promotion of education. And in India in particular, the need, if anything, is greater. We are particularly pleased that Mr. Laxminarayan wished his magnificent gift to be utilised for the promotion of Applied Science. For, as Sir M. Visveswarayya said in his striking Convocation Address at the Annamalai University the other day, the time has arrived, if it is not already overdue, for emphasising the urgent need for technical and practical education as contrasted with literary and cultural education. The former has in the past been under-emphasised and the latter over-emphasised and

Sir M. Visveswarayya makes a vehement plea for the redress of the balance. He even goes so far as to advocate a fifteen years' cultural holiday and the concentration of all the resources available for the purpose for making up the leeway in practical education. In stipulating that his bequest should be devoted to Applied Science, Mr. Laxminarayan has anticipated Sir M. Visveswarayya's plea.

The Servants of India Society is indebted to the late Mr. Laxminarayan for his sustained interest in its work and for many acts of generous assistance and his latest gift of Rs. 1 lakh is but another proof of his goodwill and friendship.

The Bombay Ministry & Nominations.

THE announcement of the personnel of the Bombay Ministry last week and the names of the nominated members sets at rest all speculation on the point. We are afraid we cannot congratulate the Governor on the selection of his Ministers. He had a splendid opportunity of putting a stop to the evil tradition of selecting the Ministers on a communal basis. Indeed during the early stages of the discussions relating to the formation of the Ministry it was generally believed that His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes would take his courage in both hands and select his Ministers on a non-communal basis. But that hope has been dashed to the ground and he must be said to have chosen his Ministers with a view solely to making the position of the Government safe in the new Council. Maulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed, who retains his place in the new Ministry, is known to be a *pucca* communally-minded Muslim first and anything else afterwards. Rao Bahadur Kambli too is noted more for his anti-Brahminism than for his pro-non-Brahmin sympathies. As regards Sirdar Sir Rustom Vakil, he is a dark horse who cannot be said to have much public life to his credit. All that is known about him is that he is a big landlord. Let us hope he at least will bring to bear on all public questions coming before him a fresh and open mind and a catholicity of outlook for which the Parsi community is famous. It is true that what with unsatisfactory provincial finances and the approaching end of the Montagu regime the Ministers, whoever they may be, will not have much to do in the way of development work. It is equally true, on the other hand, that the next two or three years, when the new reforms would be under discussion, are going to be very important in India's history. At such a time we would have liked more progressive and broad-visioned persons, persons who are also more closely in touch with the surging tide of Indian nationalism, to be our Ministers. This however does not come in the way of our offering those selected to occupy the responsible positions our congratulations.

The nominations of non-official members are however much less objectionable. Mr. R. R. Bakhale of the Servants of India Society comes in for the first time as a Labour representative. We need hardly say

that his selection is solely due to his unremitting exertions on behalf of the industrial workers in Bombay for a number of years. The other two representatives of Labour are Rao Bahadur S. K. Bole and Mr. Syed Munavar, who were in the old Council. Mr. B. S. Kamat is nominated to the only open seat, the seat not allotted to any particular interest, in the gift of the Governor. He has the disadvantage of being nominated to a seat which has almost invariably gone to "safe" men, of course from the Government point of view, but the disadvantage will not count for much in the case of Mr. Kamat who, though owing his seat to nomination by Government even in the old Morley-Minto Council, enjoyed the reputation of being one of its independent-spirited members.

* * *

Bombay Police and Women.

THE conduct of the Bombay police towards women satyagrahis on the occasion of the forbidden flag salutation ceremony on October 26 have, as we said in our last issue, aroused wide-spread indignation of which more indications have since become available. When a man like Sir Vasant Rao Dabholkar, than whom it would be difficult to find a more loyal friend of the Government, says that the police were worse law-breakers than the ladies, that, we think, is the limit. The strength of feeling on the subject was represented by the President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, Mr. Hooseinbhoj Laljee to the Governor whose reply is generally regarded as unsatisfactory. The Governor informs his correspondent that after "fullest inquiries" he finds the press reports of that day's happenings "greatly exaggerated." As regards the principal cause of the public indignation, viz. the spiriting away of women and leaving them in a defenceless position, he does not deny it, but objects to this treatment being described as "inhuman." He, however, conveys to Mr. Laljee and through him to the general public the assurance of the Commissioner of Police that such things will not be repeated in future. Sir Frederick Sykes' letter does not seem to have influenced to any considerable extent the trend of the debate on this subject in the Bombay Municipal Corporation on the 6th inst.; for the Corporation decided to insist upon an immediate inquiry into the "unbecoming and unlawful conduct of certain police officers" and "strong disciplinary action against the defaulting officers." The general consensus of opinion was that if the women were guilty of some illegal act, the proper course was to have put them under arrest and placed them before a magistrate in the usual way instead of removing them some distance from Bombay. The allegation that the ladies were left to shift for themselves in a jungle has of course been officially contradicted; but the statement of one of the ladies so treated read out in the course of the debate definitely asserts that it was a "complete jungle" where they were set down. There is no reason to suppose that all this extraordinary proceeding was the casual act of an erratic policeman; it seems to have been sanctioned by higher authorities. For when the ladies begged to be left at some railway station, the sergeant is reported to have told them that his order was to leave them at the spot at which he left them! All these things call for an explanation, and we think the Government would do well to have the matter looked into by an independent committee.

* * *

High-handedness in Excelsis.

AN Act dealing with foreigners has recently been gazetted in the tiny Miraj State and is to come into force on December 1. The use of the word "Act" might mislead some into thinking that it had the sanction of popular representatives sitting

in a duly elected legislative council; but the fact is that Miraj does not yet possess even the apology of a legislative council so that the so-called Act is nothing but the Chief's *firman*. If it was his intention to show to the world that he could be more despotic than the British Government was in 1864, we must admit he has succeeded remarkably well. For the provisions of this Act are far more thorough-going than the Foreigners Act of 1864 on which it is apparently modelled. While the older Act applied to persons who were not "natural-born subjects of Her Majesty" or "Natives of British India," this one will be enforced in the case of all who are not born in Miraj State, who have not made Miraj their home for 10 years and more, and (not or, mind you) do not possess immovable property in Miraj. Thus people satisfying the first two conditions would be regarded as interlopers if they unfortunately are so poor as not to have any immovable property. By this Act the State takes to itself power to deport all foreigners outside its limits; and the procedure laid down for the purpose is very simple. A warrant signed by the District Magistrate or First Class Magistrate will issue for the arrest of the foreigner to be deported. The safeguard of the written permission of what is termed as the "Miraj Government" is no doubt provided; but when it is remembered that the so-called Government is nothing but the Chief himself, it will easily be seen how illusory the safeguard is likely to be. When the arrested person is produced before the functionary issuing the warrant, the fact would be intimated to the Chief and his orders awaited. Pending their receipt the District Magistrate has been given power to put him in custody. The Act does not lay down any time-limit within which the Chief would be bound to communicate his wishes with regard to the unfortunate man, so that conceivably he runs the risk of imprisonment for an indefinite period! If a man is so foolish as to disobey the order of deportation or tries to circumvent it in any way or, having once removed himself outside the State limits, returns to it without the written permission of the State, he makes himself liable to imprisonment till the Miraj Government sees fit to order his release, i. e., in short, for an unlimited period. Whether the imprisonment is to be simple or rigorous will be determined by the District Magistrate or First Class Magistrate concerned. This is an improvement upon the 1864 Act which expressly lays down that the person to be dealt with under that law "shall be put to as little inconvenience as possible." When the Act comes into force on the first day of next month no outsider can enter Miraj without the written permission of the State, for the Act clearly says that all unauthorised entrants will be arrested without warrant and will be subject to all risks and penalties to which foreigners are subject under this Act. The Missionary Hospital at Miraj attracts a very large number of people to Miraj. All of them, unless they have armed themselves with the necessary permit, can be brought within the four corners of this all-embracing draconian ukase. Let us hope this Act will enable the Miraj authorities to deal satisfactorily with dangerous foreigners who apparently have imperilled or are about to imperil the safety of the State!

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Trouble in Kurundwad (Junior) State.

A few days ago Madhavpur, a taluka town in the Kurundwad (Junior) State in Southern Mahratta Country, was the scene of a serious affray between the State police and the inhabitants of the place. The circumstances in which the clash took place have not even after the lapse of so much time been officially made known and for information on the point one has to rely upon scrappy newspaper reports. From these it would appear that trouble has been brewing

in the State for some time past and it came to a head by the inhabitants of Madhavpur unauthorisedly cutting down a tamarind tree, the property of the State, which was said to be obstructing a road which the villagers intended to build. The State authorities decided to vindicate the majesty of the law and despatched a police party reinforced by a contingent from the neighbouring Sangli State to Madhavpur to effect the arrests of eight leading villagers. The police party set out on their quest, we are told, at dead of night and did succeed in arresting some of the "wanted" people. It was when they proceeded to take the others in custody that they came into collision with the people, of whom twenty-two were injured. Similarly a number of policemen also received injuries. This was followed by wholesale evacuations, of course voluntarily undertaken, with the result that the village was almost wholly deserted. The Political Agent hurried to the scene shortly after and did his best to ease the situation. He seems to have had remarkable success. The State *Karbhari* and some other officials were dismissed. When the Agent met the ryots, they seemed to have complained to him that there was gross misrule in the State, that it was difficult to get justice and that their grievances remained unredressed. The Political Agent assured them that he would personally inquire into their complaints in course of time. We hope he would do so soon. Meanwhile there are one or two points connected with this regrettable affair which need some explanation. Whose fault was it that matters were allowed to come to such a pass in the State? Primarily, of course, of the authorities of the State. But can the Political Agent himself escape responsibility? We cannot believe that he came to know of the misrule in the State for the first time when he met the ryots at Madhavpur. Having failed to get justice from the State authorities, the ryots seem to have made repeated representations to the Political Agent. How did he deal with them? Surely he knows that the British Government is bound to interfere in the affairs of Indian States in case of misrule. When, as is reported, his attention was repeatedly drawn to the deplorable state of things in the state, did he take any steps to set matters right? Then, there is also the question as to how the Sangli Police came into the picture. The British Government as the Paramount Power has obligations to assist the Chief of an Indian State to maintain law and order in his State and the British Police were available at Belgaum hardly a couple of miles from the scene of trouble. Why then was the British Police not called in, but that of another Indian State, of Sangli, which is under no obligation toward the Chief of the Kurundwad State? Is it constitutionally competent for the police of one Indian State to be requisitioned by another Indian State in order, not to quell a rebellion, but merely to make ordinary arrests? To set all doubts at rest on these and similar points it would be well for the Government to institute an open inquiry into the whole affair by means of an independent committee.

A Citizen without a State.

MR. PUNDLIK T. KATGADI was released from the British prison in Belgaum on the 24th October last, was immediately served with an order under Act 3 of 1864 commonly known as the Foreigners' Act, requiring him to remove himself forthwith from British India by rail to the small Indian State of Miraj, was thereupon escorted by the British Police to Miraj, and handed over to the Miraj Police, who set him free but kept a sharp eye on his movements. The Miraj State subsequently declined to accept him as a subject of the State, and Mr. Pundalik has sought refuge in the neighboring Indian State of Sangli, of which he is

not a subject. At the moment Mr. Pundalik is the citizen of no State. He claims to be a British subject, but the British Government ranks him a "foreigner" and has under the Foreigners' Act deported him. Not content with asking him to take himself away from British India, the British Government decided that he should take himself to Miraj! The reason for this preference is not clear. Mr. Pundalik does not claim to be a citizen of Miraj and the Miraj State does not acknowledge him as such. The law gives power to the British Government to require a "foreigner" to remove himself forthwith from British India and by a particular route but it does not, as it could certainly not, prescribe the destination. British India authorities were entitled to see an unwanted foreigner out of their jurisdiction, but it is no concern of them where the foreigner migrates and which State would admit him. But in the present instance the British authorities decided to deport Mr. Pundalik to the Miraj State where he is not wanted. Mr. Pundalik offers to prove that he is a British subject, but he was given no chance.

Apart from the absurdity of the situation, it is doubtful if the Foreigners' Act was meant to be used against the subjects of the Indian States, whether they could be treated as foreigners in British India. In several respects Indian States subjects are given the status of British Indians. Even in the overseas Dominions subjects of the Indian States are treated as British Indian subjects. The use of the Foreigners' Act, passed as long ago as 1864, and obviously intended against the subjects of foreign European and Asiatic States, against the subjects of Indian States to-day is a misuse of the law. Apart from legal considerations, the political effect of such procedure is wholly deplorable. At a time when efforts are being made to draw the two parts of India, British India and the Indian States, into closer union, the dubbing of the subjects of the latter as foreigners in British India and invoking for that purpose an ancient and obsolete law of 1864, is the height of political unwisdom.

The late Prof. Sapre.

It is with deep regret that we have to record the all too premature death the day before yesterday of Mr. B. G. Sapre, Professor of Economics in the Fergusson College and in the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics. When the Servants of India Society organised the Institute in June last, Prof. Sapre readily and enthusiastically offered his highly valued co-operation in conducting the Institute. No Institution will miss his association and personality more than the Institute.

Picketing No Offence under Ordinance.

THE judgment of the Bombay High Court in Mrs. Lukmani's case in refusing to hold peaceful picketing of liquor shops unlawful under the Picketing Ordinance to which reference was made in these columns a few weeks ago is of much greater value than was supposed at the time. It was this judgment, we find, which greatly helped the Sessions Judge of Gujranwalla in the Punjab in coming to a similar conclusion in a case that came up before him recently. It would appear that one Mr. Girdhari Lal, a boy of 14, was convicted under the Picketing Ordinance and sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment. He had already served two-thirds of the period when his appeal came before the Sessions Judge who quashed the conviction, relying on the reasoning adopted by Mr. Justice Madgaonkar in Bombay. The Sessions Judge held that to bring the offence home, an interference with the work or gains of the liquor contractor must be proved. This was not done in the case before him and hence he acquitted the youngster of any offence under the Ordinance.

THE INDIAN STATES PROBLEM.*

BY THE RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, P. C., C. H.,

THE Simon Commissioners justly emphasise the essential oneness of India and point out that her full greatness could be realised only if British India and the Indian States came together into a coherent political organisation. It is the duty no less than the interest of leaders in both British India and the States to explore all possible methods of creating such an organisation. The task is exceedingly difficult. It is not rendered less so by the findings of the Butler Committee or the proposals of the Statutory Commission based on those findings. To what extent the Princes support these proposals is not known with any precision. Perhaps they will not insist on minor points. On the main issues like treaty rights and paramountcy they have secured a vantage ground in the Simon Report, which they will be loth to surrender. The spokesmen of British India cannot consent to take over the administration of their half without those rights in respect of the other half which experience has proved to be necessary and usage has prescribed. Legal scrutiny and historical retrospect disclose many flaws of procedure and many acts of high-handedness in the process by which this usage has been built up. Statecraft, however, is a creature of necessity and justice, which enlarges its bounds from time to time and which is above law. Documents drawn up for one set of circumstances can be kept alive in their original terms through varying circumstances only by a certain degree of latitude in interpreting them. The contention of the Princes that the relations between the paramount power and themselves should be regulated by the letter of the engagements demands that the intervening years be ignored. On the face of it, so drastic a reversal can hardly be thought of. It is a pity that British practice in this matter has varied from time to time and from State to State. Nevertheless, certain broad principles are discernible and have been stated authoritatively more than once. Leaving on one side questions of dynastic precedence and social etiquette, substantial issues often arise connected with recognition, sovereignty, interference in internal administration and economic adjustment which have hitherto been decided by the predominant party, leaving in many cases a sense of wrong. The proposal to establish a tribunal of a judicial or quasi-judicial character to settle these disputes has much to commend it. When one thinks of the political feelings with which the legislative houses will be charged in future and which must, therefore, colour all executive decisions, the case for the erection of an impartial tribunal seems conclusive.

Paramountcy, on the showing of the Princes, is beyond question. Its existence is neither disputed nor objected to. But what are the rights and powers it comprehends? The Indian States Committee had no lack of talent. It included an experienced administrator, a constitutional lawyer and an economist. Though they paid particular attention to the point,

they found themselves unequal to the task of defining either the nature of paramountcy or the occasions for its exercise. They hit off the difficulty by the aphorism, "Paramountcy must remain paramount." At once a truism and a riddle, it has only brought confusion to the princely order. It is possible, however, that when a permanent tribunal or commission has adjudicated upon a number of cases, some rules or principles of general application may emerge.

Interference in internal affairs is in a different category. Purely domestic matters obviously cannot be submitted to the adjudication of a tribunal. The time is long past when a ruler could say that the condition of his subjects was the concern of himself and himself alone. There is a conceivable limit to such a doctrine even in the case of really independent sovereigns. With the States running into and out of British India, and with a free flow of life and thought between the peoples, the theory of complete isolation cannot be sustained. Protection of a prince against his subjects carries with it the right to superintend his relations with them, though such superintendence must be marked by every solicitude for his status and dignity.

The important problem facing us at this stage is to decide in whom paramountcy should reside when political power in British India is transferred to the elected representatives of the people. Legal and political issues are mixed up here. Vested interests conflict with what may be best for the future of India. Upholders of British power cannot see eye to eye with Indian nationalists dazzled by the vision of their motherland united from end to end, free to regulate her own destiny and pulling her full weight among the nations of the world. Where should the Princes take their stand in this unavoidable conflict? One would fain believe that they had at least a moment of struggle and hesitation before coming down on the side of the British power. Supposing that the law and the history of paramountcy were as stated in the Butler and Simon Reports, some explanation would still be required for the enthusiasm with which the Chamber of Princes acclaim the recommendation that rights of paramountcy over them should not be transferred to the dominion authorities of future India without their consent. Do they really fear that the Government of India will exercise these rights against them more frequently or more harshly because, instead of being appointed by the Crown and responsible to the British Parliament, it will be responsible to the Indian Legislature? The exercise of paramountcy rights will certainly differ in the new regime. The intimate knowledge and sympathy of Indian ministers should make the manner of its exercise more acceptable than it has been hitherto and the occasions on which it is used should be more closely connected with the welfare of the States and their subjects or of India as a whole, than with the

* Reproduced from the *Political Quarterly*.

maintenance and advancement of British interests or authority.

The greatly increased clamour of the subjects of the Indian States for improved administration and popular institutions is a cause of anxiety to the Princes already, and will become more so when British India is governed by those whose proper function it is to champion the rights of the people. It is only natural for the Princes to feel that they would be safer with paramountcy in the hands of the British Crown when it has ceased to have direct control of British Indian affairs. Calm consideration, however, shows that such safety is shadowy. In the case of forms of Government that have lagged behind the times, the only real security is increased responsiveness to the new spirit and increased readiness for reform. Nor is it likely that a power which has itself become constitutional under pressure of circumstances will assist those who wish to resist such pressure.

The lawyers engaged by the Princes have advised them that their treaty relations are with the British Crown, which has acted through the East India Company and the Government of India as its Agent, and that the British Crown cannot transfer this agency to a new Government of India responsible to a popular legislature, without the consent of the Princes. The fact is that the Princes dealt directly with the East India Company and the Government of India on account of particular circumstances arising in India; and even if they were aware of the Crown behind its local agent, could never have dreamt of direct contact with it except on account of such circumstances. The Crown acts through recognised constitutional instruments. At present, as the instrument in Great Britain is the British Cabinet or in Canada the Canadian Ministry, so in India it is the Government of India. The position of the Crown as the ultimate abstract repository of power behind the local Government, is not affected by any change in the constitution within the bounds of the Commonwealth. The Butler Committee were apparently unimpressed by the legal argument, for they rest their recommendations under this head on nothing more than the earnest desire of the Princes and their historical connection with the paramount power. These recommendations are, first, that the Princes "should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new Government in British India responsible to an Indian legislature," and, second, that "in future the Viceroy—not the Governor General in Council as at present—should be the agent for the Crown in all dealings with the Indian States." The latter proposal to cut off one of the attributes of sovereignty from the Government of India breaks a long connection, for historically, the connection has substantially been, not with the Crown, but with the Government of India. It is unnatural because the relative position and interlocking of the territories concerned requires an intimate political connection and it is inexpedient because it deprives the authority responsible for the government of British India of a power which experience has proved to be essential. However much the caprice or aggression of individual

officials might have marred the natural development there can be no doubt that it was mainly through the necessity of the situation that slowly the elements of paramountcy gathered together in the hands of the British power. Responsible government in British India would be anæmic with an outside power in active control over six hundred different political units scattered all through the country and operating through a considerable cadre of British officials, answerable to no one but the Viceroy. This remark would be true even of the Federated India which is the ultimate consummation recommended by the Simon Commissioners.

Moreover, supposing that British India and Indian India federated together and a Greater India came into being, she could never reach the full stature of a Dominion so long as British forces remained in India for the protection of the Princes. The question would also arise from what source the cost of this army was to be defrayed. The employment of British soldiers to protect the Princes against the consequences of actions for which no British authorities were responsible would likewise show in its nakedness their character as mercenaries. This position appears so unthinkable nowadays to the ordinary British mind that the continued maintenance of the British army for the protection of the Princes would lead inevitably to the assumption of responsibility by the Crown for the actions of the Princes. It is impossible to conceive how they could avoid British interference in the internal affairs of the States on behalf of their subjects.

As if to intensify the uneasiness of the Indian politician and render the theory of direct relationship with the Crown wholly unacceptable to him, the Butler Committee propose that the future recruitment to responsible positions in the Political Department should be made in the universities of England. At present officers of the Indian Civil Service and of the Indian Army are appointed to the Political Department. These sources may not be available as they have been in the past, the reason alleged being that the Civil Service and the Army are themselves short-handed. What is apparently meant is that the progressive Indianisation of these services reduces the British element, upon which alone the Political Department could depend for its supply. The question is, why should not the Political Department be Indianised? If separate recruitment must be made, why should Indian universities not contribute their own share? Until recently it was the belief that the Princes would object to deal with Indian officials; but in the year 1922 the then Law Member of the Government of India (Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru) announced the Government's determination to Indianise even this Service. A Government resolution followed to the effect that two Indians would be recruited every year. It is understood that this policy is still in force, but owing to objection on the part of some Princes whose identity is not known, the Indian officers are confined to the areas along the Frontier, and the object of the Indianisation scheme is partly frustrated. The Butler Committee make no allusion

to this scheme, but apparently they would like it to be abandoned. No Prince and no champion of the princely order has hitherto disapproved of this suggestion of the Butler Committee. If in the event it meets with their approval, it will confirm the suspicion that the sympathy with British Indian aspirations which the Princes have frequently avowed is confined within narrow limits.

At present the Princes seem to labour under the apprehension, natural when a great change is impending, that the devil you don't know is worse than the devil you know. British Indian statesmen must have established their character and outlook before they can expect the Princes to repose confidence in them. This confidence is a necessary condition to a close political nexus between the two Indias. For some time, therefore, we must be content to leave the states out of the constitution of British India, save in so far as they may be brought together for mutual consultation in the Council of Greater India which the Simon Report proposes and which meets with our hearty approval. The present position is that the Governor-General in Council or the Government of India is the authority mentioned in Section 33 of the Government of India Act as holding the superintendence, direction and control of the civil and military Government of India. The tributes paid by some of the states go into the coffers of the Government of India. The portfolio of Indian States is held by the Governor-General himself. By long practice the other members of the Government of India do not concern themselves much with the affairs of the Political Department and only matters of the highest importance are placed by the Governor General before his Council. Apparently this comparative aloofness from the Viceroy's Cabinet is gratifying to the self-respect of the Princes, for they want it to be completed and legalised by an amendment of the Government of India Act which would place their relationship not with the Governor-General in Council, but with the Viceroy, in his capacity as local representative of the Crown. The Butler Committee strongly recommend the proposal and the Simon Commission apparently endorse it. But leaders of opinion in British India cannot afford to countenance this change. Though it purports merely to give the sanction of law to current practice, it really goes beyond it by making complete what is only partial, for even matters of the highest importance would then be excluded from the purview of the Viceroy's Cabinet. Moreover, it would really mean a fundamental alteration of the relationship. The law at present recognises the inherent and necessary connection between British India and the Indian States. The amendment would snap this real connection and create a shadowy one between the Indian States and the Crown in the abstract. When our hopes for the future are realised and we are able to attract the Princes and their subjects into the new polity, this false conception will stand in the way and make the restoration of the law to the original form extremely difficult. Till we have wooed and won the Princes we are content that, as heretofore, they should deal with the Governor-General singly and we appeal in the name of the future unity and

greatness of India to the Princes not to press for legislative changes. An understanding to this effect should do till the dawn of a brighter day.

This brighter day will reveal to the vision of young India the glory and greatness of a land which has realised what nature obviously intended for her by enclosing her betwixt mountain and sea. The sad truth of the present, however, is embodied in the saying of the Simon Report, "India is a land of minorities." Yes, India is a land of minorities and sectional interests. The psychology of the people is so framed that each individual thinks of the community, religion, economic group, or territorial unit to which he belongs, and not of India as a whole. Propound any problem of a constitutional, administrative, or financial nature, and the Indian reacts as a citizen of one of these small interests but not as a citizen of India. One sovereign, one law, one set of political institutions, and one type of manly and liberal education—these unifying influences, which have come into being since the British advent, have not yet had time to create an Indian patriotism strong enough to resist the sectional patriotisms which have been the groundwork of Indian political consciousness. Once these are unloosed again, the notion of India as one mighty political unit will recede into the penumbra of our mind and soon cease to evoke the enthusiasm of the young and harness their noblest energies. Teachers and professors, priests, nurses and ballad-singers no less than statesmen and rulers—all indeed who have to do with the shaping of the thought and aspiration of the future generations of our country must sedulously foster this sublime vision of one India and encourage none of the pettier loyalties or desires which tradition has created by the dozen and by the score. Where, as in Britain, the paramount patriotism is fully established, parochial slogans like Home Rule for Scotland need a good deal of artificial stimulation even to be kept alive. In India, on the contrary, it is the love of the whole which, being now a feeble impulse, has to be made the dominating ideal of life. In one sense the existence of the British power is itself an obstacle, although, paradoxically enough, in another sense it has been the source and inspiration of the larger ideal. Will the Princes and Potentates of India strengthen this obstacle by exalting it at the expense of the future indigenous Government of India? Are not their breasts warmed by the contemplation of a United India? Does it not call for sacrifice on their part? Is the platonic approval of the Dominion ideal for British India the most that they can bring themselves to do for its realisation? The co-ordination and common management of railways and harbours and posts and telegraphs, which has been accomplished, must be followed up by the introduction of the same currency, the same standard of weights and measures, the same criteria for judging forms and methods of national efficiency, national justice and national finance. We cannot afford to have radically different levels in the purity of public services, in the concern for the spread of popular education, in the regard for individual freedom or in the subordination of the

personal will of the ruler to the reign of law. In other words, it is essential that the Princes must conform, as far as possible, to the standards of British India, and temper their autocracy by adopting constitutional methods of administration. The hallowed name of tradition should no longer be used to cover up decay and stagnation, nor should the need for variety be invoked in future in support of chronic inability to combine in the pursuit of common aims. Language and religion divide the people deeply. Social institutions erect strong barriers between them. Freedom of commerce and economic growth are impeded by local excises, octrois and a bewildering variety of weights and measures. These hindrances to the solidarity of Indian peoples can be counteracted to some extent if those who have the destinies of a third of India under their control will establish forms of government which have been proved in the surrounding areas of British India and which have every likelihood of proving themselves among peoples of the same race, the same education and the same aptitudes.

It is worthy of note that the Simon Commissioners, while recommending federation as the proper form of government for the Greater India of the future, look upon it as a consummation lying in the distant future. Their actual proposals are three small and cautious steps. The first is that the preamble of the new Government of India Act should expressly provide for the inclusion within the new polity of each Indian State as it applies for inclusion upon agreed terms. The second is that a list of subjects of all India concern should be prepared which should form the province of the Federal Government. The third is the formation of a Council for Greater India, including the representation of British India and Indian States and having deliberative but not executive functions on federal subjects. The third suggestion may well be carried out independently of the question of federation. Indeed it would seem to be necessary to meet the strongly expressed desire of the Princes and their subjects alike. The idea of federating the provinces of India and the States is open to serious objection. The Simon Commission cite the example of pre-war Germany as a federation of heterogeneous political units. It is neither sufficient nor convincing. Even supposing the least important of the States, that is, the class whose rulers have no guns, to be excluded, there would remain 235 different political units coming into a federation where British Indian provinces, though under a dozen, would overshadow them all by importance as well as magnitude. It is more than doubtful whether, under the most carefully devised constitution, a sense of neglect and unfair treatment will not oppress the rulers and peoples of many small states and become a real menace to the whole structure in course of time. Another cleavage of a fundamental character lies in the proposal of the Commission that, even after being included in the federation, the States should look to the British Crown as their suzerain protector. The divided allegiance of the Princes would be without a parallel in the political experience of humanity and could not but

be a cause of weakness to the federal structure. Moreover, a practical difficulty will confront the framers of the new constitution. The Simon Report, while expressing the view that British India should be reconstituted on a federal basis, does not make direct recommendations to secure this object beyond providing that future elections to the Legislative Assembly should be by the members of the provincial legislatures instead of by the people themselves. In fact, they declare in so many words that they desire in their proposals for British India only to keep federation in view as a distant goal. We hear that this has caused some dissatisfaction among the Princes who would like federation to be immediately carried out. But no definite proposals have yet been made from their side and we are in the dark as to the conditions under which federation would be acceptable to them. While the entire question is involved in uncertainty, it seems too much to ask that British India should reconcile itself to forgo the benefits of a unitary constitution. A rigid federation would, in India, lead to the weakening of the Central Government. America and Australia have been cited to prove that a federal centre would grow in importance relatively to the constituent elements. Our fears to the contrary, however, are grounded on the tendency of the Indian races and communities to fall apart from one another which, throughout history, has kept India more or less under the heel of the foreigner. It is this fissiparous tendency which may lead to the failure of the Round Table Conference. It is this fissiparous tendency from which in the event of the success of the Round Table Conference, the new Indian polity must be saved by constitutional safeguards, the most effective of which is that the Government of India should be left with the residuary powers under the constitution, able to direct national effort into well-defined channels, to utilise national resources to the full and to make a distinctive national contribution to the world's welfare.

The argument in the preceding pages may be summed up thus:—

(1) The paramountcy of the British Crown does not arise, as contended by the Princes, merely from treaties, but is independent of them, as maintained by the Government of India and endorsed by the Butler Committee.

(2) The rights of paramountcy are not, therefore, limited to those which the Princes may be supposed to have surrendered by treaty, but comprehend all such as are necessary to secure the welfare of the Princes, their subjects and the whole of India.

(3) These rights and the corresponding obligations do not belong to the British Crown dissociated from the Government of India, but to the Government of India, as the sole constitutional agent of the Crown in India.

(4) The proposed amendment of the Government of India Act, ousting the jurisdiction of the Viceroy's Cabinet from questions relating to the States cannot, therefore, be supported.

(5) Nor can we subscribe to the proposition, enunciated by the Simon Commission, that the Crown must remain in India with forces of its own to pro-

tect the Princes, a proposition which, if allowed, would make it impossible for British India to attain Dominion status at any time.

(6) If a federation is made with residuary power vested in three hundred and odd Governments so incongruous and unequal as British provinces and Indian States, the Central Government will be necessarily weak. If, furthermore, the constituent parts are subject to different final authorities the weakness will become fatal and Dominionhood will be rendered impossible.

(7) The measures that the Simon Commission recommends as preparatory to the institution of a federal form of government cannot, therefore, be approved. The formation of a Council for Greater India of an advisory character is, however, an exception, and this recommendation should be carried out.

(8) A Supreme Court competent to pronounce on the disputed interpretation of treaties and to adjudicate upon all justiciable disputes between British India and the States, should be established.

(9) Any claims the States may prefer for financial adjustment with British India may be examined by a Committee of Inquiry, as recommended by the Butler Committee.

Reviews.

ORGANISATION OF JUSTICE IN AMERICA.

THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES. By ALBERT LANGELOTIG. (Institute for Government Research, Studies in Administration) [The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.] 1927. 23 cm. 318 p. \$ 3'00.

THIS is a clear and painstaking account of the organization, functions and activities of the Department of Justice presided over by the Attorney General of the United States of America. The book is primarily of interest to those concerned with the machinery of administration, more particularly of judicial and legal administration, rather than to the public at large. The activities of a modern civilised Government are so various, the number and complexity of enactments and rules it has to frame and administer is so great that it has constantly to consider the legal aspect of its actions and to determine the correct application of the laws and rules to different circumstances at every step. A department of law with a staff of law officers is therefore a necessity and will be found to exist in some form or other in all States claiming to be civilized. Indeed, a test of its degree of civilization may perhaps be found in the independence, importance and organization of this department in any given State. If its courts are independent, and if its subjects can find redress for administrative wrongs by having recourse to them, the executive Government will be forced to seek the advice of expert lawyers to regulate its own conduct *vis a vis* its subjects; it will have to see that the advice of its law officers is followed by its heads of departments; that its laws are as clearly drawn up as can be achieved by skilled draftsmanship, and to secure that its litigation is supervised with ability and knowledge. These objects seem to be fairly well achieved in the elaborate organization of the department of Justice of the United States.

For historical reasons the Department has some functions which at first sight do not appear fitly to belong to it, such as the supervision of federal prisons and penitentiaries, and certain branches of the detection of crime.

The chapter on the authority of the opinions rendered by the Attorney-General is of special interest. While the opinions do not have (except in some special cases arising under particular acts) any legal force, yet the courts in interpreting a statute accept as 'highly persuasive' the interpretation placed thereon by the Attorney-General. Divergent views have been taken on the point but the accepted practice now is that the opinion of the Attorney-General ought to be followed by all officers of the Government until it is reversed by some competent court. It is stated that the cases are few in which administrative officers have not accepted and acted on such opinions. It is only thus that uniformity of administrative action under the law can be preserved and the relations of the State with its subjects and with other States maintained on an ordered basis, free from individual idiosyncracies and prejudices.

It may be of interest cursorily to compare the working of this branch of an Indian provincial Government with that described in this book. The Government of Bombay, for example, has a law department presided over by an officer known as the Remembrancer of Legal Affairs whose principal duty it is to render opinions and advice on all legal matters to the Government of Bombay. In matters of special importance or difficulty where further advice is considered necessary, the Advocate-General, who is not a whole-time officer of Government, is consulted, and his opinion is taken as final. While there is no law clothing the opinions of these officers with any legal force, it is understood that, in the absence of grave reasons of policy, the view of the law as expounded by them must be followed; and if that is not deemed practicable, the law must be suitably altered at the earliest possible opportunity.

In addition to this duty of giving advice on legal questions and interpreting acts and rules in their relations to the facts of any given case, the Remembrancer supervises all Government litigation and the work of the Government Pleaders and public prosecutors who work in the districts. He also advises Government on questions of appeals against acquittals, but unlike the Attorney-General of the United States, not in matters of pardon or remission of sentences as these matters involve administrative rather than legal considerations. His department also performs the duty of drafting Government legislation. The nature of his work therefore corresponds roughly to that of the Attorney-General, though naturally the volume of work must be far smaller, considering that the population of the United States would probably be over five times that of this province and infinitely more complex in its commercial and business organization.

LEX.

MUSSOLINI

MUSSOLINI AND THE NEW ITALY. (2nd Edn.) By ALEXANDER ROBERTSON. (Allenson, London.) 1929. 20 cm. 177 p. 7/6.

MUSSOLINI is fast growing a legend. In Italy and outside, his admirers are to be found by the score, and their number is daily increasing. Some five years back Signora Sarfatti supplied the wondering world with the first official biography of the Duce. It was soon followed by an autobiography by the Duce himself. The Rev. Robertson has added one more encomiastic volume in the English language. Before we proceed

with the book in detail, we would like to ask the reader to remember that the author is from Venice, which is an Italian town, where the Press is still under severe censorship. It is compelled to play the role of "His Master's Voice."

The Rev. Robertson is a writer of considerable ability. He is in Italy for nearly half a century where he went in 1881. Naturally he has acquired firsthand knowledge of Italian politics and personalities. His earlier book *Victor Emanuel III.* was an engaging production and created a prepossession in favour of the author. We are however disappointed that the present book is nothing better than a propaganda-pamphlet for Mussolini and his Fascist achievements. "In love and war, everything is fair," they say; and so it seems in propaganda. The literary artist has done his work well, except that the colouring is a shade overdrawn. The world also has changed since 1881; it has not remained so uncritical as before.

Those who value democratic forms of government above everything else, will not care merely for the efficient administration of Mussolini. "Good government is no substitute for self-government," they will argue. One must recognise, however, the stupendous efforts of the Italian Prime Minister to reform his country. It is ignorance or arrogance to suppose that every action of Mussolini's is for public applause. We think Mussolini cannot be a mere demagogue and theatrical actor to achieve so much for his country in so short a period. But is it not equally absurd to describe him as a demi-god and a superman? We can understand Mussolini being described as a revolutionary, a reformer, a strong man, an efficient administrator, a despot. By no stretch of imagination, however, is it possible to call him a democrat. The learned author has actually devoted a chapter to describe his hero's democratic achievements! To support his contention, he has mentioned the Duce's "Charter of Labour" of 1927. We admit it is an excellent piece of legislation. For all we know, however, it is a syndicalist-cum-socialist charter. It does not rest on popular will, but on the strong arm of the Fascist Militia. The relations of Labour and Capital in Italy are certainly not as cordial as they are described by the publicity department of Mussolini. Mussolini is a dictator. It is constitutionally impossible for him to be otherwise.

In the last chapter, "Mussolini the Reformer" one certainly finds much food for thought. He has harmonised the interests of Capital and Labour; improved the roads and drainage system; encouraged agriculture; stimulated industry; reformed currency; equalised taxation; regulated and quickened railway-service; and in general made Italy a progressive land. His greatest achievement is his enhancing his country's international status. Before Mussolini came into power, Italy used to cut a poor figure in international assemblies. She was consulted in international deliberations more as a matter of form than of necessity. An ex-Bombay governor was asked once to describe his official position. He replied, as the anecdote says, "I think the governor of a province is a decorative piece of furniture, to be shifted from one place to another, as his secretaries wish." Italy's position was no better than "the decorative piece of furniture" in the League of Nations and other international bodies in pre-Fascist days. As soon as Mussolini took over the government of Italy the first thing that he did was to make the European statesmen know that Italy was not prepared henceforth to play the second fiddle. His influence was directly felt in the Lausanne Peace Conference. The elder politicians had to recognise in him a new force and treat the Italian claims with due respect. Since

then Italy's international position as a first-class power was assured.

D. V. TAHMANKAR.

PUBLIC HEALTH IN AMERICA.

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC HEALTH. By JAMES A. TOBEY. (The Brookings Institution, Washington.) 1926. 22cm. 423p. \$3.00.

THE work of promoting and protecting public health in the United States of America is being carried on by about forty Federal (central) Government agencies, all more or less independent of each other. Besides these agencies public health work is also carried on by the 51 States, by big cities through their corporations, and by many voluntary organizations and trusts like the Rockefeller Foundation. The Federal health activities have grown gradually and without any correlated plan during the last one hundred years or so. At present this work has grown so enormously that in 1925 the Federal Government alone spent nearly Rs. 40 crores on them.

It must be pointed out that what we understand by public health in India is a very minor part of what the public in Europe and America mean. Modern public health has been defined as "the science and the art of preventing disease, prolonging life, and promoting physical health and efficiency through organized community efforts for the sanitation of the environment, the control of community infections, the education of the individual in principles of personal hygiene, the organization of the medical and nursing service for the early diagnosis and preventive treatment of disease, and the development of the social machinery which will ensure to every individual in the community a standard of living adequate for the maintenance of health." Public health, as conceived here is a science in itself, and not a branch of any other science. It draws upon preventive medicine, sanitary engineering, chemistry, sociology, economics, law, education, and psychology for its constituent parts. It is no wonder, therefore, that there should arise in course of time 40 different government agencies to do this work in the United States of America.

It is, however, held by many prominent persons in America that there is considerable overlapping and duplication of work. Several attempts were made in the past to focus the attention of the Congress on this point and to enact legislation by which the several agencies doing this work could be grouped under one Department for the purpose of securing better co-ordination of work and preventing overlapping and thus bringing more efficiency and uniformity in work. The book under review is the latest attempt to awaken public interest on this subject. The National Health Conservation Committee waited, in 1925, upon the President of the United States for the purpose of placing before him its views in respect to the desirability of the establishment of a greater centralization and co-ordination of the public health work of the Government. It was then found that until a thorough investigation should be made of the issues involved, there was small likelihood of any action being taken. The Committee, therefore, requested Mr. Tobey to make this study. He has discussed this subject with the heads of the various Government agencies concerned in this work. The book, therefore, presents an authoritative, comprehensive and practical solution of the intricate problem of reorganizing the work of 40 departments.

The author has presented his study in over 400 closely printed pages and has given an index. The subject is divided into three parts. Part I is more or less historical. The circumstances that led to the

establishment of the forty independent Government agencies whose major or minor activity is some phase or other of public health are described in detail and the changes through which these agencies—called Bureaus in America—passed, are depicted. This prepares the reader for the second part which gives in detail the actual present-day working of these bureaus. It is the system in the Federal Government that several bureaus are grouped under one Department and the forty bureaus doing public health work as their major or minor activity are distributed in seven Departments and four Independent Establishments. Each Department is under the control of a Secretary who is something like a Director in the Government of India. Out of the forty bureaus, seven are mainly devoted to public health work, seven others do important public health work but it is a secondary duty of these bureaus. Eight others are mainly concerned with medical relief and the remaining 18 do some kind of minor public health or medical relief work only incidentally. A staff of nearly 30,000 medical, scientific and non-professional persons is working in these bureaus. The figures give a rough idea of the vastness of the problem.

The author has shown some glaring instances of duplication leading to waste of effort and money. Activities in the interest of the health of the children of school age are at present conducted by (i) the Public Health Service, (ii) the Bureau of Education and (iii) the Bureau of Home Economics (Department of Agriculture). Each of the first two agencies has published about 50 pamphlets on School Hygiene or Sanitation. The pamphlets (a) Nutrition and Education, (b) School lunches and (c) Diet for the School Child, practically deal with the same subject, and are published by three different government bureaus for the same area! There are over fifty different pamphlets or bulletins on milk published by the Superintendent of Government Dockments. Regarding the official definition of the pasteurization of milk three government bureaus are found to give three different definitions at one and the same time!! Rural Hygiene is sponsored by (1) Children's Bureau, (2) The Public Health Service, (3) the Extension Service (Department of Agriculture) and (4) the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

In the fiscal year 1925 the Public Health Service co-operated in demonstration projects in 79 counties, or districts comparable to counties, in 19 states. The Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture has nearly one thousand home-demonstration agents and about two thousand persons engaged in county agent work. Promotion of rural health is considered one of the many proper functions of these workers, and all reports are replete with data as to improved sanitary practices brought about by these agents. The Federal Board for Vocational Education administers the expenditure of large Federal subsidies for agricultural education. Rural hygiene is an important element in public health and there is vast amount of effort needed along these lines. More effective results would, nevertheless, be achieved by co-ordinated activities. Similar overlapping of work is seen in fighting tuberculosis, in promoting mental hygiene, in compiling statistics and in matters of drug control and publications.

In part III the author gives a short history of attempts at the correlation of Federal Health activities and proceeds to outline his suggestions. In short the author advocates (a) putting a Secretary or Assistant Secretary in charge of the seven agencies mentioned above whose major activity is in the field of public health and (b) supplying officers or scientific personnel by the Public Health Service of the Federal Government to those agencies or bureaus in which the public health work is an important part but not the main activity. For instance, this Service

can supply officers to the Division of School Hygiene, the Bureau of dairying and the Bureau of Labour Statistics. This will ensure the supply of competent health officers to all the bureaus in which some health work is being carried on, the work itself will be of uniform standard and will not overlap, and the public Health Service itself as the supplying agency will have its scope broadened.

The author then cites the examples of Great Britain, France, Germany, etc., where the public health services have been grouped under a common direction. The author, in conclusion, recommends the establishment of an Advisory Council so as to maintain intimate relations between other public and private agencies doing health work. It would consist of about 15 members and would have purely advisory functions.

The book will be read with interest and practical advantage by sanitarians and public workers all over the world. In India Government public health activities have not yet compassed even one hundredth of what they should; but even at this stage it is well to learn the value of coordination of work so as to secure greater efficiency and avoid wastage of effort.

H. V. TILAK.

HINDUISM.

A PRIMER OF HINDUISM. By D. S. SARMA.
(Macmillan, Bombay.) 1929. 20cm. 147p. Re. 1/-

THE book under review is an excellent primer on Hinduism written in the form of a dialogue. Religion can be said to be the soul of Hindu race. The religion which the Hindus profess is not only the oldest of religions but fortunately is in many respects the best of religions. But, like everything else that has come into being, Hinduism also had its own days of progress and degeneration, its days of prosperity and adversity. In its youth, it was strong and vigorous. But it soon suffered the first shock from the schism created by Buddhism. It recovered from this internal shock, but suffered another from the fanatic and furious attack of Mahometanism. Hinduism survived even this devastating attack. But a few centuries later, this old religion was, again, as it were, shaken to its foundations by the propaganda of Christian missionaries.

Long before the work of commercial and political conquest of India was undertaken by the western commercial bodies, the Christian missionaries had started the work of bringing to the homes of the 'lost' Indians the comforting message of the Saviour. The first batch of the servants used even brutal force to convert the Hindu pagans to their faith. But the later group was more shrewd and used Christian methods for conversion. The later missionaries started hospitals for healing the sick and the maimed. They started schools to enlighten the minds of the ignorant heathens. The coping stone to this building of the Christian Church in India was laid by the completion of the political conquest of India. For a time it appeared that this attack was the last, and it was almost impossible for Hinduism to recover and stand on its own legs. The young men of those days were dazzled by the wonders achieved by the conquerors in the scientific world. An Indian youth, prone by nature to connect everything with Dharma, naturally connected these scientific, material and political successes with the religion of the conquerors. Most of them thought that if India was then fallen, politically, culturally, economically and socially, it was because of her orthodox, superstitious, mystery-mongering, caste-ridden religion. Soon, however, came the period of disillusionment. And let it be frankly stated that this period of disillusionment was not a

little due to a closer contact with western civilization and western education. We are at present passing through this period. The eyes of the present day youths are again turned towards their own religion. Therefore a primer of this type written by a critical yet devout and sympathetic scholar can well be regarded as a boon.

Recently, histories of Indian philosophy written by Indian scholars like Professors Radhakrishnan and Das-Gupta have been published. But those big volumes are useful for scholars and university students. The common run of men cannot be expected to have leisure enough to go through these volumes or patience enough to tackle the intricacies of various systems. For such laymen and youths, a book giving a clear idea of what Hinduism is, what is its breadth and scope, and for what it stands was a great necessity. Prof. Sarma therefore can be congratulated upon filling up this lacuna by publishing this primer.

Moreover, the book has been published at a very opportune moment. Some educated men are at present seriously thinking as to how religious education can be introduced in the curriculum of school and college studies. But the great difficulty that faces these men is to find out a book which can be used in institutions that impart education to students of different faiths. That difficulty can be to a certain extent removed by this book, as it is likely to be acceptable to all. The author of this primer had specially put before himself the aim of making the book acceptable to all. And we have no fear in saying that the book does fulfil the expectations of the author.

The primer is divided into four chapters. The author rightly begins with the discussion of 'guides'. If anywhere a reliable guide is necessary, it is in the matter of religion i. e. in directing the pathway towards God, where the end of the journey is not visible and yet where the individual is asked to sacrifice everything for it. In this chapter the author discusses the question of authority in Hinduism. Hinduism is a faith which, like Christianity or Buddhism, cannot be traced to one single human being. Hinduism places its faith in the Vedas and regards them as the final authority in matters of religion.

In the three succeeding chapters, called 'ascents' he discusses the three usual paths of action or *Karma*, devotion or *Bhakti* and knowledge or *Jana*. Prof. Sharma rightly points out that the central conception in Hinduism is that each man is potentially divine and the aim of religion is to make man a perfect spirit like God and to bring into existence institutes which will help him to reach the goal. In the second chapter he has discussed action or *Karma*. Therein he has well pointed out how moral purity has been regarded as a *sine qua non* in any religious advance by Hinduism. The acquisition of this purity is the first step toward perfection and therefore has been rightly characterised as the first ascent. Though moral preparation is necessary, it is not sufficient. The eye of spirit has to be opened through prayers and acquisition of divine grace. He, therefore, next proceeds to discuss the ascent of devotion. And in the last chapter he discusses the nature of spiritual experience and the philosophies resulting therefrom. In this chapter he briefly discusses the metaphysical views of Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhva. The discussion is concluded by enumerating seven points on which all the religious thinkers agree. The discussion throughout is characterised by simplicity, clearness, broadmindedness and a spirit of rational criticism. The utility of the book is enhanced by the appendix giving a chart showing the development of philosophy and religion from the Mantra period to what the author calls the Transition Period (1750 to 1900.)

When the reader has gone to the end of the book he feels that the book is on the whole excellent and has covered the whole field. There is one important point however that is left untouched in the book. It is the meaning of the word 'Hinduism'. In a primer on Hinduism, intended for the juniors, some attempt must necessarily be made to show the exact meaning of the word 'Hinduism', especially when the word does not refer to a Hindu, to whom the origin of Hinduism can be traced and when it does not occur in the old 'guides' referred to by the author.

The book however is well written i. e. written as a religious book ought to be written. It is written critically, yet with a reverent and devout attitude towards religion. We recommend the book for being appointed as a text book in schools and even in colleges for the junior course.

S. V. DANDEKAR.

HINDU CEREMONIAL.

HINDU CUSTOMS IN BENGAL. By BASANTA COOMAR BOSE. (The Book Co., Calcutta.) 19cm. 125p. Re. 1.

THE author has done a notable service to the ethnology of Bengal by recording certain facts about a few of the important household rites and observances of the people of Bengal. As the author has himself observed, they are fast disappearing and it is high time that accurate records be compiled before it is too late. Sir Herbert Risley, in his *Castes and Tribes of Bengal* had compiled some of the salient features in the social practices of the Bengalees, but the account is not so full and accurate as in the splendid District Gazetteers compiled by Indian Officers of the Bombay Government. These matters can best be described by those belonging to the people concerned and for that reason we welcome Mr. Bose's work most heartily. We regret however that he has not included in his account many other important social customs of his province. To the ethnologist these minute details about the social practices, nay, even of obscure rites, are of great interest. They would enable him to discover not only the origin of individual rites, but also to discover cultural affinities between races. Some of the practices recorded by Mr. Bose as prevalent in Bengal seemed to be quite foreign to me, but on enquiry I find that though they are unknown in some districts, they are in vogue in others. It would have been more useful if the author had specified the areas where he found any particular observance in vogue.

The author has fallen into certain pitfalls with regard to historical matters; he takes as true the story of the advent of five Brahmins and Kayasthas into Bengal from Kanouj, though all serious scholars now discredit it and regard it as a myth. His knowledge of the early history of Bengal is not also quite upto date, inasmuch as he speaks of Raja Adisur as "the grand-father and immediate predecessor of Ballal Sen" (p. 28.) His discussion of the social customs of the Vedic times is not quite critical. It has long been established by scholars that at the so-called human sacrifice, called the *Purushamedha*, the *Yajurveda* texts recognize only a symbolic slaying of a whole host of victims who were set free. A large number of men and women were apparently intended to represent all classes of the community, and the scheme was intended to fill up a gap in the sacrificial system which seemed to require for man as the chief sacrificial animal, a more definite, and so to speak, a more dignified place in the ceremonial than was up to that time accorded to him (*vide* Eggeling, *Satapatha Brahmana*, vol. V, p. xxxi, seq and 403 seq.).

In spite of its defects we must say that the book is a valuable ethnological contribution.

H. C. CHAKLADAR.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE AMERICAN NOVEL. By GRANT OVERTON. 155p.

AN HOUR OF AMERICAN POETRY. By CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL. 165p.

(Lippincott, London.) 1929. 20cm. 4/6 each.

NEITHER of these books fulfills the promise of the encomiastic notices on their jackets. *The American Novel* is only a literary "who is who?" to the writing of which Mr. Overton has not brought his serious literary self. The connective tissues between clusters of names are, however, quite suggestive, revealing no inexpert hand, though, on the whole, they provide poor fare even to those who are strangers to the American novel. One is not relieved by turning from the cavalier off-handedness of this book to the raw amateurishness of the other. Its language, in which quaint American locutions blend with personal idiosyncrasies, acts as a continuous irritant whose effect is not soothed by the superficial criticism. Though this particular number, *American Poetry*, does not happen to rise appreciably above strenuous undergraduate work, the "One Hour Series" as a whole is excellently conceived, for which the Lippincott Company deserves the thanks of all un leisured readers.

R. S.

AN HOUR OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. (Lippincott, London.) 1929. 20cm. 156p. 4/6.

THIS is the second volume of the One Hour Series. The author has presented the history of the United States of America in a short compass. It deals with the political evolution of the United States in the main and in its broadest outlines and includes a consideration of other aspects of American history only in so far as they reacted on the consolidation and development of the American Commonwealth. The story of the growth of the biggest and the most prosperous republic of the present day is a fascinating study and the difficulties and dangers, the hopes and aspirations of the people through a long period of travail through which it passed especially during the fifties of the last century when the Recession movement on the part of the South due to the Abolitionist movement in the North are well depicted. In the last chapter the author deals with the advance of the States to power and prestige, which has culminated in the elevation of the country to its place as one of the foremost nations in the world. The book is written in a readable style.

C. V. HANUMANTA RAO.

FRANCIS XAVIER: KNIGHT ERRANT OF THE CROSS, 1506-1552. By EDITH ANNE ROBERTSON. (Student Christian Movement Press, London.) 1930. 19cm. 207 p. 5/-.

THIS book concludes a uniform series of missionary biographies which includes lives of Henry Martyn (by far the best of the series) and William Carey,

founder of Serampore University. We read the book before us at the same time as René Fulop-Miller's *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits*, and while it is perhaps unfair to compare so great a book with so little a book, it left us wondering if Miss Robertson had really fathomed the Power and Secret of St. Francis Xavier. There is a slightly irritating air of modern-minded superiority towards St. Francis, a little too much sense of the belief that we have to-day outgrown his methods and his theology. But apart from that, the book is a fine tribute to the saint, and will do much to clear away misconceptions of his character and methods that are current among non-Catholics. It also gives an accurate and interesting picture of sixteenth century India.

H. V. ELWIN.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- CHRISTIAN DHYANA OR PRAYER OF LOVING REGARD.** By VERRIER ELWIN. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London.) 1930. 17cm. 74p. As. 12.
- CREMATION.** By FLORENCE G. FIDLER. (Williams & Norgate,) 1930. 17cm. 80p. 1/-
- THE SOCIAL DYNAMIC OF JESUS.** By ALDEN H. CLARK. (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.) 1930. 18cm. 101p. As. 12.
- EUGENICS, ETHICS AND METAPHYSICS.** By BHAGAVAN DAS. (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) 1930. 18cm. 18p. As. 2.
- THE GOD WITHOUT AND THE GOD WITHIN.** By C. JINARAJADASA. (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) 1930. 18cm. 38p. As. 4.
- IMPRISONMENT.** By F. A. BARKER. (Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.) 1930. 18cm. 191p. Rs. 2.

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