

# The Servant of India

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## CONTENTS.

	Page
TOPICS OF THE WEEK. ... ..	201
ARTICLES :—	
The Congress and the R. T. C. ... ..	203
Ministerial Responsibility. ... ..	204
REVIEWS :—	
Modern European History. By M. S. Cheema. ...	206
The Mandates at Work. By M. S. Madhava Rau. ...	206
An Indian Political Romance. By Miss H. Kohn. ...	207
Rationale of Local Taxation. By K. S. V. ...	208
Indian Election Law. By B. R. Damle. ...	208
A Reactionary Englishman's Thoughts on India. By M. D. Shahane. ... ..	209
SHORT NOTICES. ... ..	210
MISCELLANEOUS :—	
Mr. Kunara's Statement on Cawnpore Riots, ...	211
BOOKS RECEIVED. ... ..	212

## Topics of the Week.

### Second Thoughts ?

ARE members of the Liberal party in India afflicted with second thoughts about the Round Table Conference in London, we wonder ? Among the resolutions passed by their Executive Council in Bombay on Sunday last there is one which, while eulogising the Princes in approved fashion for giving valuable support "to the idea of federation," expresses the Liberals' earnest hope that agreement will be reached at the next session of the Conference "in respect of the quantum and the method of representation in both houses of the federal legislature." There is, we know, an uncomposed divergence of view between Their Highnesses and the Liberals on the amount of representation to be allocated to the States and British India. Their Highnesses claimed for the States as forming a co-equal federating unit with British India half of the total representation in each chamber of the federal legislature, and at one time it almost seemed as if Their Highnesses could be persuaded, at the cost possibly of some concessions in other directions, to bring down the proportion of the States' representation in the lower chamber from 50 to 40%. The Liberal delegates did not show a disposition in London to move very far from the 24% to which the States are entitled on the basis of population, in the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly. They did not subscribe to the principle of equality of representation for the units of federation on which the Princes insisted, on the ground that the units in this case were not the States as a whole on the one hand and the British provinces as a whole on the other. The States were not to come into the federation *en*

*bloc*, and therefore could not be treated as forming together one of the two units of federation. This dispute is yet to be settled.

But on the method of representation we thought no serious disagreement had been disclosed in the Conference. "Their Highnesses ( had ) made it clear that in their opinion the method by which the States' representatives should be chosen will be a matter for the States themselves," and this opinion of Their Highnesses did not appear to us to receive challenge, either hot or tepid, at the hands of the Liberals as a body. Mr. Joshi of course entered a vigorous protest, but we do not suppose he counts as a Liberal in these matters. Mr. Chintamani indeed put in a mild caveat. He raised no immediate objection to the Princes' nominees in the Legislative Assembly. His objection rather was to the indefinite continuance of this arrangement. He pleaded for election after the termination of the "transitory period." Mr. Chintamani is of course one of the most influential Liberals, but perusal of the Round Table Conference's published papers does not give one the impression that in this matter Mr. Chintamani's lead was accepted by the Liberals as a party. The wording of the resolution now adopted seems to suggest, however, that the Liberal leaders are somewhat shaken in their conviction, firmly held before, that, however desirable it may be to have election in British India, in the States nomination will do just as well ; and that no occasion should be given for any doubt to cross the mind of Their Highnesses that at any time in the immediate present or the remote future they might be required to introduce popular election in the place of princely nomination.

It may be that Liberals have something else in mind than election in the States when they express the hope that an understanding will be reached on the question of the method of representation. Possibly they refer here to the controversy, very warmly conducted at the Conference, between the rival merits of direct and indirect election to the Legislative Assembly in British India. If so, we hope they will take steps at once to dispel the misunderstanding which may possibly spread to the quarter of the Princes themselves. The whole of the federal scheme may otherwise be unnecessarily exposed to the grave danger of being shipwrecked on account of the prompt withdrawal by the Princes of their support. If, however, the Liberals have come now to the deliberate conclusion, after weighing the pros and cons, that Their Highnesses cannot be allowed to have their own way eternally, but that at one time or another ( to be settled now ) they will have to be forced to send in elected representatives, then the least that we can say is that they should have made the point clear. They certainly owe that much to the Princes as well as to their own followers. Anyhow an explanatory statement is called for.

### Change in Viceroyalty.

THE Indian Viceroyalty changed hands last week. Lord Irwin handed over charge to Lord Willingdon on the 18th inst. and sailed home the same day. The arrangements connected with the arrival and departure of Viceroys do not generally give a chance to both of them to meet and exchange ideas. But the rule was departed from in the present case with the result that the Viceroy-Designate and the retiring Viceroy had more than twenty-four hours together in Bombay. We may be sure that Lord Irwin put the time to good use by trying to acquaint his successor with the most recent political developments in India. In bidding a regretful farewell to Lord Irwin, India knew she was doing so to a genuine and sympathetic friend who, wherever he may be, may be trusted to do his best to promote the Indian cause. He came to India as a perfect stranger but soon won public confidence by offering his good offices in finding a solution to the communal problem. His offer was not unfortunately then availed of; but if it had been, we do not say the solution of the communal difficulty would at once have been effected, but would certainly have been essayed in far more propitious circumstances. It is a thousand pities that such a well-meaning Viceroy found himself powerless to spare India the insult involved in the appointment of an all-white Commission to conduct the constitutional inquiry. But we cannot for that reason withhold our grateful appreciation of his successful efforts to secure from H. M.'s Government a liberal interpretation of the 1917 announcement, an interpretation which holds out to this country the promise not merely of responsible government but of Dominion Status as well. It was hoped for a time that that declaration would be found satisfactory by all political parties in India including even the Congress to the extent of inducing them to offer their co-operation in the framing of a constitution at the then projected Round Table Conference; but that was not to be and the Conference had to do without Congress representation. Lord Irwin's last twelve months in India were disfigured by repressive measures intended to deal with the civil disobedience movement and by frequent use of his extraordinary ordinance-making powers. But we refuse to believe that he ever seriously thought that the nation-wide movement could be suppressed by repression, however drastic or far-reaching. And in the end he had to come to terms with Mahatma Gandhi as representing the Congress and to negotiate a settlement. The terms of the settlement clearly show that Lord Irwin was as clever as he was well-meaning and sympathetic. The settlement at once revolutionised the Indian situation and Congress cooperation in the further work of the Round Table Conference was assured. We are not yet out of the woods but soon hope to be, provided the situation is not mishandled by the bureaucracy. A measure of the change in public opinion towards the ex-Viceroy is provided by the fact that while a brief couple of months ago the presentation of an address of farewell to Lord Irwin which is a matter of customary courtesy by the Bombay Municipal Corporation in the case of most Viceroys aroused fierce opposition, the matter was looked upon as a matter of course when mooted after the conclusion of his agreement with Mahatma Gandhi; and he left Indian shores as one of the most popular Viceroys since Lord Ripon's days.

In Lord and Lady Willingdon India recognises old friends whose sympathy with her political aspirations is beyond question. It is to be hoped means will be found to mobilise it whenever an opportunity presents itself. The task before the new Viceroy is not an easy one. It will tax to the utmost his states-

manship and sympathetic understanding. Lord Willingdon cannot of course be expected to proclaim his policy so soon after his arrival; but there is ample reason to hope that he will follow in Lord Irwin's footsteps. In one of his speeches in Bombay he has held out the hope of reducing the present heavy burden of taxation at the first suitable opportunity and promised to cut down public expenditure to the minimum. We hope Lord Willingdon will really interest himself in these matters. It is to be hoped that so soon as he finds his feet at Simla he will make arrangements for the carrying on of the unfinished work of the Round Table Conference. He need not be assured that in all his efforts to raise India's political status he will have the heartiest cooperation of the Indian public.

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### Hindu-Moslem Question.

THE Hindu-Moslem question has now entered upon a hopeful phase such as it had never entered upon before. The communal-minded Muslims are so voluble that those who are good nationalists as well as good Muslims seemed to wield little influence upon the community. The organisation however of a Conference of prominent Muslims of this persuasion demonstrates to the world that their numbers are as little negligible as their prestige is high. The Conference was presided over by no less a person than Sir Ali Imam who in his inaugural speech not only denounced separate electorates but reservation of seats in joint electorates, which too is a form of communal election, though less objectionable than election by means of communal electorates. This line was taken in the main resolution passed by the Conference, which was moved by Dr. Ansari whose speech at the Conference was a masterpiece of close and convincing logic. He too like Sir Ali Imam showed how prejudicial to the Moslems' communal interests separate electorates would prove. A community which is in a small minority in a majority of provinces and in a slender majority in others can have little to gain by communal electorates. It must rely upon the goodwill of other communities which can only be destroyed by the retention of separate electorates against the wishes of the people at large. What a difference the presence of just a few of these national-minded Muslim leaders will make at the next sittings of the Round Table Conference! Only we hope the Congress will let them in in large numbers.

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### Unsatisfactory Effectuation of the Settlement.

THE illiberal spirit in which and the dilatoriness with which local Governments are giving effect to the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin settlement is causing widespread dissatisfaction. The complaint is general that even satyagrahis due for release under the settlement are not yet set at liberty. The number of such cases is not known; but is apparently quite considerable. Else one cannot satisfactorily account for the fact that the Congress has placed Mr. Nariman on the special duty of bringing to light all such cases. He has set matters in train and provincial and district Congress organisations are already busy getting their lists ready, so that it will not be very long before the exact number is known. Particular responsibility rests on the Government in this matter and they ought to see to it that they are not detaining anybody needlessly. It will not do for them to stick to the letter of the agreement. What is really important is its spirit which they should do nothing to violate.

Even in the matter of returning confiscated lands to their owners the Government seem to be laying themselves open to similar criticism. Under the terms of the agreement, the return of land or other immovable

property forfeited or attached in connection with the realisation of land revenue was promised: but discretion was given to district officers to act otherwise in the case of defaulters who, they thought, would contumaciously refuse payment of Government dues within a reasonable period. It is said that this discretion is being abused by district officers. The matter has caused such a volume of discontent that the Mahatma had recently to draw the Governor's personal attention to it in the course of a three-hour interview. It is to be hoped the Governor will not leave the decision of this important matter to his civilian substitute who, true to his antecedents, will see nothing wrong in the conduct of the different parts of the "steel frame." In the case of lands sold to third parties it is true the agreement absolves Government from all responsibility for seeing that they go back to their original owners. This obviously means that the settlement does not contemplate any lawful action to that end on their part; but does not prevent Government officers from using their moral influence to restore the *status quo*. But if Government officers cannot find it in them to facilitate the return of such lands to their owners, there is no reason why they should throw obstacles in the way of such re-transfer, as, according to Mr. C. Rajagopalachar, they seem to be doing.

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#### Situation at Cawnpore.

PANDIT HIRDAYNATH KUNZRU'S statement on the situation at Cawnpore as he found it during his recent visit there, which is printed elsewhere in this issue, will give the readers some idea as to the terrible time which the inhabitants of that city had to pass through in connection with the recent riots. In common with many others Mr. Kunzru emphasises the need of inquiry into the circumstances leading to the disturbance of peace and the causes of the prolongation of the riot. With commendable promptitude the Government have already set afoot such an inquiry by a committee which, we are afraid, will not inspire much public confidence. For one thing it is presided over by an I. C. S. officer subordinate to the Government itself. The committee would doubtless have been looked upon with greater confidence by the public if it had a high court judge as its chairman. But apparently the U. P. Government did not want to have him in that capacity, though they had no objection to his serving on the committee as a member. Indeed the name of Mr. Justice King was included in the Committee's personnel as a member; but subsequently he resigned his membership probably because of his unwillingness to serve as a mere member. In this he seems to have had the support of the Chief Justice. His place has since gone to a British district judge belonging to the I.C.S. who, we are obligingly informed, is soon going to officiate as a high court judge. With two European Civilians on a Committee consisting of four members, the other two being a Hindu and a Mahomedan, it is not surprising if its personnel fails to inspire much enthusiasm in the public. But what one fails to understand is the unwillingness of the Government to give the chairmanship of the committee to a judge of the high court, when one was willing to associate himself with the inquiry. The general suspicion is that with the conduct of a European Civil Servant under the Committee's microscope, the Government was apparently unwilling to take any risks. In this case they cannot blame the public if in due course it is forced to condemn the Committee's report as a white-washing document, though nobody need be in a hurry to prejudge its findings.

## Articles.

### THE CONGRESS AND THE R.T.C.

WHAT will be the attitude of the Congress delegates or delegates to the second Round Table Conference? Mahatma Gandhi and his coadjutors are known to be keen on improving upon the results of the first Conference in many directions. The improvements they seek to effect may be classed under two categories. First, they will try to win more power from British hands. Second, they will try to see that such power as they succeed in winning will be lodged in the hands of the representatives of the masses instead of the aristocracy. Political parties in this country generally concentrate their attention on the first effort. The political struggle with them is a nationalist struggle, first and foremost. How, after this struggle is ended, power is to be distributed amongst the different classes appears to them to be a very secondary affair. If they pay any attention to this aspect of the question at all, it is not necessarily the working classes or the peasants or the lower middle classes whom they would make beneficiaries of the political changes they contemplate. More often than not, they want only the higher classes and the upper middle classes to share in the political power that they will snatch from the British. This is the general mental attitude of the average politician of most of our parties and groups. A short time ago we should have said the same thing of the Congress. But the "Fundamental Rights" resolution of the Karachi Congress has given the lie to such a description of its aims. We are agreeably surprised to find that the political struggle as conducted by the Congress is not a purely nationalist struggle. It will recover from the British Government as much power as it can; but this power it will immediately transfer by the constitutional arrangements it will make to those who are now under-dogs of society.

The proceedings of the first Round Table Conference were vitiated by an obvious bias on the part of a majority of the delegates for the higher classes. Strong objection was taken at the Conference to all proposals intended to retain power in British hands. We doubt whether the Congress will be able to achieve much more in this direction. It takes exception to most of the safeguards; so did delegates to the first Conference. Perhaps all that could be done they have already done or may be left to do. But they raised either no objection or very faint objection to all those provisions which have the effect, if not the intention, of keeping the masses of the people out of power. Adult suffrage or other measures effecting a large enfranchisement of the people received but modest support at their hands if not actual opposition. Representation of the States by means of popular election found favour with, we believe, only half a dozen. Those who raised these questions were looked upon as wreckers of the Conference, only complicating matters which were by no means too easy by introducing topics which might well be left

alone for the time being. All these reforms must come eventually, it used to be said, but first things must come first. And the first thing we must concern ourselves with at the present moment is how best to denude the British of power. The apportionment of this power among the different sections of the community is the next big task that awaits us; but we shall have whole decades and centuries in which to tackle it. This was roughly the mentality with which the first Conference went to its work. Considering the mentality, its achievements were memorable. It has obtained from His Majesty's Government an unequivocal declaration that, subject to certain safeguards, the responsibility for the management of Indian affairs must be entrusted to and discharged by Indians. These safeguards are still open to consideration; the Conference members are still objecting to them, as witness the resolutions passed by the Indian Liberal Federation's Executive Council. The delegates to the first R.T.C. never cherished the ambition of so shaping the constitution that the average man in India, the man-in-the-street, will come into his own. It is here that the failure of the Conference is most pronounced.

The largest contribution that we look forward to the Congress to make does not consist so much in enlarging the quantum of power that will be secured from the British as in widening the field of distribution of this power. The Congress, unlike most other groups, has, it is now clear, kept both aims in front of it. Still we have an uneasy suspicion that it will lay more emphasis on abolishing, or mitigating the rigour of, the so-called safeguards than on endowing the real representatives of the people with power. There is, as is only too evident, from the proceedings of the first Conference, likely to be a conflict between Self-government and Popular Government, and although the Congress has shown itself to be alive to the claims of the latter alongside of the former, will it still range itself more with Autonomy than with Democracy? After all, we seek for political power in order that it may be applied to the transformation of society in the desired direction, and if the winning of more power only entrenches the present holders of power in greater strength, of what use is further accession to power? Mahatma Gandhi has laid much stress in his public utterances on reducing the safeguards to the barest minimum; he has laid, as it seems to us, somewhat less stress, on universal franchise and elective representation of the States. We wish him success in both enterprises. But we would beg him to give more attention to the second than to the first, firstly, because it is more important, and, secondly, because it is almost wholly neglected by others. In justification of his paying special attention to financial safeguards, it is said that he is more deeply concerned by the poverty of the masses than even by the political dependence of the people. But the betterment of the economic condition of the masses depends far more upon the institution of a genuine democracy than upon the removal of a few restrictions upon the financial power of Indians, as is very forcibly shown by Mr. Brailsford in his article in the *New Republic* of 25th March. We must not be

understood as desiring to maintain these restrictions. The sooner they are off the better. We would only say that because other parties are as alive as the Congress to the need of removing them and are not at all alive to the introduction of real popular government as opposed to oligarchy, the Congress should almost dedicate itself at the Conference to the promotion of democracy. What Mr. Brailsford says in the last paragraph on the need of popular election in the States deserves the careful study of every Congressman who has such a splendid opportunity of rectifying the wrong decisions of the first Conference. He observes:—

"The gravest defect of the London draft is, however, the power which it confers on the Princes. It is a great gain that India should be consolidated by their entry into a federal union. But as the draft stands, there is no requirement that the representatives whom their dominions will send to the Federal Congress shall be elected. The Princes have stipulated that they shall be free to determine their own form of representation, which means that in most cases they will nominate their own trusty servants. In this way a solid conservative block will be created in the Congress which, in combination with the more conservative groups from British India, will assure to every propertied interest an unshakable and permanent majority. It is, indeed, because they trust the conservatism of the Princes that the more intelligent leaders of the British governing class have smiled on the London draft. If India were freed tomorrow from the salt monopoly, if the land tax were halved, as Mr. Gandhi demands, and the army with it, the villagers would be as far as ever from prosperity if functionless landlords and harpy usurers continued to prey on their labor. This constitution will be a poor instrument with which to combat Indian poverty if it leaves the Indian Princes well entrenched at the seat of power."

## MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

### II.

WE examined last week the proposals made to the Round Table Conference in London in respect of the conditions under which the responsibility of Ministers was to be enforced. If it required a vote of censure to be carried by a three-fourths or even a two-thirds majority in a joint sitting of the federal legislature in order to drive a Ministry from office, we observed that it would no doubt make the Ministry stable, but it would make it stable to the point of making it irremovable and permanent for the whole term of the legislature. This may appear a somewhat exaggerated statement. Perhaps it is; but we believe it will not be far-fetched to compare the responsibility obtainable under these conditions to the responsiveness that could be secured under the proposals in the Government of India's dispatch on the Simon Report. The dispatch does not pretend to provide for responsibility in the Central Government and for that reason aroused strong opposition

in all sections of Indian opinion. But if one does not judge by mere form, but by effect, one will have to admit that the responsibility hedged round by the Conference proposals does not possess such a decided superiority over the responsiveness of the Government of India as will justify enthusiastic acceptance of the former whereas the latter met with unceremonious rejection.

What does the Government of India propose in its dispatch? It first of all marks off a sphere of government in which the control of the British Parliament will be maintained intact. This sphere of government will of course remain free from popular control. But over the rest of the field popular representatives will have the power of framing policy in accordance with the wishes of the legislature. The reserved sphere will relate to rights of paramountcy over the States, "defence, foreign relations, internal security, financial obligations, financial stability, protection of minorities and of the rights of services recruited by the Secretary of State, and prevention of unfair discrimination." "The primary responsibility for ensuring that these purposes of Parliament were not impaired would rest upon the Governor General," under the Government of India's scheme, and the Governor General would assign these portfolios to official members of his Cabinet who would, in administering these subjects, carry out the wishes of the Governor General and the Secretary of State. The Round Table Conference too contemplates certain safeguards in regard to each one of these subjects. Whether these safeguards make a larger or smaller deduction of popular power than the reservations urged by the Government of India we need not pause here to inquire. Let us assume, in order to get on with the argument, that the Conference safeguards are identical with the Government of India reservations or take away the same quantum of power from the hands of the people. The question then for consideration is whether the responsibility of Ministers under the Conference plan will be very much better than the responsiveness of elected members of the Council under the Government of India plan.

The Government of India proposes that over the whole sphere of government which is not reserved to the ultimate control of the British Parliament the Indian legislature should ordinarily exercise control. All the portfolios included in this sphere should be entrusted to such elected members of the legislature as would seem to the Governor General to command sufficient support in either house to enable them to carry through their measures. The Governor General himself should appoint his Cabinet who would hold office at his pleasure. Throughout the sphere covered by the portfolios of members of the Government chosen from the legislature, "we contemplate", says the Government of India dispatch, "that the Governor General would be guided by the advice of those of his Council who represented the wishes of the legislature, and we would suggest that the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor General should contain a definite provision to this effect." These popular members of the Cabinet would not be removable by votes of no-confidence passed in the legislature, but if

the Governor General found that any of them lost the support of either of the legislative chambers for reasons not connected with the policy pursued by the official members, "the Governor General would naturally see whether he could find other members of the legislature who would more truly represent its views on those matters in which the framing of policy would primarily lie with it."

When the matters normally under the control of the legislature are listed; when the Governor General is charged in the Instrument of Instructions to allow himself to be guided in the management of these matters by the advice of such elected members of his Cabinet as have a sufficiently large political following in the legislature and therefore inferentially to choose such members as command such a following and keep them in office only so long as they retain the following, can we not really claim to have secured in the establishment of such a convention the essentials of responsibility? Admittedly, it falls short of responsibility as it is developed in fully advanced constitutional governments. But will it not in practice work almost as well as when Ministers need retain the support of only one-fourth or at the most one-third of the strength of the legislature to maintain themselves in power? Under the plan of the Round Table Conference it will be theoretically open to the legislature to oust the Ministers from power, but practically exceedingly difficult to do so. Under the plan of the Government of India dispatch it will in theory not be open at all to the legislature to remove the Ministry, but in practice the Ministry will perhaps be more easily removable than if a two-thirds or a three-fourths censure vote was required to dismiss it. So far as the substance of power in the hands of the legislature is concerned, we are not at all certain that the Conference plan is distinctly better.

Another matter may be appropriately considered here. The proposals of the Round Table Conference in regard to responsibility are meant to apply to the federal Cabinet alone; but the conservative elements in the country will demand that they be extended to provincial Cabinets as well. And it will not be easy to resist this demand. There is nothing in federation which makes it necessary to surround the provisions regarding the responsibility of the federal Ministry with certain restrictions, which can be said to be unnecessary in the case of the executive of the federating units. If a stable Ministry is desirable at the centre, it is equally desirable in the provinces. Why should the provincial Ministry be exposed to gusts of popular passion when the Central Ministry is to be carefully sheltered from them? And if this rule of a two-thirds or three-fourths majority is extended to the provincial Ministry, it is easy to see the drastic retrogression from which the constitution will suffer. At present a bare majority can turn out the Ministry; if hereafter a larger majority is prescribed, and a larger majority in both chambers if second chambers are added, the provincial Ministry too will in effect be irremovable. There is as much reason for the Indian public to oppose the Round Table Conference plan in regard to the responsibility

of Ministers as there was to oppose the Government of India plan in regard to their responsiveness. Fortunately, the Conference plan has not yet been adopted; when it is proposed again to the second Conference, it will, we hope, receive a more pronounced condemnation than it did in the first.

## Reviews.

### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY.

**THE EMPEROR KARL.** BY ARTHUR COUNT POLZER-HODITZ. TRS. from the German BY O. F. TAIT & F. S. FLINT. (Putnam, London.) 1930. 22cm. 470p. 21/-

THE Emperor Karl Joseph was very young when he came to the throne towards the end of 1916. This is how he is described by the authors:

The advisers and the Ministers of the Emperor unreservedly pay tribute to his just political intuition and to his gifts of mind and heart. He had a sense of justice, love of peace, magnanimity, qualities which are no disgrace to anyone. He thought on modern lines. He was a most modern Prince, the most modern of all those then reigning. He knew that a new age was approaching which would change the duties and rights of Princes. His unbiased and fair mind had no liking for the prerogatives of privileged social classes. The Emperor Karl believed in humanity and its loyalty.

He certainly had a gigantic task before him. It was not until the revolution that anybody realised the true powers of the passions and destructive force against which Emperor Karl had to struggle unaided.

The internal affairs of the State demanded his earliest attention. The policy of drift so far pursued had created a terrible situation. The Hungarians were adamant in their attitude towards the minorities. They were openly encouraged to do so by Pan-Germans. It was declared that this was a "war of the Germans against the Slavs." This naturally perturbed the Slavs who formed part of the Empire. The military authorities persecuted the Czechs, the Serbs, the Poles and the Ruthenians as traitors. They were thus forced into the ranks of the enemies. The efforts of the Emperor to remedy this state of affairs were inutile because of the stubborn resistance of Tisza and the Pan-Germans as well as the lack of capable ministers.

The problems of war were still more disquieting. The Emperor was against submarine warfare, as he thought this would bring Spain and the United States into the War against them, but his resistance was ineffective. He realised that they would lose the War, if America came in. The obstinacy of the Kaiser brought this about. "Berlin has been struck with blindness and will plunge us into ruin." He felt that it was a crime against his people to carry on the War and "to keep them hoping for victory." This led him to make efforts for securing an honourable peace through Prince Sixtus (his brother-in-law) as intermediary towards the end of 1916-7. In this he was actuated by purely humane and patriotic motives. He had no hand in starting the War or in its continuance and saw in it nothing but sufferings for his people. Unfortunately this well-meant effort failed owing to the preposterous demands of Italy. Moreover the German ally of Karl turned down his proposals. They wanted "victory peace." Even his own Minister, Czernin, pandered to the wishes of the German War party, against his own master. Thus the noble attempts of the Emperor to end the War failed.

During 1917 and early in 1918 things at home were coming to a crisis. Within the monarchy the discontented element comprising of the persecuted Czechs and Jugo-Slavs were building their hopes on the intervention of the Allies, which could be effective only by their victory. To win them over, Karl tried to introduce reforms for them, through an electoral law, which would render the aggressive Hungarian party impotent. He made the right diagnosis of the situation and deserves full credit for his foresight. He felt that war was bound to be lost, owing to the obstinacy and arrogance of his German ally. The disruption of the monarchy was as patent a fact for him. He might still save the situation by granting rights to minorities and thus render useless the promises of self-determination of his enemies. His attempts were frustrated by Tisza and his own ministers, who were backed by the Pan-Germans. Thus, "the spirit of disintegration pursued its deadly work."

The Emperor Karl must be praised for his noble efforts to secure peace abroad and for a policy of reconciliation at home. But Kaiser William upset his plans with the help of the Austrian ministers. The author rightly remarks: "the only explanation of the peculiar attitude of our statesmen is that Berlin and Budapest did not wish Austria to be cured and that Vienna was incapable of resisting them."

It is surprising how under these adverse conditions Karl managed to steer a wise course during his short reign. The situation grew worse and worse every day. Like a dying man he tried all palliatives but his own ministers never allowed him to accomplish anything. His intentions were even misinterpreted. His peace efforts were labelled by Pan-Germans as treachery. At times his own ministers, to screen themselves, sacrificed his dignity and name. Ministerial responsibility proved to be a sham and farce.

Towards the end of 1918 events moved rapidly. In November Hungary recalled her armies. Austria-Hungary as such ceased to exist. A Republic was declared in Austria. Karl refused to leave the country till he was declared outside the law. He took refuge in Switzerland with his family. In 1921 he made an abortive attempt to regain the crown of St. Stephen. He was met with machine guns in Hungary and died in 1922. On hearing the news, "the world held its breath for a moment and remembered the crime it had committed."

It is a pathetic story of "a noble prince, misrepresented by the world, outlawed and robbed of the glittering crown of his fathers and all his possessions, and who died a saintly death in a lonely island far from his homeland." And the masterly treatment of the author makes it very pleasant reading. The details are worked out with a technique which does credit to the writer. It is one of the finest books written on Modern European History in recent times, as it has brought out a number of facts, which had been buried in the debris of prejudice against the Monarchies of the Central Europe. The author has certainly done a great service to the public by giving a true portrait and history of his late master and his reign, about which few could have better knowledge.

M. S. CHEEMA.

### THE MANDATES AT WORK.

**SAMOA UNDER THE SAILING GODS.** By N. A. ROWE. (Putnam, London.) 1930. 22cm. 339p. 15/-.

THE recent happenings in Palestine over the conflicting claims between the native Arabs and the immi-

grant European Jews, for the use of land and other privileges, have opened the eyes of the world to the evils lurking behind the Mandate System. Critics of the Versailles Treaty, and of the League of Nations, as it emerged into existence, warned at the time that the System was only an insidious device of European Imperialism, in another name and form, to get a hold over the material resources of the non-European tracts of the world and eventually rule the destinies of the peoples therein. The difference in tone and implications between the two Notes issued by the British Premier on the Palestine question confirms the fears and suspicions then entertained. The tale of unscrupulous usurpation and exploitation of the various Mandated territories must make poignant reading and detract from the honour and the *bona fides* of the Mandatory nations or powers of Europe. Mr. Rowe's book tells boldly the story of Samoa, in the distant South Pacific, under the new regime. The romantic and tender vision which Robert Louis Stevenson and Rupert Brooke raised about the natural beauties and wealth of the Islands and the innate gaiety, charm and attractiveness of the people there are rudely and painfully shattered by the tragic story of European influence and domination. This is largely so of the Western group, the eastern one having passed voluntarily under American control and being apparently contented.

"The Sailing Gods" (who have since achieved the flying stage), as the first European adventurer-sailors who touched the island were called by the Samoans, came there progressively in several roles; the decamped scamp from Australia or New Zealand, chance sojourner, missionary, exchange trader, businessman, planter and lastly, the self-appointed, all-comprehensive and clinching administrator, who obliges God by bearing on earth the burdens of the non-white heathen. In every one of these roles, as Mr. Rowe proves with documentary evidence which will be hard to refute, the result on the Samoans has been disastrous. The morality, simplicity, cleanliness, health contentment and joy of life among them have been destroyed. By imposing on them foreign standards of habits and organisation, often by very questionable means, that the self-respect of the Samoan has been killed and with it the hope of his very existence. The process is not foreign to the experience of India where similar denationalisation has been going on for the past century and a half. Mr. Rowe's feeling account strikes a deep sympathetic chord in the heart of the Indian reader to whom, if he has travelled in the backwaters of Cochin and Travancore, the scenery and description of Samoa and their people will also appear strangely reminiscent. But while India could so long resist the finale of this devastation, Samoa, unless prevented from it immediately, may soon go under without any hope of a spiritual resurgam. The misfortunes of Samoa (western) were intensified during the last decade with the ending of the light and congenial German Protectorate after the war and the Mandatory of New Zealand established in its stead. The reports of progress in every direction which year after year have doped the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations and the world at large are in fact a clever camouflage to the rapid exploitation and emasculation of the people. The worm at last turned and in 1927 a Royal Commission had to be appointed to look into the alleged evils. For very good reasons it was boycotted by self-respecting Samoans. With local leadership destroyed and foreign sympathy (of the reasonable section of settlers) gagged and disabled by repressive measures, the Report of the Commission was easily a whitewash of New Zealand's rule in the Island.

The simple and modest demand of enlightened and representative Samoa is: self-government under

the British Flag, that is, directly under Great Britain. The history of *mau* and other national organisations to voice and work for this demand is similar to that of the Congress in India, and one is reminded strongly of the latter's sufferings in recent months—the same firm and peaceful determination on the people's part to achieve their birthright and the same panicky and shortsighted 'firm rule' of the authorities in the name of 'law and order' ending in indiscriminate use of violence, outlawing of movements and persons, marked by sad episodes of casualties with the resultant bitterness and delay in satisfactory settlement. Verily one touch of the divine discontent against foreign subjection makes the whole world kin in the methods of emancipation, the sufferings that have to be endured and, most redeemingly hopeful in the whole business, the final and inevitable result too.

Mr. Rowe deserves well of the Samoans and of all lovers of human freedom. He writes with knowledge, sympathy and love. Samoa in every respect has to him almost an unbearable sensation "of a scene my heart had known long ago, and forgotten, and yet always looked for." Believers in reincarnation may take him for a Samoan reborn an Englishman to fight for and secure her liberties. Unlike R. L. S. and Rupert Brooke, who admired and loved Samoa and taught the rest of the world to do so, he cannot be ignored or ridiculed as a mere aesthete. He was a District Officer in the Mandatory administration and has had intimate knowledge of its realities before, dissatisfied with the state of things he resigned the place and as an independent businessman is fighting the Samoan cause in England and Europe. His advice to the Samoans is: Be yourselves. Imitation of the foreigner in any form is suicidal, the utter extinguishment of Samoa and all it stands for in the world. To force the foreigner out of the islands Mr. Rowe would even have the Samoan reduce without compunction his wants and to cultivate to the barest need for his existence, an echo of the advice which a small but influential section of moralist patriots sometimes suggest to India. This is a counsel of despair. Publications like Mr. Rowe's about Samoa, and of others about other nations similarly placed bring to light the fester of Imperialism, and the salutary influence of the nobler part of the world's opinion, together with the self efforts of the subject peoples themselves, will end thralldom sooner than it may seem, or a few Churchills and Richardsons may wish, at present.

M. S. MADHAVA RAU.

### AN INDIAN POLITICAL ROMANCE.

INDIRA DEVI. A ROMANCE OF MODERN POLITICAL INDIA. By A. SUBRAHMANYAM. (Ganesh & Co. Madras.) 1930. 20cm. 267p. Re. 1/8.

A TOWN in Madras Presidency in 1951. Mrs. Pitt prefers to live in Hindu style. "She took up her house in the thick of the town where the bulk of the local community lived, and avoided the fashionable mistake of her European people who...lived miles away in exclusiveness from their Indian fellows." Her neighbour, Rao Bahadur Moropant Sadashiv, head of a large joint-family, is an orthodox Brahmin, but not too orthodox to welcome Daisy Pitt, his neighbour's daughter, as an ideal bride for his eldest son. He and his daughter Indira Devi, a college girl, regard this match as a "political alliance," a step forward towards the unification of races. Daisy is received affectionately by the entire family: the wedding takes place with full Hindu ceremonial. Mrs. Sadashiv, it is true, has her misgivings.

All goes well until the fateful wedding banquet. The Rao Bahadur and his wife have tactfully grouped their guests in such a way as to obviate any possible "interdining" scruples. Everyone is enjoying the feast, when Nawab Kamaluddin and few other young men with more zeal for "social democracy" than regard for their host, seize the dishes from the waiters, and insist upon serving the food themselves. Confusion ensues; the guests depart in consternation—a lasting humiliation for the Rao Bahadur and his family.

The person, to whom the behaviour of Kamaluddin and his party causes the acutest mental suffering, is the thoughtful Indira, for she takes it as a sample of the tyranny they will exercise when they get into power. "The Brahmin must merge or die" is the slogan of the "Social Democrats," who introduce a "Compulsory Inter-marriage Bill." In vain does a brilliant Sastri denounce them as a "mongrel mass of malefactors." The Act is passed—all Brahmins, on pain of transportation, must marry their daughters to Mahomedans or non-Brahmins: worse still, individual Mahomedans appear in court with a "warrant of demand" for some particular bride. Indira is to fall to the lot of Kamaluddin. She flees to the "Deshashram," where a Swami has told her she may join the "Servants of the Country". Alas, it was Kamaluddin who had posed as the "Swami" and who runs the "Ashram". Indira's friend and admirer, Arthur Pitt (Daisy's brother) comes to the rescue: Indira renounces the idea of marriage, in order to devote herself to political work.

What annoys us is that the sole representative of the Muslim community is a character of the type of Kamaluddin. Moreover, the English is rather obscure, and the plot difficult to follow. However the author warns us in the Preface that the story is political in aim, and has many literary shortcomings, and we have no right to be hypercritical.

What pleases us is the way in which the author presents the voluntary "mixed marriage" in a sympathetic light, in contrast to the horrible forced alliances of his imaginary Inter-marriage Act. To be frank, it is the psychology of the cultured and tolerant Sadashivs and Pitts which interests us most—so welcome a change from the excellent writers who never tire of reminding us that East is East, etc. Why, even Mrs. Chatfield "looked equally well on either an Indian or an English lad as a son-in-law." And, though Arthur does not marry Indira, the author gives his moral sanction to such a marriage.

In his next book (for he is sure to write another) perhaps the author will tell us more of these matters.

It is true that Mr. Subrahmanyam opines that no forced system of inter-marriage and "inter-dining" can ever be a panacea for all the ills of modern India, but he may take comfort from the fact that, already in 1931, the Brahmin professors at the Deccan College, Poona, are most cheerfully "interdining" with their Muslim colleagues without even bothering about special grouping. So there is hope yet.

H. KOHN.

### RATIONALE OF LOCAL TAXATION.

#### THE BEGINNINGS OF LOCAL TAXATION IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY, 1863-71.

By M. VENKATARANGAIYA. (Longmans, Madras.) 1928, 20 cm, 107 p. Rs. 3/-

THE author of this little book traces the beginnings of local taxation in the Madras Presidency and points out that the motives which prompted the levy of local taxes and the establishment of local bodies explain

their unpopularity and slow growth. "Primarily devised and welcomed as an efficient instrument of relief to the Imperial finances which lay under unbearable strain" during 1861-1871, local taxation did not evoke the spirit of self-government which was characteristic of the English local taxes and local institutions. The early Education Act, the local Funds Bill, the Town Improvement Bill, etc. imposed on local bodies onerous responsibilities without the compensating rights of administration and control of the taxes they collected. Therefore it was necessary to discover reason for the justification of the device of local taxation and to make it attractive and popular. It was once claimed that the aim of local taxation was to remedy the inequalities of taxation and to equalise its burden. The principle that there are certain taxes such as the license tax which could be more efficiently assessed, collected and administered by local bodies than by the state, was enumerated as another excellent reason. Later on it was claimed and recognised that "the local taxation would be a positive instrument for effecting local improvements, assisting education, constructing roads and promoting every other object primarily of local interest". In the resolution on Decentralisation of Lord Mayo's Government local taxation came to be regarded as "a potent instrument in training the people in the art of self-government."

The system of local taxation thus developed and founded on insincerities, necessarily suffered from serious defects. First, there was no scientific distribution of functions between central and local bodies which often led to vexatious interference by the Central Government. Also compared to the benefits conferred, the burden of local taxation became heavier as the Governor-in-Council could extend, and did so, to relieve the Central Government of its financial strain—the operation of the acts in any towns or places he pleased and they would have to bear the cost of the police and other services not strictly local. Worst of all, the Government was not prepared to give up its control over some services, though they were maintained out of local taxes. Above all, the system of local taxation as devised was completely innocent of any element of self-government, which remained only a pious wish of Lord Mayo's. Quite contrary to the Anglo-Saxon traditions the system established an undemocratic body to administer local taxes. "The early local boards and municipalities were only a department of the state carrying out orders communicated to them by the Central Government". They were dominated by the servants of the state. The powers delegated to them were insignificant. And it is no wonder that under those conditions local institutions evoked no popular enthusiasm and that local taxation was looked upon with suspicion.

This book is not the work of a disgruntled politician but embodies the patient researches of an impartial student of Economics and History of the Madras University. Copious instances are cited. Both the author and the Andhra University which has brought out this book deserve congratulation.

K. S. V.

### INDIAN ELECTION LAW.

THE LAW OF ELECTIONS IN INDIA. By R. N. SANG. (Author, Rawalpindi.) 1929. 24cm. 261p. Rs. 10.

THE subject of elections has assumed some importance with us only since the Reforms Act of 1919 which first introduced a system of direct election to the Provincial Councils and the Legislative Assembly. Previous to this some direct elections



no doubt used to take place here, but they were of much less importance and there was no need felt of any special treatises on the subject.

Even today Indian literature on the subject of elections is very meagre. Barring the politically-minded people and the communalists, public interest is still not much awakened to this all-important subject. The electors are not yet fully alive to the importance of the vote and such of them as exercise their right to vote do so without adequately realising its implications. Those who stand for the elections are thus the only persons who take any interest worth the name in the method or machinery of elections. No doubt this itself may in course of time educate the voter. But the progress can only be very slow.

The theory of elections, the various methods of elections, their comparative merits and demerits form a subject of absorbing interest. But only a few have any interest in the subject and they can easily satisfy themselves by reading English or American books. Our immediate need is only of some commentary (with useful hints) on the existing Election Law and Rules and Mr. Sang's book is no doubt a good help in that direction. We would however have liked his book better if he had commented on the perfunctory manner in which the acts or rules of the Government of India, the Local Governments and the minor local bodies, are prepared. Difficulties crop up during the course of inquiries on election petitions in all courts and in the absence of definite and clear provisions of law the decisions necessarily prove to be unsatisfactory. It is essential that Government should pay greater attention to this matter and a uniform legislation with a model set of rules suitable to the requirements of the various bodies should be provided. Expert drafting seems almost at a discount in these days of prolific legislation. New acts and rules are showered upon us, as no doubt they should be, with growing democratic institutions. But it is equally necessary that the drafting should be properly attended to. Otherwise it baffles the judges and the lawyers who have to help in administering the law and leaves the litigants dissatisfied. We very much wish Mr. Sang had devoted a portion of his book to pointing out some typical deficiencies in our election legislation. We also wish that as a positive aspect of this work he should have provided a model election act and electoral rules.

As it is, the book is no doubt a good contribution of its kind and satisfies our present needs to a very great extent. Mr. Sang has drawn largely on English and American precedents and that is about the best we can do in the absence of clear and efficient legislation.

B. R. DAMLE.

### A REACTIONARY ENGLISHMAN'S THOUGHTS ON INDIA.

REVOLUTION IN INDIA. BY JOHN DELLBRIDGE.  
(Kennerly, Morley & Mitchell, London.) 1930.  
20cm. 56p. 2/6.

"If we are to give let us give gladly with both hands. If we are to withhold let the announcement be made firmly and once for all. Let us put aside all subterfuge and paltering with truth. Let us beware of rendering to Caesar not only things that are Caesar's but also things that are God's". So concludes Mr. John Dellbridge his "vigorous and outspoken discussion of the present Indian situation." By "things that are God's" he obviously means the interests of the White man because nowhere in the book has he explained this vague phrase. The writer of the book "has had

unrivalled opportunities of studying the subject." The authorities he quotes in support of his argument are border Afghans and Baluchi Chiefs. Herein he has followed the method employed by that excellent friend of India, Miss Katherine Mayo, of leaving his informants unnamed. When Mr. Dellbridge quotes the happy reflections of one of his Baluchi friends over the prospects of looting Hindoo money-boxes and of ravaging Hindu virgins he displays a gusto and satisfaction which leads the reader to suspect that it is not only "the old rascal" that "licked his chops". The whole tone of the book reveals a Churchillian arrogance. He wants the educated Indian to believe that "the ultimate sanction of civilisation is force." He characterises the cry "Bande Mataram" as "humbug, humbug clear, apparent and proven". He has no respect for such "foolish excesses and senseless mouthing". Instead of discussing the genesis and solution of the Indian problem the author has marshalled all the usual age-old arguments against the grant of political power to India. He is sure that the moment his friends leave this country it will be swept by those with "the sword that is sharp and the claws that are cruel." The author is dead sure that "if India gets the independence for which some of his (Mr. Gandhi's) friends now howl, his will be the first head to fall by the stroke of the Mussalman *tulwar*". To prove that India will be at the mercy of foreign invaders, Mr. Dellbridge points out that the only martial races in India are the Punjabis, the Sikhs, the Rajputs, the Gurkhas and the Mahrattas. One wonders whether these are not sufficient to protect her. Whatever the differences which divide these races, they are certainly not worse than those existing between the Scots, the Irish and the English, who march to the battlefield shoulder to shoulder. Mr. Dellbridge has forgotten France and Flanders too soon and in reminding us of the jingoism,

Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just,  
But four times he who gets his fist in fast.

does not remember that it was exactly for this reason that the German Eagle swooped down upon Belgium.

Fortunately, Mr. Dellbridge lays no claim to the trusteeship of the Depressed classes, the Mussalmans, and the dumb millions of India and though he contemptuously names all those who clamour for reform as "Yappers" he thinks it fit to write a long rigmarole to answer their "yapping". That is something. He is unabashed in declaring that India with all her problems "is a paying proposition well worth exploiting." The only valuable thing in the book is the admission that "the most bemused of hypocrites would hesitate before asking anyone to believe that we entered India to hold it in trust for the Indian". Here, at least, we touch the rockbottom and Mr. Dellbridge is to be thanked for "dragging from obscurity much that deserves the glare of the day".

And what is Mr. Dellbridge's way out of the difficulty? With that supreme contempt which characterises every sun-dried eater of India's salt he declares: let the "Yappers" have Self-Government, let the Baluchi rascal sweep down on the mollicoddles and let the whole lot cringe for protection and be d—d with it! Alas, in his enthusiasm for speed, Mr. Dellbridge forgets what he himself wrote on a previous page. Let us remind him of it.

Who could have foreseen the Russian Revolution? Did Louis XVI ever see the guillotine in his dream? Or did Nicholas of Russia feel the bullet? There are lessons to be learnt from history, and one of them is that the wise man should expect the unexpected and forestall it. Another is that events, once started, move like an avalanche, with ever increasing speed.

If Mr. Dellbridge's belief that "Indian independence will come out of hatred if it comes at all" is to be taken as gospel truth, we must admit that he is helping her fairly on the way to the realisation of her dream.

M. D. SHAHANE.

### SHORT NOTICES.

**RICHARD ROLLE.** By VERRIER ELWIN. (The Bhaktas of the World Series.) [C. L. Society for India.] 1930. 20 cm. 106 p. As. 12/-

THE author introduces us here to Richard Rolle, a fourteenth century English *Bhakta*. The path of devotion as a means of God-realisation has found powerful advocates in all periods of Indian history. In Mahārāstra and other parts of India this way to *Mokṣa* has, from time to time, attracted men and women of all castes and creeds. The teachings of the poet-saints of the *Bhakti* school have in fact very profoundly influenced our outlook on life and its problems. Father Elwin's story of Richard Rolle told in such lucid and attractive language is therefore naturally full of interest to us. It well illustrates Dr. Macnicol's observation in his Foreword that "the framework of the mystic's thought and aspiration is largely the same in East and West, a thousand years ago and to-day." Considered from this point of view, Rolle's experiences in life, his progress through these experiences, towards the ideal of a true *Bhaktā* by the usual stages of purification, illumination and union, his faith in *Nama-Smarana* and *Nama Gana* as devotional exercises leading to his goal, all these acquire for us a special significance. Rolle indeed resembles in many respects the poet-saints of our *Bhakti* school. One cannot, however, escape the feeling, as one goes through the pages of Father Elwin's book, that Rolle was dominated far too much by his ascetic attitude towards the world. The *Bhakti* saints of India also could not altogether escape this influence. That was impossible! Asceticism was in the very air they breathed! But there is no doubt that among the Indian *Bhakti* saints are to be found men who had a distinctly more robust faith in the world around them. What we need most is faith of this kind. That alone can make life fuller and richer and thus secure for man in the end the only *Mokṣa* which is worth having! Father Elwin is perhaps conscious of this; he assures us that Rolle's asceticism was not destructive of all action but favoured action of a sort. Whatever one may think of this defence, the fact remains that Rolle had his eyes fixed mainly on the other world, and that is an attitude which we are unable to regard as altogether commendable!

V. K. JOAG.

**'AAYI' OR GLIMPSES OF ROSALIE HARVEY OF NASIK AND HER FRIENDS THE LEPERS.** BY A. DONALD MILLER. (The Mission to Lepers, Purulia, Bihar.) 21cm. 45p. 1/3.

THIS small book gives glimpses of the life of Miss Harvey of Nasik, one of the truest Christian Missionaries, who has devoted her life to the service of the poor and the God-forsaken lepers, animals and orphans in a true Christian spirit. Miss Harvey has proved herself to be more than a mother—or *Aayi* as she is gratefully and affectionately called by those whom she has been serving her whole life—to these, and she has thus set a glorious example to our men and women who wish to serve the poor and the

afflicted. Missionaries like her easily secure our tenderest regard and affection, in spite of their creed and colour, and their names will surely be enshrined in the hearts of Indians. Miss Harvey never cared for fame and name, and even shunned the investiture ceremony when she was awarded the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal. When such missionaries will come forward from amongst us to serve the poor and the helpless, India's salvation will certainly be nearer.

V. M. B.

**SOUTH INDIA.** By FREDERICK F. GLEDSTONE. (S. P. G. F. P., London.) 1930 18 cm. 83 p. 1/-

A handbook giving the work of the Anglican church in South India. The geographical and historical sketches are clearly written. The picture of Hindu life is a bit overdrawn. The spread of Christianity and Protestantism is clearly traced. The converts are mainly from the lower strata of Hindu society. The progress according to numbers is encouraging, and apart from numbers the influence on the life and thought of the people is not to be discounted. We have to deplore with the author that the pernicious caste system has to be countenanced even in the Church.

N. S. S.

**THE GOLD DIGGERS.** BY A. M. FLEMING. (Meador Publishing Co., Boston.) 1930. 21cm. 256 p. \$ 1.50.

THIS novel sets forth the adventures of the gold-diggers who went out to discover gold in the bosom of our mother Earth. The author says that it is an unvarnished and truthful account by an old prospector whose only desire in writing the book was to amuse his friends. But it is doubtful if this purpose is served, for the story is so uninteresting and the style so obscure that it is difficult for a reader to plod through the pages.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

**SCIENTIFIC RELIGION, VOL. I.** By G. N. GOKHALE. (The Educational Publishing Co., Karachi.) 1930 20 cm. 148 p.

MR. GOKHALE has done a great service to the rising generation by publishing this small volume which contains, as he says in the introduction, his notes for a set of talks delivered in 1924 and 1929. He has tried to show in this book that religion "is a statement of laws which govern the whole world, seen and unseen, including lessons for daily conduct of life, some of which go under the name of morality." He has proved that objective methods of material sciences are insufficient to know the whole truth of the Universe, and subjective methods like Yoga are necessary to probe the question. He has drawn much on Myer's *Human Personality* and other works of eminent spiritualists like Lodge to prove this contention. Then follows a summary of the essential principles of all the well-known religions in the world, and in the concluding chapter the author comes to the conclusion that science and religion cannot be two separate entities, but they are one, and religion is nothing but a science of life. This compels us to have a theistic attitude towards cosmos, and then toleration, brotherhood of man and other essential virtues for building up a nation will necessarily follow. We heartily commend this book to the student world and hope Mr. Gokhale will complete the series soon.

V.

## Miscellaneous.

### CAWNPORE RIOTS.

#### PANDIT HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU'S ACCOUNT.

*Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, vice-president, Servants of India Society, recently visited Cawnpore. The following statement issued by him embodies his impressions of the situation there.—*

**T**HERE appears to be a history behind the terrible upheaval that occurred in Cawnpore. Feelings between Hindus and Muslims had been strained for some time past. Outside influences also seemed to have been at work to estrange the two communities from one another. Various events some of which could have been controlled by the authorities showed the possibilities of an ugly clash between them. But while the indirect causes of the riot cannot be ignored, it appears from all the accounts that I have received that the enforcement of the *hartal* on March 24 in connection with the execution of Bhagat Singh and his comrades was the immediate cause of the orgy of bloodshed which continued unchecked for several days. The number of recorded deaths is only about 300, but it is believed that their actual number is not less than 500. The number of houses burnt down or damaged by fire is at least equally great, and loss of property, too, has been serious and amounts to several lakhs. The richer people have suffered—and suffered seriously—but the main victims of communal frenzy have been the poorer classes. With the exception of the Moplah rebellion in 1921 I can recall no event since 1857 even faintly approaching in gravity the appalling tragedy that Cawnpore has witnessed.

The riot which commenced about 1 p. m. on March 24 soon spread to all parts of the city. Its intensity took the authorities by surprise. A curfew order was passed and section 144 was promulgated at once but both the orders remained a dead letter. Scarcely any attempt seems to have been made to enforce them. The authorities found the police force at their disposal inadequate to deal with a disorder of such magnitude and it also became rapidly clear to them that the police alone could not quell the riot. I have been officially told that the trouble being apprehended when the *Vanar Sena* began throwing stones at the windows of shops on the Mall Road, the Highland Light Infantry were asked to stand by in the Phul Bagh. When the disorder in the city assumed a serious aspect three weak companies of Highlanders were placed at the disposal of the civil administration by the military authorities. Their total strength cannot be stated with certainty at present but I understand that it might have been from 250 to 300 soldiers—a no inconsiderable force. Police and military re-inforcements were asked for from outside. The Chief Secretary stated in the Legislative Council on March 26 that military reinforcements (which consisted of two companies of Yorks) reached Cawnpore on the 25th afternoon and that "354 additional police had already arrived at Cawnpore and 150 more were on their way." The military force was thus augmented to 500 or 600 soldiers by the afternoon of March 25.

The question naturally asked by the public is: what protection was afforded to life and property by the forces available to the district authorities at the commencement and later stages of the riot. A force of 250 soldiers is no small thing and it is felt that it could have been utilized to nip the mischief in the

bud and should have made the authorities take much more prompt and vigorous action than they actually did. A few arrests were made on March 25 but the general complaint both among leading Indians and Europeans is that the authorities did not handle the situation with sufficient energy and decision. Mob law seemed to prevail. One measure, however, had a beneficial effect. The patrolling of streets and lanes in one part of the town by soldiers during the night of the 24th created a sense of security and made people remain indoors, but their removal from the Meston Road to the District Board office on the 25th morning led to a recrudescence of the trouble.

#### CURFEW ORDER INOPERATIVE.

The situation showed no perceptible improvement even after the receipt of reinforcements. The curfew order and the order under section 144, it is said, were defied with as much impunity after March 25 as they were previously. For all practical purposes they continued to be wholly inoperative. A start was made with only four military pickets and they were posted between the Parade and Collectorganj. The civil authorities, I am told, wanted a larger number of pickets but the military authorities refused to allow a dispersal of them over a large area, or their division into small groups. Each picket, I have been given to understand, consisted of about twenty-five soldiers. If this is so only about one hundred soldiers were on active duty. The rest were kept in reserve in the municipal and district board offices.

#### UNPROTECTED AREAS.

The Sisamau and Baconganj areas which present a desolate appearance and have suffered much more severely than any other part of the city were left without any military protection. Colonelganj and Gwaltoli also remained unprotected. Along with other areas only small police pickets consisting partly of armed and partly of unarmed men were posted to these quarters. There was a deputy magistrate with each military picket but the pickets could not be moved from their positions nor could the deputy magistrates issue any instructions to them. Their help could in practice be taken only in cases occurring almost under their noses. For the rest owing to the policy pursued they remained powerless to give any help. The deputy magistrates who had therefore nothing to do must have found their position both humiliating and irksome. The military patrols which were found useful on the 24th night were discontinued the following day. The deputy magistrates not attached to pickets who were helping in the general re-establishment of order had no police force or armed guard with them. They ran no little risk in performing their duties and when people came to them piteously crying for help they had to confess that being without an escort they could give no assistance. So far as I have been able to ascertain they had no authority to issue orders to the police.

#### INACTIVITY OF PICKETS.

Educated and respectable people whom I have met singly or collectively have stated to me that assaults and arson and pillage went on in places quite close to the police and the military. It is alleged that whenever even two or three policemen or soldiers intervened or showed themselves ready to take action they were able to prevent mischief, but that as a rule the police and military pickets would not move from their places. I have been told by both Hindus and Muslims that whenever they asked for help both the police and the military told them either that it was not their business to fire or make arrests or that they had no orders to do so. It is scarcely possible to ignore these statements. A partial corroboration of them is furnished by the fact that when one goes round the city one notices signs of

incendiarism and loot quite near the places where pickets were stationed. I have also been informed that the Commissioner himself saw instances of the inactivity of some police pickets on March 26 or 27 and directed them to take active steps to prevent the commission of crimes and not content themselves with standing at their posts.

#### THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE.

During the most difficult period of the riot the district magistrate was seldom seen in any disturbed area of the city. He thought that his duty required him to remain at his bungalow in order to keep himself in touch with Government and the local officials. This is astonishing but true. While the city was experiencing the terrible effects of mob fury and neither life nor property was safe in any quarter of it the district magistrate instead of taking the active direction of affairs into his hands and judging things for himself by means of personal visits, as is done even in the case of much smaller disturbances, practically shut himself up in his room and converted himself into a sort of post office. No wonder that this produced a popular impression that the district authorities were letting matters drift when they had it in their power by a little vigour and promptitude to control the situation effectively and that they were not altogether sorry to see Hindus and Muslims flying at each other's throats.

#### THEN AND NOW.

The prompt manner in which the communal outbreak in August 1927 was dealt with is everywhere contrasted with the utter inefficiency displayed on the present occasion. I understand that as soon as the trouble began in 1927 the city was divided into sections, each in charge of a deputy magistrate. The deputy magistrates were provided with armed guards and the district magistrate himself was in evidence in the city inspiring confidence and keeping himself in living touch with the situation. The military was called out. The soldiers and the police patrolled the main thoroughfares and the lanes inside the mohallas. Armoured cars were requisitioned and patrolled the streets. Mischief-makers were promptly apprehended and serious trouble averted without appreciable loss of life and property. On the present occasion when the riot broke out the deputy magistrates were without definite spheres of work or the means of discharging their responsibilities, the superintendent of the police was new to the city and the district magistrate left the actual handling of events to his subordinates. The scheme of 1927 was followed from March 29 onwards but only after the worst phase of the calamity was over. Armoured cars too patrolled the streets but not when they were most needed. I have heard it said that with the police available at the commencement of the riot no more effective arrangements could have been made. Cawnpore has at present its ordinary police and the punitive police imposed on it some time ago. It will be interesting to know whether the total force today is less than what it was in 1927.

#### STRONG RESENTMENT.

The riot began to subside after the evening of March 26. The presence of the military and police must have had some effect on the course of events, but as their activities became noticeable for the most part well after the disturbance had passed its apex it seems that manifestations of violence became less frequent more owing to the exhaustion of the combatants than to any steps taken by the local authorities. For all the use that was made of the troops

and the police no re-inforcements need have been called for from Lucknow and other places. There is strong resentment among both Hindus and Muslims at the failure of the officials to deal swiftly and decisively with the situation. This view is shared by influential Europeans also who are indignant that the trouble was allowed to assume such serious proportions. Members of all communities—Hindu, Muslim, Christian—I understand gave frank expression to their strong dissatisfaction with the officials when His Excellency the Governor visited Cawnpore on March 28. Perhaps it was the first time that Europeans joined Indians in a protest against the failure of European officials, yet the joint representations made to the Governor were treated with scant courtesy. The praise given by the Governor to the district authorities in his speech in closing the Legislative Council on March 31 has been received with great surprise and resentment among all sections of the population. It is regarded as being nothing short of a scandal. We know of cases in the past in which Indian officers guilty of a less grave dereliction of duty have been visited with the serious displeasure of Government. There can be no greater instance of executive incapacity than Cawnpore, yet the district magistrate continues to enjoy the confidence of Government! The Cawnpore tragedy requires a searching investigation by an impartial tribunal which would command public confidence, but the Governor has prejudged the matter and has virtually made a public enquiry of this character out of the question. A formal official enquiry is still possible but it will have absolutely no value.

#### STAGGERING LOSS OF LIFE.

Cawnpore still looks half deserted. Plenty of houses are still locked and thousands of persons are believed to have left the town. The loss of life is staggering and the agony through which the people have passed cannot be easily described. Events in the city have had their repercussions in the district and throughout these provinces. Communal feeling threatened at one time to spread to the whole district. Excitement still prevails in the province owing to the approaching Bakr-Id. A sense of insecurity continues in the city. It will be long before confidence is fully restored. We must bear our full share of the blame for the catastrophe that has occurred, but both Indians and non-Indians hold strongly that after the riot had broken out the district authorities could have prevented it from developing into a tragedy which is unparalleled in the recent history of India. They have incurred a grave responsibility but it remains to be seen whether they will be called to account.

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