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Topics of the Week.

Railway Budget Debate.

THE general discussion of the Railway Budget in the Indian Legislature was this year characterised by an extraordinarily widespread espousal on the part of non-official members of the cause of third class passengers. That even after years of public agitation designed to improve their lot they should still be labouring under serious hardships and suffering all sorts of discomforts is indeed surprising. As pointed out by Mr. Joshi, it is they that make a greater contribution to the profits of railways than higher class passengers. Again, it is they that outnumber the latter more than hundred fold, the number of third class passengers being 59 crores as against 45 lakhs of those of the higher class. Any business concern, if it is really run on business lines, would consider it its primary duty to keep such a desirable customer pleased and in good humour. The Indian railways, on the contrary, as experience has shown, bestow comparatively little thought on their comfort or convenience but even go out of their way to add to the amenities and comforts of higher class travel. The proposal to try the experiment of air-conditioning of the upper class coaches may be mentioned as an instance of the vicious tendency of feeding the overfed while allowing the really hungry to go without food. No wonder the idea was the subject of much strong criticism.

RAILWAY authorities are frequently heard to complain about loss of revenue due to the greater popularity of the motor bus and demand the adop-

tion of measures to check this drain on railway earnings. Would they not be engaging themselves more usefully if they set about finding out the real causes of the attraction of motor transport for the public? Apart from high fares, uncivil and inconsiderate treatment of third class passengers by railway officials, inconvenient timings of railway trains, corruption in the railway staff are generally believed to be some of the factors which serve to repel people of small means from railways and to swell the earnings of the bus Services. If the railways are really keen on attracting all this traffic to themselves, they must make it a point to remove all these causes for dissatisfaction. To put it no higher, this is called for by considerations of self-interest on the part of railways.

Congress And Prohibition.

THE Congress has repeatedly declared its adherence to the policy of total prohibition. The *Indian Witness* of Lucknow wants it to accept office if only for the purpose of making that policy effective. The Government used so far to be blamed for its present demoralising excise policy. It is now for the Congress, says the paper, to give effect to that policy at least in provinces in which it commands majorities. The new constitution may be and is full of shortcomings, but the paper believes that if the Congress were to try to make this important reform operative it could not be prevented from doing so. We are not so sure that even there the Governor cannot intervene in the name of one of his special responsibilities. Also the paper, we fear, does not know that the Congress has adopted some candidates closely associated with the liquor business.

IN the opinion of the paper, prohibition should not be developed from the top downwards. It should grow from the bottom to the top. To this end it favours the enactment of local option legislation by Provincial Assemblies, making it possible for each city and district to vote on the issue. But this is not all. Side by side with this should be enforced measures to restrict the sale of liquor to the minimum and local opinion consulted on all local problems touching abkari policy.

In the next place the Congress should get behind the Local Option measure and see to it that the Congress leaders in the cities and districts carry on an active campaign in favour of prohibiting the sale and manufacture of alcoholic liquors. As rapidly as possible let the various cities and districts vote on the issue and let every effort be made to find out what the public really wants. If there is enough prohibition opinion to guarantee local support for prohibition then let a beginning be made and let the responsibility rest squarely upon the local public. Where there is not sufficient public opinion let a vigorous campaign of education be pushed.

THE U. P. Temperance Conference with which Mr. Andrews Dube of the Servants of India Society is connected as Secretary held its fourth session recently at Benares. Among the resolutions passed was one congratulating the Congress on its success at the polls. These congratulations too were offered out of considerations similar to those which prompt the *Indian Witness* to wish for acceptance of office by the Congress. The Conference also adopted a request to Government to introduce compartments for non-smokers only in the Indian railways.

Unconscionably Heavy.

IN reply to a question asked in the Assembly on a recent date, the information was officially given that in addition to his salary the Governor-General of India receives the following allowances :

Sumptuary allowance	...	Rs.	40,000
Contract Allowance	...	"	1,41,800
State Conveyance and Motors	...	"	43,000
Presents and Charities	...	"	10,000
Customs duty on imported stores	..	"	8,000
Purchase of glass, crockery and linen.	...	"	16,000
Tour expenses	...	"	4,70,000
Total	...		7,28,8000

Who can say that these allowances bear any relation to India's poverty or the average Indian earning?

BUT it would be contrary to facts to suppose that this salary and these allowances exhaust the items of expenditure on the Governor-General's account. The band and bodyguard establishments, which are relics of disturbed and insecure conditions of life prevailing in the last century, may be instanced in point. It is not yet known whether all these unconscionably costly superfluities would be perpetuated under the new constitution. The questioner was informed that no decision had yet been reached on the point. But seeing that the salaries and allowances in the case of provincial satraps have been retained at the old high levels, there is little ground to hope for any reduction in this burden on the taxpayer in the case of the Viceroy. But that if this happens, it will be in spite of the strong protests of the people of this country and in opposition to their categorically expressed desires. We have consistently opposed the high scale of the personal expenses of rulers of Indian States and cannot but draw pointed attention to the outrageously heavy nature of the payments made to and expenses incurred on account of the head of the Indian Government.

The Nizam and Depressed Classes.

REPLYING to the address presented to him by the Depressed Classes on his Silver Jubilee the Nizam made it clear that he for his part recognises no class of people as either high or low nor does he recognise untouchability in relation to any particular section of the population. In his eyes, they are all on the same footing as human beings. He was, however, careful to add :

On account of their indigence and lack of education, they are entitled to more consideration at the hands of Government, especially because their number is very large in my State. I am glad to hear that attention is being paid to their education and I hope that my Government will specially see to their educational advancement and general welfare, so that beneficial results may accrue in respect of this community and with a change in their present condition, this class will take its proper place in

the comity of communities, provided work is conducted on proper lines.

WE have no doubt that the powerful sympathy of the Ruler of Hyderabad will prove a valuable asset to the depressed classes in their attempts to raise themselves in the social, educational and economic sphere. May it be expected that as a result of this encouragement from high quarters the movement for the uplift of the depressed classes will receive a strong stimulus in Hyderabad leading to practical action on a larger scale to that end? As a means of eradicating untouchability, action on the lines recently adopted in Travancore would be found highly useful. If the ruler regards himself above such distinctions as high and low or as untouchable and touchable, there is no reason why the discrimination should be tolerated in any public utilities or institutions maintained by or out of the State funds. If there are any Hindu temples supported by the state with financial grants, one wonders why the non-observance of any discrimination to the detriment of the depressed classes should not be insisted upon as a condition of the help.

Sawantwadi.

THE administration report of the Sawantwadi State for 1935-36 which has recently reached us is an interesting document. But to our knowledge this is the first occasion when we have been favoured with the publication. We do not know whether this is also the first occasion when the report was printed, which perhaps rendered it possible for the authorities to make it available to the press. Whatever that be, the innovation, if it may be so called, of sending copies of the report to the press is greatly to be commended.

IT is observed from the report that the State revenue was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 6¼ lakhs, out of which a little over Rs. one lakh represented the palace expenses, an increase of about Rs. 12,000 over the figure for the previous year. The rise was occasioned by the sickness of the Rani Saheb necessitating her removal to Europe. But apparently larger expenditure had to be incurred on that account, as the reference to "the remaining expenditure" on page 38 shows. It would have been better if the report had given us some idea as to its extent.

IT is a matter for deep regret that the State cannot yet boast of a Legislative Council. There is what is called a Legislative Committee which is probably charged with the duty of drafting laws for introduction in the State. We are unable to discover whether any popular representatives are associated with this committee in its onerous and responsible task. But our point in referring to the Committee is not so much to ask for such non-official association as to emphasise the importance of bringing a Legislative Council into existence — not a toy Legislative Council but one endowed with well understood functions and with real power of the purse. We cannot believe for a moment that the enlightened ruler of the State will be so unwise or short-sighted as to consider the demand premature or to turn it down on other grounds.

WE find from the report that the number of educational institutions went up by 19 to 183 and that the number of pupils stood at nearly 11,000 — a rise of nearly 900 over that for the previous year. We

also note that education is free for girls and depressed classes. All this is good so far as it goes. But there is no doubt that much more is needed. So far as education is concerned, the State cannot afford to rest on its oars till primary education is universalised, which would mean bringing under instruction more than thrice as many children as are already at school. Similarly, the abkari department must

work up towards prohibition. As it is, it seems to suffer from lack of a fixed policy. This drawback must soon be removed. And what other goal can the State have except prohibition which is instinctively desired by the people? But the mere affirmation of the goal will not be enough. What really matters is action designed to make it attainable within a measurable distance of time.

RAILWAY BUDGET.

IN presenting the Railway Budget for 1937-38 to the Assembly the Railway Member was able to give a much more hopeful account of Railway finances than has been possible for many years past. The current year, he was able to announce, will close with a small surplus instead of the anticipated deficit of Rs. 3½ crores. The Railway authorities are not sure that the traffic receipts will increase during the ensuing year and have, therefore, budgeted for it on much the same basis of a small surplus as shown so far in the results of the current year. The improved financial results of railway working are entirely due to an increase in receipts from goods traffic. The scale of passenger traffic fell even slightly below the budgeted figures; and this happened in spite of the numerous devices tried by various railway authorities to attract passenger traffic to their lines. In goods traffic, however, the improvement is both general and substantial. Two years ago an improvement in traffic receipts from such basic traffic as that of minerals was noticed. This raised hopes which, however, were not fulfilled during the year 1935-36, when traffic in agricultural products still remained at a low level. It was during the current year i. e. 1936-37 that the effects of recovery were apparent in the trade in agricultural products. So that though coal and manganese which had already shown marked improvements during earlier years, have not progressed further, the traffic in such important commodities as oil seeds which had specially lagged behind has recovered greatly and the same can be said of most staple commodities. We feel that the Railway authorities have been well advised in not counting on any considerable trade recovery during the ensuing year. For, though all signs point to continued expansion in economic activity in most countries of the world, yet the indications in India are yet too uncertain and Indian trade too liable to be disturbed by seasonal influences for further recovery to be counted on in making budget forecasts. There is, however, enough evidence to hold that the era of continued railway deficits is at an end and small surpluses may now be continuously looked forward to.

It is good that at the beginning of this rehabilitation of railway finances Government should have decided to clear the complications that have been created by the deficits of the past few years. According to the arrangements arrived at by the Separation Resolution, the railways have to make certain annual contributions to the general revenues and to set apart certain amounts for the Depreciation Fund. In case these liabilities are not met in any particular year they are

carried over to the ensuing years. For many years now the Railways have been unable to pay any contributions to the general revenues and have met their deficits by borrowing from the Depreciation Fund. So that when surpluses accrue these have first to be devoted to repaying the borrowings from the Depreciation Fund and after this to paying the accumulated arrears of the general Revenue contributions. It is only when these outstandings have been wiped off that normal accounting will again become possible and this may not well be for very many years to come. The Government has now decided to wipe out both these accumulated arrears and start railway finance on a clean slate immediately. We think that this is a wise decision. Instead of carrying on accounting for many future years on an unrealistic and confusing basis it is well to liquidate the depression position and begin afresh especially as it involves no substantial alteration in the actual basis of the financial working. In this connection it is also desirable to notice the tendency to overcapitalization in the financial system of Indian Railways. As pointed out by the Railway Member, certain accounting changes have been introduced this year with a view to remedy this defect. But these admittedly do not go far enough; and too large a proportion of alterations, renewals, etc. which should properly be reckoned as a charge on current income is debited to capital account. This defect in accounting practice did not matter materially so long as the railways could be looked upon as a highly profitable monopoly. But now that the earning capacity of railway has suffered a severe check all over the world it is necessary to be particularly cautious in this respect. It would be unwise under the circumstances to increase the burden of the railway debt charges on the future generations.

It was natural that with the report of the Wedgwood Committee being expected in the near future little should have been said either by Sir Zafarullah or Sir Guthrie Russell regarding retrenchment, economies or any other important adjustments in railway working. The only new matters mentioned by the Railway Member were the experiment with air-conditioned coaches and the research investigations into stresses to which the railway track is subjected. Characteristically the first is an experiment in the direction of improving amenities of higher class travelling. With abundant lip-service paid to third class passenger welfare it is really the discomforts of the higher class travel that are vividly before the eyes of the railway authorities. We make it a point-

annually in connection with the railway budget of raising the issue of the extent to which third class receipts subsidise higher class comfort. This point has not been heeded to and unless a rigorous examination of this aspect of railway finances takes place there will be no adequate realisation of the extent to which uneconomic expenditure is incurred for providing amenities to first and second class traffic. The research projects mentioned by Sir Zafarullah seem to be fortunate examples of the law that it is during the period of a depression that attention is paid to increasing the efficiency of and effecting economies in a concern. There is little doubt that in India it is the depression and the motor transport that are together responsible for making Railway authorities alive to such questions as amenities of third class travel or the economic handling of projects. The capital programme this year is mostly concerned with renewals and repairs, the only important new additions being a supply of 2000 waggons to meet increased traffic needs. It may be noted that two new small construction projects in Sind are to be taken in hand this year.

As noted above, the more important questions of policy which loom large in the budget speeches each year have this year been dismissed with a reference to the Wedgwood Committee and an expatiation upon the merits of that Committee. The Committee is, however, a committee purely of railway experts and as such hardly in a position to deal with the larger economic issues. If ever a proof were needed of the incompetence of the expert railwayman to handle these economic problems it is afforded by the few observations that Sir Guthrie Russel permitted himself to make in presenting the Railway Budget to the Council of State. Sir Guthrie dwelt on two issues, the rates policy of the railways and the competition of motor transport. With regard to the first, Sir Guthrie in repudiating, what he obviously considers to be a grave accusation, that railways determine their rates by what the traffic will bear pleads that they are merely content with what they can get!! Though we

know that there is a dispute amongst theoretical economists as to what should be the proper basis of a railway rate policy, we were not yet aware that the almost universal basis of rates structure—what the traffic will bear—is one which should be hotly disclaimed. But even more are we at a loss to know what difference Sir Guthrie makes between the two principles: "what the traffic will bear" and "what the railways can get." To us they appear to be merely two aspects of an identical principle. We wonder under which of his two categories will Sir Guthrie place, for example, the withdrawal by the Railway authorities, mentioned by the Railway Member in his Assembly speech, of the exemption from surcharge on the coal freight hitherto enjoyed by coal because the Railway authorities were convinced that "this would not affect the traffic to Calcutta." When there is such confusion of thought in the mind of the Chief Commissioner of Railways on a problem like the basis of railway rates it is not surprising that his remarks on the rail-road policy should afford no illumination. While formally admitting that motors have come to stay Sir Guthrie cannot contemplate with equanimity any disturbance in the railway business as it existed in the pre-motor epoch. He would not like to see the structure of railway rates to be modified though this has been admitted in all countries to be now inevitable, and he is horrified at the idea of a smaller return on railway capital than was obtained in the years before 1929. It is no wonder then that Sir Guthrie should not be prepared even to examine the suggestion that while the advent of motor vehicles may cause losses to the Government and the public in some directions there may also be some compensating gains. And it is because even eminent railwaymen like Sir Guthrie continue to play the ostrich, in spite of their protestations, that we have persistently urged that no satisfactory solution of the rail-road problem is likely to be found as long as it is entrusted to the hands of railwaymen and the officials of the Government of India.

MORE DEMANDS.

THE Princes are not satisfied yet. Their unending investigations into the consequences of the Federation and their demands for more and still more safeguards continue their labyrinthine progress. The results of their committees, both formal and informal, do not fail to afford the public further samples of princely hesitations and doubts, giving the impression that in approaching the Federation idea their Highnesses do so in a frame of mind comparable to that of a timid boy approaching a basket of poisonous cobras. The Constitution Committee appointed by the conference of Ruling Princes in Bombay and presided over by the Maharaja of Patiala has submitted a unanimous report during the last week dealing with the accession of the Princes to the all-India Federation. The princes have already admitted that all possible demands for the protection of their rights and privi-

leges have been met in the Act, yet the tone and content of the report referred to above do not give an assurance that their desire to encroach upon and hamper the growth of democratic rights and conventions both in British India and their own territories, is in any way satisfied by the innumerable safeguards incorporated in the Act and strengthened by the Instrument of Accession and the special responsibilities of the Governor-General.

Is anything by way of concessions going to satisfy the Princes? That is the question which might first be asked after a perusal of this Committee report. It gives the impression that their Highnesses have again shifted their emphasis and have decided, contrary to certain views of some of their Order, that the safeguards provided in the Government of India Act 1935 to preserve their rights and privileges intact in the Fede-

ration are an insufficient guarantee for their perpetuation. The Patiala Committee, therefore, tries to manoeuvre for further advantages. The Princes know that however extravagant their demands and quixotic their expectations, the British Government will not risk the wrecking of the Federation to withstand them. They know they are in a bargaining position and do not hesitate to press their advantage home. They know that if they held on even to the breaking point there is no danger. For the cost of the bargain is going to be borne neither by the Princes nor by the British Government but by the Indian people. What the Princes demand and the Government may concede takes away nothing from either of them. Had it been otherwise, had there been any hope of the insatiable demands of the Princes provoking the British Government to the point of breaking the Federation, we would have been happy to encourage their Highnesses in their bargaining. Unfortunately there is no such hope.

The Patiala Committee demands that although section 6 of the Government of India Act was designed to make it clear, in the words of Sir Samuel Hoare, then Secretary of State for India, that "the application of this Act (of 1935) to any Federated States shall be governed in effect by the ruler's Instrument of Accession, that is to say, it is for the ruler and the ruler alone to determine, subject, of course, to the acceptance of his accession by the Crown, the extent of the field over which the Federal authorities are to operate in his State."

The Instrument of Accession framed under the above section should, in our opinion, have satisfied even the most cautious of potentates. But apparently it has not satisfied the Princes, who, along with their advisers, have transcended even their own previous record for reactionaryism by their latest demands. The Patiala Committee demands that the "purpose" clause should be omitted from the Instrument and in view of this omission proposes two amendments to be included in the Government of India draft viz.,

- (1) No function in respect of any matters specified in the first schedule hereto or under any provision of the Act which applied to this State by virtue of this Instrument of Accession shall be exercised in relation to this State by any authority other than the Federal Authority and save in accordance with the terms of this Instrument, and
- (2) Nothing in this shall affect the rights and obligations of a Ruler of this State in relation to the Crown with regard to any matter not within the functions exercisable by or on behalf of the Federation by virtue of this Instrument and no Federal Authority shall have jurisdiction with respect to such rights and obligations.

The Committee further demands, in connexion with the treaty rights of the States, that the protection given to them on this point should be legal. The advisers of the Princes on this point seem to have remembered the caution given by Sir Samuel Hoare in regard to the omission of an express provision safeguarding the Princes' treaty rights in the Act or the Instrument of Accession. Sir Samuel observed, at the time, that the omission was due to the fear that once any such safeguard was included either in the Act or in the Instrument the interpretation thereof would pass

into the hands of the Federal Court whose judgments might not be always to the advantage or liking of their Highnesses. Sir Samuel, however, made it quite clear that the treaties between the Crown and the States would be regarded as inviolable and he gave the undertaking "in the most solemn and the most formal manner" during the discussion on the Government of India Bill. If the States wanted to avoid the possibility of their ever being compelled to go to the Federal Court for the interpretation of their treaty rights *vis-a-vis* the Federal Government, their demand for legal protection would lead them in the end precisely to the course they desire to avoid and knowing this, their ingenuity has hit upon a new method to circumvent even the Federal Court judgments. They plead that Paramountcy being the ultimate sanction for enforcing the Federal obligations they should expect Paramountcy to intervene *after* they had tried to determine them in the Federal Court. This demand, if conceded, may lead either to the 'constitutionalising of Paramountcy' or to the investing the Viceroy with authority to revise the judgments of the Federal Court. If the latter, the dangerous potentialities of a concession to set up an irresponsible and extra-judicial authority to review the decisions of the Federal Court are patent. The wonder is that such a proposal has been put forward in all solemnity by the Committee assisted as it was by legal advisers brought up in the traditions of British law courts.

The Princes, we are told, still have faith in the Federal idea,—on their own terms, and we imagined that everything possible to legal and constitutional ingenuity was demanded by them until now to put unadulterated autocracy into a scheme of government supposed to have been designed to inaugurate a democratic era. The Patiala Committee, we thought, would be the last of such series. We had underestimated the brains the Princes can purchase. One of them, Mr. J. H. Morgan, now advises them "after exhaustive study of the whole position", that the amendments made in the Government of India Bill in response to their demands for safeguards are quite illusory. Accession to Federation, in Mr. Morgan's opinion, would impair and wholly transform the sovereignty of the Princes. The allegiance of their Highnesses' subjects would be divided between the Federation and the Princes and the federating States might find at some future date their rights, authority and powers so seriously curtailed by a judgment of the Supreme Court of Appeal interpreting the Federal constitution that they might desire to have the constitution amended. Mr. Morgan fears that the Princes would not easily succeed in securing such an amendment.

So, Mr. Morgan says, the Princes must retain some sanction to force the Federal or the British Government to agree to amendments which their Highnesses might deem necessary in the future. That sanction is the right of secession! If in the future the Federal Government by a majority of the Federal Houses, in which sits a large and powerful number of the Princes' nominated re-

representatives, decides on a measure which any Prince or Princeling thinks to be an encroachment on his rights and privileges, he might at any time give notice to secede from the Federation. The process might be repeated by any Prince at his leisure and convenience. The suggestion cuts at the root of even the curious and accommodating federal structure of India. In fact it reduces the Indian Federation to a farce of even greater magnitude than what it is today.

The arguments advanced by Mr. Morgan are logical enough, on the face of them. What guarantee is there, Mr. Morgan asks, that the Supreme Court would not interpret the Act and the Instrument in a manner detrimental to the Princes' privileges and authority? Further, is there not a danger of a change of Government in Great Britain resulting in a change of the Government of India Act or the Instrument? Once they get into the Federation, Mr. Morgan warns the Princes, they will be bound not only by the present provisions of the Act but by any future

changes therein, whether by legal interpretation or by amendments in Parliament. There will be no retreat possible. Bind the future, therefore, against the slightest change, the tiniest inclination in favour of the people's freedom on the part of the changing personnel of the Federal Judiciary and the British Government.

We note that the Princes gathered in New Delhi have seen the absurdity to which they will be reduced if they took Mr. Morgan's advice. They have apparently realised that the principle for which a civil war was fought in the U.S.A. and one which alone makes federations worth striving for and successful, cannot be thrown overboard for the sake of even their august prerogatives. As it is, their avarice has laid Indian nationhood low enough. Had they accepted this principle, it would mean its death, with themselves as the pall bearers.

M. D. SHAHANE.

COLONIAL EMPIRES. WILL THEY SURVIVE ?

COLONEL Theodore Roosevelt, son of the former President of the United States, and ex-Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, recently delivered a course of six lectures at the University of London. The subject of his lectures was "The United States of America as a Colonial Power." The first lecture of the series was devoted to a general survey of the past, present and future of the colonial policy of leading nations. All who are interested for one reason or another in the future prospects of colonial empires have a good deal to learn from Colonel Roosevelt's lectures.

Of no other colonial power except U. S. A. can it be said that it knows both the ends of the colonial problem. The United States, which is at present one of the most influential of colonial powers, owes its origin to a war of secession from the British Empire. The narrow-minded and 'superior' attitude which is common to almost all colonial powers while dealing with their dependencies, was exemplified in its worst form in the old colonial policy which obtained before the War of American Independence. Since the States came into their own, they have had experience of governing colonies for themselves. Since the recognition of the principle of Philippine independence in 1934 they can also claim to be a progressive colonial power. What a former Governor-General of the Philippines has to say about the future of colonial empires must, therefore, be of very great interest.

After a careful survey of the administrative policies of the various colonial powers of the past and the present, Colonel Roosevelt is able to point out the weak spots in each. He has no difficulty in proving that the Portuguese Empire had no element of permanence in it inasmuch as it was based almost exclusively on the motive of exploitation of the native population and resources in the interest of the inhabitants of the colonising country. The Spanish model

was not much better. Though a considerable number of Spaniards were domiciled in the colonies the inhabitants of Spain proper developed a feeling of strangeness for their own people overseas and attempted to exploit both the natives and the Spanish settlers.

Among the existing colonial powers, France evokes from Colonel Roosevelt a word of praise both for its uniformly firm control of colonial affairs and for the comparatively equalitarian atmosphere of its colonial life. In fact, on purely administrative grounds, Colonel Roosevelt feels that the vogue of intermarriage between the various sections of the colonial population is a definite advantage favouring France. England, of course, comes in for a large mead of appreciation and praise from Colonel Roosevelt.

The new colonial policy developed by experience gained in America has stood Great Britain in good stead while dealing with those parts of the British Empire which are populated by emigrants from the old country and by their descendants. By a timely grant of the powers of autonomy as the aspirations of the colonials began to increase, Great Britain has been able to keep together the biggest Empire in history. It is particularly creditable to British statesmen that at any rate from the nineteenth century they have insisted upon the priority of the rights of the natives. It is true that in many cases the rights of natives are honoured more by a mention than by an actual award. All the same the underlying principle is sound, and if only it were honestly and firmly carried out the domination of one people by another might be washed of its worst evil.

The self-governing Dominions of the British Empire have now reached the limits of their autonomy. Since the passing of the Statute of Westminster the strength of the legal tie that binds, say, South Africa to U. K. is in substance no greater than that

which connects Holland to Great Britain. Still the Dominions hold fast as a general rule on account of their affinities with the mother country in respect of language, tradition and economic interests. Colonel Roosevelt does not say whether if these ties were to bind the colonies more closely to other quarters than to the colonising power, the permanence of the Imperial tie may not be weakened.

That this is not merely a hypothetical speculation is indicated by the strong cultural and economic forces that are attracting Canada towards U. S. A. In an Empire of convenience and sentiment, material advantages must in the long run outweigh mere tradition. The military and political advantages of the British connection are still so vital to the Dominions that any early secession of a large Dominion is most unlikely. All the same the possibility of this happening must not be ruled out by students of colonial policy.

That Colonel Roosevelt is not without a misgiving on this point is indicated by his criticism of what amounts to a superiority complex amongst the citizens of the home country not only towards the natives but even towards their own kith and kin in the colonies. This attitude brings about an estrangement between the colony and the colonising power and ultimately might lead to a dissolution. The policy of autonomy of parts is said to be a good formula for a permanent colonial empire. Colonel Roosevelt feels, however, that this is no more than a beginning. It can hardly apply to a dependent country which is populated by a diversity of races. Though the new policy of Indian self-government secures the appreciation of the Colonel, he does not obviously feel that the grant of autonomy by itself quite meets the situation.

The chief praise of the distinguished reviewer of colonial policy is reserved for Holland. With a comparatively small position in European politics Holland has been able not only to hold a large colonial empire, but what is more, it has administered it with far greater success than any other colonial power. To a very large extent the population of Dutch colonies is native; and yet the efficiency of administration, the equality of social life and the reconciliation of races that characterise Dutch colonial life are remarkable. The skilful administration, the tolerance and the organisation involved in this successful colonising receive the greatest appreciation of Colonel Roosevelt.

As a general rule, however, Colonel Roosevelt feels that white domination has reached the high water mark, and unless a new formula of a just and adequate colonial policy for the coloured parts of an empire were speedily developed the stability of empires would be undermined. It must be admitted that Colonel Roosevelt, who is neither an arm-chair politician nor an agitator, has here touched upon the vital spot of Imperial policy. We in India are immensely interested in Colonel Roosevelt's search for the new formula, which we might discuss on learning what it is. In the meanwhile it might be possible to suggest at least one such formula.

Like most human institutions empires have their good as well as evil results. The alleged tyranny and exploitation attract far greater attention than cultural assimilation and political consolidation. But in the last resort unless it is to be presumed that the populations of the dependencies are insensible to the drawbacks of their position, an empire will last so long as its members find it materially advantageous to hold together. By permanency of colonial empires Colonel Roosevelt cannot possibly mean the indefinite holding down of a part by force of arms. Short of this impossible position, a member country, whether inhabited by the same race as the colonising nation or by some other, can be retained by interest and interest only. Autonomy unaccompanied by a strong realisation of the material benefits of the Imperial tie is a thinly veiled disruption. It is here that the Dutch colonial policy has scored very heavily over almost every other Imperial nation.

Many well-meaning Englishmen have felt surprised at what appears to them to be the ingratitude of the Irish nationalists after the grant of Dominionhood. Apart from the sentimental reaction following upon long years of involuntary subjection, the real explanation of the Irish attitude is to be found in the almost complete failure of Great Britain, while it controlled the destinies of South Ireland, to promote the material interests of the Irish people and to prove it to them before political autonomy had to be conferred upon them, that their political relationship with the empire far from acting as an obstacle to economic progress is a great instrument of material prosperity.

The Dutch governors with a few exceptions have been wise in their generation. In the Dutch colonies they have developed a policy of assisted and directed economic progress which has connected the colonial populations to Holland by ties of material interest. Diversification and improvement of crops, the development of communications and the establishment of industries has been brought about by active state leadership, assistance and supervision. To the material results so gained add the free mingling of races in a Dutch colony on a perfect footing of equality, and we get an intelligible explanation of the superiority of Dutch colonial methods.

Laws, sentiment and tradition are very powerful bonds that hold an empire together. But they are by themselves insufficient to bolster up a structure which is not firmly rooted in material advantage and political necessity. Of the two latter, political necessity might serve as cement to the Imperial structure, but until it is reinforced by a firm realisation of material advantage it will not suffice to keep an empire on its foundations. Modern Imperial powers have left behind the stages of crude exploitation, though almost all indulge in exploitation of some sort. Hardly any Imperial power, however, has yet shown the courage and the statesmanship to put itself at the head of a movement of intensive and planned industrialisation of a dependency. Such a movement initiated and worked out by the fullest co-operation of the people of both countries is bound to create a wide-

spread appreciation of the advantages of Imperial association.

Imperial rulers have trusted too long to the soldiers and diplomats, in their efforts to perpetuate their empires. Autonomy for the Dominions has not solved the problem. The grant of autonomy is in many cases an admission of incapacity to solve the problem. At any rate for dependent parts of an empire it can be confidently asserted that if the Imperial power actively co-operates with the people of the dependency in initiating and working out a planned modernisation and improvement of their economic life, and after an intensive period of education and industrialisation tests the wishes of the people by a referendum they will vote by an overwhelming majority for the continued membership of the empire. Autonomy is indeed indispensable to retain any nation as a voluntary member of a bigger political unit. Consciousness of material advantage is, however, both for colonies and dependencies, the real foundation of a lasting Imperial organisation. Short of a world brotherhood of nations, it is only as a friendly and helpful commonwealth that differing nationalities can live together in a common political family.

Our Parliamentary Letter.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

Delhi, February 19.

RAILWAY BUDGET.

THE most outstanding event during this week was the presentation of the Railway Budget to both houses of the Legislature. For a long time past, the financial position of the Railways has been a source of great anxiety to the country. Ever since 1929-30 the Railways have been running under continuous deficits. The deficits of the Railways have been so great indeed, that uptill now they have incurred a total liability of 62 crores to the general revenues and the Depreciation fund put together. It is, therefore, a matter of great satisfaction, that the Railways have shown signs of recovery, though it would be hazardous to predict at this stage whether this recovery would be permanent in character. The revised estimates for the year 1936-37 give a small surplus of 15 lakhs only and the same surplus is budgeted for the coming year also. But if the Railways in India are to play the part which Sir Otto Niemeyer wants them to, they must contribute at least 6 crores to the Central exchequer. Otherwise, the whole edifice of the Niemeyer recommendations would topple down like a pack of cards. For ensuring the successful operation of the Niemeyer recommendations, it is not only necessary that the present Railway earnings should be maintained intact—a fact about which the Railway Member himself is doubtful, but that they should be accelerated to such an extent as to contribute at least 6 crores to the Centre. How this can be done, the Railway Member has not attempted to indicate. Pending the recommendations of the Wedgwood Committee, he has rested satisfied with only a bald narration of facts.

But the Chief Commissioner of Railways followed a different policy. Showing a supreme belief in the infallibility of his department,

he attempted to demolish the arguments of the critics of the Indian Railways. Entering into a lengthy discussion of the probable effects of a reduction in the passenger fares as also in the goods rates, he tried to show how any interference with the *status quo* would lead to difficulties and disturb the harmony of the present arrangement. But the Chief Commissioner of Railways is unfair to his critics when he picks only two out of a number of their suggestions. Most of the non-official members last year were emphatic in their suggestion that the present salary-bill of the Railways was highly excessive and if the Railways were to manage their affairs solvently and well, there should be a drastic reduction in the pays of the highly-paid servants. It was pointed out by Mr. B. Das, for example, in the sittings of the Public Accounts Committee last year that though between 1913-14 and 1933-34, there was an increase in the staff by 40,000 only during the period, the expenditure on the staff was more than double the previous figure. The reason of this increase was plain and simple. The war and the post-war period saw a great rise in prices and the fixed salaried people were put to great difficulty. That is why their pays were correspondingly increased in order to be in accordance with the rise in prices. But the post-war boom has given place to a worldwide depression. Commodity prices have sunk to half the post-war level. Still, Railway servants enjoy the same rates of pay. It is said that the new scales of pay have taken the fall in prices fully into account. Assuming for the time being that this is so, what about the pays of the Railway employees already in service? Are they not receiving salaries far in excess of what they used to when there was a rise of prices in the country? If the Railway department can increase the pay of its servants during a period of boom, should it not decrease their pay during a period of depression? Yet, has the Railway department done anything of the kind? No. Even in a period of recurring deficits, it took the earliest opportunity to restore the 5 p. c. cut.

Secondly, the loss on the strategic railways is debited to Railway deficits. Why? Strategic railways are maintained for military purposes. Why should the losses due to them not be borne by the Defence Department? To these and similar other points raised by the critics, the Chief Commissioner of Railways could give no reply. He had chosen for discussion one or two points at random and expressed satisfaction at the achievements of his Department.

GENERAL DISCUSSION.

As regards the general discussion on the Railway Budget it is gratifying that the depleted House kept up the prestige of the Assembly. Sir Henry Gidney came out with the grievances of his community. He wanted open discrimination in favour of Anglo-Indians. He cited section 42 of the Government of India Act and said that it authorised discrimination in favour of his community. The Railway Member, however, disagreed with his interpretation and Sardar Sant Singh expressed strong disapproval of it. Sir Mahamud Yakub gave a twist to the discussion. Instead of asking for favours, he detailed the defects of the Railway administration. He strongly resented the exclusion of the Indians from the Wedgwood Committee and hoped that this would be the last blunder of its kind. Mr. A. C. Datta tried to criticise the Railway policy which he said was encouraging external trade without paying due regard to the internal trade of the country. Sir Leslie Hudson spoke of the commercial possibilities of the Railways and wanted them to develop their publicity department.

Mr. Joshi dwelt on the history of the Railways and showed how they originated in the Britisher's desire for lucrative investment of capital and for the greater sale of his manufactured goods in the Indian market. He pointed out how the Railways were negligent of internal trade though gradually they seemed to be changing their policy. He deprecated the indifference of the Railways towards the 3rd class passengers who numbered 59 crores against 45 lakhs of the 1st and 2nd class passengers and contributed 13 times the revenue that the higher classes did. Many other non-official members took part in the discussion and expressed uniform opposition to the non-inclusion of Indians in the Wedgwood Committee. The Railway Member's reply to this point was not at all satisfactory. He referred his critics to what he had said in connection with the discussion on the supplementary Railway grants. He had said then that the Indian Railways were working under deficits even with the help of the best Indian advice. So, there was no point in appointing Indians to the Wedgwood Committee. In reply to this charge of the Railway Member it must be pointed out that the Government never seriously considered the suggestions of non-official members because they invariably suggested a reduction in the high pays. The high Government officials were not prepared to forego a pie of their pay even though the Railways were faced with the greatest difficulties. That really is the reason of their not including Indians in the Wedgwood Committee. As regards answering the other criticisms, the Railway Member seemed to be in a conciliatory mood and always assured that the grievances would be looked into.

IN THE UPPER HOUSE.

The Railway Budget discussions in the Council of State followed nearly the same lines. But some new points were raised in the House of Elders. Mr. Kunzru objected to the Railways paying 1½ crores towards the Depreciation fund of the Railways in Burma. He pointed out that the Burma Railways were running under greater losses than the Indian Railways. So, they could not have contributed any money towards the Depreciation Fund. Under the circumstances, when the Indian Railways were themselves in difficulty, it was most inequitable to make payments to Burma. He then advised the Railways to look more to the comforts of the 3rd class passengers and cited instances of pilgrim trains being run without any lights at all. He disputed the assertion that all the difficulties of the Indian Railways were due to the world-wide depression and that the policies of the Government had nothing to do with them. He pointed out how the Indian Railways had added to their own difficulties in the matter. Between 1919-20 and 1929-30, the Railways had increased their expenses by nearly 10 crores due to huge capital expenditure though their receipts increased during this period by 3¼ crores only. He commended the economy measures adopted by the Government but said that the retrenchment measures have been so carried out that they have more adversely affected the lower grades as compared to the higher grades of the Railway Service.

Mr. Ramdas Pantulu expressed dissatisfaction at the proposed formation of the statutory Railway Board and disliked the entire cancellation of the Railway debts to the Central exchequer. He wanted the Railways so to reorganise their passenger fares and the freights as to make them suitable to the changing needs of the people. Mr. Hosain Imam joined with Mr. Kunzru in objecting to the payment to the Burma Railways and said that instead of India paying money to Burma, Burma should pay money to India for the losses incurred by the Burma Railways. Competition from roads he re-

garded as a corrective to the Railways which without such competition were likely to mismanage their affairs.

The standard of debate in the Upper House was distinctly superior as compared to the level of debate in the Legislative Assembly. But it must be remembered that it was so because of the presence of a few stalwarts in the Upper Chamber. The rest of the members of the Council of State read out their speeches from the prepared manuscripts which could not take notice of the points raised by the previous speakers. I wish reading from manuscripts were forbidden altogether. It makes the debates dull. The Railway Commissioner spoke for 1½ hours. He made it a point to answer all the criticisms of the non-official members. His replies were as good as they could be under the circumstances and if he could not give a really satisfactory reply to the points raised by Mr. Kunzru, the fault was not his, but of the Government policy which he was bound to support.

Reviews.

INDIA'S MINERAL WEALTH.

INDIA'S MINERAL WEALTH. By J. COGGIN BROWN. (Oxford University Press.) 1936. 22cm. 335p. Rs. 10.

THOSE who are acquainted with Dr. Coggin Brown's many writings in the official publications of the Geological Survey of India and in the Bulletins of Indian Industries and Labour and those who have admired the facility with which he can marshal his essential facts and figures, and present them in a form suitable even for the layman, will find in this latest production of his that he has excelled himself. A book like this has long been wanted in India. Years ago, Dr. Coggin Brown himself wrote a smaller book on the same subject, priced at Re.1-8-0, in the "India of To-day" series, and it soon went out of print. The present book is a great advance on that small successful book.

The author has divided the book into four parts: (1) The mineral fuels, (2) The metals and their ores, (3) Other useful minerals, (4) Gems and semi-precious stones. The 6 maps, 8 plates, the 21 graphs and the 37 tables illustrating the book are an excellent selection from the mass of material published in the Records and Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India in the course of the last 75 years and are a boon alike to the student of Indian geology and to the mineral-minded businessman. The book abounds in suggestions for the development of the mineral industry of India and one can only wish that there was established in India a regular Department for industrial mineral research, along the lines of the present Imperial Department of agricultural research, to work out the pressing problems that face the industry to-day, many of which are hinted at in the book.

To take only a few instances:

The possibilities of the successful inauguration of aluminium, zinc and tin extraction, the production of ferro-alloys and other products in the electric furnace, the manufacture of sulphuric acid and heavy chemicals generally, of artificial fertilizers, of hard-ware and light iron and steel articles, earthen-ware and porcelain, of paints and colours and of many products used in building construction and now obtained from abroad, from the raw materials which the country can provide in abundance, continue to demand and to merit attention. These are fundamental problems which must be solved if the progressive evolution of India's industrial life is to keep pace with its national advancement.

The plan of the book is best described in the author's own words :—

Each useful mineral which India produces is considered individually, the chief occurrences are briefly described, the history of its commercial exploitation is outlined, and its uses are explained. Outputs and their values from the commencement of operations, or from the beginning of the present century, are presented, and comparisons made with imported articles when these are considered essential to a proper appreciation of the economic position ; and finally, for the benefit of Indian students of economic geology on whom the task of searching for new mineral deposits in their own land will fall more and more in future, brief notes on the important questions of origins have been incorporated ; for, the author's 27 years' work in connection with these matters taught him their values as a preparation for field work. The first edition of " India's Mineral Wealth " has been entirely re-written and enlarged, primarily with the object of drawing attention to the commercial and industrial potentialities which the mineral deposits possess and in the hope that capital and enterprise will be forthcoming for their further development, with all that it means for the lasting benefit of India and the Indian peoples.

The plan is admirably carried out within the compass of a handy volume and the book deserves a great reception in India.

N. P. GANDHI

AMONG THE GONDS.

LEAVES FROM THE JUNGLE. BY VERRIER ELWIN. (Murray.) 1936. 22cm. 243p. 9/-

MR. VERRIER ELWIN, the author, has been working among the Gonds since the year 1932, and in this book he has set down his impressions about them.

We read in the introduction about the history, culture, folklore, customs and manners of the Gonds in general. Mr. Elwin has displayed great understanding and sympathy in his study of this much neglected mass of humanity. His estimate of the Gond is in refreshing contrast to those of other western writers in general on the aboriginals in India. He says :

There are many elements in the Gond ethos which should be conserved : their simplicity and freedom, their love of children, the position of their women, their independence of spirit, . . . their freedom from many of the usual oriental inhibitions. I think that the primitive has a real message for our sophisticated modern world which is once again threatened with disintegration as a result of its passion for possessions and its lack of love.

The Gond has evolved " a philosophy of life that can face poverty and disease, frustration and disaster with unwearied courage. " That there has never been a suicide among them is proof positive of the fact that adversities and calamities, however great, scarcely depress them.

The Gonds, who were once the rulers of Gondwana, are now in a bad way. They have been reduced to a landless class by unscrupulous money-lenders and land grabbers. They suffer from the hardships of *begar* or forced labour and the forest laws. These have been the curse of the Gond's life. How to raise him from this slough of depression ? Not by a patronising attitude, not by imposing on him a new order of things which is incompatible with their own psychology, culture and life. This has been very well realised by the author. He rightly says that " a change of heart, " " a new spirit of co-operation " " a new industry " and greater integrity and honesty

on the part of all those who impinge on the life of the Gond, will alone revitalize his life.

With this ideal as his guiding star, Mr. Elwin has been working amidst the Gonds and the leaves from his diary bear ample testimony to the attempts made by him and his co-workers in that direction. The Gond Seva Mandal which Mr. Elwin started in 1932 is, we are told, not a missionary society. In its ideals and objects it resembles the Servants of India Society founded by the late Mr. Gokhale. The Mandal does not aim at " syncretistic unifying of theologies but rather at demonstrating that it is possible for convinced believers in different religions to live and work together as one family ". Its workers are drawn from all communities. The Mandal is catering to the educational and medical needs of the Gonds, and is carrying on a regular programme of rural reconstruction.

The diary affords entertaining reading ; it grips the reader's imagination. We are told of the initial difficulties that a stranger like him had to meet with, of the attempts made by him to win the sympathy of the Gonds, etc. The book is full of instruction for rural workers. It does not deal so much with schemes and methods as with the human aspect of the problem.

Mr. Elwin is a scholar and a master of the written language. Flashes of humour and scintillating brilliancy of wit characterise this book. He has made the Gond and his failings look attractive. All these make the book delightful to read.

The book is well illustrated and the notes at the end are informative and instructive.

S. R. VENKATA RAMAN.

SHORT NOTICE.

YOGA IN DAILY LIFE. By SRI SWAMI SIVANANDA SARASWATI (The Star Press, Amritsar.) 1936. 20cm. 198p. Re. 1-10.

A PROPER sense of values and mental equipoise go a great way in contributing to the happiness of the individual. Nowhere else in this world has greater emphasis been laid on this aspect of an individual's life than in India. In the book under review, Swami Sivananda Saraswati of Rishi Kesh deals with the problem in clear and simple language. Adhyatmic knowledge, suitable diet, well disciplined life, devotion to God, service to others, spirit of inquiry into ultimate realities, Yogic physical exercises, all these which contribute to the happiness, peace and contentment of the individual are dealt with in this book. There is a belief abroad that yogic life is only possible for sanyasis, who retire from this world to the Himalayan regions to practise religious austerities. Swami Sivanandaji has in this book made it clear that yogic life is not only possible for the house-holder, but is absolutely necessary for his happiness.

The narrative is interspersed with stories and incidents from the lives of many Bhaktas. The spiritual diary suggested by the writer and the glossary of Sanskrit terms used in the book enhance the value of the book.

S. R. VENKATA RAMAN.

GOKHALE DAY CELEBRATION.

MR. SASTRI'S TRIBUTE.

In connection with the Gokhale Day celebration organised by the Madras branch of the Servants of India Society on Feb. 19, the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri addressed a public meeting at Madras. He said :

POLITICS to-day is undergoing rapid changes, one of the undesirable modifications noticed being that it was apparently believed that one could become a politician without adequate preparation for it. Mr. Gokhale's life was an emphatic refutation of this belief. His preparation was long and thorough and he always held that it was necessary for every public worker, to the extent it was possible for him, to raise a number of followers, more or less after his own heart, as otherwise his particular work might suffer. There were several people, Mr. Sastriar said, to whom Gokhale acknowledged his indebtedness for those elements of his character which made for success. He would like that evening to recall to their minds some of those figures to whom Gokhale was never tired of acknowledging his obligation.

When Gokhale entered life, Mr. Sastriar continued, he came under the influence of that great leader of Maharashtra, Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Restlessness and aggression were in Tilak's nature. The qualities of gentleness and forbearance were rather weak in the latter's composition. Gokhale was therefore repelled very soon by Tilak. There was a man who by reason of his attractive qualities drew Gokhale to him and that was Professor Agarkar, who was second Principal of the Ferguson College. Principal Agarkar, unfortunately, died early and his name was not so well known in India as it deserved to be. He seemed to have inspired many young men who, fashioning themselves after him, devoted their lives mainly to the work of social reform.

Just at the time that Prof. Agarkar passed away, Gokhale came under the influence of one of the greatest men of modern India, Mahadev Govind Ranade. Of Ranade it was difficult to speak adequately in a short time. He was a great man who combined in himself many excellences of character and had prepared himself by a long life of study to take a leading part in every department of national activity. Justice Ranade, although an official, did not feel cramped "as officials usually do in these days" but more or less openly took part in political, social and industrial activities. Massive of face, gruff in voice, when Mr. Ranade stood up to address a gathering, one thought that the speech of such a person would fall flat. But after he had uttered scarcely three sentences one realised the greatness of the man. Sentence after sentence rolled from his lips carrying words of wisdom and concentrated thought. One felt one listened to a voice that was not earthly. No wonder that Gokhale was transformed when he came under his spell. To the end of his life, Gokhale was never tired of saying that when this great soul passed away, the earth was no more to him what it had been, and that he felt as though a great light that had guided him through life had been cruelly extinguished.

Next to Ranade, he would, Mr. Sastriar said, mention Mr. G. V. Joshi whose name deserved to be better known than it was. He was a school master and was a great man. A very painstaking, thorough and sleepless student of heavy Government publications, he revelled in blue books, registers and returns, specialising in the region of finance and agriculture,

He wrote articles in the Press which were very widely and most attentively read by all, including members of Government. It would be no exaggeration to say that he shared equally with Ranade the honour and credit of having taught the elements of Finance to Gokhale. It was Joshi and Ranade that coached Gokhale for the great task he so well performed before the Welby Commission, and the great encomiums he received Gokhale passed on, in modest language, to Mr. Joshi, telling him that the praise belonged to him. Mr. Joshi, after retiring from service, joined Tilak's party, and this circumstance somewhat limited the intercourse between master and pupil which, otherwise, would have continued to the end of Gokhale's life.

Among other persons to whom Mr. Sastriar referred was Professor Selby, Principal of the Deccan College in Poona. Gokhale always said that although he never studied at Mr. Selby's feet, he always felt a reverence for him and was willing to be guided and instructed by him. In response to his criticism, Mr. Gokhale altered somewhat the original draft of the constitution of the Servants of India Society, but kept the substance intact.

The next person Mr. Sastriar referred to was Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta. He was a big man in every sense of the word. Physically, he was leonine in appearance and when he stood upon a platform, one could not take one's eyes off him. When he began to speak, one easily felt oneself in the grip of a master. For many years he was called the "Uncrowned King of Bombay", words which did somewhat less than justice to the eminent and undisputed hold he had on the public. Once a caucus was formed to displace him from his position in the Bombay Corporation and the *Times of India* disapproving of the opposition wrote that Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta was the Bombay Corporation and the Bombay Corporation was Sir Pheroze Shah. He was made President (of that body) twice, the second time in order that he might be the person to welcome the Prince of Wales when he landed. The Government on that occasion seemed to take leave of their senses and in order that no Indian might appear in any prominent position they took care to keep them back and push forward Europeans. But owing to the skilful diplomacy of Sir Pheroze Shah matters were smoothed out. Sir Pheroze Shah held in politics the first place and ranked among the foremost leaders of India. His sound common sense and unerring judgment were never called into question through his long life. He was a man whom Gokhale acknowledged as his leader without reservation, although they differed on some important matters.

On three important topics they differed radically, the speaker continued. When Gokhale started the Servants of India Society, Sir P. Mehta was none too pleased. He disapproved of the sacrifices demanded of young men and furthermore he added the criticism that people who joined the Society were likely to consider themselves somewhat superior to folks around them and give themselves airs and move as though they belonged to a select class. The public were aware how the members of the Society had conducted themselves. It could not be said that they were aggressive or that they were pushful or that they were making themselves too prominent at any time. Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta's criticism was a little out of place, but many other persons in Bombay felt like him. Curiously enough Sir P. Mehta was against the Elementary Education Bill introduced by Gokhale and never modified his original attitude of opposition.

On the great South African question, they would probably remember that Gokhale and Mr. Gandhi granted the position that the South African White people had a right to stop the immigration of Indians to their country. Sir P. Mehta considered that a surrender of one of the fundamental rights of India, and to the end of his life never forgave Gokhale or Mr. Gandhi.

He had referred, Mr. Sastri said, to the caucus which threatened the position of Sir P. Mehta in the Bombay Corporation. To that caucus many high-placed servants of the Government openly belonged. At the public meeting arranged to protest against it, Gokhale spoke in his usual style, convincing, thorough, persuasive and exhaustive. The caucus broke and once more Sir P. Mehta assumed control over the Corporation's affairs.

Speaking about one or two other personalities more, Mr. Sastri said that Mr. Gandhi was one whom Gokhale reckoned as the person who had a strange spiritual influence upon himself. Mr. Gandhi was four years junior to Gokhale and acknowledged always that Gokhale was his Guru. Nevertheless Gokhale said: "There are three people whom I have met in life who have exercised a spiritual influence on me. In their presence I can think no mean thought, conceive no mean project." They were Naoroji, Ranade and Gandhi. Though their theories of politics and their modes of approach to public questions were diverse and even contradictory, Gokhale and Mr. Gandhi were attracted to each other by some inner magnetism as it were. When Mr. Gandhi returned from South Africa to take his place in the public life of India, it was expected that Gokhale would nominate him to succeed him as President of the Servants of India Society. Much as they loved each other, much as they admired each other, they felt that they were very far apart in their views on public matters in India and while Gokhale was anxious that Mr. Gandhi should join the Servants of India Society, he felt at the same time that as Mr. Gandhi then was, he would not fit in well. Gokhale considered the views of Mr. Gandhi strange and inappropriate to the conditions of India. Gokhale asked him to tour the country for one year and to see things for himself, that if he then thought that the Society was working on the lines he would approve, he could come and join it and Gokhale's men would welcome him and place him at their head. They were aware of the sequel.

Mrs. Roy, wife of Dr. P. K. Roy of Calcutta, was a great friend of Gokhale. The speaker wished to bring her into the narrative to light up, as it were, what was once a mystery regarding Gokhale. A friendly visitor to Poona in those days and a great admirer of Gokhale, who wanted to know everything about him, once asked the question whether Gokhale wore his 'yagnopavita.' They could not answer him and they never knew at all until light was thrown upon the matter in a strange way by a letter received from Mrs. Roy, two years ago, twenty years after Gokhale passed away. It appeared that there was a discussion about the double life some public men were leading, and Mrs. Roy remarked that in matters of religion and social practice, men conformed to slavish requirements of custom and tradition, while in public they professed to hold free and liberal ideas as if they had been emancipated from every kind of superstition. Gokhale seemed to have demurred and the lady persisted in her views and told Gokhale that she believed he still wore the 'yagnopavita' though not believing in its efficacy. When Gokhale showed her

his yagnopavita, she asked him whether his wearing it was consistent with his notions. Gokhale felt rebuked and on returning home, he sent her his yagnopavita in an envelope. That showed the earnestness of the man. No sooner was he told that without due thought he was wearing on his body a mark of consecration in which he did not really believe than he did not hesitate to take it away.

Gokhale had many friends. People of diverse temperaments were drawn to him. Mr. Sastri said that he could name many such, who later became famous and influential. He did not want to do so for the reason that they were Gokhale's pupils rather than Gokhale theirs. One name, however, he would mention, and that was the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar. Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar was a strong man, not accustomed to yield to others. But he felt the commanding influence of Gokhale and in political matters, was glad to follow him and accept his judgment. Gokhale had told the speaker more than once that of all the people in India, the one man who seemed to have had the gift of imagination and who from six thousand miles away could divine what was taking place in London, was Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar. During Gokhale's discussions with Lord Morley when the latter made statements somewhat depressing, the one man who sent consoling messages to Gokhale, understanding the inwardness of the situation, was Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar. The letter in the collection of Gokhale showed that Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar gave to Gokhale much encouragement when it was badly required.

Of Gokhale's many friends there were some who seemed to him to be near of kin to him politically and spiritually. "Sometimes he would say to us," Mr. Sastri concluded: "If when I die none of you has risen high enough in stature to take my place, I would ask you to consider one or two persons as possible successors." Three of the persons he mentioned were, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Mudholkar of Nagpur and Professor Rangachari. Gokhale loved men of a clinging affectionate nature and of a generous disposition. He saw those qualities more prominent in the three gentlemen named above than in others. Gokhale never told those persons what he thought of them. When later the speaker told Prof. Rangachari the high esteem in which Gokhale had held him, Prof. Rangachari, proud as he was, never felt so proud as when he heard that remark (Cheers).

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- HOW IS THE EMPIRE? By F. PERCY ROE. (Pitman.) 1936. 20cm. 294p. 6/-.
- INDIAN ECONOMICS. Vol. I (5th Edn. Revised.) and Vol. II (4th Edn. Revised.) By G. B. JATHAR and S. G. BERL. (Oxford University Press.) 1937. 24cm. p. 490 and p. 694. Rs. 5 & 6.
- OUR CAUSE. Ed. by Shyam Kumari Nehru. (Kitabistan, Allahabad.) 23cm. 419p. Rs. 6.
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