

# The Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### No Danger to Genuine Swadeshi.

THE correspondence which the Welfare of India League and the Western India Liberal Association had with the Bombay Government on the subject of the administration of the Ordinances early last month and which was recently published seems to have served one purpose. It gave the local Government an opportunity to avow their intention to work the Ordinances in such a manner that they would not interfere with the promotion of genuine swadeshi propaganda or with the freedom of trade. That these were Government's intentions was clear, even without such assurances, from the manner in which associations devoting themselves to the popularisation of swadeshi goods and brought into being after the promulgation of the Ordinances have been allowed to go ahead with their activities uninterrupted. At the same time it is undeniable that some official acts had given rise to the misgiving in the public mind that the Ordinances had placed under ban even purely economic swadeshi activity. The local Government's assurances conveyed to these bodies should go a great way in clearing such misunderstandings.

We are, however, unable to approve the Bombay Government's refusal of the League's request for permission to interview Mahatma Gandhi in jail. Seeing that the League is devoted to the promotion of peace in the land, the Government's action is all the more unintelligible.

### Freedom of Trade ?

BUT the local Government's promise not to allow the administration of the Ordinances to interfere with the freedom of trade appears to be somewhat difficult to reconcile with their attitude towards merchants observing hartal. If there is to be no interference with the freedom of merchants to trade

with whomsoever they like, should they not be equally unfettered to decide the days on which they shall so engage themselves in business? Should they not be allowed full discretion to open their shops on which days they find suitable and to close them on days on which they do not think their being kept open would serve any useful purpose? Should they not be the sole judges of the comparative merits of their action in regard to keeping their places of business open or shut, as the case may be, without any official pressure, veiled or open? And yet it is an open secret that the almost universal tendency in official circles is to regard the closing of their shops by merchants as necessarily tantamount to helping Congress activities. If the Government consider it their duty to ensure full freedom of trade for merchants, they must also see that they enjoy completely unrestricted choice in regard to the days and hours for which they may work. To secure them in the enjoyment of freedom in relation to the persons or bodies with whom they are to trade and at the same to refuse it to them in regard to the less important matter about the days on which they may avail themselves of the so-called freedom of trade is, to say the least, to place them in an invidious position. In this connection we must draw attention to a case recently reported from a village in Ahmedabad taluka in which two persons were fined Rs. 5 for refusing to supply milk to a village officer. Surely this is anything but freedom of trade. We do not see why the poor villager's choice of customers for his goods should have been thus restricted, when freedom of trade is the order of the day.

### No Prosecution for participation in hartals.

THE delicate situation in which the Cawnpore merchants found themselves as a result of recent official attentions and to which reference was made in these columns last week has at last moved the local officials to take a more charitable view of their case. For we find from a recent notification by the Collector of Cawnpore that he will hereafter not regard the mere closing of shops by merchants as an expression of sympathy with Congress activities and that the closing of shops will not be followed by prosecutions. Unless the Government are satisfied on the strength of unimpeachable evidence that certain merchants are assisting the Congress, it is really wrong to proceed against them simply because they chose to refrain from doing business on a particular day. We have no doubt that this action by the Collector of Cawnpore is in the right direction and that it will prevent the exodus of merchants, which, but for this timely action, would have resulted in serious dislocation in the economic life of that city. It is to be hoped that officials elsewhere will profit by the experience of their brother at Cawnpore.

### Need for Inquiry.

APART from lathi charges by the Madras police which have rightly aroused widespread resentment, complaints about the ill-treatment of Congress workers while in police custody pending trial are also finding occasional expression in the columns of the Press. One such case is reported from Trichinopoly where, according to the statement of the Congress worker made in court, the police seem to have severely caned him and to have otherwise humiliated him. Incidents like these, however isolated, go to aggravate the existing embitterment of public feeling and ought to be avoided. Maltreatment of some persons by revenue officials in the Anand taluka in this presidency because of their refusal to pay land revenue dues is also believed to have recently taken place. Harrowing details of the incident seem to have found their way outside the immediate scene of their occurrence; and if even a fraction of what is reported be true, those in any way responsible for it deserve to be severely dealt with. If there are people who refuse to pay land revenue, there are well defined legal processes that can be set in motion against them instead of their being subjected to any kind of humiliating treatment or to any corporal punishment. Such overzeal on the part of subordinate officers of Government ought to be stopped especially in times like the present. And we would suggest to the Madras and Bombay Governments to hold independent unofficial inquiries in regard to the incidents referred to with a view to set the public mind at ease.

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### Action against the Press in Bombay.

THE last week has witnessed coercive action taken by the Bombay Government against certain newspapers published in Bombay. A security of Rs. 6000 was demanded from the *Free Press Journal* while a security of like amount was asked for from the keeper of another press who has consequently considered it the part of wisdom to suspend the publication of the paper which was being issued from his press. The *Bombay Chronicle* and the *Indian Daily Mail* have been warned against publishing, amongst other things, the names of persons taking part in or arrested and convicted in connection with Congress activities. The result is that the latter journal has begun to publish reports of proceedings in criminal courts against Congress workers in Bombay with their names left out but with their full description which makes their identification a matter of not much difficulty at any rate in some cases. While these two papers are thus restricted in regard to the publication of Congress news, Anglo-Indian and other journals are not similarly restricted and it is difficult to see how the names of Congress workers, if published in these two papers, become more objectionable than if they were to appear e. g. in the *Times of India*. This is a puzzle to many and none but the Government is in a position to solve it. One can understand their anxiety to stop publicity for Congress news. But in this case they must take their courage in both hands and issue a similar warning to all newspapers irrespective of their political complexion. Such a course of action will at least have the merit of being more thorough and logical, though far more drastic. Their present half-hearted attempts in this behalf only serve to make them look ridiculous in public eyes.

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### Grievances of the Nizam's Subjects.

THERE is much in the memorial recently submitted by the Hindu subjects of Hyderabad State to the President of the Executive Council which can be

endorsed even by non-communally-minded persons. The Hindus form over four-fifths of the population of the State but are not allowed their fair share of the administrative appointments in the State. There is, we are told, not a single Hindu Collector or Commissioner in the whole of the State which is naturally regarded as very galling to their sense of self-respect by the Hindu subjects of the Nizam. The Revenue, Judicial and Police departments, which are by far the most important departments do not, it is pointed out, contain a due element of Hindu officers. It is also complained that though religious equality exists in theory in the State, in practice it is not equally extended to all communities. Apart from the fact that the community to which the ruler belongs is in the nature of circumstances bound to receive more or less favoured treatment, there can be no justification for the way other communities are reported in this memorial to be discriminated against in the State. But far more than these demands, we naturally attach great importance to the request for primary education being made compulsory and free throughout the State which is made in this memorial. The demand that education should be given through the mother tongue of the pupils concerned is also eminently reasonable. The restrictions placed by the State upon private enterprise in the matter of starting educational institutions of which the memorial rightly makes a grievance are unjustifiable from any point of view we can think of. We hope the time is not far distant when these restrictions will become a matter of the past.

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### Bombay Merchants' Nervousness.

WE must say that the correspondence that passed between the Indian Merchants' Chamber and the Bombay Government regarding the public meeting which the Chamber in common with other commercial bodies intended to hold in Bombay in order to pass certain resolutions on the present situation no way adds to the commercial community's reputation as strong upholders of their own rights. It is true that in these days with Ordinance of a sweeping character in force everyone who wishes to do his duty to the public has to walk warily and with circumspection; but the way the Bombay merchants conducted themselves in this affair must be said to be indicative of an undue sense of nervousness almost bordering on toadyism. The last thing expected of people who showed the courage of pledging themselves publicly to support the Congress in its programme of boycotting foreign cloth was a request to the Government to pass a preliminary judgment on the resolutions they intended to pass at such a meeting. So far as one can see, there was nothing in these resolutions which was in any way objectionable. In fact many non-Congress bodies have passed similar resolutions without drawing any trouble on themselves. Instead of proceeding to pass those resolutions at their contemplated meeting without the Government being asked to preaudit them as it were, and taking the consequences of their action, which certainly would have been a more manly and dignified course of conduct on their part, the merchants approached Government for an expression of their views. It is significant that even the Government did not brand those resolutions as transgressing the bounds of law, but gave a friendly hint that the merchants had better direct an expression of their views to other happenings in the city of Bombay. This seems to have effectively extinguished their enthusiasm for a public meeting on the present situation. That is how the merchants have deprived themselves, quite unnecessarily and due solely to their own nervousness as may appear to many, of an opportunity to express their views on the present crisis.

## PARTICIPATING IN R.T.C. COMMITTEES.

CRITICISMS are still being levelled in the press at those who in one form or another agree to participate in the work of the R. T. C. committees. Abstention from these committees is urged for several reasons, some of which at least can be summarily dismissed as wholly untenable. One such is the futility to which everything connected with the Conference is supposed to be foredoomed. The second session of the Conference, it is said, was so entirely barren of results that neither the committees which admittedly have no power of decision nor the third session of the Conference itself which will follow can at all be expected to produce a constitution which will be satisfactory even to the handful of persons who will help in framing it, not to speak of the many others who are sullenly keeping aloof. Frankly reasoning like this does not appeal to us. What determines for us our line of action is not certainty of success in it but possibility of its subserving the national interests. If instead we make the prospects of eventual success a criterion of the desirability of an undertaking, we are apt to make fearful mistakes. Take Mahatma Gandhi's own case. He refused to go into the first R. T. C. because he felt that it lacked the elements of success and laid down certain conditions to be fulfilled by the Government before he and the Congress would take part. The Government refused, and then followed a campaign of resistance and repression the like of which was not known to India before. The Conference still met and achieved results which certainly exceeded the Mahatma's expectations. The first Conference in fact appeared so promising that the Mahatma brought the intervening struggle to an end, laid aside the conditions which had seemed essential to him before, and agreed to enter the Conference just like ordinary co-operators. The high hopes entertained by him were, however, not realised; for the second session did not carry matters any farther than the first. On both these occasions the judgment of so discerning a leader as the Mahatma proved to be at fault. Is there not then some justification for "co-operators" to put on one side the utilitarian considerations which seem to weigh most with the critics and just pursue the path of duty?

The considerations which appear to the critics to forbid "co-operation" are summed up in the following passage in the current number of the *Modern Review*—

"It should be clearly borne in mind that the four Committees are merely to provisionally settle some details; they cannot even suggest any alterations as regards the main outlines decided or left undecided in the first and second R. T. C. Hence those Nationalists who are going to participate in the committees may consider, whether they think it good for India as a whole that the Provinces are to have the sort of autonomy which the British may condescend to grant in their own interests before full Central responsibility is actually given or even statutorily promised as some definitely mentioned date; whether they think an indefinitely long transition period good for India; whether they think it would be really an advance on the present constitution to have a

Federal Legislature with practically a stranglehold in the hands of the Indian States' representatives and the representatives of the separatist Moslems, Depressed Classes and other minority groups; whether during the indefinitely long transition period the reservation of defence, foreign affairs, minority interests, pay and pensions of higher officers and public debt, safeguards claimed for non-Nationals of the British Empire, currency, exchange, tariff, etc., in the hands of the Government, would be an advance on the present constitution; etc. etc."

Our first answer to such a query would be: all these defects could have been pointed out in the constitution framed by the first session of the R. T. C., and yet it did not deter Mahatma Gandhi from taking part in the second. No doubt he did so with the object of removing the defects. What prompts the "co-operators" now to co-operate may be the identical desire of removing the defects. If they fail they will be after all in the same boat after the third session in which Mahatma Gandhi was after the second. But the *Modern Review* forgets that some of the defects pointed out by it as too grave to permit of any kind of participation in the Conference were such as evoked no protest on Mahatma Gandhi's own part. In an earlier passage the *Modern Review* asks "whether it is consistent with the political principles of nationalists to take part in merely provisionally settling the details of an Indian constitution of which the un-nationalising separate communal electorates are to be a feature." This question could have been more appropriately addressed to Mahatma Gandhi before he joined the second session of the Conference than it could be addressed to co-operators like Dr. Moonje at this stage. For men like Dr. Moonje and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru may perhaps ultimately have to accept communal electorates under protest. Whether they will acquiesce in these "un-nationalising" electorates or reject them is not yet known. But it is definitely known that Mahatma Gandhi was quite willing in certain circumstances to concede communal electorates to Mahomedans and certain other demands made by them; e. g. the vesting of residual powers in the governments of the federating units which is declared by such a well-informed paper as the *Indian Social Reformer* to be a far more objectionable form of communalism than communal electorates. Why blame co-operating nationalists for what they may do when those who have actually done it are left scot-free?

The *Modern Review* again speaks of the stranglehold of the Indian Princes. To this stranglehold to which our contemporary rightly objects Mahatma Gandhi is as much a party as Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru; and indeed, if truth is to be told, he is more a party than the rest. Sir Tej at any rate implored the Princes to provide for the election of the States' representatives; Mahatma Gandhi carefully avoided doing so. The late Sir Mahomed Shafi urged the Princes to make civil and criminal law a federal subject; Mahatma Gandhi would not do so. Drs. Ambedkar and Shafa'at Ahmed Khan insisted upon the insertion of guarantees in the federal constitution for the protec-

tion of elementary rights of citizenship of the States' subjects; Mahatma Gandhi with an ostentatious regard for the interests of the autocratic Princes, declared himself unable to say what these rights shall be. Not only did Mahatma Gandhi do nothing himself to release British India from the Princes' stranglehold, he vehemently opposed those who made an attempt in that direction. Everyone recognises the tremendous difficulty in criticising a popular idol like the Mahatma; but surely an organ of public opinion of the *Modern Review's* high standard of integrity may summon enough courage to assign blame not where it is popularly given, but where it is in fact due. Even in respect of other matters like control over defence, etc., Mahatma Gandhi, by admitting the need for safeguards and yet by never taking the trouble to define them, played a somewhat doubtful, and certainly an unhelpful, part. In any case what he attempted to do at the second Conference may well be attempted by others at the third.

The critics are not thus particularly happy in advancing the ground of inutility of the R. T. C. proceedings when counselling non-co-operation. But they advance another. When civil resisters are interfered with in their activities others, it is said, whatever their opinion of the opportuneness or necessity of those activities, must go out on a sympathetic strike. This argument has, it must be admitted, considerable emotional value. It does seem odd that when almost a convulsion is taking place in the country any politicians should go on with their normal work as if nothing out of the way had happened. It gives relief to one's feelings that if one is not able to stop repression and restore quiet one has at least made some sacrifice, that one has shown one's resentment by refusing to serve on committees on which one would in ordinary circumstances have deemed it a privilege to serve. But in this particular case the co-operating nationalists feel that by non-co-operating they would only deprive themselves of the means of preventing a recurrence of such events in future, which is possible only if a self-governing constitution is obtained. Nor is it the case that even those who insist upon every group in the country pursuing a policy of non-co-operation show utter unconcern at the future of the reforms. The *Modern Review* itself is full of suggestions as to what the committees should do and should not do. For instance, it would have adult franchise established in India and answers objections that may possibly be urged against it. The *Hindu* opposes indirect election by means of the group system as suggested by Lord Zetland. If non-co-operating journals can without hurt either to their self-respect or to their political principles offer criticisms and suggestions outside the committees, is there any serious objection to politicians who do not believe in non-co-operation putting forward these very criticisms and suggestions at the committees themselves, so that practical effect may be given to them? If Mr. Jayakar and Sir Tej Babadur Sapru, who probably think that the civil disobedience movement was at the moment uncalled for and would injure the best interests of the country,

are yet to desist from making any contribution to the framing of a constitution, is it not much more incumbent upon journals like the *Hindu*, the *People* and the *Modern Review* which not only sympathise with the movement but give it their unreserved support, to take no interest whatever in constitutional discussions? If Mr. A. Rangaswamy Iyengar can through the columns of the *Hindu* express his views on questions discussed at the R.T.C. committees, would it not have been more profitable if he had directly taken part in the work of the committees and shaped their decisions? If as a non-cooperator he must affect unconcern at the doings of the R. T. C. committees, would it not be more seemly if he did not show himself to be terribly excited in the columns of the *Hindu* at the wrong turn events may take at these committees? The *People* of Lahore is of the opinion that "in the present circumstances co-operation cannot achieve anything and can lead only to mischief inasmuch as it indirectly becomes co-operation with the Government's present policy of martial-law repression." This is sheer non-sense, but if co-operation in evolving the constitution is indirect co-operation in repression, the *People* itself is guilty of it. For it too says outside the committees what e.g. Mr. Joshi would say at the committees, viz that. "In India adult franchise is absolutely necessary to guard against a Zemindar dictatorship and as a cure for communalism." If Mr. Joshi must be silenced, cannot the *People* take a holiday in enlightening public opinion on constitutional matters? It will do just as much good—or evil.

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## Reviews.

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### IMPLICATIONS OF EQUALITY.

**EQUALITY.** [HALLEY STEWART LECTURES, 1929.] By R. H. TAWNEY. (Allen & Unwin.) 1931. 21cm. 303p. 7/6.

PROF. TAWNEY very forcefully and poignantly sets forth the meaning and implications of equality in the civic, economic and religious spheres of life. The equality required is not equality of capacity or attainments but of circumstances, institutions and manner of life. The author admits that human beings are not equally endowed with physical and intellectual attainments and have even different requirements. He, however, emphasises that there is a common humanity pervading all human existence which needs to be given full and equal scope. Inequality is born of power and privilege which are the enemies of individual culture and social amity since they produce callousness in those who seek to profit by them, resentment in those who do not and suspicion and contention in both.

Modern society is however divided into two clear-cut classes, the majority who work for wages but who do not own or direct, and the minority who order the material and apparatus of industry and determine industrial organisation and policy. The system of education leaves little scope for the majority to enter the sacred precincts of the governing class as the public schools which supply the great majority of leaders in trade, industry, politics, religion and the professions are too expensive for the masses and are therefore confined more or less to the sons of the nobility and the wealthy.

Although feudalism and slavery are now universally condemned as barbarous and even shocking their spirit still permeates society. The modern doctrine of equality of opportunity is at best partial and one-sided as it merely insists on opening a free career to aspiring talent, not the diffusion of the means of civilization to all humanity. It is as if some slaves could be manumitted and turned into slave-owners. The formal equality of rights between wage-earners and property-owners is, in the words of the author, merely a decorous drapery for a practical relationship of mastery and subordination which is perpetuated by the laws of inheritance and of property.

Prof. Tawney rightly disposes with contempt of the common assertion that equality of wealth, were it effected in actual practice, would merely bring about the downfall of the rich but hardly make any visible improvement in the incomes of the poor. Says Mr. Tawney: "The effect of the transference of wealth is to be judged not only by the nominal value of the amounts transferred but also by the nature of the uses from which they are diverted and to which they are applied, that a lower average income with greater equality may make a happier society than a higher average income with less." The extension of the social services of the State offers the best means of usefully employing the surplus wealth lying in the hands of the few; for by taking money where it can most easily be spared and spending it where it is most urgently needed, it produces the maximum of social benefit with the minimum of economic disturbance.

The author rightly concludes that civil and political liberty obviously implies, not that all men shall be members of parliament, cabinet ministers, or civil servants, but the absence of such civil and political inequalities as enable one class to impose its will on another by legal coercion. It should be not less obvious that economic liberty implies, not that all men shall initiate, plan, direct, manage, or administer, but the absence of such economic inequalities as can be used as a means of economic constraint.

Prof. Tawney has presented his thesis in a very succinct and direct manner and has effectively disposed of a good deal of loose thinking on the subject. The publication of the book is very timely and will no doubt set many people thinking.

R. B. GUPTA.

## THE ETHICS OF CHRIST.

THE THEORY OF CHRIST'S ETHICS. By  
F. A. M. SPENCER. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929.  
22cm. 252p. 10/6.

THE plight of commentators and exponents of the Son of Man is to us less comic, because more serious, than that of the six wise men of Hindustan who went to see the elephant. There are a host of men—Akbar, Napoleon, Mohammed, to be only suggestive—who must be writhing in their graves to the callous tune of all the wild fantastic constructions that are being put forward on their words and actions and even gestures. It is hinted at by a facetious but shrewd agent that Shakespeare, if set a paper on himself as he is being expounded and commented upon and interpreted to the wide wondering world to-day, would most ignominiously fail and fail to secure even a bare ten per cent. success at that. And all sane men of faith are even more liable to the doubt whether all the devout rubbish that has been accumulating in his name may not prove too much for the patience of even Jesus of Nazareth. He will, no doubt, make short work of the heap of debris, and effect a more thorough cleansing of the temple of

knowledge and wisdom than He did about two thousand years ago, and with His Divine charity may perhaps set a kind matchstick to the learned lumber and make it serve at least the more useful purpose of humble incense.

But Mr. Spencer has not fumbled with the limbs of the elephant: he has not, indeed, presented a complete grasp of the big dimensions, but he interprets the ethics of one of the most elusive and the most comprehensive of Gurus better than the cocksure, misleading Christologists whose narrow perspective does not enable them to say: "Lord, I believe—help Thou my unbelief." This is not one of the books which we read and put down with the self-complacent idea that we have "something read and something got" from it; rather we are forced to admit that the whole tone and atmosphere of the book is so vaguely reasonable and faithfully sure that we delight in reading it over again to see that it is so good as it seemed at first. It is an honest piece of elaborate and sane thinking analysed simply and set down naturally.

Is the teaching of Christ to be merely a matter of personal and arbitrary interpretation according to personal idiosyncracies? Is it to be, on the other hand, an affair of fastidious and bigotted poring over isolated texts from their contexts to suit our muddled panorama? Or is Christ to be a living, real, healthy vision in life's problems, not characterised by jagged disproportion but pulsating with normal, sturdy assurance? There are commentators and theologians and interpreters: they would have us put as many constructions upon a spoken sentence of Jesus as there are letters in it: but they have not had the simple faith or the sublime patience to let the message assimilate into their being and let it come out matured and timely as a perfect thought, a perfect word, or a perfect action. Instead, they must needs be vehement, unbalanced and wildly certain of "rendering unto Caesar" and "hating their fathers and mothers" as if so many words were in themselves so many electric switches to set them on paying taxes or hating parents to order, instead of efforts at expressing great principles for a particular occasion and yet to make them as much applicable to as wide a sphere as possible. If "consistency" is to be stretched to breaking-point we would find that shallow men can make as many religions out of the Four Gospels as there are sayings of Jesus recorded in them, and perhaps more, more: but we can safely hope that we have not waxed so frantic over our own cleverness as to go so far.

This book being, of course, more philosophical than practical, to go more into its synthetic whole would draw one deeper into its pleasant and instructive meshes of discussion. To cynics this would be mere "stuff" or "highbrow and all that sort of thing": indeed, the vein of the whole book is apparently commonplace enough. But no one can think, who has passed over these thoughts, that Christianity is either a mere matter of objective criticism and acceptance or a highly involved process of individual subjective inference and appliance: but, on the whole, that the ethics of Christ are within you and without you, to be drawn from Him and lived within you and again rejuvenated at His fountain and yet again re-assimilated into your texture or temperament or whatever they call it.

"The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls: who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it." (Matt: X(II): 45-46)

A. MADHAVA MENON.

## FOUNDERS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

## THE FOUNDERS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

By JAN ST. LEWINSKI. (King.) 1931. 20cm. 173p. 6/6.

THIS is a reprint of Professor Lewinski's book first published in 1922. The author put before himself even then the somewhat ambitious task of endeavouring "to find among the doctrines advanced more than a hundred years ago such theories as still to-day can help us to understand economic phenomena."

Prof. Lewinski has analysed with care the many contributions to economic study made by Adam Smith and Ricardo, and has also a very interesting chapter on the contributions of the Physiocrats. Prof. Lewinski writes on p. 2 :

"The conception of economic laws can hardly be traced farther back than to the second half of the seventeenth century. Its development is intimately connected with the transition of the system of state intervention to a policy of free trade. When the regulation of the whole economic life ceased to be in harmony with the new social conditions, it became clear that there exists a natural order of things which cannot be neglected by the legislator."

It is just possible that the economist to-day may still find that there is no inconsistency between State intervention and economic science for in a progressive community "the state is the people" and what is natural is only what is human.

We entirely agree with the author's estimate of the work of Adam Smith that "he advanced political economy a great deal. He created its method, he laid the foundations of the theory of distribution. From rude fragments, such as they were in the works of his predecessors, they became artistically worked out master-pieces in the 'Wealth of Nations'."

It is not obviously possible in a short review to emphasise all that Prof. Lewinski has done to analyse the contributions—and they were many—of Ricardo; but the author is right in his estimate of Ricardo that "his theories influenced in some respects the social history of the nineteenth century"; and that his pessimistic view of the future of humanity gave to the socialistic camp the weapons for attack on the capitalistic regime.

But when Prof. Lewinski proceeds to remark on p. 161, that "the followers of the classical writers contributed to the progress of economic science less by the originality of their theories than by the systematisation of the inheritance left by the founders of political economy" it appears that the author puts too generous an estimate on the creative abilities of Adam Smith and Ricardo and does less than justice to the many writers of the nineteenth century who followed Ricardo.

The book is a very useful survey and will repay close study by the student of economic thought interested in the contributions of the early founders of "economic science".

S. V. AYYAR.

## SHORT NOTICES.

## HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE. By C.

S. S. HIGHAM. (4th Edn.) (Longmans, London.) 1931. 20cm. 308p. 5/—

THIS is a detailed history of the origin, growth and development of the British Empire. It is one of the biggest Empires that was ever built up through the efforts of a small nation, living in a small island cut off from the mainland of Europe. The narrative of such an enterprise, which has entailed a great deal of human sacrifice, was a task worth undertaking. The author has certainly done full justice to the subject.

He starts from the discovery of the new world and what led to it. He tells us how America was discovered by a mere chance. The demand for Indian spices led to the need of discovering a sea-route to India. While in search of this home of spices, Columbus discovered America. Mr. Higham then traces the development of the New Empire, the founding of the settlements in the Colonies, through the chartered companies and other agencies, specially in India, Canada, South Africa and Australia. The chapters on the present position of the Colonies and their relations with the mother country form interesting reading. What form the future relations of the Dominions with England will take is more a matter of conjecture and prophecy. The author has done well in not dwelling on it. It does not form an essential part of the history of the Empire.

The last chapter on India is up to date. The author tells us clearly how the demand for home rule grew in India and what steps the Imperial Government took to satisfy it. He even deals with the recent Round Table Conference held in London. While going through the book, what strikes one most is the impartial and unprejudiced manner, in which the author has dealt with the most controversial questions arising out of inter-Imperial affairs, specially relating to India. This ought to be the true role of a historian. One wishes that writers of history would follow the method employed by the author in this book.

M. S. CHEEMA.

GANDHIJI IN ENGLAND AND THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras.) 1932. 18cm. 141p. Ra. 1/8.

IN the words of the publishers, this book "aims at giving a comprehensive account of the proceedings of the Conference with copious extracts from the speeches of various delegates and of the representatives of the Government." Lest the title of the book should be criticised as a misnomer in the light of this authoritative definition of its aim, it is explained that as "a large section of the British public evinced a keen interest in Gandhiji," and "the British statesmen themselves gave prominence to him at the Round Table we have made the account fairly exhaustive by including reference to Gandhiji and his activities in England." But so far as the proceedings of the Conference are concerned, we cannot say that the book gives fuller summaries of Gandhiji's speeches than it does of those of other delegates. Even so, this little digest of the work of the second session of the Conference cannot but be found very useful and handy by those wishing to know something, but not fully, about it. An account of the events leading to Congress participation in the Conference given in the earlier chapters is useful as facilitating a proper understanding of what follows in later chapters. The reproduction in extenso of the Gandhi-Irwin pact, Mahatma Gandhi's speech at the plenary session and the Prime Minister's declaration of Indian policy made in bringing the proceedings of the Conference to a close on December 1st can by no means be said to be superfluous in such a publication.

H. K. M.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER, 1930. Secretary, 31,

Murzban Road, Bombay.) 1931. 22cm. 776 + xiii p.

AMONG the few public bodies in India engaged in doing their work in a systematic manner and not by fits and starts, the Indian Merchants' Chamber will doubtless take a high place. Its report is not merely a

narrative of its activities but can roughly be characterised as the commercial history of the country during the period to which it relates. The description applies equally to its report for 1930, the latest to fall into our hands. We observe from it that the Chamber has a membership of 468 and unlike the general run of public bodies in this country, its coffers are not empty. The representations made to Government by the Chamber on questions affecting Indian commercial well-being and the speeches made by its Chairman which very properly find place in this publication have more than passing interest to a serious student of public questions.

J. B. R.

**SUSHEELECHA DEVA.** By V. M. JOSHI.

I have hardly ever seen Marathi books reviewed in the columns of this journal. I take it that it is the editor's practice which seems to be based on sound commonsense not to devote any space to the reviews of purely Marathi books in a journal read mostly by non-Marathi-knowing people. In wishing me to review this book, therefore, the editor seems to me to be making a departure which, I hope, will, if at all, be only rarely repeated. To turn to the book itself. In this novel Prof. V. M. Joshi has, by way of narrating a story, stated his own view about God. It is his conviction that God is nothing but the mission in life and the whole-hearted pursuit of that mission is the adoration of that God. The book deals with several other problems, chief among them being widow-remarriage, training of children, comparison of different religions and universal brotherhood. The author has created his characters so as to represent the different schools of politics in India. The plot is naturally interspersed with current political matters. The discussions in relation to the various problems strike one as being mostly inconclusive. If a novel is to be considered a piece of art then such serious discussions must be introduced in such a way that they should not strangle the artistic shape of the story. This novel does not unfortunately stand this test—at any rate to the extent to which the reader may expect in the case of an author of Mr. Joshi's status and reputation. However he has rightly depicted the mentality of the young men of modern times. The style of the book is dignified and elegant and it creates an absorbing interest in the minds of the readers.

V. B. A.

**WHAT IS MOKSA?** By A. J. APPASAMY. (C. L. S., Madras.) 1931. 19cm. 246p. Rs. 1/4.

THIS is one of the series of books known as Indian Studies which are being issued by C. L. S. In them there is much of interesting comparative study of Indian religions and Christianity. The method and course of study are logical, but it is superhuman for any man to be too dispassionate in such a matter. Doctrines once accepted do not allow those who accept them to question the why of it, and then begins the twisting and endless controversy which ends verily in nothing. The goal of all religions is Moksa, but Moksa is made different for different religions.

Dr. Appasamy takes for study the fourth Gospel, which is largely akin to the soul of India. Johnnaïne end of religion is our abiding in God and God abiding in us. The very same end is being sought by all the devotees in India. Rev. Appasamy gives profuse quotations from the works of Saivite and Vaishnavite saints, and compares them with Johnnaïne Gospel. He wants Indian Christians who as recent converts are familiar with Hindu life and thought to study all these and to use them too in their devotions. This is a bold but a very helpful

suggestion. He wants to take in non-Christians in Christian devotions and even modify these to a certain extent. We do not know if the author wants these as innovations in their evangelistic work. But for a better understanding and appreciation of Christ they should live the pure and simple life of Christ; Christ in his benevolence will not deny his help to those who do not take the Christian label.

God abiding in us and our abiding in God is not the pure Advaita of Sankara. God is greater than man, though he may claim and acquire eternal fellowship with Him. This has been the controversy for centuries in India and is nowhere settled. Johnnaïne end is not Advaita, it may be Vishishtadvaita or perhaps, Saivasiddhanta.

The author says that like every other nation, the special mission of India is to spread the ideal of peace. Peace, not the suppression of desires, not born of the abstruse metaphysical trend of Unity, but Peace with faith in God and His mercy is that which the author wants to be the ideal of our country.

N. S. S.

## Miscellaneous.

### AMENDED MOLESTATION ORDINANCE.

#### MR. VENKATARAMA SASTRI ON ITS WIDE SCOPE.

The Viceroy recently promulgated one more Ordinance designed to amend some of the earlier ones. One of these amendments relates to the Picketing Ordinance. Clause (b) of section 3 in the original Ordinance defined a picketer as a person who

"(b) With a view to cause loss or knowing that loss is likely, to be caused to such other person, loiters at or near the place where such person carries on business and dissuades or attempts to dissuade, by words or gestures or otherwise, any person from entering or approaching or dealing at such place."

The new Ordinance substitutes the following for this clause:

"(b) loiters at or near the place where such other person carries on business, in such a way or with intent that any person may thereby be deterred from entering or approaching or dealing at such place, or does any other act at or near such place which may have a like effect."

Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, ex-Advocate-General of Madras, is of opinion that the amendment makes the Ordinance wider in scope. He says:

IT is possible that the object of the amendment is to dispense with the element which the presence of a customer is required to establish—the actual or attempted dissuasion of some individual. Even where there is at the place no one whom the loiterer might be said to have "dissuaded or attempted to dissuade" the offence of molestation is complete.

The meaning of the word "loiter" in the section has undergone a change. It has an innocent meaning—linger or travel indolently with pauses. It has the meaning—hang about, which implies a sinister intent in reference to the place which one hangs about. This latter meaning was the true meaning of the word in the Section. It was indicated by the word defined namely "molestation", by the collo-

ation with "intimidation"—loitering about the houses of persons and persistently following them place to place and in the very clause amended, by the words "with a view to cause loss", "knowing that loss is likely to be caused" and "dissuades or attempts to dissuade". The word 'loiter' goes naturally with the words "with intent that any person may be deterred thereby"—the sinister intent already in the word 'loiter' being made explicit by these latter words. The change involved in the new words "in such a way or with intent that any person may be deterred thereby" gets rid of intent as an element in the crime. The likelihood of another being deterred is the new element. Not his intent but the possibility of another interpreting his intent—rightly or wrongly—and so being deterred will constitute his crime. "Loiter" in its innocent meaning has now become a crime because another misunderstands or may do so. An illustration will make the matter clear.

A man stands in front of a shop waiting for a friend or a bus. A policeman comes along and honestly takes him to be a picketer. So might a customer if he came along at that moment and he might be deterred from entering the shop. It may be his wearing khaddar or a Gandhi cap or something in his pose that gives the impression. As a customer need not be there or deterred in fact, the element involved in the words "that any person may be deterred" is there when the policeman honestly forms that impression of him. Now that the man has stood in such a way that a person may be deterred thereby, the offence is complete. His intent is not necessary. Nor need he be conscious that he is likely to deter people and cause loss. He may have no intention to dissuade anybody from going into the shop. But he has stood there in such a way that some may thereby be deterred. How can he escape punishment? Not even proof of the fact that he was waiting for another to arrive there in order to go in and make a purchase can help him on the language of the section. If it is not a question of mere arrest and punishment by a criminal court but "preventive use of minimum force" which might not infrequently amount to thrashing and in rare cases might have the wholly unintended, though very regrettable and regretted, consequence of death, the police might discover after the use of force that the man had no intent at all to do anything objectionable. But it is a result made inevitable by the Section because no intent or knowledge in his mind is necessary but the wholly external fact of the possibility of a customer being deterred is sufficient.

Perhaps it may be said that these are unreasonable illustrations and that no one will apply the Section in such obviously innocent cases. In the first place, the words must be made absolutely clear so as to avoid misapplication. Secondly, in these critical times and in regard to these Ordinances the tendency is, as experience shows, to stretch words to the

full limit of their capacity and not to give them their strict meaning.

May I add a word of comment on the language of the amendment? It seems to me wholly unhappy. "In such a way or with intent that" is curious collocation. "In such a way that a person may be deterred" may not be bad grammar but is delightfully vague. "With intent that a person may be deterred"—does it not mean "should be deterred thereby"? The fact is that the presence of intention demands a clause worded one way and the absence of it a clause differently worded and one clause to go with both phrases is as bad in language as in its conception or lack of conception of its content. It may perhaps be too much to expect elegance or even correctness of language in modern Indian legislation.

My object is not to suggest any amendment. Many minds are busy recasting the Ordinances to minimise their rigour and make them less drastic. They are in their own way usefully occupied. I say nothing against the good intended to be achieved. The small amendments of the Ordinances are the enemy of the only desirable reform of their repeal in exactly the same way as small reform is the enemy of great and greatly needed reforms. The amendments that widen the scope of the newly created crimes of "dissuasion or attempt to dissuade" must drag the Government and the people alike into the miry depths of Ordinances with the inevitable demoralisations. This Ordinance No. V in particular is wholly unsupportable and with the frequent reports of the seizure of khaddar, is the fruitful source of much avoidable misunderstanding as to the good intentions of the British Government in regard to India.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED,

- GANDHI AND THE INDIAN PROBLEM. By E. G. HART. (Hutchinson.) 18cm. 155p. 2/-
- IDEALS OF HINDUISM. By KASHI NATH. (Tataporewalla, Bombay.) 1932. 25cm. 86p. Rs. 4.
- LAND PROBLEMS AND POLICIES IN THE AFRICAN MANDATES OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH. By NICK P. MITCHELL. (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.) 1931. 23cm. 155p.
- MONEY AND PRICES. By AUGUSTUS BAKER. (Dent, London.) 1931. 20cm. 216p. 6/-
- CORNWALLIS IN BENGAL. By A. ASPINALL. (Manchester University Press.) 1931. 23cm. 210p. 15/-
- FEDERAL FINANCING. By ROBERT A. LOVE. (Columbia University Press, New York.) 1931. 22cm. 261p. \$4. 25.
- INDIAN ECONOMICS, Vols. I & II. (3rd. & 2nd Edn.) By G. B. JATHAR AND S. G. BERI. (Oxford University Press.) 1931. 24cm. pp446, 583. Rs. 4/8, 5/8.
- A SURVEY OF MATAR TALUKA (Kaira Dist.) Director = J. C. KUMARAPPA. (Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad.) 1931. 22cm. 179p. Rs. 2.
- SHIVAJI, THE FOUNDER OF MARATHA SWARAJ. By C. V. VAIDYA. (Author, Poona 2.) 1931. 20cm. 410p. Rs. 3.
- CONINGSBY OR THE NEW GENERATION. By BENJAMIN DISRAELI. (Oxford University Press.) 1931. 15cm. 468p. 2/-