

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Late Sir S. M. Chitnavis.

THE death of Sir Shankarrao Chitnavis, which occurred last week, will be widely lamented in India. After graduation he took up Government service as Assistant Commissioner in 1867 and by sheer dint of hard and efficient work rose to be a Divisional Commissioner. Sir Shankarrao also served on the Factory Commission in 1907-08. His retirement from Government service in 1916 was followed by his entry into public life where too his career was no less distinguished. He was a member of the first dyarchic ministry in the Central Provinces, and though reappointed in that capacity in 1924 had to resign the position owing to strong Swarajist opposition designed to make the working of dyarchy impossible. In 1927 he was elected President of the C. P. Council, a position which his illustrious elder brother the late Sir G. M. Chitnavis held as a Government nominee during part of the first five years of the Council—and again last year. Sir Shankarrao was a prominent member of the Liberal party and will be much missed at its annual conferences which he always made it a point to attend. His death deprives the Central Provinces of a renowned citizen and the Liberal party of an influential member.

* * *

Princes' Generous Gesture.

OUR esteemed contemporary of the *Week* has the following in its issue of the 14th inst. on the "magnificent sacrifices" the Princes are supposed to be ready to make for the sake of federation:—

The Princes were playing for high stakes, their notion of federalism was to gain everything and lose nothing. The powers they affected to yield to the federal state were powers which were no more theirs to yield. They were powers which are actually exercised by the paramount power. Their gains on the other hand would be great:—They would get rid of the fussy and arbitrary interference of the political department. They would claim a share in the common revenues of India and a share in the control and management of federal subjects—both of them clear gains. They would also claim complete sovereignty over their own subjects for weal or woe and would resent any intervention on their behalf. This we wrote when almost every one was growing lyrical over the generous gesture of Bikaner in agreeing to enter into a federal state. The frank and almost cynical speech of Sir Manubhai endorses to a comma our estimate of the claims and desires of Princes in the matter...

On the strength of these mythical laws of allegiance the Princes would prevent their subjects from acquiring Indian citizenship and all that connotes by way of safeguards to the common rights of man. Now at least between the rulers and their subjects exists a controlling and mediating power. Of course, this power has hardly proved the shield of protection it was meant to be, and the Princes, emboldened, are openly questioning whether it was ever meant to be. Federalism is for Princes a means to an end—the end being the overthrowing of a galling paramountcy. The result would be that the subjects would be handed over bound hand and foot to their rulers. If these rulers were at least high-minded, public-spirited men, wholly devoted to public weal, it would not matter so much. But the reality falls so far short of the ideal that safeguards—to use that blessed word—may on no account be dispensed with.

We hope that Mr. Gandhi in the course of the Simla parleys will make this quite clear to the representatives of the princely order. Failing satisfactory answer, they may be plainly told that British India will have nothing to do with a federalism where the gains are all on one side and the losses all on the other—that we shall go our own way, leaving the Princes to the tender mercies of the Political Department as heretofore. A gentle hint of the kind may serve to bring the rajas down from the high horse they affect to ride.

* * *

The *Week* is not the only journal to challenge the reasoning of a great many of the R. T. C. members that reform in British India is possible only under federation and that therefore any terms which the Princes may choose to impose, however unreasonable, must be accepted. Some other papers like the *Leader* and the *Social Reformer* also are prepared to say, like the *Week*, straight out: better be done with federation if, on account of the Princes' obstinacy, federation of the right sort is not possible. The *Reformer* says in its current number:—

Informed public opinion in British India was never enthusiastic about the Princes' dramatic intervention

in London, and if the Princes want to back out it will not go out of its way to prevent them from doing so.

Residual Powers in the States.

IN our last issue we ventured to ask the *Indian Social Reformer* whether its view, expressed in the most absolute fashion, that the residual powers of legislation must be lodged in the Central Government also applied to the States assuming that they federated with British India. The *Reformer* has in its issue of the 16th inst. returned an answer which is equally explicit and uncompromising, viz. that the residual powers must remain with the Federal Government. It says that its views

apply to both equally, if anything even more to the States than to the Provinces. Our reason is this. Over a century of English education and British administration has created a bond of cultural unity between the Provinces among themselves and between them and the central government. Social and religious reform movements have awakened them to the necessity of conscious progress. The Press has grown to be a powerful medium for promoting mutual sympathy and co-operation in public questions. Of the great majority of the States, it is no exaggeration to say that they have stood out of these unifying influences and that there is little to bind them to each other or to the Central Government. The danger of their drifting out of the federation, therefore, is greater, and must be provided against by making the Central Government and not the States the repository of residual powers. The protestations of the Princes of their undying loyalty to the British connection are no doubt sincere. But unless historical precedents are absolutely devoid of significance in India, we for one cannot dismiss the feeling that if ever the Independence movement passes beyond the stage of speculation, some one of the States will be found to be at the back if not at the head of it. India has to fulfil her mission to humanity through the British Commonwealth, and it is, therefore, necessary that the links which bind it to the Commonwealth should be strengthened where they are weak, and this is more the case with the States than with British India.

Further our contemporary likens the vesting of residual powers in units of Federation instead of in the Federal Government to constructing a State on the model of an inverted pyramid and says: "If there is to be a Central Government at all, it must have the residual powers. We understand that some Muslim leaders and Princes of both denominations (Hindu and Muslim) do not want a Central Government. We are half-inclined to believe it."

Lord Irwin's Correct Analysis.

LORD IRWIN'S speech at the British India Union on Friday last should serve to dispel some of the misapprehensions under which men like Mr. Churchill seem to labour. "Strong government" in their eyes is a panacea for all ills consequent on political discontent. Lord Irwin told such people that the calm that may be ensured by a policy of ruthless repression, which is really what is intended to be conveyed by the above phrase, would be only superficial and would not last long. It is easy for any short-sighted administrator to achieve this result; only Lord Irwin, though he too had some repression to his discredit, does not like to belong to this category. Times are changing fast and those who hug repression as a sure remedy for political trouble are living in times which are long past.

Lord Irwin took the opportunity to clarify the situation as regards constitutional safeguards. A class of British politicians is never tired of emphasising the indispensability of the proposed safeguards, unmindful of the reflection which their constant harp-

ing upon them throws on the capacity of Indians to look after themselves. Politicians of this class ought to give credit to Indians for realising that any disturbance of the existing settled order would affect them more vitally than any one else. As such it must be assumed in their case that they will strain every nerve to prevent chaos overtaking their land. The ex-Viceroy, by emphasising this point of view, has rendered India a very valuable service. However, so far as the question of safeguards goes, as has been made clear more than once, Indian opinion will be prepared to have safeguards, but only such of them as are proved to be in India's interest, "first and last", in Lord Irwin's words. This is Mahatma Gandhi's position in relation to safeguards to which he will apply this acid test of India's interest. Indian interests have been subordinated to British ones for very long and the better mind of the British nation cannot blame Indian opinion if it now insists that safeguards dictated solely by consideration of India's interest should alone be retained. Lord Irwin deserves praise for having so clearly explained the Indian viewpoint to the British public.

Commons Debate on India.

SOME of the speeches in the recent Commons debate on India will go far to confirm the impression generally prevalent in India that however tall a section of British politicians may talk about their trusteeship for Indian interests they will not hesitate to sacrifice Indian interests when the choice lies between interests of India and those of their own country. Nobody can deny that as a result of the Indian boycott of British goods Lancashire has suffered beyond measure. Nor does anybody wish to conceal the fact that if India's aspiration to be self-contained so far as her cloth requirements are concerned materialises, Lancashire may lose a large part of its Indian market. This would be deplorable from Lancashire's point of view. But would it be fair to India to expect her to give up the use of Indian made goods because to do so would not be to the interests of Lancashire? And yet this was what men like Mr. Churchill who are urging Government to declare the movement in India for the exclusion of foreign, and not merely British, goods illegal wanted the Government to do. Mr. Benn rightly emphasised Parliament's responsibility for the interests of India, which in all cases of conflict between British and Indian interests must receive primary consideration. The debate gave unmistakable evidence of the desire of some members to treat the fiscal autonomy convention as "a scrap of paper." It is time they realised that any attempt to violate the convention would for ever destroy India's confidence in British promises.

The cry that Mahatma Gandhi should be required to agree to the Sankey safeguards in advance was also echoed in the debate. It is necessary to remind those who make such an unreasonable demand that the Sankey constitution itself is only provisional and that all parties that had a hand in fashioning it have reserved to themselves complete liberty of action in the light of the completed picture whenever it may be ready? When everybody stands uncommitted to the safeguards, is it really playing the game to seek to tie Mahatma Gandhi's hands beforehand? He has agreed to such safeguards as are demanded by the interests of India. More than that cannot be reasonably expected of him. It should also be remembered that Mahatma Gandhi, not having attended the first Round Table Conference, has had no opportunity to grasp the pros and cons of the safeguards proposed in the Sankey Report. To insist upon his acceptance of them in these cir-

circumstances is like asking a judge to pronounce his judgment before he has even heard the case for both sides. It is a matter for surprise that even such obvious considerations should not have been given due weight by some of the participants in the recent debate.

* * *

Bhor Subjects' Grievances.

THE proceedings of the recently held Conference of the subjects of Bhor State give us some idea of the tension that at present exists between the administration and the people. The public dissatisfaction is so widespread and deep-seated that the Conference has passed a resolution endorsing the movement for non-payment of taxes unless certain grievances are redressed. One of these is the repressive policy that is being pursued by the State with a view to suppress political discontent. The lesson of history is plain that repression has never succeeded in putting down reform movements; but the governing class in Bhor State is apparently impervious to wisdom. It is an irony of fate that when the alien rulers of British India are showing the good sense to adopt a conciliatory policy, an Indian ruler who as a private individual is too good even to wish to hurt a fly should be dealing with the reform movement in his State by coercive methods.

Another ground given in the resolution in support of the no-tax campaign is the widespread prevalence of corruption among the servants of the State. Writing on the establishment of the legislative council for the State three years ago we pointedly drew attention to this very evil and ventured to express the hope that some members would make it their business mercilessly to expose cases of illicit gains by the State servants. But the evil does not appear to have suffered any considerable diminution in the interval. We would therefore like the Chief to devote a part of his energy which is now misspent in suppressing the popular movement to dealing with this evil fearlessly and with a strong hand. If he does so he will have done something substantial to purify the State administration and to protect his people from harassment by State servants.

The Conference has done well in asking for an elective majority of two-thirds in the legislative council and for power to elect its own president. It was the absence of these very desirable features from the original scheme that led us to express our dissatisfaction with it while universal praise was being showered on the Chief for the step he had decided to take. We are glad to find that the State subjects now share our dissatisfaction.

* * *

Aundh State Subjects in Conference.

THE subjects of Aundh State are to be congratulated on having initiated the practice of meeting in periodical conferences by holding their first conference with Mr. A. V. Patvardhan, a member of the Servants of India Society in the chair. It may be a puzzle to many why the people of Aundh should have so long delayed resort to the wholesome practice of collective deliberation. The explanation is afforded in Mr. Patvardhan's inaugural speech. They are blessed with a progressive ruler who has shown the wisdom of meeting a popular demand before it has come into existence. While subjects of other States have to put in years of ceaseless agitation before they get even an apology of representative institutions, the subjects of Aundh State are going to get full-fledged responsible government in 1935 without their having so much as asked for it, the ruler himself having made a

promise to that effect last year. The redress of a popular grievance, whether in British or Indian India, is ordinarily not too quick. Things seem to be different in Aundh where a mere petition to the ruler ensures prompt attention. The Conference entered an emphatic protest against the scant attention shown to interests of Indian States' subjects at the Round Table Conference and asked for adequate representation for them at its forthcoming session. It has also made it clear that in the federal legislature it would like the States' subjects to be represented, not by Princes' nominees but by their own elected representatives.

* * *

Bombay Excise Administration for 1929-30.

THERE is nothing in the excise administration report of the Bombay Presidency for 1929-30 in which a Government committed to prohibition can take pride. The consumption—both of foreign and country liquor—has gone up, the number of country liquor shops has increased and revenue has been added to by about Rs. 19 lakhs! Whatever one may think of the increased number of liquor shops or the increased revenue, their inability to reduce consumption is inexcusable. But from one point of view this increase in consumption need not cause surprise. For those who have been following with any care the Government's efforts during recent years to hasten the advent of prohibition must not have failed to notice how half-hearted are their measures designed to that end, so much so that people now doubt whether after all their professions in favour of prohibition should be taken at their face value. Take e. g. their rationing policy. They took as the basic year one in which there was an abnormally heavy consumption. The result has always been that the ration has been found to be more than adequate for the needs of the province and nobody has suffered any inconvenience because the rationing policy was in operation. During the year under report, instead of fixing the ration at 5 per cent. less than the consumption for the previous year, as their policy required them to do, they fixed it at the figure of the previous year's consumption. If one looks at the figures of consumption for 1929-30, one finds that not only has the limit of ration not been reached in any single district, but that some districts have found it difficult to consume even one half of what was allowed in their case! This is nothing short of a mockery of the rationing system. The statistics relating to the illicit use of liquor will explode the pet theory of the Government that low licit consumption is as a rule accompanied by a corresponding rise in illicit consumption. For it is found at least in the case of the districts which went in for a smaller quantity of liquor than the preceding year that the number of cases of its illicit use has shown some reduction instead of a rise. May we not infer from this that the bogey of illicit consumption is somewhat overdone? Another perennial complaint against the Government's excise administration is that they habitually show scant courtesy to the recommendations made by Excise Advisory Committees. In 1929-30, out of a total of 348 recommendations made by these bodies, Government could accept only 161 wholly and 6 partially, i. e. less than 50 per cent. The very existence of such bodies presupposes a desire on Government's part to be guided by local sentiment, as voiced by them, in its excise administration. These figures however tell an entirely different tale, and it is to be hoped that Government will in future years try their best to leave no ground for such criticism.

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Articles.

MODERATE OPINION ON R. T. C.

WE are invited to sing the praises of a scheme of federation in which there are to be no rights of federal citizenship because the idea offends their Highnesses' notions of their sovereign rights. It is to be a scheme of federation in which the representatives of States not only in the upper but in the popular house of legislature are to be the nominees of individual rulers and this, not even as a transitory provision but as a permanent arrangement. It must be left to the absolute will of their absolute Highnesses whether, when, how, and to what extent they will tolerate any method of election by any fraction of their subjects, denied now and not promised in future any political rights. Of such nominees yclept representatives, it is claimed that in the upper house there should be as many as the representatives of provinces and in the lower, not less than forty per cent. of the aggregate strength of the chamber. The responsibility of the Government is to be to both houses in joint session and no motion of non-confidence is to be considered carried in support of which two-thirds of the members of the two houses will not cast their votes. And even when the subject-matter of such motion is exclusively British Indian, the nominated bloc (the fifty plus forty per cent.) representing the rulers of the States—let there be no mistake, not the people or any section of the people of the States—are to have the right of vote and speech. Who thinks this to be responsible or even representative government is welcome to the self-comforting thought, but we gravely doubt if such a one can receive much support from thinking men not committed to untenable proposals of this description. Value as we do the achievements of the Round Table Conference, such as they are; anxious as we are that reasonable compromise solutions of difficult and delicate problems should be favourably considered instead of being rejected because they fall short of theoretical perfection; welcome gratefully as we do the valued and indispensable co-operation of the rulers of States, among whom there are several for whose capacity our regard is both genuine and high, in the evolution of the Greater, United, Self-Governing India which is the greatest of national aspirations; we should be false to ourselves and would be open to the reproach of misleading our countrymen if we thought or said that here was a scheme at all acceptable even to moderate Indian opinion, even fractionally meeting the national demand, and even partially satisfying the needs of the country—yes, of either the Provinces or the States. Nor can the scheme, we venture to think and Dr. Beni Prasad's article strengthens the belief, receive the benedictions of any sound constitutionalist.—*The Leader*, May 11, 1931.

A JERRY-BUILT STRUCTURE.

THE withering criticism to which Dr. Beni Prasad, the well-known scholar of political philosophy in Allahabad, has subjected the federal scheme of the R. T. C. will cause many searchings of heart to those members who took a complaisant part in the Federal Structure Sub-Committee's proceedings. His points of criticism are many and varied, with every one of which we are in entire agreement. It is not, however, necessary to endorse all his criticisms in order to make one declare, as does the Liberal party's organ the *Leader*, that the Sub-Committee's "recommendations should be rejected by India unless they are materially changed." Dr. Beni Prasad contributed these articles at a time when discussions in the Federal Structure Sub-Committee were not published and therefore in blissful ignorance of the persons on whom his hefty blows would fall. He will now be surprised to find that some of his criticisms at least are earned by men who are popularly credited with having made the best contribution of all to the success of the Conference. Take, e. g., the suggestion relating to the overthrow of a Ministry. It was suggested at the Conference, with a view to making the Ministry reasonably stable, that it should not be made to resign except when a motion of lack of confidence was carried in a joint session of the federal chambers by a two-thirds or three-fourths majority. A similar provision, it was claimed, was found in most of the post-war constitutions of Europe and was in fact demanded by the accumulated experience of the world. Dr. Beni Prasad, however, shows that, instead of being a common feature of modern constitutions, it is absolutely without precedent in any constitution, ancient or modern. The solitary exception to this statement is Egypt where, as we said before, Sidky Pasha has included a provision to this effect in his new constitution and has provoked a commotion bordering upon a civil war. Dr. Beni Prasad roundly condemns such a provision as destructive of all ministerial responsibility. The proceedings of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee, now published, reveal the astonishing fact that this suggestion owed its inspiration wholly to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Publicists like Dr. Beni Prasad, however, who have a duty to perform to the public in instructing them in constitutional principles in a scientific spirit and without regard to persons, cannot express their disapproval of a suggestion less severely because in fact it emanated from Sir Tej Bahadur than if it had proceeded from Sir Samuel Hoare or Lord Peel.

Dr. Beni Prasad shows serious concern at the meagreness of the proposed list of federal subjects, unlike most laymen who, not realising the implications thereof, think it a matter of little moment whether any particular subject is within or without the jurisdiction of the federal government. It is to them not so much a matter of principle as of arrangement and accommodation, whether a particular matter is assigned to the national government or to the states governments. This opportunist view must

have dominated the Federal Structure Sub-Committee since none of its members seems to have asked for certain subjects being made federal which, to Dr. Beni Prasad who looks at the question merely from the point of view of principle, can only be made federal. Some of the members no doubt insisted that these subjects be central in British India, but did not attach too much importance to whether in the States they were federal or local. For in the proposed Indian federation there were not to be only two classes of subjects, local and federal, as in all the federations known to students of constitutions, but three: local, federal, and central, which are unheard of anywhere else. Indeed, the classes are more than three. Because it is not as if every State will recognise as federal subjects that the Federal Structure Sub-Committee may choose to place on the federal list; it would still be open, if H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala, the late Chancellor of the Princes' Chamber, knows the mind of the Princes, for any State to treat any subject on this list as local in its own sphere, and in fact part of a subject may be treated as federal and part as local. But all this is outside the range of experience of politicians and statesmen either in India or elsewhere. And Dr. Beni Prasad is not daring enough to go so far out of the rut as to allow this state of things to exist, or at any rate to allow it to continue indefinitely. He therefore proposes that, if central subjects are at all to be recognised, they should be eliminated after a prescribed time limit. His constitutional orthodoxy would make him insist either that the States give up some of their local concerns to the federal government or that the central government give up some of its central concerns to the provincial governments, so that after a short period of time to be specified in the Transitory Provisions section of the constitution, there shall be in India, as there is in every other country, only two lists of subjects, one local and the other federal, and that both local and federal subjects shall be local and federal in all units without distinction. It is to be noted that among the subjects which should "immediately be federalised or at least declared open to federalisation after a short period" are "civil law" and "criminal law and procedure" and "the income-tax." It is a measure of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee's capacity to face up to the Princes that they dared not even propose these subjects to be made federal, whether immediately or after a time.

Dr. Beni Prasad is also clear that the residual powers of the constitution must vest in the federal government. He shows his steadfastness to principle here too. He would not hear of the compromise according to which the residual powers would be placed in the central government in British India and in the States' governments in Indian India as he would not hear of the compromise whereby some subjects requiring uniformity of regulation would be placed with the central government in British India and in the States' governments in Indian India. Anyway, Muslim opposition will put compromise on both these matters out of the question. On the subject of the

franchise Dr. Beni Prasad thinks it would be desirable "to start with at least 30% of the adult population on the register, and, within ten years, to work up to adult suffrage." Finally, we shall deal with one more matter treated of by Dr. Beni Prasad, viz. the mode of selecting the States' representatives in the federal legislature. Here too it is obvious that he would desire the States to send in their representatives by popular election, but for a time he would allow nomination. In expressing this view however he has used language which might convey to a hasty reader the impression that there exist some federal constitutions in the world in which some units employ the method of nomination while others employ the method of election for selecting their representatives to the federal legislature. The words he uses are:

"If the members from the States are government nominees while those from the provinces are elective (in the upper chamber), there will be a certain anomaly. But in order to clarify the issues it must be pointed that the anomaly will not imply an incompatibility with the federal principle. Federalism does not postulate uniformity in methods of election. To cite a concrete illustration, the Swiss Council of States consists of deputies appointed or elected by the cantons and half cantons through various devices."

And further, referring to the composition of the lower chamber, he says:

"It may be admitted again that there is no inherent incompatibility between Federation as such and a wholly or partly *nominated* legislature. The nomination of State representatives does not bar Federation as such, but it does introduce a grave anomaly, open to serious constitutional objections and, so far as possible, should be discarded in favour of election."

Careless use of the words "appointed" and "nominated" in these passages is apt to mislead the reader, if indeed it has not caused some confusion in the mind of the writer himself. It is true that in Switzerland members of the Council of States are elected in some cantons by direct popular vote and in others indirectly by the cantonal legislature. But what justification does this co-existence in the same constitution of the direct and indirect systems of election afford to the nomination by the Princes of the States' representatives while British Indian representatives are to be returned by election, direct or indirect? Is there any federal constitution at all where nomination is permissible? We venture to say there is none, for we know of no instance of a federation (except the very exceptional German federation of Bismarck's time) between autocratically and democratically governed States. All the known federal unions have taken place between States each one of which is a democracy, and there is thus no question of nomination being allowed in any unit. Except for this serious error into which he has been betrayed by the use of words of doubtful meaning, Dr. Beni Prasad's articles are thoroughly sound and will prove, we predict, a turning point in the formation of public opinion on right lines. Those who will carefully study these articles cannot but come to the conclusion that it is a jerry-built structure which the Federal Structure Sub-Committee has recommended.

THE FEDERATION IDEA.

MANY of those who have knowledge of the Spanish people and of Spanish affairs are wont to express the opinion that Spain is on the threshold of a renaissance and the old Mediterranean race has enough vitality to mount up once more to the crest of history. It must be admitted that it was not a little difficult for outsiders to share in this conviction before the events of the last few days, but now the Spanish Revolution is running its course and no one but doubts that its present cautious moves conceal many important transformations. The most interesting of these, for a Europe writhing in the pains of nationalism, is certainly a new conception of the state which the present change may give rise to.

There are abundant indications in the present situation in Spain that some such result may be expected although the new idea may emerge only after some difficulty. In Barcelona, unlike in Madrid where the change is sometimes apt to be regarded as no more than titular, there is clearly a determination to make use of the present situation for acquiring a new status for Catalonia. There it is not merely the new Republic which is hailed but also the "Catalan State" and the "Iberian Federation". Senor Marcia in his notable proclamation used significant words.

In the name of the people of Catalonia I proclaim the Catalan State which with all cordiality we shall strive to incorporate in the Federation of Iberian Republics. From this moment is formed the Government of the Catalan Republic. . . Those who form it will from henceforward be prepared to defend the liberties of the Catalan people, and to die for them.

It is also significant that though the proclamation bore the heading "Catalan Republic" and the Catalan flag rises high above the new Spanish flag on the City Hall of Barcelona Madrid has been able to prevail over Catalonia sufficiently to make it accept the old title of "Generalitat".

Nor is the Catalan people the only "minority" in that rich and picturesque country. The Galicians, the Andalusians, the Extremadurans, the Aragonese, the Valencians and the Castilians are also individual peoples as their different arts would suggest, and may put forward similar if not identical claims. Four distinct languages, Basque and Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan are spoken in the peninsula, not to reckon dialects such as Galician and Lemosin, and those who speak these different languages may well be designated peoples each with the right to self-government. This right is generally recognised for Catalonia, the loudest among its claimants. The Catalan tongue is different from Spanish, despite the family resemblance with a mediaeval and modern literature of its own and from the fifteenth century onwards and even before the personality of Catalonia has proved incapable of extinction although occasionally suppressed.

The claims of the other Spanish peoples are less obvious and will perhaps be generally questioned, but there can be little doubt that on the sunny soil of Spain, unlike under the mists of the North Sea, their dormant nationality will presently awake under the new conditions and the problem will have to be faced. Already three days after the Republic had been pro-

claimed in Madrid, an attempt was made to instal a Basque Republic at Guernica which was defeated only with police and military aid. The Galicians have been wanting to establish a centre at Orense and they have keen sympathisers to support them on the other side of the Portuguese border. The Valencians are also eager to have their own State as their views on the present crisis will show and the Aragonese have gone so far as to take some steps in that direction. There is evident desire in Andalusia and Castile to maintain historic divisions and there are also parts of the country like Murcia which cannot fall into any well-defined natural division and can only exist as small but complex units.

At present in Spain not only the future but even the opinion about it is in the melting pot. There are those who believe that the federation idea is destined to gain ground and eventually the Iberian Federation must inevitably draw even Portugal into it and those who are no less convinced that any such partition must ultimately weaken Spain and Madrid will almost be compelled to divide and rule asserting itself until the return to centralisation is complete. Looking at Spain as part of the wider field of European history and politics it may also be possible to hold that the future will shape itself in accordance with the happenings in and outside Spain. If the tendency towards centralisation receives a setback in the rest of Europe it cannot particularly thrive in the peninsula, and if the federation idea meets with marked success in Spain it will influence the rest of Europe as well.

What is most promising about the present conciliatory mood which is reported to prevail all over the country is the prospect of a solution based on deliberation and agreement. The outcome will not be based, one may hope, on the chances of internecine warfare. So long as peace prevails even animated discussion may be an advantage. If the Catalan nationalists are determined to establish their separateness there are grounds to believe that the Catalan workers are equally firm about the solidarity of the working class throughout the country remaining unaffected by the separation.

In view of the nature of most European, and in fact world, problems of today which can be said to reduce themselves to politico-economic conflicts or obstruction to economic advancement owing to historical or racial tradition, events in Spain will be watched with the greatest interest. If the federation idea can lead to political unity without doing unnecessary and often useless violence to the existing variety of social organisms, it will no doubt prove to be a pattern on which communities may organize themselves in future. The presence of strong and obstinate minorities within the framework of highly centralized States and the disruption of large economic units into petty States for political considerations have alike proved unworkable. The industrial and agricultural development of the future clearly calls for vast areas under unitary control and commercial development, without which either of these two cannot make much headway, demands

just as certainly that nationalities should have other means of self-expression than through politics. But the successful pursuit of the federation idea necessitates political devolution on natural lines not through divisions set up by malevolent intentions, and a thoroughly conciliatory spirit in the dealings between the various parts. There is nearly as much need today to re-establish communal intercourse within a nation, as international intercourse, on a higher basis. It is impossible to obtain one without also obtaining the other.

R. R.

Reviews.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF BIRMINGHAM.

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF BIRMINGHAM AND THE BLACK COUNTRY, 1860-1927. By G. C. ALLEN. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 22cm. 479p. 25/-

THIS is a somewhat unusual type of work on economic history. For, it deals with only a strictly limited region but even more because it deals with a period which is almost contemporary. While the number of monographs and special studies dealing with British economic history in the latter half of the eighteenth or the first half of the nineteenth century is fairly considerable, there are very few books dealing with later periods. This careful and detailed work thus fills an important gap and offers for an important industrial region a study of that movement which has very often been called the New Industrial Revolution. It should be noted that Mr. Allen's work is the result of four years' continuous study undertaken on behalf of the Faculty of Commerce of the Birmingham University and financed by Messrs. Cadbury Bros.

Mr. Allen's book is divided into five parts, dealing respectively with (i) The Period before 1860, (ii) Birmingham etc. in 1860, (iii) 1860-1886, (iv) 1887-1914 and (v) War and post-War. In each of these periods the varying fortunes of the different industries of the region and the changes in their scale of work, marketing methods, technique and organization are noted in detail. Birmingham and District became prominent in the early stages of the Industrial Revolution as a large iron-producing centre. With the invention of the smelting of iron by coal the decaying industries of the tract revived and it became the centre not only of considerable iron-production but also attracted to itself a great many of light-metal trades of various sorts. That predominant characteristic of a variety of skilled trades congregating within a small compass here, is thus shown by the region at an early date. Mr. Allen has clearly analysed throughout, the differences to be found in the evolution of the various parts of the region—especially those between the District and the city of Birmingham. In 1860 in Birmingham District were concentrated the heavy industries of coal-mining, the production of pig and finished iron and such others as coach work and the production of galvanized sheets; among the lighter manufactures of the district the most prominent were such metal trades as the manufacture of edge tools, hollow ware, nut and bolt, lock and key, watches, pens etc. and others such as glass and saddlery, with the wrought nail manufacture holding a dominant position. In Birmingham city proper the brass, gun, jewellery

and button trades employed the largest numbers. The character of the distribution between city and district and the varied character of the industries is thus made clear. From 1860 to 1875 was a period of considerable prosperity for the region as a whole and the culminating point of what Mr. Allen calls the "malleable iron age." In organization the most peculiar feature at this time was the almost entire absence of the "factory". The small artisan—especially for the Birmingham trades—working and receiving orders in his own workshop was the dominant producer. The "Factor" type of middleman was the link between the merchant and the producer, his existence being specially rendered necessary by the extreme specialisation in the trades and the necessity of putting together the products of various workers. Even in the large-scale factories and mines, the sub-contractor system of recruiting and controlling labour held sway and there was an almost entire lack of discipline. Mr. Allen points out well how one of the earliest factors in bringing about a change in these labour conditions was the passing of the Factory Acts. Curiously enough again in 1860 there was but little machinery used in most trades. It should also be noted that in the extensive nail industry the larger part of workers worked partly as agricultural labourers.

The period 1875-86 was one of almost continued depression and a period of national readjustment. It saw the passing away of the Malleable Iron Age and the dawn of the Steel Age. This meant that the Black Country was severely affected. The coal mines were all suffering severely on account of the evil of flooding and the iron and the metal trades were specially hit. The decline in the Victorian fashion of heavy ornamental goods also affected the Black Country industries. In Birmingham the button and gun-making were severely affected while the brass and jewellery trades continued to prosper, though even in these latter a considerable change in the character of the products was noticeable. During the next period, that is from 1886 to 1914, the forces that had begun to operate during the depression worked themselves out completely. The Black Country metal industries slowly adapted themselves to the changed conditions and there arose in the tract a number of newer industries. The most prominent among them were the new vehicle industries—cycle, car and motor cycle. But the presence of a large body of skilled workers was attracting to the region many miscellaneous industries such as electrical apparatus, cocoa, breweries, office equipment and the very recent artificial silk industry. The establishment of these gave a new impetus and a changed character to the older metal, leather and allied trades. The War, with its enormous demand for munitions, came as a break in the normal course of industrial evolution. Some industries quickly adapted their plants to munitions production, others found increased demand for their products owing to military requirements, while still others suffered, chiefly because of the cutting off of their export markets. The boom following the War was short-lived and then has followed a long period of severe depression. Mr. Allen points out that this depression like the one during the last quarter of the nineteenth century is a period of national readjustment and in this case also it is not so much new forces that are to be noticed as that the forces already operative and discernible before the War are working themselves out with much greater vigour and rapidity. As before the heavy and the semi-skilled industries have suffered most. The coal and iron-production of the region is reduced almost to a vanishing point. On the other hand in the centres of highly skilled and highly diversified industries adaptation to changed conditions has taken place most quickly and

the percentage of the unemployed has remained the lowest. Mr. Allen is of opinion that this general tendency is observable not solely in this region but in England as a whole and the lessons to be deduced from this study of regional history are widely applicable.

The changes in organization and marketing methods have been presented in considerable detail and have been carefully analysed by Mr. Allen. He has traced the successive stages from the time when the free artisan, the outworker, the sub-contractor and the factor were prominent to the emergence at the present day of large monopolistic combinations covering whole trades. Mr. Allen is, however, careful to point out that the changes in organization have not necessarily been uniform over the whole face of industry and that the independent artisan can and does survive in many skilled trades even today.

One statement, not of great importance, whose accuracy seems doubtful, may be noticed. It occurs on p.175 where it is stated that a considerable demand for the edge tool industry was forthcoming from India for plantation hoes for cotton cultivation which was stimulated owing to the American Civil War. Cotton cultivation in India, however, at this time extended rather at the expense of other crops than by any large areas of new plantation being formed. Cotton again is grown in India not on plantations but by individual cultivators as a part of their small-holding economy. It is likely that the demand for plantation hoes arose from the very considerable boom in the tea industry which took place at about the same time.

Mr. Allen has written a study which is not only carefully planned and packed full with information but is also one which makes fascinating reading. It is an authoritative economic history of the recent and contemporary evolution of one of the most advanced industrial regions of the world and as such must be read by all who would understand the influences at present operative in determining the fortunes of different industries and the character of their organization.

D. R. GADGIL.

SIR CLAUDE HILL ON INDIA.

INDIA-STEPMOTHER. By SIR CLAUDE H. HILL.
(William Blackwood & Son, London.) 1929.
22cm. 333p. 12/6.

THIS is a pretentiously got-up volume, intended by the publishers to help the British people to understand the problem of India, especially in connection with the impending constitutional changes. The title has evidently been chosen to mark some kind of family analogy with Miss Mayo's *Mother India*, though we would gladly note that Sir Claude Hill has not the sting or venom of the American lady critic, nor is he equally biassed and hyperbolic. It is in the concluding chapters of the book that Sir Claude Hill essays to compare "India, old and new", analyse her social fabric and the mentality of her people and speculate as to "what next" is most likely to be the outcome of the social and political upheaval, brought on by the complex forces of the day. That Indians and Europeans differ fundamentally in their social and political outlook is with Sir Claude, in common with even the most liberal-minded bureaucrats, amongst whom we are glad to include him, the basal thesis, upon which his surmises and speculations as to the future are based and that grave solemn caution given,—in which is concentrated the wisdom of the ex-satrap— which asks them not to advance too rapidly, nor too closely force on the East the institutions of the West. Comparing the East and the West,

Sir Claude lays it down that the former is idealistic, concerned primarily with matters of what it regards as spiritual good and attaches relatively small importance to the individual ego, whilst the Western races have individuality and practical, material welfare as their chief characteristics. Superadded to these and similar observations of a more or less stereotyped kind, is a display of the disintegrating evils of caste, and as one reads this exposition it is impossible not to feel humiliated at the very slow advance we are making in bringing about a real union of India in this direction. We must no doubt plead guilty to the charge of being a divided people and a people amongst whom the cause of the uplifting of woman has yet great advances to make both qualitatively and quantitatively. But surely the author of *India Stepmother* has none of the excuses of the American author of *Mother India* to make such staggeringly misleading statements as that "under the Brahminical teaching a woman is not a separate entity, but fulfils her existence only when married to and thereby made the complement of a man." A still more gross misconception is embodied in the remark: "A woman is, in fact, apart from a husband, a far less considerable factor in the spiritual scheme of life than an animal and infinitely less to be considered than a cow." Elsewhere Sir Claude Hill talks of it having been pointed out by an Indian as a gross blunder made by Government when they chose for nomination to the now defunct Statutory Civil Service a person—a male person, mind,—who was alleged to bear on his face a mark meaning dedication to a god in childhood! At another place, Sir Claude couples the Rand and Ayerst murders at Poona with the shooting of Mr. Jackson, Collector at Nasik and has no hesitation in calling the whole as one huge Chitpavan plot! All that means that even the most experienced British I.C.S. who after working for years in different provinces and different departments rises, as did Sir Claude Hill, to be a member of the Executive Council of the Bombay Government and then of that of the Government of India, can be misled and hoaxed, and can commit gross blunders in reading the Indian mind and understanding her social organization. The moral is plain. Colour prejudice is a human failing too hard and deep-rooted to be easily subdued, and Europeans will never learn the truth that there are no clear-cut and sharp lines of division and demarcation between man and man or race and race and that what took a very long time to develop in one section of the human community need not take as long to be transplanted into another and even to thrive.

Like the average British bureaucrat, Sir Claude Hill, therefore, comes to the conclusion that though the Reform Act of 1919 may be said to have been worked with fair success in the provinces, it was more or less a failure at the Centre and that therefore the next instalment of reforms should not go substantially beyond full provincial autonomy. At the Centre there has been shown too much lightness of heart and narrowness of mind to think of real responsibility, even partially. Dominion Status is at the present time far above the social organisation and Indians had better realize the truth that "by the Act of 1919, we have given India an instrument which should in the course of generations enable Indians themselves, if they show the requisite constructive capacity, to forge a mechanism of government, which really is adapted to Indian needs" Let us, however, not be unjust to Sir Claude Hill. He claims to have been, jointly with Lord Willingdon, then Governor of Bombay, the author of a note on political reforms at least for Bombay, which was submitted to Lord Hardinge's Government and eventually utilized as the

basis for the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. In the anxious shaping of these reforms and classifying the Reserved and the Transferred subjects according to the varying conditions of the different provinces, Sir Claude Hill claims to have done lots of work, though behind the lime-light. May it be so. Let us also note that Sir Claude Hill is no extremist, no die-hard. Says he: "if there has been a disposition among Indians to look the gift horse of partially responsible institutions too critically and ungratefully in the mouth, there has been, in England, a most disappointing want of generosity of outlook in certain quarters from which a wider statesmanship might have been looked for."

So far we have dealt with the concluding hundred pages of Sir Claude Hill's book and these almost wholly exhaust matters of general interest to the Indian reader. The first pages, that is two-thirds of the book, is more or less in the form of memoirs, for most of which little more than personal interest can be claimed. Sir Claude's treatment is not historical and his language and method have limited literary value. Concerned primarily with his own active doings, he glibly passes over even events of stirring importance, like, for example, the Bengal Partition or the emasculation of our Universities. It is not for him to hurt or to hit or offend even the Indian extremist. For almost all Governors and Viceroy's he came in close contact with, he finds reasons for good words and at least partial admiration. Lord Curzon gets credit for having been a great worker, Lord Kitchener out of uniform was highly genial and pleasant, Lord Northcote was a splendid social success and Sir George Clarke (now Lord Sydenham) had big schemes looking far ahead. The book teems with compliments of this type for everyone.

There is a chapter, evidently intended for the proverbially ignorant Briton, on "the Indian Administration" and another on "the Government of India." Both chapters are of a rudimentary type the great burden whereof is to prove the thesis that the close contact with the people of town and village in which the I. C. S. is carefully trained and brought up is the secret which makes him both a successful and a popularly esteemed administrator. This opportunity the Bengal Civilian does not obtain owing to the Permanent Settlement, the result of which, according to Sir Claude Hill, is that there is greater sedition and cleavage between Government and the middle classes there than in the ryotwari provinces of India. A couple of chapters are devoted to Native States. Sir Fattessinghi of Udaipur is Sir Claude's hero, whilst the Nizam comes in for biting comments for his maladministration and the ex-Holkar for extraordinary vagaries. Sir Claude Hill would have the Native States cared for in the coming Reforms. But he hardly supports true Federation. In fact, he is all through a too timid, too cautious reformer. As in politics, so in social matters, he wants Miss Mayo to understand the stupendous character of the work the Indian social reformer has to do and be no severe task-master. He advocates greater social intercourse between Englishman and Indian. But the reform he would presently concentrate his energies on is to secure for the members of exclusive European clubs the right to take with them in the club premises any Indians they choose! That is a trimmer with a vengeance, one would say.

D. G. PADHYE.

A PANORAMIC VIEW OF INDIA.

INDIA: LAND OF THE BLACK PAGODA. BY
LOWELL THOMAS. (Hutchinson.) 1931. 24cm.
223p. 18/-.

THIS is a travel diary in which the author records his impressions of this country. He does not say, so far as one can see, when he visited it, but appears to have done so somewhere between 1921 and 1923. For in describing the Legislative Assembly—"a parliament in pyjamas"—we find him referring to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as Law Member and to Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar as "a clever lawyer who looks like the Hindu god Ganesha, the Remover of Obstacles." One at least of the two visits paid by the author seems to have occurred about this time. The author's interest in India was aroused by the description, which he heard from a military officer, of the Black Pagoda, the temple of the Sun at Kanarak, from which the book takes its title. And so enchanted was he with its beauty that though his original plan was to give only two months to India, he actually spent as many years here. And, he sorrowfully exclaims, "even then I was not content." That shows how much there is to see in India, if she is to be properly "done" and how little the proverbial globe-trotter can see during his two or three weeks' hurried tour. If Maurice Dekobra in his *Perfumed Tigers* which was recently reviewed in this paper dwelt on the need of a "boy" to look after every European visitor, Mr. Thomas emphasises the importance of a *guru*, without whose guidance and help the foreigner's time may not yield the best results. Mr. Thomas found such a guide in "Y.-B." (Major Francis Yeats-Brown of the Bengal Lancers) who apparently knew more of India. With his assistance Mr. Thomas covered over 60,000 miles, visiting even all hill stations except 33. God knows how many of them there are in India. During his wanderings Mr. Thomas naturally has had experience of almost all kinds of means of transport from the bullock ("bhail") cart to the motor car. He came to India via Ceylon and was much impressed by the natural view at Cape Comorin. On his way up he saw something of Trivandrum, Cochin and Madura. Pondicherry also claimed his attention. Madras he was of course bound to see. Nor did he forget the somewhat inaccessible ruins of Vijayanagar and the Gol Gumbaz at Bijapur. The Ajanta frescoes captivated his imagination, as they are sure to do in the case of even the most prosaic sight-seers. In Upper India he visited the places of interest which every tourist makes it a point to see—Lucknow, Benares, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Delhi, Calcutta, etc. Who could fail to be favourably impressed by the grandeur and historical importance of the beautiful buildings one comes across at these places? But it is not our purpose to follow the author through his itinerary. We are interested in his political views in relation to India rather than in where he went and what he saw. Of politics there is not much in the book. But what little he says on the point makes it clear that he is no exception to the general run of foreign travellers who, coming to know about the superstitious beliefs current among the ignorant and illiterate do not hesitate to brand the whole country as unfit for self-rule. See what our author says:

If Britain's statesmen could visit Puri with us and see the Festival of Jagannath they would get a cross section of three fourths of the population of India; and the experience might make it easier for them to decide whether the people of this land are ready to take over the democratic institutions of the West, and whether the "Home Rule within the Empire" scheme that the new reforms plan is to give them will actually fit the needs of these strange races of Hindustan. (p. 248).

Apart from this, even he was not slow to find out that the relations between the Government and people were anything but satisfactory. On p. 282 he remarks :

There is little human sympathy between the rulers and the ruled. Of abstract sympathy there is a plenty; whole file-fulls and pigeonhole-loads. But in that trust born of confidence, which touches the heart, and in that intimacy which fires the imagination of a sensitive race, and in that breadth of vision which sees the problems of the people with the eyes of the people, the British administration is deficient.

For this he assigns four causes or "the blinkers of bureaucracy" as he likes to term them: (1) climate, (2) caste; (3) congenital antipathy; and (4) the conspiracy of the clerks. The first factor affects the health of the British administrators adversely, on which ground an exodus to the hills for part of the year is commonly defended. But where, by the way, did the author find the temperature at "130° Fahrenheit"? In the words of the author, "this (stay on the hills,) has the governmental disadvantage that would ensue if the American Government shifted from Washington to the Rockies or if the British Cabinet held their meetings in Monte Carls." (p. 284.) Will Mr. Thomas be surprised to learn that India has to stand this anomaly not for a week or fortnight but for more than six months every year and, what is more, to foot the bill for it even when her coffers may be empty?

The author does not pretend, as some Britishers do, that there is no racial antipathy between the Europeans and Indians. On the other hand he observes with perfect truth :

To pretend that it does not exist is a very poor way of tackling the problem of East and West. Congenital antipathies should be stated and faced. The West is ready to give to the East its religion, but not its daughters in marriage. Some atavism stronger than ourselves rises insurgent when we think of the admixture of our blood with theirs. And the Indians feel the same. No doubt this is prejudice, the narrow vision of prejudice. (p. 285.)

We find the same sentiment paraphrased elsewhere in the book when the author likens the Indian caste system to the European race prejudice :

In England's colonies caste is paramount. Black skins are barred. So also Asiatics are excluded from the United States. Can we blame these old Brahmins for insisting on their race distinctions? Should we not rather admire them for sticking to their pride of birth through all these long years? After all, Europeans are doing the same thing in much the same way at this moment... There is much loose talk of "brotherhood", but how many white men would willingly see one of their womenfolk married to an Asiatic? This is a thing that should be faced frankly. So why not avow our caste principles like the old Brahmins, instead of trying vainly to disguise them? We deceive no one but ourselves by burying our heads in the sands of prejudice. Why blame the Brahmin when we are nearly as bad ourselves? (p. 56.)

Now, what is this "conspiracy of the clerks"? It has apparently been made to appear to the author that the clerks in Government offices are deliberately engaged, not in doing their work but in "making work" so that "someone else may be engaged to do it, the someone else being one of his relations". (p. 286.) That the Indian clerks here are not as efficient as their *confreres* in the west can be easily admitted; but to say, as the author does, that of set purpose they are bent upon creating work in the hope of creating billets for their relatives is to utter a libel on a class of very hard-worked and low-paid Government employees. One can understand Mr. Thomas trying to make his readers realise the diffi-

cult nature of the British administrator's task in India; but that hardly gives him a licence to run down the poor clerk.

Will Britain lose India? The author's answer breathes a larger measure of optimism than does that of reactionary Anglo-Indian ex-administrators like Sir Michael O'Dwyer:

The British will not lose India. In spite of all the talk to the contrary, they will remain, as traders and soldiers, if not as administrators, because their rule has been a success, taking it by and large. The secret of that success is simply that they do not live in India. They are not debauched by the climate like the old Aryans and Moghuls. It is the steamship lines and transports carrying tired bureaucrats to their English homes, and bringing buoyant administrators back again to their bureaux, that are holding India for the British. (p. 237.)

Writing about Amritsar, Mr. Thomas sees nothing particularly blameworthy in General Dyer's action in firing on an unarmed and peaceful crowd in Jallianwalla Bagh. All that appears "deplorable" to him is that "the wounded should have been left with no attention." But he hastens to add, with simplicity born of ignorance of the conditions of life at Amritsar at the time, that "there was nothing in the world to stop the relatives of the wounded from going to their aid." (p. 186.) Mr. Thomas would doubtless not have penned this sentence if he had known something of the "moral effect" produced by General Dyer's barbarous act. People were so terror-stricken that nobody ventured out of doors for fear of being shot by General Dyer's soldiers. But we need not pursue this point further except to point out that so far as General Dyer's failure to attend to the dead and to give medical aid to the wounded is concerned, the author's view is different from that of the then Secretary of State for India who characterised it as "an omission from his (General Dyer's) obvious duty." That is how India feels on the matter.

We have left ourselves little space to make even a passing reference to the author's very readable descriptions of men and things, in which the volume before us abounds. Mr. Thomas does not however appear to have seen much of people in Indian public life, his object apparently being to see as much of the country as possible. But there is a passage describing the difficulties of the European in mango-eating which we would like to share with the reader. He calls the mango the "mystery fruit" whose "pungent, tarry smell" is "distinguishable from all the other odours of the Indian bazar."

As soon as a mango maniac smells it his nostrils dilate, his eyes goggle, and his tongue cleaves to his palate, until he is assuaged by the object of his heart's desire. And once he has it, still the mango cannot be eaten. You cannot eat a mango casually, just like that. You must take it to your bath-room, reverently disrobe, get into your tub, and then fall to. Only thus, in the twilight of an Indian ghusalkhana can you woo this mystic fruit as it should be wooed. . . To eat a mango without smearing it all over oneself and everything in the vicinity is as much of a lost art as dyeing with Tyrian purple. (p. 218.)

The European certainly needs a training in eating mangoes as in eating Indian food with his own fingers. As if to make us realise the "national importance" of the mango, the author adds :

During the season at least ten million mangoes a day must be eaten in India, one hundred million flies must be buzzing around them during the daylight hours, at least a million our dogs lick the discarded skins, several thousand individuals slip on them, and several hundreds a day, at least, die of colic from eating the fruit unripe.

That may sound an overstatement to many but that the mango season leaves behind some sickness, due to eating both unripe and overripe mangoes is a phenomenon with which everybody in India is familiar. The above extracts will, it is hoped, make clear to the reader that it is a publication whose perusal might provide an interesting occupation during one's leisure hours.

H. K. L.

MALABAR TENANCY LEGISLATION.

THE MALABAR TENANCY ACT. BY C. GOVINDAN NAIR. (Associated Publishers.) Rs. 12-8-0.

THE Malabar Tenancy Act became law only on the 1st of December 1930. The rules framed under the Act have not yet come into force and I have already before me two commentaries on the enactment in English and three in the vernacular. This is evidence of the great interest which the people of Malabar take in this enactment.

Of all the commentaries the one by Mr. C. Govindan Nair is by far the most comprehensive. In his work Mr. Nair has focussed almost all the relevant learning that is available for the purpose of construing and interpreting the obscure provisions of this Act. The Madras legislature has had very little experience in tenancy legislation. One of its notable attempts in that line is the Estates Land Act which has given rise to interminable litigation. I am afraid the Malabar Tenancy Act is quite as likely to flood our courts with litigation on an unprecedented scale. There is hardly a section in the Act which is not capable of more than one plausible interpretation. It is therefore a very helpful thing that Mr. Govindan Nair has done by so promptly publishing an exhaustive and carefully prepared commentary on it. Apart from the fact that Mr. Nair is a Malayalee and a judge of considerable experience he is specially qualified for the work he has undertaken. He had a great deal to do with the drafting of some of the provisions of the Act and he has brought to bear upon his work his experience as a lawyer and judge. I have little doubt that the commentaries will be found serviceable both by the bench and the bar.

While it must be admitted that Mr. Govindan Nair has done his work with remarkable success I cannot omit to draw attention to the fact that in regard to certain fundamental matters on which the Act is based his interpretation is undoubtedly open to question. It is difficult to discover where he gathered the idea that the fixity of tenure conferred on the cultivating Verumpattandar is liable to be defeated when his immediate landlord loses his rights over the holding. Similarly the interpretation he puts on section 26 of the Act which gives the landlord the right to sue for the renewal fee when a renewal has once been executed under the provisions of Chapter IV is hardly warranted by the words of the section. Mr. Nair says that the right to sue for renewal fee will ensue only if the renewal is executed through the court. But Chapter IV provides for the execution of renewals by agreement between the parties and for renewals through the court when the parties are not able to come to an agreement. It will be remembered that a document executed by the court has just the same effect as if it had been executed by the landlord himself. Any way there is very little doubt that renewals under Chapter IV whether executed with or without the aid of the court will justify a suit by the landlord for the renewal fee when subsequent occasions arise for it. It occurs to me that Mr. Nayar's interpretation of section 27 in which an intermediary is permitted to grant a renewal to his

tenant for a longer term than he himself has is of a very doubtful character. The privity of contract which the section establishes between the landlord and the tenant who holds under the disappearing intermediary cannot come into existence if the landlord does not choose to accept the position, for it is expressly laid down that the situation can arise only subject to the right of the landlord to evict under section 20. The right to evict under section 20 arises when the time granted by the landlord expires. The object of the legislature is apparently to give the landlord the option of either accepting the tenant of the intermediary as his own tenant or of exercising his right of eviction under section 20. It was felt that the clause as it originally stood in the Government bill was a great and unwarranted infringement of the rights of the landlord and against all accepted notions of law. Therefore, the provision that the privity of contract was subject to the right of the tenant to evict under section 20 was specially inserted. It is true that section 27 is a bundle of contradictions which it would take all the available legal acumen to interpret. But I am certain that the meaning attributed to its provisions by Mr. Govindan Nair is unjustified.

Equally open to question is the construction placed upon section 43. The section contemplates the eviction of every tenant who is on the land; and if the landlord fails to discharge the obligation imposed upon him, then, any tenant who was on the land can claim restoration to his former rights. Sub-section 2 does not lay down that the right of restoration for the under-tenant will arise only if he was thrown out as a consequence of the eviction of an intermediary. We might refer to many other instances in which the interpretation of Mr. Govindan Nair is of a doubtful character. It is not possible to go into greater detail into them within the compass of this review.

LEX.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN U. S. A.

SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK, 1929. Ed. By FRED S. HALL. (Russell Sage Foundation, New York.) 1930. 25 cm. 600 p. \$4-00.

THIS book purports to be a comprehensive record of organised efforts to deal with social problems in the United States up to the year 1929 and gives among other information both a history of such efforts and their present status. The work of over 450 national agencies has been surveyed and summarised. There are few aspects of social need that are not covered and few departments of social work that are not represented by one or other of the agencies arranged in Part II of the book. The self-indexing arrangement only enhances its usefulness as a book of reference.

From a book which gives a summary of the efforts of 450 agencies in over 200 departments it is difficult to pick out a few subjects for special mention in a review. Workers in India may however be interested in the articles on welfare work for women and children and labourers, on old age relief, on rural social work, on penal reform, prison labour, and prisoner's aid—all of these activities which workers in this country are beginning to take up on an extensive scale. Disaster-relief is another subject that ought to attract the attention of social workers in a country where famine and flood and cyclone are of frequent occurrence. National health in the shape of education, demonstration and health centres is another subject which is still a new region in this country. Adult education and unemployment are also beginning to press themselves on our attention.

The usefulness of this book to social workers in this country is obvious. It brings home to them the amount of pioneering that has yet to be done and the extent and variety of the work that can be done by workers endowed with vision and will. The articles furnish several illustrations of the normal evolution of social work in modern societies,—the discovery of social needs and abuses by a few, followed by organisation of voluntary work with the public aid, and finally the entry of the state into the field either to absorb, supplement, or co-ordinate the work of voluntary agencies, contributing the elements of stability and continuity that are generally associated with state activity.

Social workers labouring in a country where the harvest is plentiful and labourers are few, will take heart from a state of society where not much time is allowed to elapse between the discovery of social abuses and the expression of the social will for their removal. As a statement of collective experience of social work the book is an invaluable contribution to the cause of social service especially in a country like India where social work is coming up with shyness and spasmodicity amidst many difficulties and few encouragements. The Russell Sage Foundation has laid social workers and the public all over the world under an obligation by this timely and useful publication by which "the progress of social work will be advanced, its unity increased and popular understanding of its aims enlarged."

K. V. SESA AIYANGAR.

SHORT NOTICES.

PRINCESS KALYANI. BY MRS. GHOSAL (SHRIMATI SVARNA KUMARI DEVI.) (Ganesh & Co., Madras.) 1930. 20cm. 223p. Ps. 2/-

In this little drama of three acts the authoress has very well shown the folly of mankind. She has vividly pictured selfishness practised in our everyday life to a most unpardonable extent in these days. The end, although rather abrupt and confused, proves the universal truth that purity of soul and true happiness are only attained through suffering and learning thereby to give up self-interest.

MRS. M. P. MEHTA.

MARCHING MEN. THE STORY OF WAR. By STANTON A. COBLENTZ. (World Tomorrow, New York.) 1927. 24cm. 488p. \$3.00.

It is difficult to see how any one wishing to learn about the congregated misdeeds of man on earth—known as "wars"—can avoid reading some such book as this. Mr. Coblentz narrates the methods and weapons of war from pre-historic times right up to the recent and even to the future, and, with these, the Protean forms that war atrocities have assumed in their evolution. No page is unauthenticated nor yet any that is dull. We read on with a dark fascination and some chapters, like those describing the cruelties of the ancient Assyrians and the Spanish *conquistadores* in Mexico, bring us a creepy horror. After this, he must be a superman who does not loathe war. Mr. Coblentz has done a real stroke of work on behalf of World-Peace in writing this book. Let statesmen ponder over it.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.

UNCLE REMUS, OR MR. RABBIT AND MR. TERRAPIN. By JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS. (Oxford University Press.) 1930. 15cm. 219 p. 2/-

THE Oxford University Press are to be congratulated on having included in their library this deservedly famous children's book. One wonders though, whether the type is not too small to attract children.

R. S.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- LITTLE AMERICA.** Aerial Exploration in the Antarctic. The Flight to the South Pole. By RICHARD EVELYN BYRD. (Putnams, London & New York.) 1930. 24cm. 432p. \$5.00.
- INDIA: LAND OF THE BLACK PAGODA.** By LOWELL THOMAS. (Hutchinson.) 1931. 34cm. 283p. 18/-
- STRAFFORD.** By LADY BURGHCLERE. Vols. 1 & 2. (Macmillan, London.) 1931. 23cm. pp. 348, 373. 30/- for 2 vols.
- THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF SOVIET RUSSIA.** By PAUL HAENSEL. (King.) 1930. 22cm. 190 p. 9/-.
- LIFE OF SAYAJI RAO III. MAHARAJA OF BARODA.** Vols. 1 & 2. By STANLEY RICE. (Oxford University Press.) 1931. 23cm. pp. 234, 292. 31/6 for 2 vols.
- STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY.** By SURENDRANATH SEN. (University of Calcutta.) 1930. 22cm. 266p.
- METROPOLIS OR THE DESTINY OF CITIES.** By PAUL BANKS. (C. W. Daniel.) 1930. 17cm. 86p. 3/6.
- ENGLISH RECORDS ON SHIVAJI. (1659-1682) Vols. 1 & 2.** (Shiva Charitra Karyalaya, Poona.) 1931. 22cm. pp. 378, 356. Rs. 12.
- INDIA: A WARNING.** By J. M. KENWORTHY. (Elkin Mathews & Marrot.) 1931. 18cm. 117p. 2/6.
- RESPONSIBLE DRINKING.** By ROBERT C. BINKLEY. (Vanguard Press, New York.) 1930. 20cm. 215p. \$2.00.
- LENIN. GOD OF THE GODLESS.** By FERDINAND A. OSSENDOWSKI. (Constable & Co. received through Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1931. 20cm. 409p. 7/6.
- 'INTO THEIR COMPANY'—A BOOK FOR A MODERN GIRL ON LOVE & MARRIAGE.** By A MEDICAL WOMAN, A GIRL & A WIFE. (Burns Oates.) 1931. 16cm. 87p. 1/6.
- PLANTATION LABOUR IN INDIA.** By RAJANI KANTA DAS. (R. Chatterjee, 120/2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.) 1931. 21cm. 194p. Rs. 3.
- THE SCOUTS RED BOOK OF "GOOD TURNS."** By AN OBSCURE SCOUT. (The India Sunday School Union, Coonoor, S. India.) 1931. 18cm. 36p. As. 4.
- TOLKAPIYAM.** The earliest extant Tamil grammar, with a short commentary in English. Vol. 1. By P. S. SUBRAMANYA SASTRI. (Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.) 1930. 21cm. 105p. Re. 1.

Protection of Minorities in India.

A limited number of copies of two pamphlets on the problem of the 'Protection of Minorities in India' written by the late Mr. K. T. Paul and Prof. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M. A., Ph. D. are available for the public. Any person who wants the pamphlets for study can get them by sending postage stamps of five annas to cover postage and part of the cost of printing etc. to the Secretary, Servants of India Society 17, Maclagan Road, Lahore.