

The Servant of India

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OFFICE : SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S HOME, POONA 4.

VOL. XIV No. 47. } POONA—THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1931. { INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN SUBSN. 15s.

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Topics of the Week.

The Finance Bill Deadlock.

THE circumstances in which the special session of the Legislative Assembly came to a close on Friday last once again show that an irresponsible government cannot even be expected to be responsive. The net result of the amendments made by the Assembly in the Supplementary Finance Bill was the reduction by four crores of rupees of the anticipated revenue. This was too much for a Government which seems to have made almost a fetish of balancing the budget. We are far from implying that budgetary equilibrium is not desirable. But we do not go so far as to believe, as the Government seems to do, that a small uncovered deficit would make the heavens fall. Except on this supposition it is difficult to account for their doggedness in insisting upon the Assembly passing the Bill in its original form and for that purpose even going the length of invoking the special powers of the Governor-General. Prior to sending back the Bill to the Assembly with his recommendation to pass it in the form in which it was introduced, the Viceroy had a private conference with party leaders. This raised the expectation that a resort to his extraordi-

nary powers may after all be avoided. But as events have shown, he sent for them simply to ask them to induce the Assembly to go back upon what it had done, failing which his bludgeon powers would automatically come into play. We are glad the Assembly refused to be cowed into submission, for it could not have done so without stultifying itself.

We wish the almost complete unanimity with which non-official opinion combined in resisting the pressure of Government in getting the Bill passed by the Assembly without any amendment had shown them the wisdom of bowing for once before the force of public opinion. If they wanted the Bill to go through the legislature unamended, it is a question why they allowed nearly two months' time for public opinion to express itself thereon. Indeed in the light of these later events, even the Assembly debates on the Bill have assumed the appearance of a farce, which was a necessary preliminary to certification by the Governor-General in due course. The Assembly's action is being interpreted in some quarters not too friendly to Indian aspirations as the doing of an irresponsible legislature which furnishes a justification for these special powers being continued in the Governor-General even under the projected reforms. From the manner in which the Assembly has all along co-operated with the Government in cutting down expenditure and in shouldering the burden of additional taxation the charge of irresponsibility cannot with any fairness be laid at its door. On the contrary it is the Government which has admirably lived up to its avowedly irresponsible character and has by its unwise acts strengthened the public demand for its being made responsible. If the Assembly had had the freedom, it would probably have achieved the objective of budgetary equilibrium by methods less abhorrent to public opinion. But this is unthinkable under a régime which is based on the supposition that the Government alone has the sole monopoly of wisdom. As those who followed the debates in the Assembly need not be told, the Assembly's vote was largely influenced by the consideration that retrenchment had really not gone as far as it well might have done—a fact of which due note should be taken by the Government.

* * *

Bikaner's Legislative Assembly.

HIS Prime Minister has cast upon His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner a duty from which now

there is no getting away. For, when in the Federal Structure Committee Mr. Joshi stated that the Legislative Councils in Bikaner and Bhopal contained a nominated majority, Sir Manubhai Mehta contradicted the statement in so far as Bikaner was concerned. Mr. Joshi's argument of course was that if these Councils were given not merely a voice in the selection of the States' representatives on the Federal Assembly, but the full right of electing them, even then the representatives would represent no one except the ruling Princes since the Councils contained a nominated majority. In face of this statement His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal—very wisely—held his peace, for he was aware that Mr. Joshi's was an understatement in regard to his State, for the Legislative Council of Bhopal consists not only of a nominated but of an official majority. The Prime Minister of Bikaner however was not equally discreet. He challenged Mr. Joshi's statement, whereupon Mr. Joshi invited Sir Manubhai to tell the Committee what the composition of Bikaner's Legislative Assembly was. Sir Manubhai has accepted the challenge, but at the moment he was not ready with the reply, which gave an impression to the Committee that Mr. Joshi was but stating facts. The Maharaja must now step into the breach like the soldier that he is and say plainly which of the two has truth on his side, Mr. Joshi or Sir Manubhai Mehta.

So far as our information goes, the Legislative Assembly, which first came into existence in 1913, consists of 45 members, of whom 18 were elected till 1929. The number of elected members has since 1929 been increased to 20, but they are still in a minority, 20 out of 47. Mr. Joshi's statement is therefore fully borne out by the facts as we know them. And if the character of the bodies who elect these representatives is taken into consideration it may perhaps be shown that the election is more nominal than real. But we wish to put the case for the State at its highest, and even so we find that Bikaner has a Council which consists of a majority of the Prince's nominees, and if to such a Council you give a voice in the choice of the State's representatives, surely, as Mr. Joshi says, you will really be giving a voice to the ruler himself. The voice, in order that it may be of some value, must be given to the elected members in the Legislative Council, though Mr. Joshi would still be disconsolate and go on pleading, first, for the election of the States' representatives by the elected portion of the Council, and then by direct popular election.

In this connection we may reproduce here what an esteemed friend says about indirect election. He objects to it on two grounds. "(i) People sent to our local legislatures are generally provincial in their mentality. Their education and ability and outlook are good enough only for provincial purposes. Sending such to the Federal Central Legislature does not suffice to make it *national* in its mentality. The electors themselves are sure to see what is required in a local and what in a national legislature, and would like to choose from two different levels or

grades for the two different purposes. I think we have experience on our side in support of this view. (ii) The local legislative houses are certain to be dominated by communalists—either of the Brahman vs. non-Brahman class, or of the Hindu vs. Moslem vs. Sikh vs. Christian groups. And when they have the choice, you may be sure a confirmed communalist will come at the top. For these two reasons also, I am against election through local or provincial legislatures. I think even the Mahatma is underrating the intelligence of our people in this connection. And even if they have not the necessary education now, the only way of educating them for more active citizenship is to make them all voters—participants in a grand national raffle."

* * *

Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim's Wise Advice.

THE obstructive tactics adopted by Muslim delegates at the R. T. C. and their reported alliance with Tories for the purpose of blocking Indian political progress pending a communal settlement satisfactory to themselves have apparently not been well received by the generality of the Muslim community in this country. That their action should fail to commend itself to Muslims of the Nationalist bent of mind is only natural, and they have in fact condemned it in unmeasured terms. But even that section of the Muslim community which is not noted for its very active participation in politics also seems to be thoroughly disgusted with their unpatriotic behaviour at the Conference. Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, who may be regarded as a fair specimen of this type, is constrained to remark:—

As an Indian and as a Muslim, I am deeply grieved by this spectacle. As a Muslim particularly, I feel the sorrow that Muslim delegates have been somewhat unreasonable in their demands, demands which may be taken to go counter to all principles of democracy, and which, if embodied predominantly in any constitution, would take no time to turn a peaceful country into a camp of warring communities. The limit of patience may be said to have been reached when these people throw away the opportunity of a life-time in not presenting a united case, at a critical juncture in the country's history and it is therefore the duty of every sensible Muslim, true to his country, to declare that India's interest and well-being do not entirely lie on the lines of communal separation.

The Muslim League has come out with the threat that any communal settlement which fails to satisfy all the Muslim demands would lead to a disturbance of the peace and tranquillity of the country. All sensible elements will however agree that Sir Currimbhoy states but the bare truth when he says that it is, not the solution of the communal problem on national lines, but on communal lines, that will really lead to the country being divided into separate warring communities. He shows a real understanding of the etiology of communal riots when he says that they are directly attributable to visits of agents of communal disaffection and that places which have been free from such undesirable attentions, as the countryside has so far happily been, have not had the even tenor of their lives disturbed by such communal disturbances. He points out with considerable force

that while these communal zealots are fighting so hard for sectional benefits, they utter "not a word about the poverty of the people, their semi-starved condition, their appalling illiteracy, the ruined industry, the ruining trade, the top-heavy administration, and the so many ills before which people's strength and hope wither away like autumn leaves." What is it really that the Muslims are afraid of from the Hindus? Do they fear that the latter want to uproot the Muslim religion? Granting it were so, Sir Currimbhoy pertinently asks: will the paper safeguards for which they are crying themselves hoarse avail them much? "Safeguards and preferential rights," according to Sir Currimbhoy who, we need hardly add, is not alone in holding that view, "may turn out to be the seeds of poison, which if once introduced may not only destroy true national outlook and endeavour, but will go on widening the gulf between the two communities with the result that each will be perpetually engaged in attaining mastery over the other." Who can doubt the truth of Sir Currimbhoy's observation?

* * *

Madras Excise Administration for 1930-31.

IN noticing the C. P. excise administration report for 1930-31 in a recent issue, we drew attention to the important part played by the picketing of liquor shops in connection with the civil disobedience movement last year in the reduction of consumption. The same phenomenon is observable even in connection with the excise administration of Madras for last year, though the drop in consumption there was not as heavy as in C. P. In Madras the consumption of country liquor showed a decrease of 22.4 per cent. with a corresponding reduction of Rs. 36 lakhs in revenue. There was a decrease in the consumption of all foreign liquors as compared to the previous year, denatured spirits alone showing an increase of about 2000 gallons. A comparison with the consumption figures for 1912-13 discloses the fact that while the popularity of wines and spirits is stationary, beer and denatured spirits are being increasingly used, their consumption going up from 581,000 to 946,000 gallons and 19,557 to 77,000 gallons respectively. The more extended use of foreign liquors bears out the general belief that for prohibition to be real and effective, it will not do to ban merely country liquor but also all kinds of foreign ones as well. The experience of the working of the experiment of closing country liquor shops in toddy drinking areas which was in its seventh year during the year under report does not seem to lend confirmation to the official theory that such action is usually followed by increased illicit consumption. Indeed, though extra detective establishment was employed in the area as a precautionary measure, it had to be disbanded as being superfluous. A similar prohibition experiment whose area was, we are glad to note, extended during the year is officially described as not having so far been attended with equally "satisfactory" results. This conclusion is arrived at on the strength of statistics which are supposed to show a "serious" increase in crime, but which, frankly, fail to convey that impression. But even were the facts as are officially described, they should not be used as an excuse for stopping this experiment. The real remedy is not to stop the experiment itself but to check the evil consequences which are supposed to flow from it. A look at the table showing the action taken on the recommendations of licensing boards and excise advisory bodies, wherever they exist, would seem to give the impression that they are better respected in Madras than in many other presidencies.

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Articles.

CENTRAL RESPONSIBILITY.

THE discussions in the Federal Structure Committee, which threatened at one time to come to an abrupt close, have been proceeding, and proceeding on much the same lines as last year. But there are two important differences. First, the Mahomedans have maintained a sullen and ominous silence. It had been hoped that they were persuaded to drop their non-co-operation attitude, and take their full share in the Committee's discussions, only repeating their inexorable proviso at the beginning and at the end that they must not be supposed to agree to any measure introducing responsibility into the Central Government till their community's claims in respect of representation &c. had been dealt with to their satisfaction. This is precisely what they did last year, and their participation was not misunderstood in any quarter to mean that they have become on account of the participation any less insistent on the communal claims. They might as well have done so this year, and no detriment to the communal claims would have resulted. All that they have actually done is that they have not abstained from the meetings of the Committee but have taken just as much part in them as if they had abstained.

Second, the Congress views have been ventilated this year, not merely through the speeches of the only accredited representative of that body, Mahatma Gandhi, but through those of Pandit Malaviya and Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyengar. But unfortunately the views have been stated in the broadest outline. Mahatma Gandhi had warned the country before his departure for London that he would just say what the Congress feels on the subject of Indian self-government and he has been as good as his word. No attempt was made by him on some important questions to define the vague feelings and aspirations that the average Congressman entertains on them. This our remark would be best understood if one considered at this point the observations that the Mahatma made on the subject of defence. He made an impassioned appeal for the transfer of the entire control of the army. But he never cared to consider himself all the implications of this proposal, and when he was confronted with some of these implications he was forced to modify the position that he had taken up at an earlier stage. But he himself admitted, even while asking for full control, that the control might be subject to some limitations in the mutual interests of India and Great Britain. Such an admission, one would have thought, necessarily cast upon him who made it the obligation of indicating what the limitations might be, at a meeting expressly called for the purpose of settling these matters.

Mahatma Gandhi, however, contented himself with the remark that he generally agreed with the reservations set out in Pandit Malaviya's speech. Pandit Malaviya too in his speech had asked for the transfer of full control of the army, subject to cer-

tain safeguards. And the safeguard mentioned by him was one, but comprehensive enough to meet all conceivable exigencies. For he said in effect: The legislature should control the administration of all branches of defence in normal circumstances, but in other circumstances, the determination of which was to be left to the sole discretion of the Governor-General, the latter would be empowered to suspend the constitution and take independent action. Now, if we are not to deceive ourselves, does not this amount to reservation of the subject of defence? For what does reservation imply? It does not imply that the legislature will have no voice in administering the subject at all. On the contrary, it implies that ordinarily it will be controlled by the legislature, but that the final and determining voice (which will naturally be exercised in emergencies alone) will be exercised by the Governor-General and through him by Parliament. In what respect does this reservation differ from Mahatma Gandhi's "complete transfer" except in name? In fact, as was very cogently pointed out by Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar, this nominal transfer might easily be purchased at the cost of more real power than is implied in the reservation of the subject.

We cannot therefore congratulate the Congress upon the part it has taken in these particular discussions. We can understand it asking for full control, but then it must really be full control. Of course no one can take up this attitude without being oblivious to existing facts, but the attitude would at any rate be intelligible. But if limitations are admitted, they must be substantially different from those which are implied by reservation of the subject to the ultimate control of the Governor-General. The Congress, however, is neither unrealist enough to admit of no limitations to the legislative control of the army, nor realist enough to admit that the only alternative to the whole-hog attitude is to acquiesce in reservation. The reservation of course need not be unrestricted, and as envisaged by other parties it is to be restricted in several particulars. These particulars may be varied if thought desirable, and if they are to be varied, it necessarily needs descending to details, which the Congress is either unready or unwilling to do. So it comes about that the Congress takes up a position in this respect which is both unhelpful and illogical.

External affairs necessarily go with the army. One cannot demand the transfer of the first without demanding the transfer of the second and when the second is transferred there is no reason why the first should remain reserved. Nothing further need be said on this subject, but the subject of Political Relations with the States deserves special notice. This matter was left by the Mahatma to be dealt with by Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyengar, and his attitude was equally unsatisfactory. He did not face the question at all. He merely said that if federation was complete, it would cover all that was now included in Political Relations. Here he was certainly talking through his hat, and perhaps he was wearing a hat at the time. In the first place, Mr. Aiyengar knows as well

as any one else that the federation was going to be of a very incomplete description, and that neither he nor Mahatma nor Malaviyaji nor any other having the remotest connection with the Congress made the faintest conceivable attempt to make it even slightly less incomplete than it is going to be. Such attempts as were made were made by Sir Mahomed Shafi, Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Shafa'at Ahmed Khan, Mr. Joshi and others to whom the Congress delegate has thought fit to place himself in utter and entire opposition. In the second place, it is in the nature of things impossible that the whole area of Political Relations would be covered by federation. Intervention in the internal affairs of the States is a right and a duty which must be exercised and discharged by some power, whether the British Indian constitution is of a unitary or federal type—unless of course by reason of popular government being established in the States interference becomes unnecessary (and the establishment of popular government in the States has nothing to do with federation).

Mr. Aiyengar therefore was either deceiving himself or others or both when he tried to shirk the question of Political Relations by pretending that it was unnecessary to deal with it when federation had eventuated. We can well understand his desiring to shirk the question. The Congress, for which he was speaking, cannot logically leave this subject to be handled by the Crown through his agent the Viceroy, when the Congress does not recognise the Crown at all. But it cannot ask for the transfer of Political Relations to the control of the legislature without incurring the hostility of the Princes, which it does not suit the Congress to do. In the whole of the present discussions the Congress has placed itself athwart the British Government and powerless minorities like the depressed classes, but it has sedulously cultivated the Princes. Mr. Gandhi dared not mention election and felt "totally unable" to ask for constitutional guarantees of civil liberty, in so far as the States were concerned. In such a predicament Mr. Aiyengar has no alternative but to seem as if he were asking for the transfer of Political Relations and yet really not to ask for it. We very much wish he had not lent himself to this game of make-believe in which the Congress is indulging throughout these discussions. It is a sorry affair altogether.

LABOUR IN INDIA.

RESULTS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION'S ENQUIRY.—XIII.* BURMA AND INDIA.

THE industries in Burma are largely dependent on Indian labour. At least two-thirds of the workers employed in factories, mines and oil-fields, railways and plantations are Indians. In the unskilled occupations the proportion of Indians is particularly high. The immigration is entirely uncontrolled, but it is not entirely unassisted. Employment in rice mills is secured on a system which involves the transfer of

*Previous articles in this series appeared in our issues of July 23 and 30, August 6, 13 and 27, September 3 and 10, October 1, 8, 15, and 29 and November 19.

practically all responsibility for labour to *maistries* or contractors. There is an officer called the Protector of Immigrants and Emigrants, but he has no statutory powers, except with regard to issuing certificates for skilled emigrants and has no responsibility for an emigrant once he has left the job and no concern with recruitment in India. The indirect employment of unskilled labour is a feature of industry in Burma, and especially in Rangoon. The great bulk of the Indian labour is not engaged and often is not paid by the principal employer; he employs a *maistry* or a contractor and the labour is generally engaged by *sub-maistries* or sub-contractors. They hold the labour with the assistance of different types of monetary agreements, and the labourers are generally in debt to them. The first and essential reform is, therefore, the introduction of a system of direct payment of wages. The labour for rice mills is specially brought over for a season, which may be less than six months and is seldom more than eight. Even during the season, employment may not be continuous. After the season is over, this labour force swells the numbers competing for other employment. In these circumstances, the Commission consider it unreasonable that labour should be assisted to emigrate by any industry. If the rice mill industry finds it necessary to recruit in India, it must be prepared to repatriate the recruited worker as soon as it ceases to pay him his normal wages. The housing conditions especially in Rangoon are quite unsatisfactory. The Indian labour in Burma is unskilled and leaderless and is divided into races that are not likely to combine among themselves. To add to these difficulties there is the growing tendency among the Burmans to claim work which has hitherto been carried on by Indians. Mention has been made in the report of the tragic events in Rangoon in May 1930, that were due to a clash between the Telugu dock labourers and the Burmese blacklegs, resulting in the loss of about 120 human lives. It is the increasing economic pressure that is driving the Burmans to compete in fields hitherto left to the Indian. Naturally the employers are the gainers. It is desirable that the supply of Indian labour should be regulated with a view to avoiding unemployment and underemployment among the Indian labourers and the clash between them and their Burmese competitors. So long as the *maistry* system prevails it is impossible for the Indian workers in Burma to form their unions and acquire an effective bargaining power.

STATISTICS AND ADMINISTRATION.

The most important suggestion made by the Commission in the chapter under the above title is with regard to statutory powers for collecting statistical information relating to labour. The Government of Bombay sponsored a statistics bill in 1924, but it was stoutly opposed by the employers who were reluctant to concede to the Labour Office extensive powers, and eventually the measure was abandoned by the Government in 1926. The Commission hold that the principle of the measure was sound, legislation for the collection of statistics regarding the economic condition of the people being now in force in the majority

of countries of any industrial importance. It is, therefore, recommended that legislation be adopted, preferably by the Central Legislature, enabling the competent authority to collect information from employers regarding the remuneration, attendance and living conditions (including housing) of industrial labour from merchants regarding prices, from moneylenders regarding loans to workers and from landlords regarding rentals.

LABOUR AND THE CONSTITUTION.

Under the present constitution, matters relating to labour in mines, on the railways, in all the chief ports and on sea-going ships come within the category of central subjects, while matters relating to labour in factories, plantations, public works and on inland steam vessels come under provincial subjects. The provincial labour subjects are, generally speaking, 'reserved', i. e., they are in the portfolios of Members and not Ministers in the provinces, and the Government of India have full powers of superintendence, direction and control over the provincial Government in such matters. In practice labour legislation has been virtually confined to the central Legislature. One of the most important questions in the future constitution of the country is about the power which should be exercised by the central and the provincial legislatures respectively. The Commission have unhesitatingly recommended that legislative powers in respect of labour should continue with the Central Legislature and that the provincial legislatures should also have power to legislate, labour legislation undertaken in provinces being not allowed to impair or infringe the legislation of the centre or its administration. But this is not enough in view of "the need of dealing with labour questions on a scale transcending national boundaries" which has been felt and already resulted in the formation of the International Labour Organisation. The Commission's field of enquiry being limited to the provinces of British India they have avoided the constitutional issues relating to the whole of India. The Indian States cannot, however, be left to themselves in this respect. Co-operation and co-ordination between the States and British India is as necessary as between the provinces of British India. The evils of allowing the States to have their own policy have been already felt and, therefore, it is quite necessary that labour must be a subject for the federal as well as the central legislature. It is recommended in the report that the possibility of making labour legislation both a federal and a provincial subject should be considered. The recommendation ought to have been more positive. An Industrial Council the constitution by statute of which has been recommended by the Commission and which is to consist of representatives of employers, labour and Governments, meeting regularly in conference, may be useful if labour is made only a central and not a federal subject; but otherwise it is likely to give rise to complications, create unnecessary difficulties and delay if not hamper the progress of labour legislation.

As regards franchise, the Commission has recom-

mended that labour should be given adequate representation in the central and provincial legislatures, if special constituencies are to remain a feature of the Indian constitution. The representatives of labour are to be elected by registered trade unions, the weight which should be given to each registered trade union being determined before election by a special tribunal to be set up for the purpose in each province. This proposal is far from satisfactory. First, the workers in many industries are still unorganised and where they are organised at all they are only partially so. Secondly, the fortunes of trade unions change from time to time and the weight to be determined by the special tribunals will not be indicative of the needs of labour as a whole, and thirdly, as observed by the Commission in their Report, "the welfare of labour does not depend purely on what may be called labour measures" but "on the whole trend of policy and legislation." The Commission have fought shy of adult suffrage, but in that direction alone the true solution of the difficulty will be found. That will lead not only to the formation in the near future of a strong Labour party in the country but also to better organisation of individual trade unions.

(*Concluded.*)

P. G. KANEKAR.

Reviews.

THE INDIAN HANDLOOM INDUSTRY.

THE ECONOMICS OF HANDLOOM. [Andhra Economic Series No. 3.] By N. G. RANGA. (Taraporewalla, Bombay.) 1930. 21cm. 302p. Rs. 2.

DESPITE the gloomy prognostications of many an economic historian, the handloom industry of India still occupies an important place in the economic life of the country. It has been spared the fate that overtook the handloom industry of the West with the progress of the Industrial Revolution and although by no means in a prosperous condition, it has revealed a surprising degree of vitality and life in face of considerable economic changes. The handloom still supplies nearly one-third of the total requirements of cloth for India and shows no signs of extinction. This is due to a number of factors, of which the steady demand in this country for its products is perhaps the most significant. In recent years the industry has received a great impetus, thanks to the growth of nationalism and the spread of the khaddar movement. But while the khaddar movement has undoubtedly given a fresh lease of life and vigour to the industry, it cannot be said that its influence on the handloom has been altogether in one and the same direction. For it has encouraged the production of inferior varieties of cloth, in which the handloom has no comparative advantage and by checking the demand for the finer and more highly finished goods it has perhaps caused a deterioration in the condition of the weavers. A study of the interaction of such varying and somewhat incalculable factors on the handloom industry is bound to be of more than ordinary interest at the present moment and a book of great topical value of the kind under review must therefore be particularly welcome.

But the book, while it undoubtedly raises great expectations in its preface, fails to fulfil them. Not that it is wanting in useful facts or information. On the other hand the author has spared no pains in visiting important centres of the industry for the purpose of gathering material and gaining experience by contact with the weavers. The defect is rather that the book bears evident marks of hurry both in the collection of data and in interpreting them. An indiscriminate use of the material, a readiness to accept every statement at its face value and a lack of a sense of proportion which reveals itself in language that should have no place in any scientific work, detract from the merit of an otherwise useful piece of work. The reader is also put to some strain in going through the book by the lack of order in the presentation of facts and the enormous number of place-names mentioned therein without reference to their exact location.

The book is a study of the organisation of the handloom industry in three large areas, the Ceded Districts, the Northern Circars and the Tamil area, comprising between them nearly 18 districts out of the 23 in the Madras Presidency. Nearly one-third of the weight of cotton goods made on the handlooms of all India is made in the Madras Presidency and we have in this book not merely a description of the economic and commercial organisation of the industry but a picture of the social and economic conditions of the weavers. The idea too often held that the handloom industry is essentially of the independent artisan type has been proved by the author to be erroneous. Indeed the industry has been for a very long time under capitalistic influences, and the factory type of organisation is not unknown. The author has done well in pointing out that the independent weaver fares in every way worse than the wage earner and that the future prosperity of the industry lies in the direction of introducing more capital into it and this can only be done by either men with capital or by co-operative organisations. The results of the co-operative experiments made in the weaving industry have not been quite successful so far, as has been shown in a separate chapter in the book, but the author is not deterred from recommending 'co-operative spinning mills' and a 'co-operative wholesale society' for the purchase of yarn. Another of his recommendations is that "every District Board should start a spinning mill and a sizing mill with the guarantee of the Government for a certain amount of dividend".

The marketing of the handloom products is full of difficulties and presents the most baffling problem of all. In so far as he does not work for orders already received, the independent weaver wastes a great deal of his time in the marketing of his products. Even where capitalist merchants control the industry, there is nothing but a very loose marketing organisation. There are no agents of the producing merchants in the consuming centres and dealers have often got to come to the producing centres to make purchases. In this respect the Northern Circars seem to be more favourably placed than the rest as there are a large number of markets which serve the area. Prof. Ranga's suggestions to improve marketing facilities include quite a long list of proposals, co-operative selling societies, a commercial bureau for the collection of marketing information, permanent emporiums for the exhibition of the products of the handloom, the appointment of Trade Commissioners, annual exhibitions, etc.

After dealing with the economic and commercial organisation of the industry in the various centres of the Presidency, the author devotes a long chapter to a consideration of the earnings and standard of living of the workers. 150 family budgets, we are

told, were collected, but only 15 are presented in the book as they are 'typical'. On what basis were these 15 chosen, and in what sense are they typical, we are not told. The collection of a series of family budgets selected on no scientific basis cannot yield results of any great value, whatever be the accuracy of the budgets. Of the 15 families for which we have detailed statements of expenditure, we find that only 4 families have a supply of cereals as much as is given to the convicts in jails. The under-consumption of the other important necessities is even more marked and on the whole the budgets, despite their inevitable shortcomings, reveal a very low standard of comfort among the weavers. The earnings of the workers vary very much indeed, not only as between one centre and another, but as between one worker and another in the same centre. It does not seem that the differences can be explained away by differences either in skill or in the difficulties in the nature of the work and Prof. Ranga has not thrown any light on this interesting aspect of the matter. Indeed such apparent contradictions as that "a weaver in Bheemavaram could make only Rs. 1-5-0 per month although he worked 11 hours a day" (p. 46) and that the weavers of Bheemavaram (the same place) were "at present able to earn at least Rs. 10-8-0 per month more because of the excellent marketing facilities" (p. 60) are not by any means sought to be reconciled. The author's suggestion that technical instruction must be provided for the children of the weavers will find ready support with all, although his concrete proposals to ensure such provision—a weaving school at each weaving centre, a weaving High School for every two or three centres and a textile college at each of the Tamil and Telugu areas—will appear to be somewhat extravagant. The same enthusiasm marks some of his other recommendations and throughout Prof. Ranga seems to underrate the difficulties of the problems with which he is faced. His proposal that there should be established two special banks to finance the weaving industry and that Government should subscribe half the capital and that the banks should be represented upon every corporate body which borrows from it, reveals a naive faith in governmental aid and in its inexhaustible reservoir of financial resources. Again when he suggests that Trade Boards of the English type should at once be set up for the handloom industry of the Madras Presidency with all the paraphernalia of inspectors and other officers to enforce agreements, one is tempted to demur. However, his book is a useful study of some aspects of the handloom industry and contains a good deal of information which may be utilised profitably.

Finally, it must be stated that the page proofs of the book do not seem to have been very carefully examined and there is hardly a page in it which is free from printer's errors.

P. S. LOKENATHAN.

PROBLEMS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY

A SYSTEMATIC SOURCE BOOK IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY, Vol. I Ed. By PITIRIM S. SOROKIN & OTHERS. (The University of Minnesota Press.) 1930. 23cm. 645p. \$6.50.

THIS work, when completed in three volumes, is intended to be a comprehensive book of reference and selected readings on problems of rural sociology. The first volume, which is reviewed here, gives a summary of the history of sociological theory as applied to rural problems and deals, more particularly, with the formal and organizational aspects of rural life. The two volumes, which are to follow, will deal with the psychological and other aspects.

To judge by the volume before us we are not very enamoured of the prospect of having to wade through two more volumes like this.

Theories of rural sociology, propounded till the end of the eighteenth century, are treated generally in the first two chapters, the later theories being analysed more specifically under different headings in the succeeding chapters. The next two chapters deal with differences in rural and urban life. The nature of rural habitat forms the subject-matter of chapter fifth which is followed by another chapter detailing the different types of rural societies. The next two chapters are concerned with the mobility of, and the social stratification in, rural population and are thus more organically connected with the third and the fourth chapters, involving, as the treatment does, comparison with city population in these traits. The last chapter deals with differences in the types of rural groups from the point of view of ownership in land. Thus it is evident that only three chapters—fifth, sixth and ninth—deal with the varieties of rural aggregates from the social and economic point of view. These chapters should therefore have been put together after the other chapters which deal with differences between the city and rural life from all points of view. The treatment of the subject would then have looked more organic—comparison and contrast between city life and rural life would have been followed by distinctions within the various types of rural aggregates.

While quoting the views of ancient and mediæval authors on the differences in the city and rural life the authors sometimes quote passages which fundamentally contrast nomadic life with settled living. Thus the long quotation from the writings of Ibn-Khaldun (pp. 55-68) concerns more the contrast between nomadic and sedentary life than that between rural and city life. Even where the quotations strictly relate to rural and city life we often come across praise of agriculture rather than any views about the differences in the psychology of the rural and urban population.

To try to deal with rural life as a unit, irrespective of the differences of time and space and compare it with city life regarded as a unit appears to us to be a procedure of questionable validity. To take an example, the village organization and the psychology of the village people of mediæval India was essentially different from that of contemporary India. Rural life in present-day America, where even the nature of the industry of agriculture is tremendously changed from its primitive pattern, is not the same as village life in modern China. With its agriculture taking on the aspects of machine-industry, with its population closely brought into touch with the city through motor-transport, with the commercial enterprise carrying many of the city-amenities to the doors of the villagers, American rural life is much more akin to city-life than is the case either in India or China. The treatment therefore ought to have followed the historical rather than the comparative method.

From the sociologist's view-point the chapters dealing with the different types of rural community are the most instructive. It is here also that the authors have attempted their own contribution to the subject. They recognise as many as fourteen different types which, either together or in part-combination, form groups out of individuals and applying the test of these types they distinguish the rural aggregates as either elementary or cumulative. In the former type the rural population is differentiated into functional groupings and does not form a close and effective community as in the latter case. The ancient communities of Egypt, India and China are good examples of the latter type while those of contempo-

rary America and Canada typify the former. It is not at all enough to make this distinction. What we should like to know is what difference such distinction makes or has made in the social efficiency of the group and the personal happiness of the individuals comprised in it. Perhaps other volumes of the work may throw some light on this question.

G. S. GHURYE.

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONALITY.

NATIONALITY WITHIN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS. By E. F. W.

GEY VAN PITTIUS. (King.) 1930. 22cm. 238p. 10/-

THIS is a book to which we invite the attention of practical politicians as well as leaders of thought. No doubt this treatise embodies a thesis written by the author for the degree of Ph. D. of the London University; but it is far more than a student's thesis. In his erudite and critical analysis of British nationality the author has dealt with Dominions legislation in an exhaustive manner and offered suggestions regarding nationality in the mandated areas which will be found to be of great value to those who are interested in the subject.

The conception of nationality was in the first instance the outcome of an intense desire on the part of kings and monarchs to exact military service from their subjects. It was, therefore, necessary to determine who their subjects were. Naturally the definition that those born within the territories held by them were their subjects was found quite sufficient for their limited purpose. Thus the idea of nationality emanated from kings. The latter by this doctrine of nationality made their subjects the tools to promote their own ambitious schemes of aggrandisement. But the material progress annihilated distance with the result that children come to be born outside the territory of their father's sovereign and women picked up their husbands in foreign lands. But the English are a practical people. They care more for the present than for the future. Additions were, therefore, made from time to time to the conception of nationality as circumstances arose.

We cannot do away with the laws of nationality. No nation would admit aliens into its naval and military as well as civil services. Particularly responsible posts would not be given to foreigners. This is, under the present circumstances, inevitable. The British people do not even yet appoint Indians to responsible military posts. Much less, therefore, would they bring in people of other nationalities and confer on them high posts under the Government. Likewise strangers would not be permitted to meddle with domestic affairs by entering the country's legislatures. For these reasons, one's nationality must be conspicuously as well as unambiguously marked out.

Now nationality is acquired by birth, naturalization, marriage, annexation, cession, etc. As already observed, the complicated life in modern times has necessitated modifications and expansion of the above modes of acquiring nationality. For instance, it may not be fair to bestow British nationality on a child born in England whose parents were there as casual visitors or temporary residents. Then again owing to the changed attitude towards married life the old doctrine that the nationality of the wife follows the nationality of her husband had to be jettisoned in deference to the theory of woman's independence. Likewise the old conquerors had no doubt as regards their authority over the people whom they had conquered. But latterly juster views have prevailed and it is no longer true that the nationality of the conquered people changes merely by virtue of their sub-

jection. Novel conditions occasion novel changes and complications. For instance, what is the nationality of the people of Berars, inasmuch as that province has been permanently leased to the British Government? In short, the question of nationality is a highly complicated one; but we are glad to testify that the author has done full justice to it.

A king has rights over his subjects. In a republic these rights are transferred to the people themselves. The king gives protection to his subjects and in return obtains from them forced obedience. Here the people do not feel proud of their nationality. But in a republic they are citizens and not subjects. The obedience is voluntary and they take pride in being members of a particular nationality by reason of their culture and progress which, they are conscious, is of their own making. Where there is autocracy the term "nationality" is almost a misnomer.

The question of nationality is however closely interlinked with political philosophy. We therefore think that by annexation or conquest the nationality of the people must be immediately changed. A king or republic is on no account justified in invading other territories aggressively. But if it is done then the subdued people cannot be given option to go back to their original nationality (provided of course it is not completely extinguished) or to adopt any other nationality.

Dual nationality is an anomaly and must be stopped. In times of war dual nationality proves positively dangerous. Multiplicity of nationality on a diffused scale is on the other hand calculated to prevent war and establish peaceful relations between different nations. This is possible only where similarity of laws and culture amongst nations is a marked feature.

Domicile is an adoption of foreign nationality by implication. But this is not conceded by all the writers. Nationals of States settle in other countries without acquiring the nationality of these countries; if they die in such countries the question arises: which law is to be applied to them. We think their intention of permanently residing in another country negatives the inference of their having retained their old nationality.

We do not see any valid reason why all the transactions and doings of such people should not be governed by the laws of the land in which they are domiciled. It is a different matter with what are erroneously designated as personal laws such as laws of succession. They are beyond the reach of the sovereignty of nationality. We do not understand why the age of minority should not be determined by the laws of the land of domicile.

No person would like to have in his country a multitude of foreigners. Hence the state is, in our opinion, warranted in prohibiting them from holding any property in its territory. Government becomes difficult when peoples of differing religions and cultures are allowed to settle in the land. India knows to its cost the calamitous effects of such a policy. Had nationality by certification been feasible that would have been advocated as the only safe mode of establishing nationality.

N. G. CHAPEKAR.

PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC.

PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC, 1929, PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD CONFERENCE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS. Ed. By J. B. CONDLIFFE. (University of Chicago Press.) 1930. 24cm. 697p. \$ 5.00.

THE Round Table seems to have become an accepted method of procedure in the modern world, whether

the subject of discussion be religion, politics, economics, or what not. This bulky volume is the detailed and summarized report of the discussion of the body of two hundred experts in the problems of the countries surrounding the Pacific, who met in Japan during the summer of 1929. The membership of the group was most diversified. Nationally it represented all the countries bordering on the Pacific or having extensive interests in that area, viz., Japan, China, Korea, England, the United States, Canada, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand. There were both women and men in the Institute; while the viewpoints of the scholar and the business man, of both labour and capital were represented. This was the third session of the Institute, and the first to be held in a country where interest might be in danger of becoming partizan, as in Japan—a fear which fortunately was not realized.

Two unusual factors in the policy of this gathering are worthy of note. The first is that there was no attempt to come to unanimity of opinion. The aim of all discussion was to have the clearest possible presentation of the various sides of each problem, and then leave the world to decide between them. Another peculiar feature was the fact that the gathering did not attempt or even desire to accomplish anything in the way of propaganda, political, economic or social. It was a council of experts, purposing to lay before the whole world all available information on all matters affecting the life, peace and prosperity of the vast area with which it was dealing. As a leader in Japan expressed it, "We Japanese are interested in this Institute because it comes with nothing to sell, nothing to teach and nothing to preach, in short, nothing to put over on the Far East."

Three of the topics discussed are especially pertinent to present day problems in India, viz., the conflict between the machine age and the traditional culture and religion of an ancient country; the relation between food supply and a desirable maximum of population—a problem brought freshly to our notice through the population figures of the last census; and the various problems raised by the rapid industrialization of an agricultural civilization. Certain other subjects are of interest because of the worldwide questions that they raise. Among the latter a detailed chapter dealing with the problems of Manchuria will serve the general reader by helping to make intelligible the columns of today's newspapers.

The first section of the book consists of aily edited digests of the discussion on each major topic. These have been put into a readable form not too abstruse for the understanding of the "man in the street." Each section is followed by a list of the chairmen and recorders of the component sub-groups, and is followed by a record of the documents on which the discussions were based. The latter part of the book is made up of documents and tables.

Aside from the interest of the particular subjects discussed, this method seems to offer much of value for the procedure of larger or smaller groups in India, and its study will be useful from the point of view of technique as well as from that of the underlying spirit. If some of India's social and religious differences could be discussed in this atmosphere of calm impartiality, it would augur well for their early settlement.

A. B. VAN DOREN.

TOLSTOY.

THE LIFE OF TOLSTOY, 2 VOLS. By ALYMER MAUDE. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1930. 15cm. 490, 570p. 2/- each.

THIS revised edition of Tolstoy's life is a valuable addition to the literature on Tolstoy, in whose

life and teachings India must find a special interest at the present juncture. Mr. Maude's first edition was out when the hero of the biography was living. Interest in the teachings of Tolstoy has grown during the twenty years since his death; and although much has been written on the life of Tolstoy during the last two decades, a good deal of that work has been occasionally marred by the misinterpretation of Tolstoy's writings, caused by mis-translations of the Russian originals. (Cf. Vol I. Appendix II, English Translations of Tolstoy.)

The vital need of a thorough mastery over the foreign language which the hero of the biography employed as the vehicle of expression has been met in this particular case. Mr. Maude and his wife had been closely associated with Tolstoy and his work, whether literary or social, for the major part of his (Tolstoy's) career. Much of the translation work, which was done during Tolstoy's life-time, was not only an authorized rendering of the original but at times it led to certain improvements and corrections in the original by Tolstoy himself. The study and appreciation of the life and work of Tolstoy suffered a good deal through the means which were unfortunately adopted by Tolstoy himself to secure the widest possible circulation for his books. His invitation to all publishers in all countries to take the fullest advantage of the absence of international copyright between Russia and other countries by publishing his writings, had, as pointed out by Bernard Shaw, just the opposite effect. The unauthorized and incorrect translations of his works which came out like mushrooms in the ensuing years did him more harm than good and his purpose was thus defeated.

Mr. Maude's service to the students of Tolstoy mainly lies in his carefully sifting the material and giving us a very reliable and impartial biography of the great man. His admiration and friendship for his hero do not blind him to the occasional inconsistencies in Tolstoy's doctrines. He is perfectly justified in claiming that he has "taken pains to understand Tolstoy's views and to recognize the good in them, but being a Westerner, I am also aware of certain things Tolstoy overlooked which seem to knock big holes in some of his cherished 'principles.'" For instance, he very well exposes the eccentricity of Tolstoy's view on the problem of sex. (vol. II).

Mr. Maude has rightly pointed out that many of the malicious entries in the diary of the Countess which evince open hostility towards Tolstoy have been instrumental in causing much misunderstanding about her great husband. He clearly shows how in later life there was an endless conflict between the ideals cherished by the husband and the wife, how Tolstoy was driven to sacrifice marital relations rather than his ideals, and how all this led to a wanton attempt on her part to misconstrue his motive in all cases, as is seen from her *Later Diary*. Appendix II offers valuable information and throws much light on how the Countess made her husband's life very miserable. Though it makes depressing reading, it is essential for the understanding of Tolstoy's later life.

'An Afterward' is an equally important chapter of vol. II. It tells us how much injustice has been done to Tolstoy by his own son, Leo Lvovich, in his book *The Truth About My Father* which contains amazing blunders. Mr. Maude gives some characteristic instances of this on pp. 523-4 (vol. II) and rightly asks: what are readers to make of such treatment of a father's work by a son?

We must congratulate Mr. Maude on his careful analysis of the cause of the conflict between Tolstoy and the Countess and giving it veritably in a nutshell: "Tolstoy had come to disapprove of owning property, and wished to adjust his life to that

principle. His wife opposed this, and often ridiculed and misrepresented his opinions and efforts. Such strife makes marital relations between sensitive people unsatisfactory if not impossible . . ." (p. 289. vol. II).

Mr. Maude has done signal service to the students and admirers of Tolstoy by dispelling certain incorrect notions about him, due to misstatements made even by renowned critics like St. John Ervine (see letter to the *Daily Express*—Author's Note vol. II pp. vi-vii). He accounts for such misstatements by observing that "Countess Tolstoy's Diary furnished a series of traps into which it must have been hard for any reviewer not well acquainted with Tolstoy and his work to avoid falling." It is from such pitfalls that Mr. Maude's very carefully written life saves the genuine student of Tolstoy.

The biographer mainly follows the chronological sequence of events in the life of the hero. Beginning with ancestry and parentage we have unfolded before our eyes the story of the hero's life "as much as possible in Tolstoy's own words." We have here a record of every incident that counts and what Tolstoy himself has to say about it. This synchronization has been a specially good feature of Mr. Maude's book, which may not otherwise be described as a brilliant performance. In this connection he makes a particularly happy observation in the Preface: "Tolstoy's ardour and truthfulness were such that his life and works continually acted and reacted on one another. We cannot fully appreciate or understand his works without knowing his life, and the story of his life must be told with constant reference to his books." (p. x). This principle he has generally followed in the volumes before us.

Tolstoy's views on marriage, property rights and religion are most interesting and have given rise to much controversy. Tolstoy's treatment of the sex question has often called forth much hostile comment. His outlook on life had begun to change seriously after 15 years of married life and had gone on changing for another twelve. This produced friction with his wife; and he was accused of being inconsistent and insincere because he continued to be a husband after writing the "Kreutzer Sonata." Mr. Maude successfully combats this view and proves the injustice of the accusation (pp.279-80, vol. II). He is not, however, blind to the eccentricity of Tolstoy's view, which he exposes on p.280, and sagely remarks: "The conclusion he draws—namely, that all marital relations and all love tinged by sex are beastly—seems harsh and unsound."

Besides the Index, two features of the book deserve to be especially commended: (i) the chronology which is very useful for ready reference; and (ii) an exhaustive list of the chief authorities consulted for the various chapters severally.

An English life of Tolstoy was a desideratum; and this one by one who had lived in Russia for 23 years, known Tolstoy well for several years, visited him often in Moscow and stayed with him repeatedly at Yásnaya Polyana, who had actively co-operated with Tolstoy in the emigration of the Doukhobórs, whom Tolstoy himself looked upon as his friend, and who, as such, is well qualified to write it, especially as he has made a long and careful study of his views, is an admirable one. Students of Tolstoy should feel indebted to Mr. Maude for the care and patience that he has brought to bear on this neatly and accurately written impartial life of the great Russian, whose doctrines of non-resistance and voluntary poverty are, at the present day, so convincingly being preached by one of the greatest sons of India.

S. B. ATHALYE.

PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC FINANCE.

PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC FINANCE WITH CHAPTERS ON INDIAN FINANCE. By J. S. PONNIAH. (Roohouse & Sons, Madras.) 20cm. 261p.

THE author of this booklet, a lecturer in the Madras Christian College, in his preface makes the claim that he has tried to meet the need of a *handy* and *comprehensive* work on the principles of Public Finance. This is obviously a large claim which is not justified by his performance. It is not possible to put many valuable ideas in the scrappy form in which the author has attempted to put them. Such an attempt is worse than useless unless it was the author's desire to give a catechism for examination purposes.

Mr. Ponniah has followed the orthodox line of division of chapters and his classification is satisfactory as far as it goes. But he has laboured under great difficulty in fitting in the Indian issue in his attempt to discuss principles of finance and expenditure. He has a section on "The State and Industry in India" which he does not specifically classify. (pp.27-36.)

Mr. Ponniah does not give us anything out of the ordinary by way of elucidation of principles or of a close examination of Indian conditions. We may examine some instances where he records some opinions.

In page 77 the author examines the principle of charges for the public services and approves the dictum of Dalton that in the matter of defence, police courts and such other activities which are not of any estimated advantage to particular individuals no charge should be made on individuals but that "the general taxation principle" must be followed. We agree. But when Mr. Ponniah goes on to put under this category education, poor relief and health services one feels that the author is so carried away by the socialist stunt that he expects the state to do everything out of the general revenues. Even here a combination of principles seems to be called for. Mr. Ponniah has something to say about the Smithian canons of taxation. But after all under modern conditions these canons mean so little and they do not carry us far. The opinion of the author that death duties and taxation of agricultural incomes are necessary is of a progressive type, but there are obvious difficulties. Many objections that we meet with in India in this connection are largely due to the fact that our control over expenditure is not what it should be and certainly a government responsible to the legislature will both be able to get more and spend better.

The author's opinion that relative taxable capacity cannot be measured without very great error is a good warning to those who glibly tell us that one country pays more than another in taxation.

The general discussion of the author on public debts is good, but his chapter on the Indian debt is too brief to be of use. The author's attempt to explain the complications of the settlement of international debts after the war is again far too brief. The chapter on financial administration does not give any very clear idea of the powers of the different authorities in the matter of the Budget and the author would have done better to have gone into some detail. Wattal's *Financial Administration in British India* is a sound book on procedure and Mr. Ponniah must have elucidated the matter in some degree.

We have no doubt that the booklet would be of some use for students preparing for the Pass Degree at the Universities, but certainly the author, if he cares to be comprehensive, cannot afford to be too handy at the expense of lucid and good exposition of the

whole of a subject. We trust that Mr. Ponniah who seems to have read widely may be able to make a more satisfactory attempt to develop the very interesting subject of finance in the future.

S. V. AYYAR.

PLEA FOR PUBLIC OUTDOOR RECREATION.

OUTDOOR RECREATION LEGISLATION AND ITS EFFECTIVENESS. By ANDREW G. TRUXAL. (Columbia University Press, New York.) 1929. 22cm. 218p. \$3-50.

LEGISLATION in modern times is taking a more definite and practical interest and authority in the individual welfare of the community. "Government", in the traditional and orthodox connotation of the term, signified only the public enforcement and legal regulation of the general welfare of the state, its morals, health, encouragement and improvement of its trade, agriculture and intellectual progress, all in a rather academic and detached manner, while following a laissez-faire policy with regard to what the ordinary citizen did in his leisure hours. In the United States, from what we can see from this book, Government has entered largely into the conduct of individuals by any regulation which promotes common welfare, convenience and prosperity. One of the fields into which Government legislation has ventured is that of public recreation—both indoor and outdoor. This book emphasises only public outdoor recreation in such forms as "municipal parks and playgrounds, athletic fields, swimming pools, public baths, bathing beaches, bands and concerts, golf courses, tourist camps, and also federal, state and local parks, forests and reservations when used for recreational purposes." During the past twelve years (1915-1927) a large amount of state legislation has been enacted, the purpose of which has been to grant to municipalities all the powers necessary to establish such recreational agencies. In India such a move on the part of the Government, even if it thinks it "worth while," would call forth a maelstrom of "community sentiment," which hates not to be let well alone as much as possible, though legislation may be positively beneficial. In a more industrialised and urbanised country like America, where recreational legislation is more or less a crying necessity to the overcrowded working population, parks and playgrounds have been provided by Government even overriding "community sentiment" in reactionary areas. But in India, where such steps are only necessary in her cities, only municipalities with a highly developed civic and social sense of duty can impose the benefits of outdoor recreational facilities upon an indifferent public. We have some notably pleasing attempts at municipal playgrounds in Bombay, and future town-planning authorities should be specially careful to meet in advance some of the pressing recreational needs of congested populations.

Of the two parts of the book, the first part constitutes a summary of the American legislation of the years 1915-1927 making provision for public outdoor recreation. This part should be of interest particularly to city planners, to local, municipal and central executives and also municipal officers. The various stages of legislative process summarised here should be more gripping than the records of a fight for any mere abstract constitutional principle. "If for no other reason, self-interest would dictate the setting aside of play areas."

The second part of the book is in the nature of a scientific exploration, whether the provision of recreational facilities is worth the effort, and associated with the incidence of juvenile delinquency. To test

the extent to which the delinquent child was "also a child without play", statistics are taken to prove or disprove the assertion that "the provision of recreational facilities will result in a reduction of juvenile crime." The author, however, views sweeping generalizations about the relation of the playground to the juvenile offender with caution. He says, after quoting several testimonies from enthusiasts who ascribe striking falls in juvenile crime to the promotion of recreation in the statistical areas:

If taken at their face values... such aprioristic statements... would seem to imply that the provision of play areas will, by some occult legerdemain, overcome all the factors of defective heredity, shattered homes, bad companions, and the dozen other contributing causes which have been found to go toward the making of a delinquent. It is not a question of whether or not the facts as stated are correct. It is rather a problem of the interpretation of the facts. It is entirely wrong to ascribe the reduction in the amount of delinquency in a given locality to the introduction of a recreation program, unless it is known that all the other factors in the given situation remained constant. The change in court procedure (among many other changes since 1906 to 1922, all of which might have had some bearing on the amount of juvenile delinquency) was one element in the decrease in the delinquency cases. To interpret a social situation in the light of one factor only without taking into consideration changes in other variables, is liable to give rise to a very faulty interpretation of cause and effect.

The conclusions reached, therefore, in the second part, dealing with the "Social Significance of Recreation," are very moderate, and all reformers and social-workers can rely on them without risk of overreaching the mark in considering the relation between public supervised recreation and juvenile morals.

A. MADHAVA MENON.

SHORT NOTICES.

A LITTLE ROAD-BOOK FOR MYSTICS. By ALFRIDA TILLYARD. (S. C. M. Press, London.) 17cm. 141p. 3/6.

BOOKS are so numerous these days that one is in great danger of missing real gems among them. Here however, we have a book, which, in its presentation of universal mystical experiences, gives the earnest seeker confidence in the knowledge of the fellowship of other travellers on the high road of mysticism. In these days of materialism and agnosticism one feels the necessity of drawing together all travellers on the road. This road-book will succeed, I am sure, in uniting the spirits of many such.

But it is not written only for experienced followers of the Inward Light but, says Miss Tillyard, "is written for anyone who feels that he is or could become of such a nature as these". In India there should be many such. It is an admirable guide for all, full of commonsense for seekers and gentle encouragement for the down-hearted. The world needs more books like this. It wants readers of these too. Our sluggish hearts will have to be roused and roused again if the bane of irreligious materialism is not to engulf us. Miss Tillyard gives us hope. For, is it not to the mystics of the world that men go for succour when they have lost God?

FATHER MARTYN, C.S.S.

INDIAN RAILWAYS: RATES AND REGULATIONS. By N. B. MEHTA. (King.) 16cm. 178p. 8/6.

WITH the increasing public interest in railway problems, with the desire of the Indian legislatures to

secure effective control over the railways with a view to accelerate the progress of industrial development of the country and with the growing desire to restrict the evils of monopolies especially in public utility services, the book of Mr. Mehta will be welcome to the students of Indian railway problems and to the businessmen who have been sorely complaining against the vested interests in Indian Railways. Mr. Mehta has made a careful analysis of the rates policy pursued by the railways in India and satisfies himself of the truth of the complaint regarding the iniquitable working of the railway rates. He emphasises the preponderant financial stake of the State in the railways, the importance of the railways to the industrial and commercial development of the country and the failure of the railways to further the needs and aims of the country. He points out the unreality of the theory of automatic regulation of rates by competition and the discrimination in rates being the result of the absence of a mandatory Rates Tribunal which can adjudicate on questions of rates dispute. The writer makes a very vigorous plea for the immediate appointment of a Railway Rates Tribunal on the lines on which it obtains in the United Kingdom and the United States of America through which the Government of India ought to exercise a more rigorous yet enlightened policy of State control. The Government of India have appointed a Railway Rates Advisory Committee; but its ineffectiveness does not demonstrate the unsoundness of the principle enunciated by the author but the folly of pursuing a path of expediency which has curtailed the powers and functions of the Committee.

K. S. V.

Miscellaneous.

REPRESENTATION OF THE STATES.

MR. JOSHI STANDS UP FOR ELECTION.

On the 2nd November Mr. Joshi pleaded in the Federal Structure Committee for the election of the representatives of the States on the Federal Assembly when paragraph 27 of the Sankey Report came up for discussion. This paragraph is as follows: "27. METHOD OF SELECTION OF STATES' REPRESENTATIVES IN THE LOWER CHAMBER. While the Committee remain of opinion that this question must be left to the decision of the States, it cannot be contended that it is one of no concern to the Federation as a whole. They note the assurances of certain individual members of the States' Delegation that in those States which possess representative institutions, and for which these members were in a position to speak, arrangements will be made which will give these bodies a voice in the Ruler's selection. The Committee as a whole are prepared to leave this matter to the judgment of the States."

Mr. Joshi made the following comment on this paragraph:—

Lord Chancellor, I do not approve of the first sentence:

"While the Committee remain of opinion that this question must be left to the decision of the States, it cannot be contended that it is one of no concern to the Federation as a whole."

I do not agree with the first part of this sentence. I am not of opinion that this question must be left to the decision of the States. I feel that it is a question which must be decided by the mutual consent of the

States' Delegation and the British Indian Delegation, as it is a question of vital importance to the Federation as a whole. I feel that the representatives of the States in the Lower Chamber should be selected in the same way as the representatives of British India. I note the assurance given by Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Bikaner and the Nawab of Bhopal, but I feel that this assurance does not take us very far. In the first place, any assurance as to the voice given to the Legislature is not of great use, as the assurance given is only on behalf of these two States. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner stated that he could not give an assurance on behalf of all States; but, Lord Chancellor, if the States' Delegation could speak on behalf of all the States and demand representation and weightage on behalf of all the States, it is not reasonable to state that in the matter in which the States are to concede certain rights to their subjects they cannot speak on behalf of all the States. If they could speak on behalf of all the States in demanding representation for themselves, then certainly they could speak on behalf of all the States in this matter also.

Secondly, Lord Chancellor, I feel that the voice which has been promised by Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Bikaner and the Nawab of Bhopal is not of much use, for this reason, that so far as my information goes the Legislatures of Bikaner and Bhopal have a nominated majority in both places. If you give voice to Legislatures which have a nominated majority, you really give voice to the Ruler himself.

SIR MANUBHAI MEHTA:—The position is not correct as regards Bikaner.

MR. JOSHI:—All right, Sir. I shall be quite willing to hear what the total strength of the Bikaner Legislative Assembly is, and also to have information about the Legislature of Bhopal.

SIR MANUBHAI MEHTA:—I will give you that information.

MR. JOSHI:—But I feel that as the Legislatures are constituted to-day it will not be the voice of the elected members. If an assurance is given that the voice will only be given to the elected members, it will have some value although it may not satisfy me wholly. I cannot subscribe to this paragraph.

CHAIRMAN:—Thank you, Mr. Joshi; I quite follow. No doubt the States' representatives will pay attention to what you say.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION. THE FIRST DECADE. (Published for the International Labour Office by Allen & Unwin.) 1931. 25cm. 382p. 12/6.
- THE MOTOR INDUSTRY OF GREAT BRITAIN. (Issued by the Statistical Department of the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders, Ltd., 83 Pall Mall, London.) 1931. 22cm. 143p. 2/6.
- SCIENCE AND HUMAN EXPERIENCE. By HERBERT DINGLE. (Williams & Norgate.) 1931. 22cm. 141p. 6/-.
- SPAIN IN REVOLT, 1814-1931. By JOSEPH McCABE. (John Lane the Bodley Head.) 1931. 21cm. 246p. 6/-.
- HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By C. S. S. HIGHAM. (Longmans, London.) 1931. 20cm. 308p. 5/.
- A TOUR IN THE MYSORE STATE. (Melkote to Gersoppa) By CONSTANCE E. PARSONS. (Oxford University Press.) 1931. 20cm. 226p. Rs. 3/-.
- MODERN INDIA. A CO-OPERATIVE STUDY. By VARIOUS AUTHORS. ED. BY SIR JOHN CUMMING. (Oxford University Press.) 1931. 20cm. 304p. 3/6.