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Topics of the Week.

Local Self-Government in Punjab.

THE session of the first Punjab Local Self-Government Conference which was held recently at Lahore under the presidency of Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatallah has described on all hands to have been a complete success. And Mr. Haradatta Sharma who has spent all these months in organising it may justifiably feel that his labours have been rewarded. The President being unfamiliar with the conditions of local self-government in the Punjab cannot be blamed for making no reference to local problems in his presidential address. His principal anxiety however seemed to be that this should not go the way of so many other conferences, which meet at frequent intervals without taking any steps to see that the work is carried on throughout the year. To prevent such a fate overtaking the new institution he suggested the formation of a local self-government institute, as in the Bombay presidency, which should make it its business to tackle local self-government problems as they arise. The idea of such a permanent body being new to his hearers, Sir Ghulam did well in telling them at some

length what were its objects and how it was trying to accomplish them. We hope the detailed information that he was so much at pains to give will spur the Punjab workers on to vigorous activity so that the Punjab institute may before long be able to show even a more creditable record of work than has fallen to the lot of its Bombay counterpart.

* * *

Sir Ghulam's address also contained practical suggestions for the improvement of the administration of local bodies. Among such may be included the one for the formation of a separate cadre of servants in local bodies in the province. The present arrangement under which each local body has a cadre of its own servants does not make for security of service nor does it allow of transfers. Though the suggestion has failed to commend itself to the local bodies in this presidency owing to their jealousy of their powers of patronage, there appears to be no reason why it should not meet with a better fate in the land of the five rivers.

* * *

For obvious reasons Sir Ghulam favours a strong executive in the larger municipalities, whose members are mostly busy men having no time to attend to the detailed working of these bodies. He is far from implying that for that reason these bodies should be deprived either of the power of the purse or of their control over their officers. All that he obviously has in view is that while these bodies should be free to lay down policies, the executive should be left free to carry them out unhampered by any non-official interference in its day-to-day work.

* * *

Sir Ghulam is an advocate of direct instead of the present indirect form of taxation by local bodies. He is not unmindful of the fact that the sources of taxation assigned to them are few and inadequate. He would therefore like them to engage themselves in productive and public utility schemes such as light, tramways, electric supply, etc. This would serve the two-fold purpose of making the bodies more useful to the people while at the same time augmenting their resources. We have no doubt that though his suggestions are addressed to the local bodies in the Punjab, they will in fact be seriously considered by municipalities and local boards all over the land.

* * *

Deplorable.

THE *non-possimus* attitude which Government thought fit to adopt in reference to the non-official demand for action to check the increase in population recently made in the Council of State is greatly to be deplored. What was desired of them at this stage was not legislative action so much as

propaganda designed to impress the public with the evils of an unchecked growth of population. There was nothing in this to which any reasonable objection could be taken; but the Government chose to oppose even such an eminently moderate request.

Or is it the case that they have yet to be convinced that the growth of population is excessive? If so,—and the Home Secretary's speech makes us think it is so,—it means that they have to be convinced about the existence of an evil patent to everybody who has his eyes open. An increase of 34 millions in a decade—two millions more than during the preceding thirty years put together—is disquieting enough to make Government of a country circumstanced as this is seriously contemplate steps designed to put a curb on the multiplication of the population at such a fearful rate; but the Indian Government is obviously too far removed from currents of popular opinion to be persuaded of the desirability of such a move! Their resistance to the proposal is all the more inexplicable in view of the prevalence of widespread unemployment in the land. Do they not realise that the unemployment problem will assume unmanageable proportions unless steps are taken to put a stop to the present uncontrolled increase in the population? Is it not thus proper for them to bestow their very careful consideration on the problem instead of adopting a non-chalant attitude towards it? Considerations of political expediency, if nothing else, should dictate to them the desirability of such a course.

From Election to Nomination in Fiji?

IT appears from press reports that the Fiji Government have under contemplation a proposal to substitute nomination for election as a system of representation in municipalities. It is not clear whether the proposal comprises all communities in Fiji or whether it is meant only for the Indian and whether effect would be given to it in the case of both the municipalities that exist there. The proposal has naturally found in our countrymen there its very strong opponents. With a view to dissuading the local Government from putting it into operation, an Indian deputation to the Governor was organised. The deputation tried its best to impress the Governor with the strength of Indian feeling against the reactionary step contemplated by the Government. In the course of their written representation, the deputation said:

Our experience and knowledge of the type of Indians nominated by the Government to fill the positions in different local bodies, and in the Legislative Council of this Colony in the past, gives us strong reasons to believe that the people nominated by the Government will be on the whole the people who would be acquiescent to Legislative and Executive measures irrespective of whether they will be in the interest or against the interest of the community.

It must be remembered that the Indian community here is progressing rapidly in their way of life and is day by day taking keener and more intelligent interest in their own development and in the development of this Colony. We have reached a stage in this colony where the introduction of a system of nomination will be like filling new wine in old bottles. Such anti-democratic and retrogressive step will have strong reaction on an overwhelming majority of the community which will result in our opinion in endangering peace and harmony that at present exist between different races and creeds in this colony.

Cochin in 1933-34.

IT is observed from the Cochin administration report for 1933-34 that the most notable event of the

year was the visit of the Viceroy to the State. In view of the outcry against the exorbitant cost in which such visits generally involve the States, we were naturally anxious to find out how big a hole this visit made in the finances of the State. But our curiosity could not be satisfied for the reason that expenditure connected with the visit is not shown separately in the State accounts. But perhaps one cannot be for wrong in inferring that a lion's share of increase in one year of over Rs. 8 lakhs on the expenditure side in the State accounts is attributable to the viceregal visit. Such a belief cannot be said to be altogether fantastic when it is remembered that the expenses in connection with the visit are lumped together with such items as the Maharaja's contributions to public funds, his tour to Delhi, the fees paid to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, etc., all which cannot make a very formidable total. Some idea of the total expenditure on account of the viceregal visit may be formed by the fact that nearly Rs. 35,500 was spent on the purchase of two new cars for use during the visit. This item figures under "State Conveyance", but must really be included in the expenses which the State had to incur owing to the visit. If only to prevent the public from entertaining an exaggerated notion about the State expenditure on this purpose, we would suggest that a separate head should be introduced in all State accounts to which all expenses connected with these visits should be debited.

WE are happy to find that in Cochin as elsewhere steps were taken to help the agriculturist in his present plight due to a heavy fall in prices. A general remission of 18¾ per cent. in land revenue and the earmarking of the sum of Rs. 5 lakhs for granting special loans to those of them whose lands were in danger of being sold for unduly low prices for the redemption of their debts were among the practical steps taken to relieve the agriculturist's lot. A Committee was also at work, examining carefully all possible methods in which the State could lend a helping hand to the agriculturist. The next administration report will, it may be hoped, tell us what action had been taken on its recommendations.

TO the credit of the State it must be frankly admitted that educationally it is decades ahead of British India. While the level of literacy in British India has not advanced beyond 5 per cent. in 1932-33, the latest year for which figures are available, in Cochin all the boys of school-age were already in receipt of instruction and nearly 75 per cent. of the eligible girls had been brought to school. It is satisfactory to note that particular attention is devoted to the spread of education among the backward and depressed classes. As a result, the number of pupils belonging to these classes rose by nearly 6,000, depressed classes alone accounting for about one-fourth of the increase. It is to be hoped that even more vigorous steps will, if possible, be taken in the years to come to raise them educationally to the level of the advanced classes.

Zanzibar Cloves.

WE had occasion to draw attention in a recent issue to the possible diversion of the clove trade, which had so far been Zanzibar's monopoly, to Madagascar, thanks to the rise in clove prices artificially brought about by the operations of the Clove-Growers' Association, a recent creation of the local Government. Fresh indications also serve to confirm that impression. In their market review for the quarter ending March 31st last,

Messrs. Leslie and Anderson make prominent mention of the fact that the European and American demand for cloves during those three months was largely met by supplies from Madagascar. Zanzibar cloves no doubt found a fairly large market in India and Japan; but there too the general tendency appeared to be to turn to Madagascar for the satisfaction of their needs. Since Madagascar has not been slow to capture markets formerly held by Zanzibar, it is not to be wondered at that the clove stocks in the latter country are steadily increasing. The market review cannot be said to be overshooting the mark when it characterises the local stocks of 150,000 bales as formidable. It is too early to say with any degree of precision whether the prospects for the new crop are favourable or otherwise. But seeing that the yield of cloves during the current year has proved to be twice that forecasted, there appears to be not much ground to look for relief even in the direction of a short crop. With the whole of the clove legislation placed on the statute book in a hurry last year by the Zanzibar Government thus turning out to be a failure, it remains to be seen what further remedial measures for the relief of the agriculturist are going to be proposed by the local Government.

As our readers are aware, the problem of agricultural indebtedness in Zanzibar has been remitted for consideration to a Commission whose recommendations were to form the basis of such action as the Zanzibar Government might deem fit for the permanent relief of the ryot. The Commission was expected to complete its inquiries with all possible expedition. In fact it was believed that it would be able to finish its labours by the middle of March. But it has apparently been unable to do so and seems to have asked for the extension of the time allowed to it by a month. Unless something unforeseen has happened in the meanwhile, its report must by now have reached the Zanzibar Government.

Articles.

THE KING'S SILVER JUBILEE.

ON the 6th of May 1935 His Majesty the King completed twenty-five years of his reign. This long record of an unbroken and useful career of national service from the throne has called forth strong feelings of devotion and appreciation. Not only in Great Britain but in all parts of the British Empire the Silver Jubilee of his Majesty's reign is being celebrated with great pomp and enthusiasm. Royal functions have often a tendency to be worked up by agents of Government and their friends. Even in a parliamentary government the Ministry of the day is not immune from the temptation to use a great national event for consolidating its own position. But on the present occasion the spontaneous enthusiasm of the subjects of His Majesty has in most cases submerged the formality and artificiality that are inseparable from such functions.

India has not been an exception to this universal expression of jubilation and loyalty. It is significant that no section of responsible public opinion in this country has expressed itself in any but appreciative terms regarding the very successful reign of His Majesty. Critics may indeed trace a difference

between the mass appeal that the event has made in the several parts of the Empire. For the English citizen, particularly for the Londoner, the King is almost an indispensable part of his social and political being. Without being meddlesome or ambitious the King has always supplied to London's teeming population a centre of social jubilation and public activity. The celebration of the Jubilee is for them only the crowning piece in a long series of social functions. For the ordinary Englishman the King stands for the objective expression of centuries of historical growth of the British nation. Britishers may well be justified in priding themselves on having secured, throughout modern history, a continuous spell of prosperity, success and liberty, in so far as it is possible for any human organisation to achieve these objects of organised endeavour.

The throne and the person of British Kings have played a very vital role in building up the historical traditions of British strength and love of liberty. There is a curious popular misunderstanding regarding the role played by the British King in directing the affairs of the state. Even the Indian mind is not free from the clouding effect of this fiction. On the one hand it is alleged that the King is only a constitutional convenience. He supplies in concrete form that unity and continuity of state organisation which a parliamentary republic necessarily lacks. The King has, according to this version, no responsibility of his own; hence also, it is made out, that he has no individual functions to perform in the great task of government. Some in their zeal to secure the widest possible support for the celebration of the jubilant occasion have gone so far as to say that the King is above politics. As he is not responsible for Government policy people of all shades of political opinion are called upon to join in the celebration out of personal regard for the King.

On the other hand, an appeal is addressed to the alleged love for kingship which is deep-rooted in all common minds and which, it is claimed, is more persistent in the East than in the West. According to this version, the King far from being above politics is all politics. Like Louis XIV of France he is the state itself. Such a view is designed to appeal to the Indian princes and their courtiers both of whom have joined the more common elements from British India in celebrating the Silver Jubilee. However we might welcome the universality of the appeal made by the occasion, it is clear that both these versions of the position of the King cannot be true at the same time. It is necessary to define the functional position of the British King more accurately if the real significance of the Jubilee is to be brought home to all classes of His Majesty's subjects.

According to the conventions of the British constitution, all responsibility for state policy and action has to be borne by parliamentary ministers. These are liable to be removed on ceasing to command the confidence of the legislature. The King is irremovable by ordinary constitutional procedure.

Hence has grown a very vital practice of the British constitution viz. that the King must secure for every official action of his the countersignature of some minister who is prepared to shoulder responsibility before Parliament. In the end the initiative passed into the hands of Ministers since the days of the early Georges and instead of the King securing the countersignature of Ministers it is now the ministers who have to secure the concurrence of the Crown in all the steps that they propose.

It is, however, wrong to suppose that the Kingly sanction to ministerial acts is given as a matter of course, or that the King plays no part in shaping the government policy itself. What Bagehot said long ago about the functions of the British King literally holds good to the present day. According to Bagehot, the King has the right to be consulted by ministers, the right to encourage them and the right to warn them when necessary. This indeed is a difficult role and the personal attributes of the King go a long way in determining the actual share taken by the occupant of the throne in the conduct of His Majesty's Government. It is well-known that King George V has not only equalled the great tradition created by Queen Victoria but he has in several important respects improved upon the same. Almost on the day of his coronation King George had to pilot his administration through the storm created by the opposition of the Lords to the Parliament Bill, which was designed in effect to clip the wings of the upper British Chamber. By persuasion, advice and firm assurance the new King met a situation which in many other countries would have led to a veritable revolution.

Since then the King has had to face several critical situations. The threatened rebellion in North Ireland, the World War, the succession of constitutional crises created by the de Valera administration in South Ireland, the national calamity of an industrial depression—these are only the most obvious of a long series of critical situations which the British King had to meet during the last twenty-five years. That King George has met these with a rare tact and consummate skill is matter of recorded history. India is, of course, more directly interested in the part that the King plays in Imperial politics. The closer co-operation among the nations of the British Empire which commenced during the Great War has necessitated an alteration in the status and the constitutional position of the Dominion Governments. A status of equality among themselves and with the United Kingdom was recognised as being implied in Dominionhood. Equality of status has led to the further implication that in Dominion matters the King acts on the advice not of the British Government but on that of his Ministers in the Dominion concerned.

The King is not only a constitutional King but he is the constitutional head of the empire. The Statute of Westminster and the resolutions of the several Imperial Conferences have definitely secured the

extension of the principle of a constitutional headship to the field of Imperial administration. The actual working out of this principle, particularly in trying times, is calculated to alter the institutions and practices of the British constitution to a remarkable degree. But the wise leadership of the present King is taken in all parts of the Empire as a guarantee that the future of British constitutional progress will be as satisfactory as its past. Apart from the historical loyalty of British colonists towards the British King this is the most important factor that has contributed to the great enthusiasm of the Dominion Governments and peoples on this happy occasion.

The stirring message that the Viceroy has issued to the people of India on the occasion of the Jubilee is remarkable for the mention it makes of this position of the Dominions. The Earl of Willingdon was a very successful Governor General of the premier Dominion and on such an important occasion as the present he must have recalled to mind the manner in which his erstwhile charge would celebrate the Jubilee. The Viceregal message records with satisfaction India's advance during the present reign towards an equality of status and free partnership with the other Dominions of the King. There is more in this sentiment than the desire to meet the exigencies of a great ceremonial occasion. Today all classes of people in this country are eager to secure an early establishment of an autonomous constitutional government for the whole of India. If this goal is reached within a measurable distance of time the prospects of a peaceful, prosperous and progressive Indian Dominion being added to the British Commonwealth would be assured.

The repeal of the Bengal partition and the setting up of a central Government at Delhi were acts that recognised the reality both of the feeling and of the fact of Indian nationalism. The inauguration of the era of responsible government under the Montagu Act and the prospective establishment of a common Federal Government for the whole country are indicative of an official recognition of the principles of Indian unity and self-government. It is, of course, well-known that at all these important stages of India's constitutional advance the King has played a most helpful and statesmanlike role. This fact has added to the strength of the feelings of jubilation and gratitude that fill the Indian mind on the present occasion. It is not a little unfortunate that the leading features of the proposed Constitution Act should have drawn upon themselves the criticism of all sections of opinion in India. With our expression of gratitude to Providence for a quarter century of progressive rule under King George may we not combine the prayer that he be spared long to reign over us in common with his other subjects, as a constitutional Emperor, receiving the homage of a free and united India?

MOTOR-BUS TRANSPORTATION.

IN the modern economy transport is a vitally important factor and in a country of the dimensions like those of ours this importance cannot be exaggerated, both from the military and the commercial viewpoints. Perhaps before the current year is out the Central Government would appoint a Communications Member to their Executive Council. A study of the problem, therefore, even over a limited area, as was attempted by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, is of great value.

This is the fourth publication* of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, but it is the second which is the result of field survey carried on by the Institute. The first dealt with the marketing of fruit in Poona. This one is a study of the problems relating to the motor-bus transportation in the six districts of the Bombay Presidency, namely, Kolaba and Ratnagiri, the two coastal districts, and the four ghat districts of the Bombay Deccan, Poona, Nagar, Satara and Sholapur.

Mechanical road transport, perhaps largely because of the competition it has brought about with the railway transport, has been engaging the attention of the state and the public in more than one country. The Government of India appointed in July 1932 the Mitchell-Kirkness Committee to investigate and recommend on the problem of rail-road competition. The Institute however, even before the appointment of this Committee (June 1932), had started work on the general subject of the growth, and the problems arising therefrom, of commercial vehicles in the Bombay districts. After the publication of the Committee's report, the Institute thought it fit to leave out of consideration the field covered by it. This publication, therefore, is mainly concerned with ascertaining the facts regarding the organization and the economic position of those engaged in the public motor transport industry.

The field survey was carried out by Mr. L. V. Gogate of the Institute during 1932-33. This has involved considerable pains and labour, since the available data on the subject was extremely scanty and of a nature which was of little value for the work undertaken. Field investigation was by personal and group interviews on the basis of a questionnaire and the answers received thereto. For special information recourse was had to the official and the semi-official agencies. Mention must be made in this connection of the regrettable fact that the railway authorities, as observed by the authors, refused the Institute relevant data in their possession, which would have been of considerable value to the investigation. Unfortunately this has been the experience also of other investigators in India in relation to the supply of information by agencies like the railways. The result of the investigation has undoubtedly been of considerable value and like its predecessor is a

model for others who may like to carry on similar field surveys.

The book deals with all the important aspects of the problem and has paid special attention to the question of the business units and their organization, bus-sales and sales finance, the qualitative appraisal of the nature of the traffic, road finance and motor taxation, control, co-ordination and Government regulation and lastly earnings and expenditure.

In the tract surveyed the motorable mileage has been estimated at about 4,000 miles and it is significant that the buses cover over 3,300 miles. Nevertheless, it is a regrettable fact that the road system has made little or no progress in respect of quality from what it was during the pre-motor era. Indeed in places, the situation can be said to be worse, especially during the monsoons. The inferior quality of the roads, unsuited to the requirements of the heavier bus-traffic, has involved additional expenditure of about 15 to 20 p. c. in the running costs. Considering the narrow margin of profits of even the more successful among the bus-owners the prospects of this transport industry would be definitely brightened and the gloom that now hangs over it almost wholly removed, if only the much desired improvement in the road system is effected, thus saving the bus-owners the avoidable additional costs.

The trade is dominated, as in some other countries also, by the one bus-owner, and there are 621 of them out of 1309 buses plying in the tract under survey. In the multiple bus-owner groups again the three and four bus-owners are preponderant. The industry is thus essentially run on small scale lines, and in most cases the owners are also drivers. In consonance with this state of affairs the upper limit of the routes is only about 100 miles.

Until recently the dominant form of finance of the purchase of buses was on an instalment basis. But the depression has caused some alteration in this. The general unsoundness of the industry and default in the payment of the instalments has led the sellers of buses to curtail the sales on a hire-purchase basis and to insist upon cash payments. This has added to the difficulties of the bus-owners in that it has involved their borrowing at unremunerative rates and the familiar embarrassments at the hands of the money-lenders. It is a pity the joint-stock and the co-operative banks in the country do not offer credit to them.

The figures regarding the density of traffic are of necessity of a speculative character, there being no reliable data on the subject. Traffic counts are of great value for the road engineer, the road administration and traffic taxation.

The dominant type of traffic is the passenger traffic. Goods traffic and the postal mail are of comparatively minor importance and the latter in particular is only the privilege of the bus-owner selected by the authorities. It is notorious that the passengers have to suffer a great many inconveniences. Perhaps the bus-owners can provide but

* *A Survey of the Motor-Bus Transportation in Six Districts of the Bombay Presidency.* By D. R. Gadgil and L. V. Gogate. (Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona 4.) 1935. 24cm. 174p. Rs. 2-8-0.

little relief under the circumstances and comparison must be made with the inconveniences suffered by the third-class passengers on Indian railways where even sitting room is very often not available. Also should the comparison on points go against bus-travel, this should be off-set against the cheaper fare.

One cannot expect the goods traffic to make any appreciable progress under our present rural economy. The bullock cart fits in better with the small scale output of the farmer and his transport requirements compared to the bus with its larger size, apart altogether from the fact that the cost of carriage is perhaps slightly higher, bulk for bulk, for the goods carried by the former.

In respect of the vitally important question of earnings and expenditure there is naturally enough a great dearth of information and not even intelligent estimates are available. The publication has made a venture in this direction. From this the commonly observed phenomenon is clearly brought to light, namely that the industry is overcrowded and considerably depressed. Not even the better organized units find it possible to eke out a small and steady margin of profits with the result that it has become almost a rule of the trade that a large number of those entering it have to do so only to leave it after going through a period of losses.

Combinations and agreements have been few and even so in many cases have proved unsuccessful owing mainly to difficulties attendant upon the distribution of proceeds and the absence of legal sanction behind them. This somewhat contrasts with the situation of bus transport between Mysore and South Kanara. Over the route between Kadool and Mangalore, for instance, after a period of fare-cutting 'war' competition has led to combination, which combination now enjoys the position of a monopoly. The industry thus presents a picture of a small scale, unorganized and unprofitable business. The traffic being limited the remedy would seem to lie in the direction of limiting competition by such devices as route licensing. Paradoxically enough the comforts of the passengers can also be said to depend on such limitation. For, one cannot expect these comforts from bus-owners suffering losses consistently.

At present, next to no record is kept of the none too negligible number of accidents on the road, nor an intelligent analysis of their causes attempted with a view to minimising them. Here is a question that demands the attention of the Government and in view of the safety of the bus-travelling public involved would justify a public enquiry. At all events the number of accidents calls for protective legislation and at least compulsory insurance of public vehicles.

Looking to the valuable results of the surveys conducted by the Institute one may venture to suggest that the Government would be well advised to entrust the Institute with work of a similar character whenever occasion and necessity may arise rather than appoint *ad hoc* committees at such enormous cost to the tax-payer. Apart from

the economy that this would mean, an unofficial body like the Institute would arouse considerably less doubt and suspicion in the minds of the lay and mostly illiterate public from whom data and information may have to be culled for the survey, than an official agency.

The general get-up of the book and the printing are satisfactory. The book should prove valuable to all interested in the subject.

B. R. SHENOY.

CO-OPERATION IN TRAVANCORE*.

ALTHOUGH it is now twenty years since an all-India inquiry was conducted into the working of the co-operative movement, there have been inquiries undertaken in several provinces and Indian States. The Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, following the lead set by Madras, Mysore and other parts of India, set up a Committee of Inquiry in December 1932 under the chairmanship of Mr. G. K. Devadhar. The Report of the Committee was published last month and as may be expected of a body with Mr. Devadhar at its head, the compilation is not only a detailed and comprehensive survey of the problems facing the co-operative movement in the State but also represents a set of valuable practical suggestions for the solution of those problems and for the general improvement and the vigorous development of the movement. The Report, in contrast to several similar official publications, breathes a spirit of confidence characteristic of the chairman of the Committee who is anything but down-hearted even in the face of the heaviest odds! Travancore has the reputation of possessing an enlightened population, it undoubtedly contains a population among which education has made more rapid strides than almost anywhere else in India. If the State and the people therefore co-operate heartily in putting into operation the measures recommended by Mr. Devadhar's Committee, his optimism could turn out to be wholly justifiable.

Though educationally advanced, economically Travancore has to face the same problems as perplex the rest of India to-day. With a growing population, which has doubled itself in the last fifty years, in large areas of the State there is greater density of population than the land can support. The result has been that the vast majority of agricultural holdings have been rendered uneconomic. The author of the last Census Report for the State observes that industrialisation at a more rapid pace will alone enable the country to provide means of subsistence to the growing population which could not possibly be absorbed by agriculture developing as it does rather slowly under many limitations and handicaps. The experience in other parts of India shows that large scale industrialisation of the capitalist type provides no solution for the problem of rural unemployment. Besides, as the Enquiry Committee remark, industrialisation is welcome only if it is organised and controlled in the true spirit of co-operation and does not exist for profit-making. Therein lies the value of small industries to be organised on co-operative lines, and the Committee put forward various proposals for the co-operative development of cottage industries such as the formation of a co-operative industrial bank, the reorganisation of the Central Produce Society, the encouragement of bee-keeping

* Report of the Co-operative Enquiry Committee, 1934. (President: G. K. Devadhar.) (Superintendent, Government Press, Trivandrum.) 1935. 24cm. 379p.

and poultry-farming, the organization of fishermen's societies, the opening of sales depots and warehouses, and lastly, the development of the coir industry including the proper utilisation of the cocoanut and its products. This section of the Report, though the treatment is somewhat disjointed, provides ample material for the worker in the cause of rural reconstruction.

Another problem that naturally engages the attention of the Committee is the relief of agricultural indebtedness. Mr. Devadhar has gone far in search of light—deriving inspiration from the Bhavnagar Debt Redemption scheme, gathering valuable material from the well-planned co-operative endeavour set afoot in Madras and drawing attention to a set of radical but well considered-official proposals put forward in the North-West Frontier Province. The Committee's own plan, however, is neither heroic nor unduly ambitious. In fact, it is orthodox being based on the experience of Madras. Land mortgage banking is to be supplemented by the formation of debt conciliation boards and the enactment of a simplified insolvency law for agriculturists. The Committee recognise however that the reduction and transfer of debt are not enough. If real relief is sought it should be the aim of the State to secure an increase in the productive capacity of the agriculturists by promoting agricultural developments, by introducing a measure of compulsion in organising a scheme of joint marketing and by encouraging the revival and reorganisation of rural industries and of subsidiary occupations for agriculturists.

The only weak feature of the Report, in the opinion of the present writer, seems to be its tendency to allow responsibility for control and guidance to vest too largely in officials. At the very outset of the Report is a recommendation to the effect that Government should be empowered to nominate three out of the fifteen persons who constitute the board of directors of the Travancore Central Co-operative Bank—an undesirable innovation from the co-operative point of view. A similar unwelcome departure is the proposal to vest in the Registrar authority to control the working of the projected co-operative training school, as if the educated co-operators who constitute the Co-operative Institute could not be entrusted with the responsibility! And even more objectionable is the suggested amendment in the law which will empower the Registrar to amend any by-laws of any society should such an amendment be in his opinion in the interest of the Society, and furthermore to supersede any committee which may not be functioning properly, entrusting the management, at the cost of the Society concerned, to a nominee of his. Bureaucrats are the same all over India, whether in Travancore or in British India, and it is strange that Mr. Devadhar should have endorsed any proposals which transfer co-operative control to an external authority like the Registrar and his subordinates.

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

London, 26th April.

C. F. A.

SHORTLY after this letter will reach you, our old friend Charlie Bhai will be landing again in Bombay. This wanderer on the face of the earth returned less than a fortnight ago from a two

months' visit to West Africa with a very interesting story of his experience among young West African Negroes at the Achimota College, under Principal Alec Fraser, formerly of Ceylon. Dashbandhu Andrews tells me an interesting story of one of the elder youngsters who had interested a number of his fellow-students upon his return from here in the subject of reincarnation. It appears that the young man had become interested in the subject as a result of reading one of Dr. Besant's books on the subject. It is truly remarkable how ideas spread in the most unlikely places from the most unlooked-for sources.

Charlie Bhai has signalled his return to this country upon a flying visit by publishing through Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton his latest book entitled "John White of Mashonaland." John White was one of the greatest of the Christian Missionaries that ever went into the African interior and devoted his life to the spread of the Gospel and to the education of tribal black folk. He died last year in England after a long and painful illness. He and Charlie Bhai were old and affectionate friends and it is as a tribute to this friendship that the latter has written this book, the proceeds of which he is devoting to the work of the Mission that John White founded.

It may be as well to state, in view of what happened during his last visit to India, that in returning there now Mr. Andrews has no interest to serve of a political or semi-political character, either directly or indirectly. His visit is entirely private and his programme will take him immediately to the earthquake area in Bihar where his friend Dr. Pierre Ceresole has been at work with great success for sometime. He also will be seeing Mahatma Gandhi and discussing with him the details of his village reconstruction work and studying its development, but his main object is to do some literary work with Tagore. His close friends here are hoping that he will be able to get back to England before the Summer vacation begins and that he will then be induced to settle down to a quiet and fruitful life of writing and social work here. It is hoped by them that his friends in India will encourage this modern Mercury in such a resolution.

ACTIVITIES OF INDIA DEFENCE LEAGUE

The India Defence League, prior to its prospective disappearance under another name (when it will continue to torment the Tory leaders by insisting upon an extreme Tory policy) will be holding a public meeting on India at the Caxton Hall next Monday. This is something of a climb-down from an Albert Hall Meeting and it seems to indicate a serious fall in the value of Diehard stock. Lord Charnwood, who claims to be a Liberal, will be in the Chair, but the two speakers include neither Mr. Churchill nor Lord Lloyd. They are, however, quite important persons, one of them being Sir Louis Stuart, who since his retirement from India appears to be spending most of his time explaining how unripe India is for any substantial advance upon its present constitution, and the other—Well, let us see how the *Morning Post* describes him: "Mr. K. K. Lalkaka, a prominent representative of loyal Indian opinion, and one of a family which has served the British Raj with distinction for several generations." He is now serving the India Defence League and the *Morning Post* doubtless to their complete satisfaction. The speakers' subject is "The Prospects of the India Bill." The latest betting is that it will pass without great difficulty, especially now that the difficulties raised by the Princes are, it is understood, being rapidly overcome.

Reviews.

PROBLEMS OF FEDERAL FINANCE

THE PRINCIPLES AND PROBLEMS OF FEDERAL FINANCE. BY BHALCHANDRA P. ADARKAR. (King) 1933. 22cm. 301p.

FEDERAL Finance is a subject in which all countries with a federal constitution and such countries as India which are on the high road to a federation are vitally interested. Prof. Adarkar has produced a book in which this subject has been ably discussed from the constitutional, theoretical and practical sides. As the author observes, he has treated of Federal Finance more as *qua* federal than as *qua* finance. This trait of his work is abundantly borne out by the contents of the very useful book that he has produced.

A certain amount of financial and functional distribution between national and State governments is necessarily involved in all federations. Prof. Adarkar rightly criticises the tendency to clamour for a clear-cut division of financial resources corresponding to the division of administrative functions. Even if such an exclusive apportionment of financial spheres were constitutionally desirable experience has proved that it is practically unattainable. Functional centralisation and ever expanding needs for federal expenditure are indeed two of the most important causes leading to this constant impact of the federal on avowedly state resources. It appears, however, that in this as in several other aspects of federal finance another more fundamental influence is at work.

Federal constitutions imply economic unification of the territory under a common national government. The sources of income and several of the items of expenditure inevitably tend towards greater and greater nationalisation. This tendency towards economic centralisation is at variance with administrative separateness of States which a federation implies. Separateness of units is more emphasised in expenditures than in sources of revenue. This has been appreciated by most publicists in modern federations. Prof. Adarkar rightly points out that political expediency rather than financial principle has dictated the actual financial distribution in each federation. Too much financial constitutionalism would appear to be unjustified and harmful. Elastic methods of readjustment such as Conferences must be relied upon to secure a necessary alteration instead of the cumbrous machinery of constitutional amendment or a judicial proceeding.

In the second part of his book Prof. Adarkar has briefly surveyed the financial arrangements obtaining in the different federations. He has exposed once again the hollowness of a mediæval slogan that direct taxes are suitable to the states and indirect to the federal government. There is a very general, and from the financier's standpoint most helpful, promiscuity in this respect that is now tolerated in federations. Prof. Adarkar has been struck like other students of federal finance by the prominent role played by federal subventions in the budgetary arrangements of States. The financial justification of this development is now widely conceded, but there still lurks a doctrinaire bias against the administrative dependence of States that results from such arrangements. This attitude is mostly the result of the 18th century conception of a true federation where the States were supposed to be absolutely sovereign over a specific field of adminis-

tration. In the highly integrated life of modern nations this view appears to be unjustified. In a federation, no more than in a unitary State, the need for national uniformity of minimum standards in several vital respects does not vanish. The constitutionalism that is inseparable from a federation offends against the imperceptibly widening scope of uniform activities. Subventions used with normal restraint are a suitable supplement to the administrative machinery provided by the constitution.

The powers for borrowing enjoyed by the provinces in South Africa, and by State governments in other federations, have been ably and correctly discussed by Prof. Adarkar. The claims of political autonomy have here to be reconciled with those of financial stability. This can be achieved by making the Central Government in effect, if not in form, the co-ordinating and arbitrating authority. If the federation concerned depends to any considerable extent on foreign borrowings this centralisation would be almost indispensable. Prof. Adarkar has not failed to draw pointed attention to several administrative and financial pitfalls from which a too rigid or a too meddlesome centralisation might suffer.

Prof. Adarkar has stated in great detail the theory of transferences as applied to federations *i. e.* to citizens as well as States forming the federations. A perusal of this part of Prof. Adarkar's work will be very helpful to those who are at present engaged in studying the financial reorganisation of India. The position of backward or deficit provinces *vis-a-vis* the rest is often misunderstood. The institution of a federation is supposed to free the richer provinces from any direct responsibility for the betterment of the poorer parts. Though the limits of a minimum of good government might always be imperfectly defined and though they might be ever widening there is no doubt that to secure an inter-provincial uniformity in this respect must be treated as a legitimate charge on the resources of the nation as a whole. In this as in several other respects Prof. Adarkar shows a very commendable combination of theoretical insight and practical judgment. A perusal of this book is indispensable to all students of economics in India.

D. G. KARVE.

MARATHA HISTORY.

THE MAIN CURRENTS OF MARATHA HISTORY. By GOVIND SAKHARAM SARDESAL (K. B. Dhavale, Bombay 4.) 1933. 21cm. 232p. Rs. 2.

THIS book comprises what were originally delivered as Patna University Readership Lectures on Maratha History by Mr. G. S. Sardesai in 1926. A modest volume of some 227 pages cannot be expected to supply the place of a comprehensive treatise; but it attempts to offer criticism on some salient points and to indicate some of the main features, characterising the activities of the Marathas. Such an attempt was no doubt a desideratum, and English readers will heartily welcome this volume, especially because it is written by a veteran writer on Maratha history after devoting 35 years of his life to its study. His chapter on Maharashtra Dharma, his comparative presentation of the careers of Nana and Mahadji and his review of the causes that led to the down-fall of the Maratha empire give the readers a good idea of some of the controversies and discussions carried on by Maratha scholars.

The book, besides attempting to summarise for English readers some of the best contributions to

Marathi historical literature, also deals with matters somewhat beyond the scope of a regular history, and that rather unsuccessfully. Mr. Sardesai introduces matter of an autobiographical nature by instituting a sort of comparison between the several Marathi scholars working in the historical field including himself. Under the heading Sardesai (pp. 47-51) the author remarks: "The printed volumes of Rajwade and Parasnis have been published in a scrappy and haphazard manner, so that to read and classify, index and arrange them in a chronological order and according to subjects is a task which I (Sardesai) undertook and which I have, by now, completed in my eight volumes of Marathi Riyasat." And again, "I had to read and arrange all these ... find out the correct dates and when they were arranged in this way, they began to relate a story of their own. I, therefore, did not concern myself, so much with hunting out fresh papers as with utilizing those that had already been printed. This gave me the chance of studying the whole course of Maratha history disclosed by original sources while Rajwade, Khare, Parasnis and other scholars ... could not have a connected picture of Maratha history before their eyes." The picture is evidently overdrawn. It has to be definitely pointed out that the papers published by Rajwade were arranged according to families and were, most of them, properly dated leaving barely 4 or 5 per cent. of them to be attempted by later scholars on the strength of material discovered after their publication.

The credit of forming and presenting a connected picture of Maratha history for the first time will have unquestionably to be given to Grant Duff. Rajwade and Parasnis were no doubt competent to attempt a revised edition of the same in the fashion of the Riyasats. But they happened to hold different views on the subject and they knew that a complete history of the Marathas, if it is to stand the test of time at least in its main outlines, and if it is to be written on a scientific basis, cannot be attempted before the exhaustive publication of original material and before the publication of monographs on special topics by several scholars. The volumes of Marathi Riyasat, no doubt, represent an advance on the work of Grant Duff; but that is because the writer of Riyasats was able to derive benefit from the material and the introductions to the material published by Rajwade and Khare. But the absence of specialized work on hundreds of topics not dealt with by them deters scientific workers from undertaking the task of writing a complete history of the Marathas. When Sardesai undertook the task he did not realize the importance of specialization and has suffered accordingly. He has to admit that he is inclined to change completely (सर्वथा बदलनी) his former views (Riyasat vol. VIII, p. 581). He has practically to rewrite the Riyasats at the time of issuing their new editions. Whenever a scholar studies a special topic in Maratha history he has to point out several mis-statements in Mr. Sardesai's Riyasats which have to be corrected forthwith.

Before concluding, it must be pointed out that the philosophy of Maratha history which Mr. Sardesai attempts to propound in the "Main Currents" can come only after history proper is written with a tolerable degree of finality about it; and further that "Even the impartiality of a historian has its limitations. He must remember that he is writing for his own people," "all national heroes can be presented to the rising generation in whichever colour one likes to paint them," "in our historical studies the ideal of building up an Indian nationality out of all the elements around us has always to be kept in view" (pp. 51-54) &c. represent Mr. Sardesai's personal ideals and methods; but they in no way

reflect the general trend of opinion held by other responsible writers in Maharashtra.

D. V. APTE.

BENGAL'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

A RECOVERY PLAN FOR BENGAL. By S. C. MITTER. (The Book Co., Calcutta.) 1934. 21cm. 699p. Rs. 8.

WE have here a useful book, useful in the best sense of the term. The depression that has recently swept over the world has affected agricultural countries the most. And among agricultural countries, though India came out of it fairly well as compared with others, the Indian agriculturists have not escaped some of its worst concomitants. Bengal, however, is fortunate in that it possesses one with the qualities and opportunities of Mr. Mitter to bring to the forefront her special problems and to suggest recovery methods for solving them. Mr. Sirkar has written a comprehensive book based upon practical considerations and has made various beneficial suggestions, which would enable the province, provided they are systematically acted upon, to secure its prosperity and progress. Proceeding on the unquestionable assumption that agriculture is our basic industry and that any recovery campaign would be an unrelieved failure unless it embraces within its scope the rehabilitation of that industry, he tackles the various difficulties and troubles that beset the agriculturists. It is a trite saying that agricultural recovery in India means nothing more and nothing less than the recovery of the agriculturists. And the agriculturist is burdened nowadays with so many age-old sins and burdens that his condition can show improvement only when attacked on all fronts at one and the same time. What we want, therefore, is a 'plan,' with all that it implies in modern times, a plan which would launch out a drive against those sins.

Mr. Mitter deals with some of the basic agricultural crops of Bengal, the present condition of their production, the methods of improving the method of production and increasing their yield. The depression in jute which is Bengal's principal agricultural crop and which is a crop of much commercial value, has naturally led him to devote considerable attention to its production, its sale, its marketing organization and so on. He deals in an equally comprehensive manner with agricultural finance, methods for the relief of agricultural indebtedness and the establishment of subsidiary conditions for agriculturists. In all these, the writer is conscious of the very important part which Government supervision has to play and also the help which the co-operative movement can give.

Mr. Mitter then proceeds to a survey of the industrial possibilities of Bengal, recognising the basic fact of modern economy that there should be a balance between agriculture and industry in order that any country should be able to withstand the effects of the depression and prevent economic dislocation. In succession he dwells on the possibilities of cottage industries, small scale industries, and big industries, as all of them are essential for the establishment of balanced economic conditions. He gives various important suggestions, which it is difficult to mention here even in summary, to improve these industries and to make them profitable. And separate chapters are devoted to discussing the various connected problems of industrial labour, industrial marketing, industrial financing, industrial research, etc.

Lastly, Mr. Mitter attacks the fundamental of all pre-requisites for the economic recovery of Bengal, the problem of primary education. No one can deny

the usefulness of primary education in order to improve the inherent intelligence possessed by the Indian peasant and the Indian worker and to enable him to use it for his own particular advantage. And a system of primary education with the declared objective of making Indians, both men and women, better agriculturists and better artisans and industrial workers, has immense potentialities for good, which are too often recognized only theoretically and to put which into practice a systematic effort should be made. So also he points out the necessity for improving the public health of the province and the solution of the problem of rural transport, which are intimately connected with plans for agricultural recovery.

In the concluding chapter, Mr. Mitter refers to the scope and necessity of state action to achieve the plan, for without Government co-operation, none of the improvements stand any considerable chance of success. Money must be found for the purpose of propaganda and for other schemes implicit in the plan, and money, if found and invested in work of this kind, would give a return thousandfold in value to that spent. Preliminary financial difficulties which are raised, whenever schemes of rural reconstruction and development are adumbrated, are unworthy of consideration when looked at from the point of view of the immense return which such schemes will bring. Bengal has got a sympathetic Governor who is willing to find the money and we see the practical effects of his sympathy in some of the steps which are being taken to promote rural prosperity like the establishment of a Board of Economic Enquiry and the appointment of a Rural Development Commissioner. Other suggestions of Mr. Mitter, if given careful consideration, will prove advantageous all along the line. Mr. Mitter may have written the book with Bengal and Begal conditions only in view; but we are sure that his proposals apply *mutatis mutandis* to other Indian provinces as well and can fruitfully be copied by them. We repeat that Mr. Mitter has written a very useful book.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

INDIAN HISTORY.

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA [1526-1761]
PART II. BY S. R. SHARMA. (Karnatak
Printing Press, Bombay 2.) 1934. 21cm.
353-687p. Rs. 4.

THE second part of Professor Sharma's History of the Mughal Empire confirms the impression created by the first, that the work is sure to accomplish the author's design of presenting College students in a lucid form with the substantial results of recent historical researches concerning his subject. The first volume which we reviewed in the columns of the SERVANT OF INDIA of November 1, 1934, brought the narrative to the death of Akbar the Great. The present volume takes us through the reigns of Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah I. The method of Part I has been kept in this volume as well. The author gives a list of authorities, primary as well as secondary, for each reign and furnishes also a genealogical table at the commencement of every reign. He lets the authorities speak about men and events, but to prevent the students from losing themselves in a maze of historical information he has carefully sifted and grouped it under suitable headings. The book thus combines the usefulness of a text-book with the merits of a source book. In this volume the learned author gives very suggestive headings to the reigns of the later Mughals. Jahangir's

reign is called the 'Fruition of the Empire,' that of Shah Jahan 'The Golden Age of the Empire,' that of Aurangzeb 'Post-Meridian of the Empire,' and that of Bahadur Shah I 'Sunset of the Empire.'

The central figure in Jahangir's time was Nurjahan as she formed 'the pivot or the principal hinge on which the history of the rest of the reign turned.' The author rightly rejects the many romantic legends that have gathered round Nurjahan's name and gives a very reliable account of her career before her marriage with Jahangir from Mutamad Khan's Ikbul-nama-i-Jahangiri. The belief entertained by some historians that Shah Jahan murdered Sher Afghan in order to marry Mihrunnisa is discounted by Prof. Sharma. He is inclined to accept Dr. Beni Prasad's opinion on the controversy, but to acquaint his readers with the two sides of the controversy marshals the arguments of Dr. Beni Prasad and those of Dr. Ishwari Prasad. But even Dr. Ishwari Prasad who is not able to see eye to eye with Dr. Beni Prasad concludes thus: "A careful perusal of contemporary chronicles leaves upon our minds the impression that the circumstances of Sher Afghan's death are of a highly suspicious nature, although there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the Emperor was guilty of the crime."

The author's estimate of Jahangir is very fair. He quotes from contemporary and modern critics of Jahangir's rule and says that whatever the faults of his youth and later life, he honestly strove to maintain and extend the principles and dominions of his great father. Prof. Sharma's estimate of Shah Jahan's reign is equally impartial. He admits the bad features of his rule such as the foreign wars of aggression and the wars with the Deccan Sultanates which drained the Mughal treasury, but he shows by selected passages from authorities that his reign was, on the whole, a period of prosperity when fine arts were cultivated to perfection. The author proves by a passage taken from Badshah-Nama of Abdul Hamid Lahori that when there was famine in the land, Shah Jahan took measures for the relief of the famine-stricken.

It is right that nearly half the book (p. 497-648) should be devoted to Aurangzeb, the Puritan Emperor; for his reign was replete with events of far-reaching consequences to the Mughal Empire. The author gives a number of passages and instances to show that Aurangzeb's fanaticism was not 'fitful but deliberate and relentless and systematic' and he traces its consequences in the rising of the Sikhs, the Rajputs and the Marathas. Prof. Sharma says that it is difficult to correctly understand the enigmatic character of Aurangzeb and lets the reader to form his own opinion of the Emperor with the aid of the Emperor's letters, the testimony of European travellers and the estimates of modern scholars. As for himself, he believes that the failure of Aurangzeb was due to his religious character.

We wish, however, to point out two glaring mistakes in printing which we hope would be rectified when the second edition of the book is called for. In p. 385, line 15, we find, "After the death of *Kutubuddin* the officials of Bengal, in obedience to royal command, sent to Court the daughter of Ghiyas Beg, who had been exalted to the title of *Itimad-d-daula*, and the king, who was greatly distressed at the murder of *Kutubuddin* entrusted her to the keeping of his own royal mother." For *Kutubuddin* in two places, please read *Sher Afghan*. Again *Post-Meridian* is wrongly spelt as *Post-Meridiem*.

As a book in which all the available historical information pertaining to the later Mughals is found, sifted and arranged with clearness and

method, it is beyond all praise. We congratulate Prof. Sharma on his excellent book.

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

AGRICULTURAL INDEBTEDNESS.

THE PROBLEM OF INDEBTEDNESS. By P. J. THOMAS. (Diocesan Press, Madras.) 1934. 25cm. 68p.

PROFESSOR THOMAS has very lucidly and concisely described the causes of indebtedness. But the remedial measures suggested by him are more academical than practical. Had they been based on his personal experience of village life of some years he would have probably given us some helpful and tangible facts regarding the actual difficulties experienced in the solution of the complicated problem. Conciliation boards, Co-operative Credit Societies, etc. have all been tried but have not been found as helpful as they were expected to be. As regards emigration several villagers who had left the villages recently in large numbers for industrial centres like Bombay and Hubli had to get back disappointed for want of employment, owing to trade depression.

Indebtedness is only a symptom of the general disease and the root-cause of the disease is land itself, as agrarian debt is connected with the land. Most of the holdings are small and yield unsatisfactory results; if the landlord gains the tenant loses. The land does not provide a living for the peasant, much less will it enable him to pay the interest on debts at whatever rates they may be calculated. Consequently he gets no chance to develop or improve his land.

The existence of the Savkar is the result and not the cause of indebtedness. The small village Savkar does not usually acquire much wealth, considering the risks he has to undergo though his life is more frugal than that of the borrower. The remedy is not the extermination of the Savkar, even were that possible, but that of increasing the cultivator's general prosperity which will make him self-reliant. It is necessary to diminish the opportunities for increasing debt by changing the social and psychological life of the cultivator. It will be necessary to place restrictions on the power of the creditors and on the transfers of lands. To have a large sum credited in Savkar's account books is considered by many a peasant as a sign of good credit and social position. What is wanted is more universal education and not what is obtained at present, by the few educated classes in cities and towns. Unbusinesslike habits of the peasant must be changed and the defective organization of the rural money market remedied. The villager must be made to realize the importance of good seeds, marketing, improved methods and improved implements, and private associations must start agricultural banks. All this can be done if the educated classes who are now confined to large cities and towns take to village life and by residing in villages apply themselves to the work of rural reconstruction in a missionary spirit.

D. S. MODAK.

WORLD HISTORY.

GLIMPSES OF WORLD HISTORY, VOL. I. By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU. (Kitabistan, Allahabad.) 1934. 23cm. 614p. Rs. 6.

It may seem paradoxical that the prison to which abnormal people are sent for correction should contain cultured men who now and then send forth

into this world literature intended to educate mankind. The rigid discipline, the well-regulated life and the solitary and calm atmosphere of the prison perhaps conduce to literary activity in the case of those prisoners who belong to the cultured and the non-criminal class. To this galaxy of prisoners belongs Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the writer of the volume under review. "Glimpses of World History" is a sequel to his first book published nearly a decade ago, dealing in an easy and simple way with the history of the childhood of the world. In this book the Pandit ventures into a wider field. Through the medium of letters written from prison to his daughter he narrated in his usual inimitable simple language the stories of the nations of the world from the point of view of their contribution to the progress of the world at large. Those who have read H. G. Wells's "Outline of History" and Winifred Reade's "Martyrdom of Man" will find this book an admirable companion volume. Unlike the two authors mentioned above the Pandit has given due prominence to the history of our own country and has depicted to us its past glory and achievements with warmth and restraint. He does not at all err on the side of blind adulation of our past glory. The volume contains in all 105 letters dealing with the history of all the important countries of the world. He has devoted 25 of these to the treatment of Indian history. It is but just that these letters which were addressed to his daughter should deal with Indian history in a little more detail than the history of other countries dealt with in this volume. This enables the reader to rightly understand the position occupied by India among the nations of the world and the contribution she has made to the progress of the world as a whole. The maritime activities of the Tamils and the Andhras and the people on the west coast and the contribution these people had made to the civilization of countries like Java, Sumatra, Siam, Malaya, Babylon and Egypt are all well treated. After reading these letters the impression is left on the mind of the reader that India too had played a noble part in civilizing certain parts of the world in days gone by. Unfortunately this claim cannot be made for many other books on Indian history written by our scholars and read by our children in schools. In these letters for the first time history is sought to be treated from the point of view of the average child. No doubt "Child's History of England" by Charles Dickens is already in the field, but I fear that it does not grip the imagination of the reader as this book does. The Pandit has taken pains to make his narration of the history of the world very interesting by narrating anecdotes and incidents about the people and their kings. And it is well known that nothing keeps up the interest of children as stories. The book sustains the interest of the reader and is eminently fitted to be placed in the hands of young people. This volume takes us to the end of the Napoleonic wars.

I may be permitted to point out one mistake that appears in letter No. 44 in page 193. He refers to the great civilization of the Tamils and the great sea-port of those days Kaveripaddinam. The correct spelling of the place is Kaveripattinam. It may interest our readers to know that in Tamil language there is no alphabet corresponding to the *Da* varga in Sanskrit and its allied languages.

The book is well written and deserves to adorn the shelves of public and private libraries. The printing and get-up of the book are no whit behind books produced abroad.

We anxiously await the second volume.

S. R. VENKATARAMAN.

SHORT NOTICE.

SELECT MODERN CONSTITUTIONS. By N. R. SUBBA AYYAR. (The Srikrishna Publishing House, Kumbakonam. To be had of Messrs. Taraporewalla, Bombay.) 1934. 20cm. 272p. Rs. 3.

THE book under review describes briefly a number of unitary and federal constitutions—eleven in all, with three general chapters, in 245 small pages not at all closely printed. As a matter of fact the type chosen is bold and the printing, paper and the get-up are good. The language used is simple, clear, correct and idiomatic. But that is almost all that can be said in favour of the book.

It appears that the author has mainly the limited needs of his own students in view who are perhaps required to know the frame-work of the League of Nations, which is curiously given as the only appendix to the book—although an attempt is made in the Preface to justify the selection of constitutions and the omission of the Italian and Indian Constitutions on other grounds.

The treatment of the English, French and U.S.A. Constitutions is more comprehensive than of those of the other countries, but even in their case it is far from adequate. To give one or two instances. In describing the position and power of the English House of Commons no mention is made of the decline that has taken place in recent years in its position and influence. There is no reference to any of the attempts made to reform the English House of Lords or the reasons of their failure. Indeed the descriptions of the various constitutions are too brief to give any adequate idea of their working. For instance, to parties in the Irish Free State a small paragraph is devoted and to the Communist Party in Russia only a passing reference is made and no attempt is made to explain how it controls the working of the Soviet State.

The author says in the Preface that the book is written from lecture notes and the descriptions given appear more like the summaries that are sometimes dictated by some of the old-fashioned professors at

the close of their lectures. And it is only to those students who have already attended lectures on the constitutions selected that the book can be helpful in remembering the broad facts, though it must be said that it is far superior to the usual notes published by some professors. Otherwise the book is not of value, especially when there are excellent books by recognised authorities easily available.

GURMUKH N. SINGH.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE LIGHTS OF SINGAPORE.** (2nd Edn.) By ROLAND BRADDELL. (Methuen.) 1934. 20cm. 205p. 7/6.
- INDIAN DAWN.** By JOHN S. HOYLAND. (Heffer.) 1934. 20cm. 209p. 5/-
- MUSSOLINI AND THE CULT OF ITALIAN YOUTH.** By P. N. ROY. (R. Chatterjee, 120/3, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.) 20cm. 275p. Rs. 3/8.
- EMINENT AMERICANS WHOM INDIA SHOULD KNOW.** By JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND. (R. Chatterjee 120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.) 1935. 20cm. 283p. Rs. 3.
- PLOUGHBOY TO PRESIDENT** Ed. by R. CHOWDHURY. (Modern Book Agency, Calcutta.) 1934. 20cm. 222p. Rs. 2.
- A TEXT-BOOK OF CIVICS AND ADMINISTRATION.** By A. BHAGAVAN DOSS. (Bharati Publishing House, Bangalore City.) 1934. 20cm. 160p. Re. 1
- HISTORY OF KERALA, Vol. III.** By K. P. PADMANABH-MENON. Ed. by T. K. KRISHNA MENON. (Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam.) 1933. 25cm. 660p. Rs. 8.
- SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES OF HIS HIGHNESS SAYAJI RAO III MAHARAJA OF BARODA, Vol. III-1927-34.** (The University Press, Cambridge.) 1934. 25cm. 521-716p.
- THE RECONSTRUCTION OF TOKYO.** (Tokyo Municipal Office, Tokyo.) 1933. 32cm. 419p.
- BRITISH COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY. Vol. I.** By G. C. ALLEN and OTHERS. (Russell-Square Press.) 1934. 29cm. 431p. 15/-
- WORLD AFFAIRS.** By ROTH ALLIM. (Taraporewalla, Bombay.) 1934. 18cm. 152p. Rs. 4.

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