

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Cui Bono.

THE *Tribune* is unable to understand, any more than any other reputable organ of public opinion, why, when the Government is engaged in devising means of turning over the administration of the country to Indians, there should be either the repressive regime or the continuance of civil disobedience over a long period.

When we look at the matter from this point of view we are driven irresistibly to the conclusion that the present struggle is on both sides due to ignorance and misunderstanding regarding the real nature of the position, and that if only both parties will clarify their ideas, they will find that never in all history did people, whose professed aim was the same, enter upon a desperate, life-and-death struggle on grounds so wholly incapable of bearing the test of scrutiny. Of course, we are assuming that the British Government does wish to give India the status of an equal self-governing Dominion, and that India herself is prepared, if given that status, to remain within Commonwealth. But not to assume this is to re-open the whole issue that, in spite of all the unhappy events that have happened during the last four months most of us believe to have been finally closed by the Delhi Settlement and the participation of Mahatma Gandhi in the Round Table Conference.

The assumption made by the *Tribune* is perfectly well-founded, and yet the reaction of opinion represented by it can do nothing more effective or useful than to regret that both parties have been acting unreasonably.

The Princes' Terms

WHILE congratulating the Princes upon deciding to join federation, the *Economist* feels constrained to note that "the conditions and guarantees, as restated (by them), are uncompromising and comprehensive. If the States were really to stand on the letter of these conditions in perpetuity, the all-India federation of the future might find its life and growth and movement seriously cramped." "But," it adds, "perhaps this is not a very formidable practical danger." For it is inclined to believe that the Princes will not stand on the letter of their treaties of adhesion. The *Economist* tries to justify its optimism by a wide generalisation. It says: "The histories of other federations show that, at the moment of taking the decision to merge their separate existences in a larger whole, the federating states are apt to insist upon their state rights very jealously; but that in process of time the logic of facts impel them to modify and even waive these jealously preserved rights of their own volition. For a federal union, once successfully established, becomes a living thing in itself, which changes and grows and carries its parts and organs along in the movement of its own life."

These remarks would almost go to show that any kind of federation, however loose and unsubstantial in the beginning, tends to become right in the end, and that we need not worry too much as to the scope of the federal government's jurisdiction. The airy complacency of this view is, however, belied by the experience of the oldest federation formed on the basis of too jealous a regard for states' rights. In the United States the body of civil and criminal law was made a local concern for each state to deal with as it thought best, and although enough time has elapsed to give full play to the centralising tendency referred to by the *Economist*, there is no prospect of the subject being made over by the states, either by a formal amendment of the constitution or by a convention, to the national government. The initial defect still persists. What basis is there in India beyond wish-thinking for the facile optimism of the *Economist* that, however restricted the scope of the federal power may be to start with in India and however securely protected it may be against future change, yet the scope may be widened in future?

South Africa.

It is indeed very disappointing that the House of Assembly in the Union of South Africa chose to reject the motion of Mr. Morris Alexander, M. L. A., that the South African Indian Congress be heard at the bar of the House. Considering that Indians have no share in the choice of the members of the legislature, it was eminently proper that they should be given opportunities to make representation at the bar of the house. But those who know anything of the psychology of the racial politics of the Union will

not feel surprised that Mr. Alexander's motion was lost. It is not fashionable in that country to stand up for the rights of Indians; it simply is not done.

It is, therefore, all the more to the credit of Mr. Alexander that he sponsored the motion. For over twenty years that he has been a member of the house he has with uncommon courage and conviction publicly championed the cause of Indians as well as of all unrepresented communities in the Union. Mr. Alexander's services must be viewed in perspective to enable us to realise to the full the magnitude of the debt of gratitude that India owes him. The grateful Indian community in South Africa refer to him appreciatively as the "Member for India."

Disappointing, though not surprising, as is the rejection of the plea of the South African Indian Congress to be heard at the bar of the House, we hope that the Congress will not persuade itself to non-cooperate with the Government, as was mentioned in a recent special cable. Indians in the Union will do well to ponder carefully over the references to South Africa made by Mr. Sastri in his reply to the Address presented by the Madras Corporation, published elsewhere in this issue. It will be long before the position of Indians in the Union will become even tolerable. In the meanwhile it is wiser to take advantage of every change, however slight, for the better in the attitude of the Government and nurse it carefully. It is satisfactory to note that Dr. Malan has agreed to meet certain points urged by the Congress.

* * *

Bombay Excise.

THE excise administration report of the Bombay Presidency for 1930-31 is just published. Speaking for the Presidency proper, we find that the year had not witnessed the discontinuance of the rationing system; but its continuance was more nominal than real. For instead of reducing the ration for the previous year by 10 per cent. in Bombay and 5 per cent. in the mofussil, as required by the system, it was allowed to stand at the old level. The result was that what with the Congress campaign of anti-drink, picketing and the general economic depression, the consumption fell extraordinarily short of the ration. We use the word "extraordinarily" advisedly for even in years of normal working the ration allowed for the different districts was hardly ever fully consumed—a convincing testimony to the generous nature of the ration. This was far more so in the year under report. Thus we find that quite a number of districts were unable to consume even a third of the quantity of liquor they were expected to do. The consumption was actually less by about 800,000 gallons than the ration and by 323,000 gallons than that for the preceding year—a decrease of about 25 per cent. in a single year. The reduced consumption, as expected, resulted in a drop in revenue from country spirits which during 1930-31 amounted to a little over Rs. 60 lakhs. This represented nearly two-thirds of the total drop in excise receipts.

The consumption would have gone down still further if the Government had more sympathetically treated the recommendations of the excise advisory bodies. It is observed from the report that out of a total of 481 recommendations made by them only 273 succeeded in finding acceptance at the hands of Government. Many of the rejected ones related to the closure of shops which, according to the departmental authorities, could not be closed without inconvenience to the drinking public. While the wholesale rejection of this recommendation is not surpris-

ing, there can hardly be any doubt that these bodies in demanding the closure of shops showed themselves to be closely in touch with public opinion.

The number of cases of illicit distillation decreased from 3,291, to 2,945 which clearly disproves the official theory that decreased licit consumption leads to increased illicit drinking. The report makes some attempt at explaining away this phenomenon, but it is anything but convincing. Similary there was also a remarkable fall in drunkenness as seen by the number of convictions for that offence which showed a decline of about 1300, from 3,177 to 1,864, as many as 1,122 of which occurred in Bombay City. It is noteworthy that drunkenness was the smallest in parts in which the picketing of liquor shops was carried on with vigour, as e. g. in Ahmedabad, Kaira, Panch Mahals, Ratnagiri. That prohibition is largely an urban rather than a rural problem is clear from the fact that while the consumption of country spirits per head was 8.7 drams in urban areas in 1930-31 as against 11 in 1929-30, it was only 1.2 in rural ones as against 2.1 of the previous year.

* * *

Travancore.

TRAVANCORE enjoys the reputation of being one of the too few well-governed States in India—a reputation which the record of its activities for 1930-31 fully maintains. Its population went up in one decade from 40 lakhs to nearly 51 lakhs—a rise of 27 per cent., which is itself a testimony to its efficient and just administration. The State boasts of a legislative council in which the elected element is in the ascendant, 28 out of its 50 members being elected. The Council can vote on the budget, discuss all matters of public interest and ask questions. It also enjoys the right of moving token cuts in order to discuss Government measures or policy. The franchise is by no means too high, women not being subject to any disability on the ground of sex either in regard to the right to vote or to stand for election. The power of certification in regard to budget demands or legislative measures is reserved to the Ruler but has never been brought into use—evidence alike of the legislature's reasonableness as also of the Government's responsiveness to public opinion. But in addition to the Council, public opinion has another channel of expressing itself, viz. the Sri Mulam Assembly which, in view of 77 of its total of 100 members being elected, is in name and in fact, popular. Though now 28 years old, the Assembly has no statutory recognition; but according to the Maharaja's Coronation promise, it will not be long before this is secured to it along with a suitable enlargement of its functions and powers. The State's educational policy is, we are happy to note, liberal, its educational expenditure in the year under report being Rs. 49 lakhs or nearly 21.6% of its revenue. Primary education is free, though not compulsory, throughout the state and 5¾ lakhs out of its total of 7½ lakhs of school age population is in receipt of some kind of instruction. But what is even more important is that female education is well looked after and special efforts are made to make it available to people who need it most, viz. the backward and depressed classes. With such surprising progress in other nation-building departments it is really a wonder how the State has so far failed to bring its abkari policy in line with progressive public opinion. Its present one of making drink increasingly difficult to the consumer is hopelessly out of date and is a blot on its otherwise progressive administration. It is to be hoped that the policy will before long be changed into one of total prohibition to be attained in a reasonable period.

* * *

Articles.

PERMIT NEGOTIATION.

THE speech of Sir Samuel Hoare on the India Office Vote in the House of Commons is more self-complacent than hopeful. With great unctiousness he laid down the principle that if in India order was impossible without progress, progress was impossible without order. He was, therefore, following the dual policy of maintaining order and evolving progress at the same time. He was satisfied with his achievements along both lines. He claimed that the internal situation in India had improved: economically, prices were rising, taxes and rents were coming in, and the public loan was successful; politically, there were in jail only 26,000 men and women, about half the number that were in jail under the regime of the former Government, which included Mr. Lansbury; there was no crisis or revolution in India, and the Ordinances were "sensibly" operated. All was well, thanks to his firm rule with the help of the Ordinances, though not so well as to permit withdrawal of the emergency legislation. The Secretary of State is welcome to the satisfaction that there is no revolution or crisis in India if by these terms he meant that there was no danger of the Government of India, as now constituted, being paralysed or overthrown. He may well claim that not only are taxes coming in, but that Government servants, the great bulk of whom are Indians, have been loyal to the Government and are even over-zealous in the discharge of their duties with the *lathi*. But it must be small satisfaction to any statesmen to realise that among the politically-minded section of the community which is daily growing larger and larger, there is great dissatisfaction and deep discontent and that even the most sober and level-headed among the Indian politicians are extremely unhappy at the political situation in India under the iron rule of Sir Samuel Hoare. There may be no revolution, but there is also no willing consent of the people to the present administration.

How long is this *lathi-raj* to last? Sir Samuel Hoare said that it was for the Congress to decide. As for himself he protested that there was no change in his policy. That may be. But when he claimed that there was no change in the policy of the British Cabinet since he became the Secretary of State for India, he is on debatable ground. There is all the difference in the world between the policies associated with Lord Irwin and Sir Samuel Hoare. It may be true that Lord Irwin imprisoned more persons than Sir Samuel Hoare and was equally guilty of rule by Ordinances. Nevertheless, Lord Irwin was always on the lookout for conciliation, for peace with honour to both parties. He had no desire to give the knockout blow, to carry war into the enemy's camp, and to humiliate his opponent. He, too, wished for order and progress, but made no fetish of securing order first before he would contemplate progress. His main objective was progress, and repression was a subsidiary necessity

reluctantly embarked upon. Sir Samuel Hoare's policy is the reverse of all this. He pawed for a combat, itched to give a knock-out blow, and was more bent on maintaining British prestige as a ruling nation than on securing progress and enhancing British honour as the pioneer of universal liberty. His *lathi-raj* is more vindictive than vindicative of law and order. Sir Samuel Hoare was out to humiliate Mr. Gandhi and the Congress when he said that if Mr. Gandhi wished to resume co-operation with the Government, he would have no difficulty in conveying his wishes to the Government without the help of an intermediary. He made it clear that there could be no question of making a bargain with the Congress as a condition of its co-operation. This attitude is as highly deplorable as it is short-sighted. Is Sir Samuel Hoare so confident of his power to crush the Congress or so completely oblivious of the pride of the Congress leaders as to expect them to eat the humble pie and on bended knees offer co-operation to the British Government? Is it really a possible or a desirable consummation? The Congress was certainly unwise in re-embarking on civil disobedience, but it would be equally unwise of the Government if they insisted on the abject surrender of the Congress. Any attempts to do so will only win more sympathy for and support to the Congress and go against the Government.

At the same time, it is too much to expect the Government to initiate negotiations with the Congress leaders, though such a step would be magnanimous. The only solution, the only way out of the impasse, is to permit the intervention of neutrals or intermediaries. If both the opponents were accessible, efforts would by now have been made to negotiate a settlement. But the principal Congress leaders are in jail. Without the express permission of the Government, intermediaries cannot get access to them. And Government have so far refused permission. And now Sir Samuel Hoare has confirmed the Government of India's refusal. The Government's reluctance is apparently based on the apprehension that Congressmen, some, if not all, will interpret Government's action as a surrender to the Congress. When Lord Irwin permitted Messrs. Sapru and Jayakar to interview the Congress leaders, some Congressmen did commit the mistake of representing that the Government had admitted defeat, had sued for peace and had begged the mediators to make honourable peace possible for them. This in spite of the fact that the peace-makers did not embark on their mission at the instigation of the Government; they had, on the other hand, great difficulty in securing permission. Such misrepresentation may be repeated again, but it is so small a matter that it cannot be seriously urged as an obstacle.

Without the help of mediation, if only between the various Congress leaders imprisoned in various parts of India, even a surrender on the part of the Congress, desired by Sir Samuel Hoare, is not possible. It may be that all the imprisoned leaders were supplied with the speech of the Secretary of State. Even if each of them came to the conclusion

to surrender, none would be free to commit the Congress without consulting one another and arriving at a common decision. In banging the door against mediators, Sir Samuel Hoare is frustrating the very purpose he has in view, granting that it is desirable or possible. We trust and hope that he will realise that he is asking for the impossible, that he will see the necessity, nay, the inevitability, of negotiations with a view to securing peace with honour to both parties, and peace and contentment to the long-suffering people of India.

OUR EDUCATIONAL IDEALS.

(Contributed.)

TIME was when an all-round culture was the unquestioned ideal of education. The world has progressed (?) since the times of the *Rishis* of India and of the founders of the universities of Europe. We have now become frankly utilitarian. We have learnt to count everything in pounds, shillings and pence.

Another Arts College—an anathema. Start a Technological Institute. Arts graduates—who wants them now? Learned professors can be had in shoals—for the mere asking. Put an advertisement in the 'Times' and you will get more applications than you can read in a year. The man in the street says this—as well as sometimes—yes—the councillors that adorn the governing bodies of established institutions!

But ask anybody, who can and does seriously consider academic qualifications, educational experience and general suitability, whether it is easy to get on fair salaries arts graduates of the requisite all-sided qualifications and adequate experience—his reply will be in a totally different vein.

The fact is, our Arts education is badly in need of improvement—improvement in all directions. Teachers appear to have forgotten that their aim in educating their pupils ought to be not only to put them through the examinations, but also to raise their moral, mental and intellectual outlook—to help them, in every way, to realise themselves. The right type of arts graduates is as rare as the right type of engineers or the right type of mechanics. What is needed is not the cutting down of arts colleges, but a new spirit to work them. We are thoroughly convinced that a large number of properly trained arts graduates—apart from their value in the employment market (and that is not so low as it is often made out to be) is an asset to any nation, and particularly so, to India to-day, when she is on the threshold of *Swaraj*.

Again, while value in the employment market is only one of the several considerations before a man seeking education in arts, it will, we hope, readily be conceded that the possibility of employment is almost the only consideration before a man who would take up a purely technical line. Is the demand for technical graduates really so acute? Or does the new economics preach that supply should precede demand? Shall we put the cart before the horse? Is that the new way of locomotion?

Nobody doubts that India stands in need of industrial development, but one may be pardoned if one doubted the propriety of creating a body of technical experts before industries themselves have come into existence. Whom do we expect to start the industries? Do we seriously expect our technical graduates to start the industries? Agitate by all means to dispel the lethargy of the well-to-do capitalists, and goad them on to start industries—technical experts would come almost as soon as they are wanted. But do not—oh, do not plunge the nation into disaster by creating an army of really unemployable men who would not find anything to do.

We do not minimise the value of technical training in itself, and we should very much like all our graduates to have some training in that line. Improve the arts course by introducing some technical education into it, and let the time-honoured ideal of a liberal education, of an all-round culture, still remain unquestioned. The world is too much with us—let us remember that man does not live by bread alone.

PROGRESS OF CO-OPERATION IN BIHAR AND ORISSA.

THE report on the working of co-operative societies in Bihar and Orissa for 1930-31, which is recently published, is an interesting document. Besides describing the present condition of the co-operative movement in the province, it exposes the defects in the movement and makes suggestions to remedy them.

During the year under report the number of societies increased only by 88 as against 128 in the previous year. The membership decreased by 6,619 but the working capital showed an increase of about Rs. 6 lakhs as against that of Rs. 16 lakhs in the previous year. The profits also went down by Rs. 11,000 during the year. Thus it will be seen that the rate of progress during the year under report did not keep pace with that of the preceding year.

The main cause of this deterioration was the trade depression which prevailed all the world over. Other causes also had an adverse effect on the movement. Lack of trained honorary organisers generally leads to hasty and unsound organisation, as it has done in this province. The combination of supervising and financing functions has also been partly responsible for the present unsatisfactory state of things. Some undesirable persons related or useful to directors of banks came to be appointed as supervisors. These, even when found out, were able to escape punishment for their misdeeds. This defect can be remedied by separating supervision and finance, as pointed out in the report.

The Registrar suggests that new societies should be registered with greater caution and that the bad ones should as far as possible be weeded out. During the year under report only 286 societies were registered while 261 were cancelled. It is a matter for regret that some societies were found to have been organised in the sole interest of one or two persons of position. This naturally results in the exploitation of the poor and ignorant members. Such

societies, which can in no way be peculiar to Bihar and Orissa, are nothing short of a disgrace to the co-operative movement and deserve to go out of existence.

The deterioration of most of the societies was due to widespread defaults caused by hasty organisation, inadequate supervision and reckless financing. It is rightly remarked by the Registrar that loans ought to be based on the capacity for repayment of debtors and not on their mere paper assets and should be granted as far as possible for productive purposes. The pernicious habit of borrowing for avoidable purposes should be discouraged and loans for cultivation purposes should not be long term ones. In cases where there is no surplus income no repayments can obviously be made. In such cases no loans should be granted but efforts should be made to increase the productivity of lands and to supply a subsidiary occupation to the persons concerned.

It is a matter for regret that cases of dishonesty on the part of so-called co-operators were frequent and many cases of directors of banks committing frauds are mentioned in the report.

This gloomy side of things apart, there is no gainsaying the fact that much valuable work was accomplished during the year by the co-operative department. Most of the Central Banks were doing good work in reclaiming waste land, constructing *bandhs*, improving wells, supplying subsidiary occupations and spreading education. The Registrar suggests that by the co-ordination of development departments, especially of the Agricultural Department, much rural reconstruction work can be done through the agency of co-operative societies. The possibilities of this suggestion deserve to be earnestly studied by all those interested in the work.

G. N. SAHASRABUDDHE.

Reviews.

DANTE.

DANTE. THE DIVINE COMEDY. ITS ESSENTIAL SIGNIFICANCE. By ARTHUR H. NORWAY (Student Christian Movement, London.) 1931. 20cm. 164p. 5/-

THE reputation of Dante, the great Florentine poet and thinker, has passed through many vicissitudes. The generation immediately succeeding his death read and admired him, but as the Renaissance movement rose, his name became obscured. Modern scholars, however, regard Dante as one of the half-a-dozen greatest writers of all time. Mr. Norway is a scholar who has made a deep study of Dante's works, and in the work before us has fully vindicated Dante's reputation as one of the world's universal poets and philosophers.

The learned author has chosen to treat of the significance of the *Divine Comedy*, that by which Dante is known best to all the educated world. In the introductory chapter the author describes the political condition of Florence during the life-time of Dante, as a knowledge of it is necessary to understand the *Divine Comedy*. The thirteenth century, the century when

Dante lived, was a century of "burning passions, scorching men's hearts, distorting their judgments, elemental, fierce and brutal" (p. 3). "The great tragedies which stirred the burning passion in his heart and set his thoughts to question the deep things of Hell and Heaven" are therefore set forth in the Introductory chapter of the book.

It is necessary to know the main incidents of Dante's career, for in the *Divine Comedy* the hero is the narrator himself, and the world through which the poet takes his readers is peopled, not with the characters of heroic story, but with men and women known personally or by repute to him. The aim of the poem is not to delight, but to reprove, to rebuke, to exhort, to form men's character by teaching them what courses of life will meet with reward, what with penalty hereafter, "to put into verse" as the poet says "things difficult to think."

The action of the *Comedy* opens in the early morning of Good Friday in the year 1300. Dante finds himself lost in a forest, escaping from which to ascend the mountain of felicity he has his way barred by a wolf, a lion and a leopard. The forest is the forest of worldly cares, and the three beasts represent the temptations of cupidity, the pride of life and the lusts of the flesh. When Dante is beset by these temptations Virgil (representing philosophy) appears and explains that he has been asked to guide him by the Blessed Virgin (representing the Divine Mercy), St. Lucy (representing Grace) and Beatrice (representing Theology or revealed religion). Under Virgil's escort Dante is led through the two lower realms of the next world, the Inferno and Purgatory, meeting on the way many illustrious and notorious persons in recent and remoter times. Popes, emperors, poets, warriors, Florentine citizens are there found, some doomed to hopeless punishment, others expiating their sins in milder torments hoping for deliverance in due time. After passing through the Inferno, Dante and Virgil reach the foot of the Purgatorial mountain. As the author says, "to restore people to the Earthly Paradise is the task achieved in Purgatory" (p. 80). Before the actual Purgatory is reached, they have to pass through the outer region where are those who have delayed repentance till death was upon them. Then they enter Purgatory proper which is divided into seven terraces corresponding to the seven deadly sins which encircle the mountain and have to be reached by a series of steep climbs. On the summit is the Earthly Paradise, "that garden which the Lord God himself planted eastwards in Eden, wherein He meant mankind to dwell and whence the generations of the races of the world might have issued happy and in communion with their Maker, but for the sin of Adam and the Fall" (p. 80). On the summit of the Earthly Paradise Beatrice appears in a mystical pageant and Virgil departs leaving Dante in her charge. In her company Dante passes through the various spheres of which according to both the astronomy and the theology of the time, Heaven is composed, to Empyrean or Supreme Heaven, the seat of the Godhead. Here Beatrice leaves him to blend his will with that of God and the poem ends.

Dante's main purpose is "to withdraw those living from a state of misery and bring them to a state of happiness". There is a universal purpose and a mission not merely to scholars but to the unlearned many. The learned author of this book deserves the thanks of the public for spreading Dante's message in lucid English. We congratulate the author on his masterly treatment of Dante's masterpiece.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

CAUSES AND CURES OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

By SIR WILLIAM H. BEVERIDGE. (Longmans, London.) 1931. 20cm. 70p. 2/6.

SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, the Director of the London School of Economics, is a well-known authority on unemployment problems, and his book "Unemployment — a Problem of Industry" is a classic. Unlike that book, the excellent brochure under review is not intended to be anything but a popular presentation of the problem, and the author has more than succeeded in his object. We have yet to find another book on unemployment or any kindred subject, so simple, lucid, interesting and yet so authoritative.

This brochure comprises the six talks given by Sir William through the B. B. C. in May and June last when unemployment was very keen in Great Britain. There are six chapters dealing with the nature, causes and extent of unemployment, the effect of the slump of 1930, with a suggestion of remedies, and an appendix containing the memorandum of evidence submitted by Sir William to the Unemployment Insurance Commission of 1931.

According to the author, unemployment is not a disease but a symptom of a disease. The causes of this "problem of industry" are varied. Pre-war unemployment was the result not of overpopulation but of the disorganisation of the labour market. Between 1922 and 1929 the rigidity of Britain's economic structure and that country's failure to adapt itself to a changing environment were responsible for the problem, while in the slump of 1930 the world collapse of credit was the main cause.

Under the head "administrative system," Sir William discusses the effect of unemployment insurance. He believes that relief, originally intended to be temporary, has become permanent and has resulted in adding to the number of the unemployed those who are not really so, e. g., coal trimmers and certain port workers, and in encouraging idleness. We agree that the granting of relief may have been misused. But so long as unemployment in certain cases is permanent, relief must also be so. Unless, therefore, the problem of unemployment is tackled first, it is useless to attack the problem of relief.

Sir William rightly observes that as the causes vary, so should the people who are to tackle them. He finally suggests that national co-operation of the employers, the Trade Unions and the Government must solve the problem "by daring, by planning in concert."

But it may be pointed out that particularly after the war, unemployment has become an international problem. The cyclical fluctuations in unemployment to which Sir William refers are affected by international factors such as the developments of international trade and production for world markets. As Mr. Morgan Rees suggests, "the post-war world is far more nearly interrelated and dependent on good will for its very being than the world of 1913". Thus international, not national, co-operation of the employers, the trade unions and the governments seems necessary to handle the problem of unemployment.

M. H. GOPAL.

NEW LIGHT ON SHIVAJI.

ENGLISH RECORDS ON SHIVAJI. (1659-1682)
VOLS. I & II. (Shiva Charitra Karyalaya,
Poona.) 1931. 22cm. pp. 378, 356. Rs. 12/-

ABOUT a thousand extracts from the factory records of the 17th century, many of which are published

here for the first time, are collected together in these volumes with the object of putting all references to the Shivaji period in one place and presenting a complete picture of Shivaji, as outlined by the merchant-politicians from their own point of view. A source-book like this introduces the student to the original material, upon which historians base their conclusions and is of very great help in enabling him to form his own judgment. The cause of a scientific study of old historical documents is thus admirably served and the publishers deserve to be congratulated upon having brought out this valuable collection.

The salient points of the career of Shivaji, which are touched upon by these extracts, are ably summarised in the introduction, which directs the student's attention to the proper study of the book. Shivaji's relations with foreign as well as Indian Powers are described in detail in the selections and although the repetition of the same reference in various letters may be tiresome, the light thrown from the most unexpected quarters upon some vital points of the story of Shivaji is a distinct gain. A few examples may be given.

A letter from Karwar (December 1668) reveals the statesmanlike conduct of Shivaji towards foreign merchants. A French merchant "met Shivaji, who gave him some clothes and a firman to trade freely in all his ports. He was very inquisitive as to why the English did not come. The country merchants told him the English demanded ready money (for their losses at Rajapur). He shook his head and said no more." The Maratha king would like the English merchants to take his commodities rather than cash, which was always very scarce. He was quite willing to give the necessary compensation to the English but he chose his own method of payment. Ultimately a treaty was concluded on these lines between the two parties after Shivaji's coronation in 1674. It may be here remarked in passing that Shivaji's maritime policy deserves special study in view of the ample original material, which is made available in these and other publications of the Mandala.

A humorous English writer thus describes Shivaji's restless activity: "Shivaji is not slothful as the Moghal forces, for he not only makes hay while the sun shines, but also when it's obscured by violent rains." This is said in reference to the taking of Lohgad and other forts during the ceaseless down-pour, which is characteristic of the rainy season in these parts.

Sometimes very valuable economic information may be obtained from these extracts. An English factor of Rajapur deploras that Surat should attract more trade when Rajapur in his opinion was better situated. He argues the point by stating that the wages at Rajapur were "50 p. c. less than in Surat and provisions too." Owing to conditions of continuous warfare the claims of Rajapur to be the headquarters of the English trade on this coast had to be given up, but Surat also was not destined to enjoy very long the honour of being the premier port. For what with the plundering expeditions of Shivaji against Surat and the religious intolerance of the Moghal Governor of that city, the merchants were compelled to migrate to Bombay for better safety of their trade. One extract (pages 137-138) describes a veritable *hartal* of the Surat merchants in November 1669. The Banias left the town of Surat to the number of 8,000; "the people in Surat suffered great want, for the Banias found themselves under severe penalties not to open any of their shops without order from the Mahajan or General Council; there was not any provisions to be got, the Tanksall and the custom house were shut," with the conse-

quence that the trade of Surat was "wholly at a stand" and the writer bewails that this state of things must continue until the merchants return to Surat. This will be quite enough to convince the reader that the volumes are both very interesting and instructive and deserve to be carefully studied by the students of Maratha history.

V. N. KUMBHARE.

INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGY.

AN INTRODUCTION TO INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGY. A PRACTICAL STUDY OF THE NATURE AND SOURCES OF MENTAL ENERGY. By ALICE RAVEN. (Heffer.) 1929. 20cm. 145p. 3/6.

THIS handy volume on psychology is a contribution to popular scientific literature. The usual theoretical standpoint of the text-book and its jargon of technical terms are both studiously avoided. The cultural layman and his practical needs—these alone are catered for and guidance is offered in the solution of vital problems such as "How shall I develop my own personality?" "As parents, what atmosphere shall we create for the full self-realisation of our children?" "In case, due to lack of opportunity, my energy 'happens to be tied up' is there a way out?"

The point of view adopted is that of the New Psychology. That is, the human mind is not regarded as a wonderfully delicate and intricate piece of soulless mechanism but as a striving purposive entity full of throbbing life. Not James and Ladd but McDougall and Freud are followed.

Man is necessarily born unequal and brings his own distinctive initial capital. Yet what he brings is not ready-made material but latent potentialities patiently waiting for development.

—Allowing for individual variations of temperament, all of us have certain well-defined instincts; there is the typical constructive sentiment of love, there is the perennial impulse of self-display and the most important amongst them all, is the powerurge, which culminates ultimately in a forceful personality.

Now the worst enemy of all these instincts, which thwarts and stifles them and often nips them in the bud, is the habit of presenting to the growing and susceptible child in his home—thanks to the ignorance and superstitions of the parents!—a world full of bogies of every kind and shades of terrors and horrors of every description. The avalanche of Don'ts from the mother completely chills the child and he is left gasping for a breath of free air and a cheery ray of sunshine.

Make therefore first a careful study of your own aptitudes, take stock of your resources, look steadily and clearly at some ideal, remember you are your father's son and thus know thy true self and then keep on striving. That is how steadily but surely character is built.

Man is "no pendulum betwixt a tear and a smile"; he is rather the "captain of his soul" and the architect of his fortune and inspired by a courageous and optimistic attitude towards life, he knows it is never too late to mend.

Says the authoress: "There never has been any royal road to power. Mount Olympus must be climbed slowly and painfully before anyone can stand upon its heights and drink the nectar of the gods. But the heights may be gained by the persistent climber."

To a country like India, obsessed by a constant "inferiority complex", a perusal of this book would be like the breath of mountain air and its message of self-confidence a source of inspiration.

N. G. N.

SHORT NOTICES.

MALAVIYA COMMEMORATION VOLUME. (Hindu University, Benares.) 1932. 25cm. 1106 p. Rs. 10/-

A NUMBER of illustrious Indians—politicians, scholars, scientists, economists, journalists—have paid tributes to the greatness of Malaviyajī which find room in this fine commemoration volume. Among them one reads the names of Tagore, Bose, Rādhakrishnan, Raman, Visvesvarayya, Acharya Ray and a host of professors connected with the Benares Hindu University. And, of course, Mahatma Gandhi adorns the volume with a laudatory epistle about the Pandit.

The volume is divided into five sections: Literature; History, Politics and Economics; Religion and Philosophy; Science; Greetings, Appreciations and Memoirs, and provides a veritable intellectual feast. One gets glimpses of the Pandit's life from the section devoted to appreciations and memoirs, but one does feel the lack of an authoritative sketch of his diversified career. There are to be found in the volume a few photographs of Panditji at different stages of life, and several others of some of the Hindu University buildings.

We congratulate the Editorial Board upon bringing out such an excellent production, a fitting present to the Pandit on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. We, however, wish that its get-up were more artistic.

K. D. A.

KARMA-LESS-NESS. *THEOSOPHICAL ESSAY ON ART. By C. JINARAJADASA. (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) 1932. 19cm. 138p.

THE author has proved how by Art real Kingdom of Happiness is reached. The presentation is an entirely new one with numerous explanations. The style is polished and graceful.

N. S. KRISHNAMURTHY.

Miscellaneous.

MR. SAS TRI AND THE MADRAS CORPORATION.

Replying to the Address presented to him by the Madras Corporation on the 26th of April, 1932, the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri spoke as follows:

President and Councillors,—It is a great honour you have done me and my friend, Sir K. V. Reddy, this afternoon. I feel proud of this honour. It is true that I have appeared before on similar occasions but I can assure you from my heart that I have never been more pleased or more happy.

In the address which was read to me, no mention is made of South Africa. But I notice that in the other address there is a prominent allusion to that sub-continent and to the fact that I made a sojourn there. It is very good of you to have brought Sir Kurma and me together on this occasion and I am happy to receive this honour along with him.

Having been in South Africa in the same capacity as he filled, I can bear testimony to the extraordinary difficulties which he had to face in the discharge of his work and I sincerely pay homage to the ability, the integrity and devotion with which he looked after the interests of our countrymen in that land.

Speaking of South Africa it is impossible to keep out of our mind a great name in modern India—a name so great that it will, I am sure, come within your recollection at once. Believe me, ladies and gentlemen, it is not with happy or contented feelings that I bring in his name on this occasion. Twice before it has fallen to my lot to return from South Africa after fulfilling certain missions. On both those occasions, it was felt by all my colleagues that the first thing to do on return to the shores of India was to go to Mahatma Gandhi and make a representation to him of our doings. To no one could a prior report be made. 'If he approved of our work, that was enough'—this was the feeling not merely of myself, who may be considered to have a weakness for Mahatma Gandhi but it was the feeling of all with whom I was associated. And, if I may, for the first time, publish a secret, it was also the feeling of the members of the Government of India. How sad I must feel now, you can imagine, when it was not possible for me to make a similar report to the one man in all India who has a right to form a judgment of South African affairs and lead public sentiment in the country. But I have a feeling that if it had been possible to do as I did on the two previous occasions, the result would have been exactly similar. The Mahatma, I think, would have blessed our work and would have said that the Indian Delegation could not have done better. I say this with a special emphasis, because some of you might have been reading the newspapers in which there is the intelligence published that in South Africa our countrymen seem to be somewhat restive. Our countrymen live there in circumstances that do not make for self-satisfaction. There are many disabilities still. They have a hostile public opinion to encounter at every turn. Very often indeed their position is one that can only be described as humiliating. It is no wonder that they are constantly complaining. If the work of reform went apace in that country, several years would have to pass before our countrymen could be said to have come into a situation which can at all be described as tolerable. But it is not altogether that point of view from which the results of our labours should be judged. It is with reference to the circumstances in which the delegation began their work that you must formulate your estimate of our work. Judged by the extremely perilous condition to which our countrymen had been brought, a condition which was verging on material ruin, the results that have been published and which I will not take up your time in recounting, must be considered to be not unsatisfactory. More upon this head I ought not to say; less, perhaps, I could not well have said.

Another word of a rather personal character this meeting will perhaps allow me. You have, Sir, in one felicitous passage in the brief address that you read to me applied the designation "True Servant of India" to me and you have further greatly enhanced the value of that appellation by coupling it with an illustrious name. You could not have said anything to make me proud. To be called 'Servant of India' by those who have known you for a long time and amidst whom practically your public life has been lived is, I think, to receive a tribute of personal affection and esteem which, if you will permit me to

say so, fills my whole being with genuine pride and satisfaction.

Now, how can I repay your kindness to me upon this occasion. I came to this city of Madras forty-five years ago and I have lived in this city continuously for thirty-seven years. Believe me, there are many here who are much younger than I am. Believe me, this city to-day is by no means what it was when I first came here. It has grown to be a mighty, proud, and prosperous city. I often hear people, whose power to criticise is greater, I fear, than their faculty of appreciation, that of the cities in India, Madras is the one that has been continually marking time. A more libellous statement is impossible to make. It is a new Madras altogether. Although I have lived here thirty-seven years, I have had the singular advantage of having been away for a great periods of time and by the time I return each time I see something to gratify me which was not then before. The Corporation of Madras and the Councillors may well take pride from that circumstance.

You have, I am afraid, fallen upon evil times which however seem to be common to the whole civilised world. You are passing through extremely difficult times. My prayer is that you will soon come out of this financial stringency, your revenues will pour in, your coffers will fill and that your Councillors, who, from time to time, have the privilege of working for your fellow rate-payers will have the satisfaction of seeing this city grow still more in population, in wealth, in beauty and that you will be able, in the happy times ahead, to add more amenities of life in Madras, so that men, women and children who live here may have cheap transport, cheap amusement, cheap light, cheap theatres, cheap everything—not only cheap but perfectly enjoyable and health-giving. I do not think I can do better than wish you a quick return of prosperity and an increase of public usefulness.

SASTRI SPEAKS.

A record of the writings and speeches of the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C., C. H., during his eighteen months' tenure of office as the first Agent of the Government of India in South Africa. A store-house of information on the position of Indians in South Africa—political, social, economic and educational; and as such indispensable to everybody who wishes to understand the South African Indian problem.

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