

The Servant of India

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

VOL. XV, No. 36. } POONA—THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1932. { INDIAN SUBSN. Rs. 6.
FOREIGN 15s.

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Topics of the Week.

Capitation Charges.

THE defeat of the adjournment motion in the Assembly to discuss the appointment of the Capitation Tribunal need not be taken tragically, in view of the present personnel of the Assembly. But the attitude of opposition which Government of India chose to adopt on this occasion is to us inexplicable, all the more so having regard to the admission made by the Army Secretary that so far as the capitation tangle was concerned, official opinion did not differ from non-official. We wish the Government had taken the opportunity presented by this debate to give more concrete evidence of their identification with India in this matter. Nor did the spokesmen of the Government seem too willing to place unreservedly at the disposal of the Assembly all the information they possessed on the subject. The Army Secretary did nothing more than somewhat amplify the terms of reference of the Tribunal without adding very much to our knowledge about the scope or nature of the work of the tribunal. This capitation charges controversy between the Government of India and the India Office is about forty years old and involves millions of the tax-payer's money; and it is hardly taking the Indian public seriously to expect it to be content with such scant information as the Army Secretary was pleased to dole out. The Capitation Rate of £ 7-10 s. for the training of men of the British Army for service in India which has been in force since 1892 was not disturbed by the Welby Commission—the first occasion, we believe, on which the matter was formally inquired into. The subject was reviewed in 1907 by a committee of which Sir Robert Romer was president, which resulted in an addition to India's burden by £ 300,00 and the

raising of the capitation rate from £7-10s to £11-1 sh. Payment continued to be made to the British Government at this rate till April 1920. Though during the war the supply of regular recruits could not for obvious reasons be maintained, there was no abatement of the charges. The post-war increase in prices led to the capitation rate being more than doubled at one stretch, increased from £11-8s. to £28-10s to be exact, which arrangement came into effect on the 1st of April 1920. But the War-Office found this increase, unconscionable as it was regarded by the Indian public, inadequate to cover the expenses connected with the training and recruiting of the British troops in India. With the result that India has since 1st April 1925 been making provisional payments of £1,400,000 a year as against the War-Office bill of £2,000,000.

But capitation charges form only one part of the Tribunal's inquiry. It would also be called upon to go into the question, vital to Indian finances whether the War-Office could not share with India the expenditure incurred by her at present on the maintenance of British troops in this country, though it is necessary to remember, as pointed out by the Army Secretary, that the Tribunal would deal only with the financial, and not with the political, side of the problem. It was explained that the Indian case had been under preparation. We would suggest to the Government the desirability of associating in its preparation one or two non-officials like Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer who have made a close study of the Indian defence problem and are in touch with Indian sentiment on the point. The Tribunal, after hearing both sides to the dispute without the help of witnesses, official or non-official, as an appellate court does, would submit its report to the Prime Minister, who would, however, not be bound by its findings. The speeches of official spokesmen in the debate give ground for the hope that the report would be made public and that the Assembly would be given an opportunity to discuss it. Thanks for this mercy. But what is even more important is for the Government of India not to enter into any fresh agreements with the War-Office on this subject behind the back of the Indian legislature, as has happened all along.

Unfair Competition.

LAST week the Assembly carried against Government the resolution moved by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed recommending the fixing of the minimum passenger fares for Indian coastal traffic. The justification for this course of action is to be sought in the relentless rate-war which British companies engaged in the trade have been known to carry on with the result that Indian enterprise is virtually squeezed out of the field. The appearance of an Indian company to engage in the coastal trade is, as it were, a signal to them to lower their rates so low that the newcomer should find it extremely difficult to carry on for any

length of time with any hope of profit, and on its disappearance to effect an abnormal rise in the rates which more than made up for the losses. In this connection, the mover instanced the British India Steam Navigation Company which had on one occasion reduced its fare by as much as 50 per cent, which had the effect of killing Indian competition. This was done every time Indian enterprise made bold to enter the field which the British companies have managed so far to keep a close preserve for themselves. By means of his resolution, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed wanted to give very much needed protection to Indian capitalists but had not in mind the interests of the poor passengers who stand in greater need of protection as much from British capitalists as from their Indian counterparts. It was left to Mr. Joshi to emphasise this aspect of the question and he did it with much force. The Government as represented by their Commerce Member took up a *non possumus* attitude on the subject. We do not think they are as helpless in the matter as they would have us believe, seeing that the British Indian Steam Navigation Company receives a large subvention from them for the carrying of the mails. They can, if they are so minded, use this as a lever in order to induce the powerful British company to take up a more reasonable attitude. Amicable settlement, to which the Commerce Member referred, would of course be the best solution of the difficulty; but failing that, we do not see why the Government should throw up its hands in despair, when it has other effective means of making reason prevail. But the Government would not be true to themselves if they thought only of the interests of Indian shipowners which could be safeguarded by fixing the minimum rates for the carriage of passengers and also freight in coastal steamers. But they have a duty to the passengers as well whom they cannot afford to throw entirely at the mercy of Indian instead of British capitalists. In their interest they must be prepared to fix the maximum rates also so that the Indian passenger should not be unduly mulcted of his hard-earned money by companies bent exclusively upon profit-making.

* * *

Communal Award in the Assembly.

THE communal decision of the British Government came under discussion by the Assembly last week over an adjournment motion, but the debate was inconclusive, the Assembly having followed the example of the Bengal and C. P. councils in talking it out. The speeches delivered by non-official members in the course of the debate however served to bring to the notice of the Government in an authoritative manner what the public thought about the award. The debate brought out, what indeed was already known, that no community, except perhaps the European, was satisfied with the British Government's decision. A good deal of dissatisfaction was expressed not because separate electorates were retained, that was inevitable, seeing that the British Government had not a clean slate to write upon,—but because—that vicious principle had been extended in the case of other communities as well and that too by a Prime Minister to whom separate electorates should be an anathema. Unless he is misrepresented, Sir Cowasji Jehangir seemed puzzled that if separate electorates were to be allowed to Muslims and Sikhs, why any body should be opposed to their grant to women. He need not be told that while the Sikhs and Muslims demanded it, the women did not. At any rate they did not do so with that unanimity which marked the Sikh and Muslim demand. The excessive representation allowed to Europeans also came in for very strong criticism and several speakers tried to throw the blame for the absence of a settlement of the

communal problem on the Sikhs who during the first R. T. C., it was said, wrangled over one seat and prevented a solution of the difficulty. The correspondence which Sirdar Sant Singh had with the Prime Minister at the time on this point has been released for publication apparently with the object of removing such an impression. But whether it does so or not, it is, in our opinion, immaterial who was responsible for the breakdown of the negotiations in 1930. What is to the point is whether there is any chance, as things stand at present, of the different communities coming to any agreement among themselves so that it may take the place of the communal decision announced by the British Government. Frankly speaking, the debate was very unhelpful towards that end.

* * *

A Deplorable Lapse.

SO the Bengal Legislative Council has passed what is known as the Criminal Law Amendment Act; and written itself down as a thoroughly reactionary organ of public opinion. By far the most objectionable provision of the Bill was one which sought to enable the Commissioners appointed to try terrorists cases to punish a mere attempt to murder with the extreme penalty of the law. This provision formed part of the Bengal Ordinance when it was promulgated towards the end of last year and evoked feelings of deep resentment, even the most level-headed and moderate and amongst Indian politicians condemning it in unmeasured terms. And yet the Bengal Government did not hesitate to propose to make it part of the law of the land, and, what is still more amazing, the provincial legislative council cooperated with them in this their attempt to defy public opinion. This is not to say that the terrorist evil is not serious in Bengal or that it does not need to be grappled with. Even so, we do not think the heavens would have fallen if the Government had accepted the non-official amendment which sought to postpone consideration of the measure, not indefinitely, but only till the end of the month to enable public opinion to express itself on it. Surely this little delay would not have dealt an irreparable blow to the safety of the Bengal Government. Those who are at all in touch with the trend of modern thought need not be told that this particular feature of the Act clearly goes against the general tendency of civilized public opinion which is not in favour of the retention of the death penalty but of its disappearance. Apart from this, the Act may be tolerated if one were sure that it would have any effect in checking the evil which it purports to tackle. The Government's strongest argument in support of this provision was that it would act as a deterrent to a would-be assassin. Would it? The way terrorists are known to be going about their nefarious business, with their lives in their hands as it were, belies any such hope. A political murderer is not going to be weaned away from his deadly task merely because there would hereafter be the fear that if he failed in his aim he would be hanged. The fact, is he never intends to fail, his failure being in most cases due to miscalculation or to some unexpected cause. In any case he is fully prepared to suffer the worst consequences of his action, whether he fails or succeeds. If anything, the new Act would dictate to him the wisdom of working his plans to perfection and leaving nothing to chance. No, we think the Government are going quite the wrong way in remedying the evil which is first and last political and which may be trusted to disappear by and by as the political hunger of the people comes to be adequately satisfied. But be that as it may, this attempt on the part of the Bengal Government to substitute capital sentence as punishment for an offence for which the Indian Penal Code prescribes only ten years' imprisonment

and fine deserves and will, we doubt not, receive strong condemnation at the hands of all right thinking persons.

Swadeshi Exhibitions.

ELSEWHERE is published a letter from a prominent and successful Indian industrialist complaining against certain features of Swadeshi exhibitions. His enthusiasm and devotion to the cause of swadeshi are beyond doubt; his is no academic or armchair zeal. And he is no hostile critic. We would like to believe that his complaint is exaggerated, and we hope that organisers of Swadeshi exhibitions will remove the cause of it, to the extent to which it is true. It is a pity that these exhibitions have not been more successful in securing adequate custom to the exhibitors. That only shows how great still is the need for propaganda for swadeshi. And exhibitions are one of the best means of propaganda. We hope that industrialists will not be discouraged by the initial failure of exhibitions to secure adequate returns to them but will continue to advertise their goods through such shows.

Baroda in 1930-31.

A perusal of the Baroda administration report for 1930-31 shows that the State fully maintained its reputation as a pioneer in the field of social reform. While we in India are yet only talking about the desirability of divorce in our social arrangements, Baroda led the way last year by placing on its statute book a full-fledged Divorce Act. Another social problem it was trying its best to tackle was the one relating to the initiation of minors as *sadhus*—an evil specially rampant in those parts—with the result that a bill dealing with it was pending consideration by its legislature. That Hindu women hardly enjoy any rights in regard to property is generally recognised as a blot on Indian society and yet nothing is being done to wipe it out either wholly or partially. Baroda (in addition to Mysore) however appointed a Committee to go into the question whose report saw the light of day in 1930-31. It is to be hoped that the Committee's labours will in due course lead to the betterment of the social status of Hindu women in the State. The necessity of providing for maternity benefits to women workers in industrial concerns is also recognised by the State which, we are glad to see, is contemplating legislation on the lines of the Bombay Maternity Benefits Act.

The working of the Infant Marriage Prevention Act is for obvious reasons of especial interest to us in British India. The Act is only two years old; but to judge from the number of applications for exemption, the public tendency to look upon the Act as a nuisance seems to be decreasing. During both years of its working the Brahmins being the most advanced community were rightly not granted a single exemption, though the increase in the percentage of convictions among them under the Act from 3.4 to 10.4 is rather disquieting. The number of infant marriages which had to be penalised showed a decrease of over 1,300 which is additional evidence of the fact that public opinion in the State is undergoing a change in the desired direction. The State is to be congratulated on its keenness not to tolerate evasions of the provisions of the Act by conniving at infant marriages which are celebrated outside its limits, but to which the subjects of the State are parties, sanction to prosecute in 124 such cases being given during the year. We must also compliment the State on its attempts to tackle the evil of unequal marriages by the preparation of a bill known as the Old Men's Marriage Prevention Bill.

Nothing would have pleased us better than to

have been able to speak equally eulogistically about Baroda's record in the matter of compulsory education. In spite of the fact that compulsion has been in force in the State for about 25 years, nearly one-third of the school-age population yet remains to be brought to school. One wonders whether its enforcement would not have yielded better results if it had been backed up as in the initial stages by the enthusiasm of a propagandist. Opportunity was taken in connection with the last census to study the question whether compulsion had become a success. The answer based upon statistics is an emphatic affirmative in the sense that even such spread of literacy as is now observable, would have been unattainable merely on the voluntary basis—a lesson which Indian politicians have been unsuccessfully trying all these years to impress on the Government.

Nor, we are afraid, can we congratulate the ruler on his policy in regard to representative institutions which, to say the least, is illiberal and antiquated. The Legislative Council is for the most part an official-ridden body enjoying very restricted powers. If with 25 years' working of the compulsory education act the people have not thrown up a sufficiency of persons responsible enough to act as members of the legislature, which is the main ground on which its popularization is understood to be resisted by the ruler, it must indeed be said to have resulted in dismal failure and all the money spent on its enforcement nothing short of utter waste. We hope His Highness will without delay sanction the democratisation of the legislative council in a manner which will free him from the reproach of incapacity to appreciate the spirit of the times aright. The fact seems to be that His Highness having in recent years become no more than a cold weather visitor to his State—during these two years he did not spend more than four months in his State he has lost touch with the aspirations and sentiments animating his subjects. As pointed by one of his brother-princes recently, occasional visits to foreign countries are to be welcomed; but the way His Highness of Baroda keeps himself away from his subjects is wholly deplorable. It need hardly be pointed out that his prolonged sojourns in foreign lands have ultimately to be paid for by his subjects and help to swell the expenses of the ruling family inordinately. In the year under report they amounted to nearly Rs. 30 lakhs out of a total revenue of Rs. 259.66 lakhs or to 12 per cent., which is without doubt a high proportion.

Fruit Marketing.

DR. G. S. CHEEMA, Horticulturist to the Government of Bombay, has recently published a small brochure on the marketing of fruits and vegetables in the city of Bombay. It will be found to be of considerable interest to fruit-growers and the large class of consumers of this produce, as also to those that are interested in the development of fruit and vegetable culture in Western India. It has been by now realized almost all over the world that marketing is as important as production. Fortunately, since the publication of the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, a good deal of interest has been aroused in agricultural marketing and the appearance of this pamphlet is an encouraging sign of the same.

This pamphlet has, no doubt, been written primarily with the object of "stimulating public interest." In our opinion, it would have been better if the publication had found room for presentation of data in support of the conclusions offered in it. It is, therefore, much to be wished that Dr. Cheema will see his way to publish the original data in the near future while the topic is still fresh before the public mind.

THE MAHATMA'S VOW.

I

MAHATMA GANDHI has once again startled the world with an unexpected and embarrassing intervention from behind the bars of the prison. He has consistently been opposed to the grant or the infliction of separate electorates for the depressed classes. At the second session of the Round Table Conference he had stated that he would resist it with his life. He meant it literally. On his return to India from London he had intended to carry on propaganda against separate electorates for the depressed classes but his internment stood in the way. It was open to him, if and when the Government decided against him, to take such action as he thought fit to implement his decision to resist it. But he felt it proper not to take the Government by surprise. So long ago as the 11th of March last he addressed a letter from the Yerwada prison to Sir Samuel Hoare in which he informed Sir Samuel that, should the Government sanction separate electorates for the depressed classes he would starve himself to death! In his reply dated the 13th April last Sir Samuel suggested that Mr. Gandhi should await the Report of the Franchise Committee and the Government decision on the communal question before taking any action. On the 18th of August, the day after the publication of the Communal decision, the Mahatma sent a letter to the Prime Minister in which he affirmed his decision to resist the Award and by the only means that was left open to him, which was to starve himself to death, and informed him that he would commence his fast on the 20th September. The Prime Minister cabled back a long and argumentative reply in which he defended the action of the Government. The Mahatma was unconvinced and stood fast by his decision. The correspondence has since been published on the 12th inst. and a new crisis has been precipitated, which must absorb all public attention, to the exclusion of every other matter, however important or urgent.

The decision of the Mahatma is compelling in its coercion; it hardly allows any room for the play of reason, which is put out of court. "The contemplated step," he deliberately states, "is not a method; it is part of my life." Civil Disobedience "is an article of faith" with him and the political status of the depressed classes was "one of pure religion". He told the Prime Minister that, however sympathetic he might be, he could not come to a correct solution in a matter "of such vital and religious importance to the parties concerned." Those who do not share the religious faith of the Mahatma—and they are many,—must necessarily fall back on reason, even if it were less reliable for the purpose of arriving at correct judgment.

What exactly is the *casus belli* of the dramatic and tragic vow of self-immolation which the Mahatma was led to take? He neither approved nor was reconciled to other parts of the Communal Award; in his opinion, many other parts of it were open to grave objection. But none of them hurt him to the

same extent as the grant of separate electorates to the depressed classes. It will be recalled that the Communal Award not only granted the request of the communalist Muslims for separate electorates but forced them on the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the women of India against their wish. The Mahatma was not moved to protest against these in the manner in which he has decided to protest against the grant of separate electorates to the depressed classes. Why, in the case of the Muslims and the Sikhs he actually agreed to separate electorates, though, be it said, reluctantly. If separate electorates were a protection to a minority, certainly there is greater justification for allowing them to the Depressed Classes than to the Muslims and the Sikhs. In the case of Muslims, it is just political domination that they are seeking and not protection. If there is a justification for separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, there is even less for the Muslims. And yet the Mahatma who swallowed a camel strained at a gnat.

In the case of the Depressed Classes the grant of separate electorates has two mitigating circumstances, as the Prime Minister pointed out. They are included, in the first instance, in the general electorate, and it is only in addition to it, that they have separate electorates in certain provinces. Secondly, the separate electorates were to last for twenty years only. In the case of Muslims and other communities, there is no provision made for joint action at all and there is no limit set for the duration of separate electorates. If any part of the scheme of separate electorates contained in the Communal Award is less open to objection than others, it is the one that refers to the Depressed Classes and yet that was the very one that moved the Mahatma to protest against in the drastic manner he has chosen.

The reasons advanced by the Mahatma are that the grant of separate electorates, additional and provisional though they be, would be harmful to the Depressed Classes on account of their economic dependence on the other castes and that it would "simply vivisect and disrupt" Hinduism. These reasons apply with equal and even greater force to the grant of separate electorates to other communities. The interdependence of Hindus and Muslims, of Sikhs and others and of women and men makes separate electorates for these as harmful as, if not more harmful than, their grant to the depressed classes. If the Hindu community will be vivisect and disrupted by the electoral arrangements in the Award, the Indian nation will be even more vivisected by the perpetuation and extension of the separate electorates to other communities. If the Award would "arrest the marvellous growth of the work of Hindu reformers who have dedicated themselves to the uplift of their suppressed brethren in every walk of life," so does the Award shatter to smithereens the marvellous growth of the spirit of nationalism created in India during the last half a

annatum. In fact, the text of the note has not yet been made public. M. Herriot has simply said that it would be carefully examined by the French Government. It is expected that he may take the opportunity of a public speech to give it an answer. In such circumstances, any final judgment on the matter is evidently premature. But this much, however, can be said. Germany is in such political, economic and financial difficulties, that she needs international help for her moral and material recovery. It is therefore probable that the bold menaces which some of her chiefs may lavish away in their verbal declarations will not be so readily translated into action. Moreover, this is not the first time that Germany has endeavoured to start negotiating on the same subject; for instance, the German point of view has already been expressed before the Disarmament Conference. The question of German re-armament may have its basis on the naval, military and air clauses of the Versailles treaty, but the problem really concerns all the signatory powers. The question of disarmament is dependent on the agreement of all the nations represented at the Geneva Conference and cannot be solved by separate Franco-German negotiation. And in fact the realisation of many plans framed in Geneva for the reduction of armaments has been hampered by the attitude of the Reich which did not ensure a sufficient guarantee of security to enable other nations to abandon their means of defence. "In threatening to re-arm," says *Le Temps*, "Germany would deliberately destroy all the movement which has developed of late in favour of the limitation of armaments. If certain records in Geneva were published for the edification of international opinion, e. g. about the Reich's secret armaments and their constant violation of treaties, the real reasons of Germany's re-armament policy would certainly appear in a different light."

L. MORIN.

THE DELINQUENT CHILD IN BOMBAY.

I.

THE days are happily past when the adult criminal and the delinquent child were meted out the same treatment—often barbaric—under the law. Long sentences, rigorous imprisonment, harsh treatment in jail, were the common lot of the grown-up and the young alike. Society has since come to realise its responsibility towards the child that has gone astray and has provided laws and institutions better suited for its trial and 'detention.' Child psychology has come to occupy a prominent place amongst the modern sciences. We have come to realise that what we call delinquency among children has much to do with parental ignorance and incapacity, intemperance and vice among grown-ups, slums, absence of recreation, and several other factors. It is not the child that is really an offender; it is the circumstances in which a child is placed that conspire to offend against him. And with the acceptance of this principle, it is generally recognised that the remedy for juvenile delinquency is to be found not so much in the punishment of the offender as in the provision of the right sort of training for him.

Almost all the civilised countries of the world have established juvenile courts for the trial of offences committed by children, generally under the age of sixteen. The first real juvenile court in the world was established in Chicago in 1899, following the enactment of the Illinois Juvenile Court Law. Its introduction in England was, however, delayed till 1908 when the Children Act was passed. And it was not till sixteen years later that Bombay had its own Children Act.

That the juvenile court performs very useful functions for the benefit of society cannot be doubted. But the degree of its usefulness rests very largely upon the personality of the presiding officer. The report of the Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders, appointed by the Home Office in England in 1923, describes the functions of this Court in the following words:—

The juvenile court performs very important functions which are not generally realised by the public and not always appreciated at their full value by the magistrates themselves. Before it appear boys and girls under 16 who are often wayward or mischievous and in some cases serious offenders; who are sometimes dull of mind or undeveloped, but more often full of vitality and intelligence, though misdirected, who are all by virtue of their youthfulness hopeful subjects for care and training. The decisions of the magistrates with regard to the immediate future of these boys and girls must to a large extent influence their whole lives.... But the importance of its functions lies not in safeguarding the right of the less fortunate child to such protection and training as it has failed to receive, or in assisting those parents, who, from poverty or other circumstances, have not succeeded in keeping the children from bad influences or associations; there is also the duty of restraining those who commit offences from recruiting the ranks of hardened criminals at a later stage, and becoming a serious menace and public burden.... The juvenile court, therefore, by its wise treatment of the young people who appear before it, must of necessity play an important part in relation to the whole question of crime.

It is desirable that the child who appears before a juvenile court should have neither too high nor too low an estimate of the importance of the occasion. It is also essential that the juvenile offender shall not be frightened by the sombre and formal atmosphere of the court room. There are certain requirements with regard to the furniture, its arrangement, etc., which a juvenile court must satisfy and it is satisfactory to note that the room of the juvenile court in Bombay conforms admirably to these requirements. The furniture in the Bombay juvenile court housed in the Children's Remand Home is simple and consists of two long tables and a few chairs. A vase filled with flowers placed opposite the magistrate's chair gives a homely touch to its atmosphere. There is no dais or platform of any kind and no dock for witnesses. The children who are there for trial are made to come right up to the magistrate, a happy procedure, which serves to break all formality and to avoid any feeling of hostility or fear that the child may entertain towards the magistrate. The police are under strict orders to appear in mufti before the court—one more instance of the endeavour made to make the offender feel at ease. The proceedings are held in camera, no visitors being allowed except a privileged one or two with the special permission of the magistrate. Besides the magistrate, who is a stipendiary magistrate, assisted by one lady honorary magistrate, the Superintendent and supervisors of the home, the offender, and witnesses, if any, no police officer except the one giving evidence in the case is allowed into the court. There pervades an atmosphere of kindness and humane sympathy in the court room. The cumulative effect upon the offender is that he feels that he is in the midst of kindly friends and that he is being treated as an erring child and not as a criminal, and goes far to remove any preconceived notion, either of terror or of hostility, that he may have formed of the court and its proceedings. It will, therefore, be seen how important it is that the atmosphere of the Court room should be informal and homely. It is the first link in the reformation of the delinquent child.

The other links in the chain are the several methods of dealing with delinquent children. The Report of the Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders mentions twelve methods of treatment under the English law. The Bombay Children Act also contemplates several methods, two of them being the commitment of the child to a certified school or to the care of his parents or guardians.

It is intended to deal in this article only with one method, viz., institutional care for delinquent children. Before we proceed to examine the facilities available in the city of Bombay for institutional care, it would be well to understand some of the principles according to which institutions for delinquents ought to be conducted. Dr. Hastings H. Hart, Consultant in Delinquency and Penology to the Russel Sage Foundation, has laid down certain basic principles for the efficient conduct of such institutions. According to him:

- (1) It is the duty of the State to maintain and train its delinquent children.
- (2) The purpose of the institutions should be to train the children in useful subjects rather than to exploit their labour for the financial gain of the institutions.
- (3) Each institution should preferably be devoted to children of one sex.
- (4) The site for the institution should preferably be in the country.
- (5) Modern plants for delinquent children are constructed upon the cottage plan. The cottages should be built to have not over 20 or 25 children.
- (6) There should be mental examination of the wards by psychiatrists; as also careful medical examination.
- (7) There should be provision for the individual treatment and development of children... special measures for developing ability and character, e. g., self-government, military organisation, acting plays, debating, bands, literary clubs and the honour system.

K. D. AGA.

(To be continued.)

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND RURAL WELFARE.

IT is gratifying to note that rural welfare work is receiving increased attention at the hands of the public, and that in most provinces rural welfare centres have been opened, where a varied programme is being tried intensively in small areas. More of such centres are perhaps to be found in Madras than in the other provinces. Nearly ten years ago the Y.M.C.A. started four Rural Reconstruction centres, of which three are now continuing, and their programme and propaganda have contributed a good deal to the popularisation of rural welfare work in Madras. On more or less similar lines the Servants of India Society has started centres in two districts. The brilliant work of Mr. A. F. L. Brayne in Gurgaon District, well known as the "Gurgaon Experiment", has inspired some District Boards to appoint supervisors for starting village panchayats and to train teachers as village guides. Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar set a memorable example, when he was Development Minister in 1927-28, by setting apart a considerable portion of his salary for helping rural centres, with a view to experimenting in the co-ordination of different Governmental departments which are concerned with the welfare of the rural population, namely, the Agricultural, Veterinary, Co-operative, Education, Public

Health and other departments. Some centres were started by him, though unfortunately they had to be closed after he ceased to be Minister. Lastly, the higher co-operative organisations are conducting more than half a dozen centres in different districts and it is with them that it is proposed to deal in this article.

Those in charge of the co-operative movement, who perhaps even more than others are interested in rural welfare, not only took note of the various attempts mentioned above but also realised that the object of the co-operative movement had in the main failed in India owing to the starting of societies on a large scale and with insufficient preparation, and that a departure should be made by concentrating effort on small areas and by caring more for quality than for number. They also noted with gratification the results produced in a small area near Alamuru, in Godavari District, by the devoted labours of an earnest co-operator, Mr. N. Satyanarayana. By organising and working co-operative societies on right lines he showed that not only all the material benefits expected of them would accrue, but also that there would be a notable development of public life. As a result of the development of co-operative credit, money which was scarce formerly became readily available to the cultivator; the rate of interest came down from about 30 to 12 per cent. per annum; commercial crops like sugar-cane and plantain, requiring much outlay, which formerly were impossible, came to be cultivated extensively; plenty of work became available for the labouring classes and wages rose; litigation decreased, arbitration taking the place of resort to courts; attendance in schools increased; reading rooms and libraries were started; an intelligent interest was taken in elections to local bodies; Panchayats were organised and through them new roads were formed and water-supply improved and the ryots learnt to organise themselves for the redress of their grievances in respect of irrigation, and other matters.

Co-operators naturally felt that work on the lines of Alamuru should be attempted elsewhere also, and at their Provincial Conference held in April 1928 they passed a resolution requesting the Madras Provincial Co-operative Union, the Madras Provincial Co-operative Bank, the District Banks and the District Federations to take steps to start at least six rural reconstruction centres in different districts for intensive regional development. In pursuance of this resolution, Mr. V. Ramadas Pantulu, who was then as now President of the Provincial Co-operative Bank and of the Provincial Co-operative Union, drew up a scheme which was accepted by those two bodies and put in operation. The main features of the scheme were that three centres should be started in the Telugu districts and three in the Tamil districts; that the area of each centre should be limited to a radius of 5 or 6 miles from the principal village of the centre, including 10 to 15 villages; that each centre should be financed partly by the District Bank and partly by the P. C. U. out of their Common Good Fund; that the general supervision of all the centres—

century by the labours of succession of a devoted reformers drawn from many communities.

But the particular charge of the Mahatma is not wholly correct as was shown in the Prime Minister's reply.

As I understand your attitude, you propose to adopt the extreme course of starving yourself to death not in order to secure that the depressed classes should have joint electorates with the other Hindus, because that is already provided, nor to maintain the unity of Hindus, which is also provided, but solely to prevent the depressed classes, who admittedly suffer from terrible disabilities today, from being able to secure a limited number of representatives of their own choosing to speak on their behalf in the legislatures which will have a dominating influence over their future.

To this explanation the Mahatma's only reply was that the Prime Minister was incapable of understanding the "religious" import of the question.

If the Mahatma meant to resort to hunger strike as a protest, he would have done better if he had done so as a protest against the retention and extension of separate electorates in any form or to any community. Better still, he might have used the weapon to enforce the demand for responsible government. He would then be fighting with his life for the freedom and solidarity of India as a nation and not let himself be misunderstood as a communalist to whom the solidarity of Hinduism was of greater importance than that of the Indian nation.

II

Whatever be the adequacy or otherwise of the provocation, it is certain that the Mahatma has decided to starve himself to death failing a modification of the Communal Award as it affects the depressed classes and no amount of reasoning will now deflect him from his grim purpose. Worthy as his sacrifice is of a much better cause, he cannot be allowed to starve himself to death. Efforts should and will be made to bring about a modification of the Award if only to save him. Dr. Ambedkar will be subjected to enormous and even intolerable pressure to abandon his uncompromising insistence on separate electorates and to accept common electorates, perhaps with reservations. Mr. Gandhi's action will greatly strengthen the hands of Mr. M. C. Rajah and the chances of the Raja-Moonje Pact. We should welcome the abandonment of separate electorates for the depressed classes, even of the limited and temporary kind contemplated in the Award. We hope that Dr. Ambedkar will be open to persuasion, considering that separate electorates are no protection to the depressed classes and that at the First Round Table Conference he was in favour of common electorates. If he comes round, the Government may not raise any difficulty. It is true that they have said in the Award that any change must obtain the consent of all parties, but there is not much fear that the Muslim, or other communities will object to the depressed classes having common electorates with the other Hindus. In any event, the Mahatma should be released at once and given ample opportunities to bring about a reconciliation between the

viewpoints of Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Rajah.

Both Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Raja are bound to ask for reservation of seats, perhaps on a population basis. That will raise fresh problems and it is doubtful if the Mahatma will agree to this compromise either and abandon his threat of hunger strike.

P. KODANDA RAO.

FRANCO-GERMAN RELATIONS.

NOTHING could be better calculated to create perplexity in the mind and judgment of the most lucid enquirer than an honest perusal of the last few weeks' papers as regards German politics. An amusing little game consists in cutting out titles and headlines and placing them one after the other in chronological order. The result is the most astounding mosaic of contradictions and surprises. But the subject cannot be considered as an entertainment when its implications are so dangerous for the peace of Europe and the world in general. One day, we are informed that the Government is prepared to collaborate with Hitler. Soon after comes the news that the Nazis will make a strong opposition to Government and that the Cabinet is in danger. Another day brings the announcement of hopeful interviews between Hitler and one or another of the Government chiefs. The next indicates that all Nazi participation has been ruled out and that Hindenburg is hostile to it. Another paper assures us that the return of the ex-Kaiser is expected in the near future. Then, further, Mr. Von Papen is said to have put forward a scheme of financial and social reforms, which is criticised as insufficient or impracticable. Then we are suddenly informed that Hitler has become a prey to profound neurasthenia and been carried away to some nursing home. Very soon after, we hear that he is negotiating again with the Government in power. Then there are rumours that the new Reichstag will be dissolved as soon as it has met, and that new elections will take place according to a new system of franchise enforced by decree. Then the possibility of calling a Constituent Assembly is mentioned. Another day, a plebiscite is envisaged as the right means of introducing important modifications in the Constitution. Then we learn that President Hindenburg has declared that he views an alliance between the Nazis and the Centre Party as "immoral." And all this is interspersed by violent episodes of what may well be termed civil war. Yet a clear, consistent and frank statement by the President or the Government regarding their intentions is very difficult to get.

In spite of these chaotic appearances, we think it is not impossible to discriminate a few essential elements and to show that, if disorder exists on the surface, there is a deeper current of practical and one-pointed German policy, which is steadily pursuing its aim and very cleverly utilising the confusion of appearances, both at home in keeping certain elements busy and active, which means efficient, against the time when they will be wanted, and in their foreign policy, by creating a variety of delusions which hide ultimate purposes. Germany can scold her turbulent Nazis with a loud, gruff voice, but she is very pleased to have them; Von Papen and Von Schleicher will set up barriers to prevent the Hitlerian movement from gaining too much power at present, but this is keeping it alive by the stimulus of a necessary reaction; and in fact all these various forces are being canalised for the purpose of promoting what Germany considers as her essential claims.

As it has already been said, the German Republic is dead. It is significant that so little

effort has been made to bring it back to life again. Instead of that, each one of the political parties in turn has advocated dictatorship with a view to utilising it to its own aims. With the Communists, it was an article of faith. The Socialists have tried to keep the power in Prussia in spite of their minority in the Landtag. The Catholic Centre has approved the application of Art. 48 of the Constitution and the ex-Chancellor Brüning has on the whole governed with methods which are not very different from those practised by Von Papen to-day. And the Nazis themselves are such fervent adepts of the *coup d'Etat* that one can hardly take them seriously when they claim to be champions of constitutional methods.

Another fact which becomes evident is that everyone of the German parties has expected far more from force than from public suffrage and consequently, force is the only decisive element in Germany to-day. The Socialists have become weak from the day they lost the power in Prussia. The Hitlerians may lose more and more of their prestige (and this, by the way, might have been different if they had taken a more direct action sooner), because the most important force at the present moment is with the Reichswehr and its chief, General Von Schleicher. Von Schleicher might have considered collaboration with Brüning, but he could not accept the latter's pretensions to dictatorship. He tried to come to an agreement with Hitler to utilise his influence, but that again he had to reject for the time being when he realised how readily Hitler might venture a *coup* for his own personal benefit. Thus, more and more clearly, Von Schleicher and his party have come to have the upper hand. If Germany can gain some stability thereby, the advantage cannot be overlooked, but many people here consider that a nationalist Germany is still more dangerous for France than a Hitlerian regime. The former indicates a reversion to pre-war conceptions, while the latter represents a revolutionary dynamism.

The power acquired by Von Schleicher is bound to have its effect on the German Government's foreign policy and very probably in the sense of a policy based on "alliances." To this it is impossible that France should remain blind and not adjust her own foreign policy accordingly. It is easy to imagine the possible consequences of such a state of things in the international politics of Europe and to realise what a wide gap there is between this kind of spirit and that which Geneva has so laboriously endeavoured to create.

THE NEW REICHSTAG.

Before the meeting of the new Reichstag, Von Papen had secured from Hindenburg a decree authorising him to eventually pronounce its immediate dissolution. All over Europe, people were breathless with excitement on the eve of the 30th of August. Violent demonstrations were expected from various quarters, but journalists in quest of sensational news have been sorely disappointed. Orders had been given so that no manifestations should take place, and the Nazis' discipline remained impeccable. In Germany, military discipline never entirely loses its right.

The opening of the sitting was presided over by the oldest member, Mrs. Clara Zetkin, an old Communist, who had returned all the way from Russia for the occasion. The National Germans who did not even want to allow Mrs. Zetkin's speech to offend their ears only walked in after she had finished speaking. Then the effective president was elected, a National Socialist of the name of Mr. Goehring, who thereafter delivered a quiet speech

preceded by the Nazi salute. The Government benches were empty, which will appear almost inconceivable to people familiar with French and English parliamentary customs. Most of the Members of Government, together with Von Papen, were having at the time important talks with President Hindenburg and obtaining the assurance that they would be thenceforth entitled to enforce any law, which they might deem useful by means of decrees. These powers have now been effectively granted. But are decrees sufficient to solve all the economic and political difficulties which are weighing on the German people? Let us hope that Von Papen and Von Schleicher shall not seek to establish their popularity by the same means as Bismarck.

GERMANY'S OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE VERSAILLES TREATY.

Regardless of the important constitutional problems now at stake in Germany, Von Papen's cabinet is anxious to govern of its own accord; at the very moment when the Reichstag's destiny is still in suspense, a note has been handed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Ambassador in Berlin claiming equality of armaments for Germany. The news has created a sensation in the French public but vague suspicions were afloat already in many circles. It had not been forgotten that Von Papen had insistently presented similar demands at the Lausanne Conference, and could well expect that since Germans had succeeded in winning the battle as regards the cancellation of war debts and reparation payments, they would be encouraged to make a fresh endeavour for securing the next item of their programme as soon as possible. In fact, this has been done with a secret and tenacious coherence ever since then. The political and diplomatic atmosphere has been so cleverly perturbed that it has been insinuated that Great Britain completely approved Germany's action on the subject, agreement having already been reached at Lausanne through private conversations. This has been, of course, denied by the British Press, but it had already created the desired sensation. So much so that when M. Herriot was in Jersey a French paper of the extreme right could ask indignantly: Is M. Herriot secretly negotiating the revision of the Versailles Treaty, Yes or No? Then this venture of the German Government has been accompanied by sensational declarations by General Von Schleicher (the interview given to an Italian Fascist paper deserves special mention, which unmistakably indicates a certain process calculated to create an anxious and troubled atmosphere and manoeuvre international opinion. The news has been circulated that the worst is to be feared if Germany does not obtain satisfaction. The French people feel that there can be no question of yielding to such intimidation, and that it is on the contrary more important than ever to retain their presence of mind and see facts independently of these artificial manoeuvres. Von Papen and Von Schleicher feel that they are both lacking in parliamentary and popular support in their own country and they very probably consider that a German success in the field of international politics alone would appreciably consolidate their present position.

Germany threatens to leave the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference. The Germans say that they would feel compelled to ensure their security by national means if they do not obtain a favourable answer. On the other hand, the German Press has said that the character of the Note has not been understood by the French Press. It is explained that the note was simply meant as a summary of the German point of view to facilitate further diplomatic conversations, and could in no way be viewed as having the nature of an ultimatum.

should vest in a committee of the Provincial Co-operative Union and the immediate supervision of each centre in a small local committee of co-operators; that each centre should be provided with a paid worker whose work was to be to improve the existing co-operative societies, to start Village Panchayats and help them in all ways, to promote cottage industries, especially hand-spinning and hand-weaving; to help the Depressed Classes in all ways and, above all, to awaken and organise the people for self-help rather than do things for them. For each centre a sum of Rs. 2,000 was made available, half by the District Bank concerned and the other half by the Provincial Bank.

It took some time for the centres to come into regular working order and it was only in July 1929 that all of them began to work. Local circumstances made small departures from the scheme necessary in some of the centres. Generally speaking, suitable men have been found as paid workers and as committee members. A varying degree of success has attended the different items of the programme. The improvement of existing co-operative societies has been found to be very difficult indeed. The exposure of defects and abuses naturally makes the worker unpopular with those that manage the societies, and it is very rarely that the general body of members of a society have the independence to get rid of the management and appoint a satisfactory set of new office-bearers. It has been possible to organise several Panchayats in each area and work them fairly satisfactorily. These panchayats are miniature local boards whose functions are to look after roads, water-supply, education and sanitation. Their formation was stimulated by the wise policy of the Local Government in giving them liberal grants for various purposes through a special officer. Much good work has been done through these Panchayats. Hand-spinning and production of khaddar were generally successful in the various centres but they received a set-back on account of the slump in khaddar. Demonstrations in the use of chemical manures, improved ploughs, improved seed, etc. were successful in some cases and failures in others. Poultry-keeping was tried in two centres where the workers had undergone some training in it, but owing to an epidemic which affected the whole of South India last year, the fowls died. The castration of animals by the latest improved method has become popular and the Veterinary Surgeon is looked upon as a friend. Attendance in schools has generally been stimulated and gatherings for *Bhajans* and *Puran* readings have been encouraged. Reading rooms and circulating libraries have become popular and are partly supported by local subscriptions. Boys and young men are being interested in games, scouting and physical exercise. Frequent meetings are held at some of which magic lantern lectures are delivered. The devotion of the workers has had an inspiring effect on the people and there has been a decided awakening in all the centres.

But some unexpected difficulties have also been met with. Soon after the centres started came the economic depression which has resulted in a pheno-

menal fall in the prices of agricultural produce. The burden of debt has doubled itself, overdues in co-operative societies have mounted tremendously, land-values have fallen and most people are too worried about their own finances to care for the general welfare of the village. The District Banks whose profits have dwindled are unable to make the contribution towards the upkeep of the centres which they had agreed to make and the finances of the centres are therefore crippled. The political situation of the country has also had its effect on the working of the centres. Some of the committee-members were drawn towards the Civil Disobedience movement and that has made the Government generally suspicious of the centres. At any rate, they would have received far more assistance from the authorities if the conditions had been normal. In some centres the holding of meetings and general propaganda have been rendered very difficult by the operation of the Ordinances and the consequent disinclination of people to attend meetings. When allowance is made for these special difficulties and for the general apathy of our rural population, one will have to acknowledge that the centres have justified their existence and their continuance is desirable.

Inexperienced people often put the question, not only in respect of these centres but of many other institutions: "Are the results commensurate with the expenditure?" When we are dealing with a concrete object like building a road or bridge, it is easy to answer such a question convincingly. But where propaganda is concerned and moral results are looked for, which are neither easily measurable nor quick in coming, it is impossible to answer the question to the satisfaction of all. One has to have faith in human nature and in the ultimate benefit. But apart from it, altruistic action, even where tangible results are not apparent, is essential for social efficiency, for without it all classes of the population, and especially the higher ones, deteriorate rapidly.

V. VENKATASUBBAIYA.

Reviews.

TRUTH-TELLING A CRIME!

FALSEHOOD IN WAR-TIME. By ARTHUR PONSONBY. (Allen & Unwin, London.) 17cm. 192p.

"WHEN war is declared, Truth is the first casualty."

"In the arena of international rivalry and conflict men have placed patriotism above truthfulness as the indispensable virtue of statesmen."

"In war time, failure to lie is negligence, the doubting of a lie a misdemeanour, the declaration of the truth a crime."

To the students of foreign politics and diplomacy Mr. Ponsonby needs no introduction. As a member of the House of Commons he has taken very keen interest in foreign affairs. By his "Democracy and Diplomacy" and "Wars and Treaties, 1815-1914" he has made himself an international personality. His latest publication "Falsehood in War Time" is bound to enhance his reputation. It does not

pretend to be either a theoretical or philosophical discourse on the use and abuse of falsehood in war time. The scope of the book is limited "to an assortment of lies circulated throughout the nations during the Great War." The author remarks that the volume "is not to cast fresh blame on authorities and individuals, nor is it to expose one nation more than another to accusation of deceit." However it is difficult to appreciate the author's reasoning when he says that if lies "were only used to deceive the enemy in the game of war it would not be worth troubling about." To a political moralist, in which class Mr. Ponsonby certainly holds a distinguished place, a lie for one is a lie for all. Sophocles says: "A lie never lives to be old." A lie, therefore, for an enemy will also be a lie for an ally. The author is of the opinion that the purpose of most of the lies "is to fan indignation and induce the flower of the country's youth to be ready to make the supreme sacrifice." "Exposure, therefore, may be useful, even when the struggle is over, in order to show up the fraud, hypocrisy and humbug on which all wars rest and the blatant and vulgar devices which have been used for so long to prevent the poor ignorant people from realising the true meaning of war."

In the introduction to the book the author provides materials for an idealist to frame rules for waging wars with weapons of Truth. What the author feels at the use of falsehood is very appropriately expressed in these eloquent words: "The injection of the poison of hatred into men's minds by means of falsehood is a greater evil in war-time than the actual loss of life. The defilement of the human soul is worse than the destruction of the human body." We have not got sufficient materials at our command to verify the author's assumption that "there must have been more deliberate lying in the world from 1914 to 1918 than in any other period of the world's history." But the earlier wars also were not free from the strategic use of falsehood. The book abounds in interesting illustrations of lies circulated during the last war. When we look at the war from the moral point of view we cannot but agree with the author that "there is not a living soul in any country who does not deeply resent having his passions roused, his indignation inflamed, his patriotism exploited, and his highest ideals desecrated by concealment, subterfuge, fraud, trickery, and deliberate lying on the part of those in whom he is taught to repose confidence and to whom he is enjoined to pay respect."

The book is an indictment not only of the belligerent nations in the Great War but also of any war in which falsehood is employed as a weapon. He concludes his charge sheet in the following pregnant words: "Is further proof needed that international war is a monster born of hypocrisy, fed on falsehood, fattened on humbug, kept alive by superstition, directed to the death and torture of millions, succeeding in no high purpose, degrading to humanity, endangering civilisation and bringing forth in its travail a hideous brood of strife, conflict and war, more war? Yet statesmen still hesitate to draw the sword of their wits to destroy it." The book contains valuable food for thought not only for any nation but even for the League of Nations. Disarmament alone is not enough for the peace of the world. What is really needed is an International Parliament for the governance of the people of the world. It is when such a parliament has come into being that the world can be made safe for democracy and be saved from further wars. Mr. Ponsonby's "Falsehood in War-Time" makes out a strong case for an International Supreme Court as also for an International Parliament.

I. S. HAJI.

PRANAYAMA.

PRANAYAMA. PART I. By SRIMAT KUALAYANANDA. (The Author, Kaivalyadhama, Lonavala, Bombay Presidency.) 1931. 23cm. 156p. Rs. 2/8.

THE thick veil of Yoga, laden through the dim centuries is slowly, very slowly, lifting. To the unveiling have contributed many Sanskrit scholars of middle ages. But the most firm snatch is being made in our own times, though most of us are blind to the same. We refer to the work being done at Kaivalyadhama, Lonavala by Sjt. Kuvalayananda (Prof. Gune) and his ardent workers. Yoga prescribes eight fold-stages for its students-Yama, Niyama, Asana, Pranayama, Pratyahara, Dharana, Dhyana, and Samadhi. Commencing with rules and practise of good conduct in the beginner, it ends in transcending the bonds of matter and senses in the supreme realisation of the Universal soul (God) in Samadhi.

After Asana and as the fourth step in the arduous ladder of Yoga, comes Pransyama. Sjt. Kuvalayanada, with his band of co-workers, has laboured for years to throw light, in terms of modern science and with modern equipments, on Yoga. To the world he has given his researches and conclusions in his invaluable journal *The Yogamimamsa*, and there could be none better fitted to tackle this subject with authority and confidence than Sjt. Kuvalayananda. There could be no doubt therefore that his conclusions and opinions deserve considerable weight and cannot be easily brushed aside.

The present treatise has sought to deal with two aspects of Pranayama viz., the Physiological and Spiritual. Instruction has been given to satisfy the needs of both the physical culturists and the spiritual aspirants.

The first part of the work is mainly devoted to the physiological and anatomical explanations of the organs concerned in respirations and taking part in Pranayamic exercises. They are but repetitions of what is contained in modern text-books on physiology and anatomy, with observations and conclusions of the author, directing the reader's attention to their characteristics in understanding the Yogic exercises.

The author has explained in this work, in a masterly way, two of the different types of Pranayam viz., Ujjayi, and Bhastrika. Kapala Bhati as a breathing exercise is also explained. He takes us step by step in the practise of these exercises, giving very detailed and copious instructions to the beginner. The treatise is so thoroughly practical that we have no hesitation in stating that the orthodox injunction of a personal "Guru" may be dispensed with, except perhaps in the case of a spiritual student, continuing to a very advanced stage. An ordinary reader may take up the work with intellectual curiosity and tempered by some scepticism regarding the utility of these "oldish" things; but as he travels through its pages curiosity is turned into interest and the supercilious attitude into genuine respect for the ancient culture. And by the time he reaches the last page he regrets that he has not come into it before, and in ninety cases out of hundred the reader develops practical interest and ends in commencing the practice in right earnest.

The author has based his main technique on the orthodox texts in Hatha Yoga in Sanskrit and convincingly explains in terms of physiology and from clinical evidence the physical betterment offered by these exercises. No doubt there are slight divergencies, in the detailed technique of these two practices, among the Yogic students in different parts of India. But the main basis is the same and the advantages identical.

One of the special features of the treatise and a considerable help to the practical student, is the illustration of the necessary postures and the details of the technique through half-tone blocks made from photographs of the pupils of the author. There are thirty-three of these.

The physiological effects of Pranayam expounded by the author are very convincing. But the attempt to explain the psychical and spiritual results of the practice of Pranayam is unsuccessful. It cannot but be so. No one can be blamed, but the reader, who optimistically and unreasonably expects things of the spirit and subjective reactions, to be foot-ruled, X-rayed, and Burma-pressed. As admitted by the author himself, we have to indulge in speculation. So far as the spiritual culturist is concerned, he is guided only by results in the higher regions, and is never troubled by the 'whys' and 'wherefores'. The absence of these explanations therefore is never a deterrent to the spiritual value of Pranayam. The student must have firm faith and attain progress through the correct techniques.

The work is an attempt at perfection in explanation and reasoning. Naturally a good deal of physiological matter is expounded. This exposition is unfortunately confined to a particular part of the work. This constitutes tough reading and dry crossing. The benefit of intellectual conviction may get lost to some readers who already bored by routine matters in life, or elaborate dry-as-dust text-books in schools, hardly glance through this useful portion. More blame to them no doubt. But an attempt could have been made to interestingly intertwine these physiological and anatomical explanations while considering the benefits and techniques of the exercises.

Not much is said in this volume about the steady influence, on the mind, of Pranayama and why in the full course of Yoga, this precedes the training and absorption of the mind, in Pratyahara and Dharana. Whether bandhas in Pranayama (Kumbhaka) are necessary to the student of physical culture is not also discussed. In experience these exercises fit him less for non-Yogic systems of exercises. They tend to prevent the development of superficial muscles by cutting down necessary healthy fat deposit. These questions, still remain to be answered satisfactorily. While caution in the practice of these exercises is to be repeated, it appears that the maximum number of rounds of the two pranayams prescribed for students of physical culture alone is a little too high.

The public must feel deeply grateful to the author for bringing out this most useful and valuable treatise.

S. SUNDARAM.

BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA.

RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA.
(2ND EDN.). By B. D. BASU. (R. Chatterjee,
120/2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta) 1931.
24 cm. 1011 p. Rs. 15/-

It was a common charge levelled against the writings of the Anglo-Indian historians of the last century that they had no hesitation to take leave of the high canons of historical veracity when writing the history of British India. They wrote partial, one-sided, prejudiced accounts of the events of what is known as the British period of Indian history by painting Indian characters and conditions in lurid colours and by depicting that the prevailing atmosphere was surcharged with treachery, secret

diplomacy, unfaithfulness and barbarous misgovernment, while the Anglo-Indian characters were painted as the very paragons of virtue. To anyone reading those histories, the insistent thought would come that the British, ever since their advent into the country, have been actuated by the highest motives of altruism, unselfish devotion to the cause of India and self-sacrifice for the sake of Indians, that India was a land of misery, misgovernment, famine and several other ills from which she was rescued by the all-consuming desire of the Britishers who have fought and lost their lives for these high ideals and that there was no conscious attempt on the part of these unselfish Britishers to build and extend an Empire in India but that the Empire came to them unasked and unsolicited.

To all those who are deluded into these false and fond beliefs, Major Basu's "Rise of the Christian Power in India" will come as a stupendous shock, shattering their illusions into smithereens. The book, first published in five volumes, is now issued in a single volume with many of the defects of the first edition removed and with many improvements introduced and additions made, which render it more attractive, more accurate and more useful. For instance, a number of illustrations have been added and an index, somewhat elaborate, has also been given, while, as the publisher says in his preface, "Some passages which were superfluous or mere repetitions were omitted" and "some mistakes in the statement of facts and in dates, etc., have been corrected." It is a matter of great regret, and the public share it with the publisher, that the distinguished author passed away before the second issue could be printed.

The story of the rise of the British power in India, as has already been pointed out, is a story of treachery and faithlessness. In the case of the Nawab of the Carnatic, in the case of the Peshwas, in the case of the Amirs of Sind, in the case of the Sikhs, in the case of Oudh and in almost every case where the Company's servants acquired territory at the expense of Native Princes, it was a case of giving the dog a bad name in order to hang it. The Native Princes were scrupulously adhering to their treaties and agreements; but the greediness and land-grabbing propensities of the Company's Governors-General would not allow them to continue their feelings of friendship towards the Company. They would be constantly pricking holes in their actions, egging them on to desperation, and finally would force on them hostilities for which they were least prepared and in which therefore they would fare badly. It is all a series of wilful provocations of faithful allies to deceive them out of their possessions and independence. As Mr. Basu says: "Gratitude forms a marked trait in the character of Asiatics in general and of the Hindus in particular." (p. 671); but their gratitude was rewarded by the Company by dispossessing them of their birthright of freedom and by gross betrayal of trust.

Mr. Basu takes us through the whole course of events with such consummate skill and erudition, taking care to support his case by references to and quotations from the writings of unprejudiced contemporary observers and writers. As we go through the pages of Major Basu's monumental work, we find with what great industry he has unravelled the real truth of the development of the British Raj in India and laid bare the true picture of that development. And the picture is a sickening one.

One or two instances may be given of the way in which Major Basu exposed the true character of certain Anglo-Indian Governors-General. About Lord Cornwallis he writes thus: "It is a common dictum of the writers of Indian history that Cornwallis was