

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Emigration to Malaya.

AN influential deputation from Malaya is conferring with the Government with a view to inducing the latter to reopen Indian labour emigration to Malaya, which was stopped in 1931. The total Indian population in Malaya, according to the 1931 Census, was 6,24,000, of which over 70 per cent. was drawn from the labouring classes and was employed in rubber estates and tin mines and in Government Departments, etc. The standard rate of wages was 50, 40 and 20 cents per man, woman and child respectively. The conditions of labour were governed by a Labour Code administered by a special Department and there was the Agent of the Government of India to watch over its operation. In 1930 the world economic depression hit the industries of Malaya as well and in particular the rubber industry. This led to the reduction of the standard wages to 40, 32 and 16 cents for man, woman and child respectively. Also to retrenchment. Large numbers of Indian labourers were thrown out of employment by the shrinking of the industry and were repatriated to India. Others declined to work on the reduced wages and followed suit. Still others preferred to stay on on the reduced wages and supplemented them by other work; they feared that they would fare no better if they returned to India, where economic conditions were equally depressed. The volume of repatriation was smaller in 1932 than in 1931. Over \$ 900,000 were spent on repatriation in 1932 as against over \$ 1,278,000 in 1931. The fall in repatriation was apparently due to an equilibrium being reached in the wage level. The downward slide of the wage-rate was partly checked

by the repatriation and partly by the action of the Labour Department, which, with the unanimous consent of the planters, insisted that under no circumstances should the wage fall below a minimum living wage. Recently the rubber industry has shown signs of recovery and there has been an increased demand for Indian labour. Free emigration has shown signs of increase.

In deciding whether to reopen emigration to Malaya the first and foremost consideration must be the well-being of the Indian labourer who migrates. And the chief factor in it is the wage. The wage now paid is not the standard wage but the minimum living wage. Repatriation to India was not caused solely by fall in the wage rate. Retrenchment of personnel played a part. The recent rise in free emigration lends colour to the presumption that the current wage in Malaya is, at any rate, better than the corresponding in India.

The best course is, of course, the restoration of the standard wage in the first instance to those who are now in employment. If the same wage is guaranteed to fresh emigrants, then emigration may be reopened without the least hesitation. But if the industry is unable to do so and can only guarantee a minimum living wage but is in a position to employ more labour at that wage, it may not be in the interest of the Indian labourer to prohibit his emigration. The frying pan in Malaya is better than the fire in India.

But there is yet a larger aspect to consider. Hitherto it was open to the Indian labourer-emigrant to acquire land and become a settler in Malaya. One of the attractions held out to Indian labourers is that they have equal rights and facilities with Malaya to acquire land. Sir George Maxwell, some time Chief Secretary to the Malaya Government, welcomed and promoted the idea of Indian settlement in Malaya if only for the reason that thereby Malaya will have a permanent labour force. Rao Sahib M. Kunhraman Nair, some time Agent of the Government of India in Malaya, initiated a scheme of the kind. But now there is an agitation sponsored by so influential an organ of public opinion as the *Straits Times* that Indians should be admitted only as labourers and not as settlers. "We want Chinese and Indians as labourers, not as settlers, and we are prepared as soon as the slump is over to offer good wages." Apparently the infection has spread to Malaya from Kenya and South Africa. The history of Natal may repeat itself in Malaya, with its semi-autonomous Sultanates, unless adverse contingencies are anticipated and provided against.

Lucknow in Kenya.

KENYA Indians have fallen on evil days. Till recently they resolutely resisted the division of their ranks on the basis of religion and community and

held together remarkably. Their solidarity was an example to Indians in the home-land. Not that they were free from the communal consciousness which so saturates India. But their wise leaders took great care not to rouse it or exploit it. They emphasised the common character of their problems. Moreover, as it has often happened in the past and elsewhere, external war kept internal peace. The intensity of their fight against the grab and greed of the European settlers to obtain unchallenged domination over the non-European races in Kenya so wholly absorbed the attention of the Indian that they had no time to think of internecine divisions. But as soon as external non-cooperation was relaxed, internal discord lifted its head. No sooner the Indians decided to lift the boycott of the Legislative Council and accept the five seats allotted to them than communal claims and jealousies asserted themselves. There was talk of majority and minority communities: of non-Muslims and Muslims. The Indian community has been riven in twain; it may soon be splintered into bits, if other communities succumb to the virus. The saddest part of the whole thing is that, far from frowning upon communal proclivities some of the less responsible leaders have actually stimulated it, fanned it and exploited it. And the irony of it is that this disservice was perpetrated by those who but yesterday disdained the seats in the Legislative Council and successfully prevented others of a different persuasion from taking them. Those who were so fanatically opposed to the present communal composition of the Legislative Council of Kenya that they not only declined to accept it but prevented others from entering it, have now completely turned over and have so ardently desired to work it that they went the length of dividing the Indian community along communal lines in order to ensure their success at the polls.

As in India so in Kenya a section of the Muslims was the first to cut away from a united national policy of the local Indian Congress and go over to the Government. The Muslim Association of Nairobi sought seats in the Council for Muslims even before the Congress, as a body, decided to lift the boycott. And its action to some extent precipitated the decision of the Congress. And now they insist on a share of the Indian quota of seats in the Legislative Council to be reserved for them; failing which, they will non-cooperate with the Congress and cooperate with the Government. Rather, they will insist on a Muslim quota "in any event; it was open to the Congress and the majority community to gracefully and tacitly, if not openly, agree. Otherwise, they will openly divide the Indian community and prefer their claims direct to the Government. Faced with the ultimatum and the dilemma, the Congress nationalists compromised even as the Indian National Congress did at Lucknow. They agreed to the Muslim quota. Only they did it tacitly and not openly; by a "gentlemen's agreement" and not a resolution of the Congress. They went the length of persuading a sitting non-Muslim member to resign and create a vacancy to be filled by a Muslim. The diplomatic plans of the Congress miscarried. A non-Muslim contested the seat along with the Muslim nominated by the Congress; and he won the election. The Congress could not deliver the goods.

It will now be a strong, almost irresistible temptation for the Muslim Association to break away finally from the Congress and create a Muslim party in Kenya and gather strength. It may be tempted to seek statutory reservation of seats for Muslims. The cup of national humiliation will fill if it goes further still and asks for separate electorates for the Muslims. It will overflow if it should seek the

support of the Government and people of India to its demand. But till only yesterday the Government and the people of India fought resolutely for the common roll, for all the communities in Kenya, European and non-European. They may soon be asked to stultify themselves completely. Humiliation at home and abroad is still the lot of India.

* * *

Inquiry into Jail Administration.

MR. HORACE G. ALEXANDER who is known to India as one of her best friends in England has brought out a pamphlet on Indian jail administration. In this he deals with a number of cases of what may be called jail excesses with special reference to the treatment meted out to civil disobedience prisoners. Most of these attracted public attention at the time of their occurrence, and as will be recalled, had a good deal to do with wrong classification, harsh and insulting treatment by jail officials of men occupying a high place in public life and conditions of jail life being intolerable to those who on conscientious grounds were required to seek entry into jail. Mr. Alexander's solution is that all such prisoners should be placed either in A or B class and be quartered in special prisons from which the ordinary criminals would be excluded. When this segregation is accomplished, he would like the living conditions of political prisoners improved, especially as to food, recreation and sanitation. But Mr. Alexander's object in thus drawing attention to the problem of Indian political prisoners is not so much to plead for the acceptance by Government of this particular suggestion as to press on them the desirability of having these matters looked into by "experienced penologists of international repute." In view of the jail abuses which have come to light during the last four years, an inquiry of the kind proposed by Mr. Alexander is certainly very necessary. He is right when he says that should "a wholly independent investigation of its (Government's) methods" be refused, "the world will be confirmed in the growing conviction that things have been happening in Indian jails which for very shame the authorities dare not disclose."

The case for inquiry made out by Mr. Alexander derives added strength by the endorsement it has received from the Howard League for Penal Reform which aims at the promotion of "the right treatment of delinquents and the prevention of crimes." It should be understood that the League is concerned not with the welfare of political prisoners as a class, but with the welfare and humane treatment of all law-breakers, whatever their offences, nor has it any concern with "the rights and wrongs of Indian political life." One of the main considerations which influenced it to lend its weighty support to Mr. Alexander's demand for inquiry, in which the League would like to see included even police administration, was the way Indian officialdom had treated the allegations made by such a responsible public leader as Pandit Malaviya of maltreatment by the Calcutta police of certain Congress delegates at the end of March last. No doubt a sort of justification, more whitewashing than convincing, of the conduct of the police was issued on behalf of the Government; but the fact cannot be gainsaid that the Government have not yet dared to accept his challenge for a judicial inquiry into his allegations. The scandalous Meerut trial and the recent enactment of what is known as the Bombay Whipping Act have also driven the League to the same conclusion. There is no doubt that the proposed inquiry, if it were instituted, would go a great way not only in the discovery of truth in regard to the cases of notorious jail excesses which incensed the public

mind during recent months but in placing the Indian police and jail administration on a more humane basis.

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Vicarious Generosity.

MEMBERS of the Secretary of State's Services who were in the saddle at the commencement of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were offered the option to retire on proportionate pension if they felt so discontented with the new order of things that they considered their continuance in service practically useless. The grant of this privilege to those who joined service under different political conditions may perhaps be justified; but the same cannot be said of its extension to those who do so with a full knowledge of what to expect. And yet this sort of absurdity is actually threatened under the White Paper proposals, so that unless these proposals are modified, this concession would remain in force till the last man recruited by the Secretary of State has gone out of service. In justifying this vicarious generosity to the new entrants into the services, Sir Samuel Hoare said: "My reason was a purely practical reason, and there was no other reason in my mind, that I was nervous in these five years of recruitment going badly, and on that account I was anxious to give the new entrant every *legitimate* assurance that we could that he would have a career and that he would have, generally speaking, the rights that the existing officials have." (Our italics). Nobody can object to the new recruits being given all reasonable assurances about their future careers; but Indian opinion will need a lot of convincing that the proposed concessions do not actually transgress the bounds of legitimacy.

In this connection it may be mentioned that Lord Lytton brought to the notice of the Committee instances of misuse of the privilege based on his personal experience as Governor of Bengal. He found that "those who made use of this privilege were not, in fact, those for whom it was intended, namely, the elder men who had spent the greater part of their life under the old system, and who found the new arrangement so uncongenial that they asked permission to retire; but it was rather the young men, and especially the ablest men in the Service, who were still young enough to be able to get other employment, and who, although not in any way dissatisfied with what was going on, or the changes that had been made, nevertheless felt uncertainty with regard to the future . . ." He therefore pleaded that those who applied for the benefits of the scheme of proportionate pension should be absolved from signing a declaration which made them say that they were seeking release because of their dissatisfaction with the new dispensation, which in most cases did not accord with facts. In the first place, this, he pointed out, encouraged insincerity and in the second place, the statistics based upon such retirements conveyed an altogether erroneous idea as to the feeling of the Services towards the new order of things. To judge from Sir Samuel Hoare's observations on the point, a reconsideration of this question of declaration with a view to its cancellation or modification seems likely.

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"Consultative" Public Service Commissions.

UNDER the White Paper proposals there would be Public Service Commissions, both for the Federal Centre and for each of the provinces, though provision is also made by which one such Commission may serve more than one province. They will be entrusted with the conduct of all competitive examinations for appointment to the public service and

a definite obligation is cast on the Governments concerned "to consult" them on all matters connected with recruitment, appointments by selection, promotions, transfers from one service to another, etc. To some members of the Joint Select Committee this consultative status sought to be assigned to these bodies was distasteful. In fact they wanted the Commissions to be invested with some executive powers and to be given the right of appeal in cases in which they are strongly opposed to any action of their Governments. The suggestion about the right of appeal was turned down by Sir Samuel Hoare on the ground that it "would strike very much at the roots of provincial autonomy, and there would be great resentment anyhow in some of the provinces." The proposal to invest them with executive powers did not commend itself to him for the reasons that there was great risk, if this were done, of that introducing "a new kind of dyarchy in a province" with the result that in some provinces the spectacle of the "Public Service Commission taking one line about communal arrangements, and the Government taking another line" would be witnessed. As a further consideration against the effectuation of the suggestion, he also pointed to the fact that the existing Public Service Commissions, one for the Centre and another in Madras, though only advisory, had worked well and had "exercised a great deal of influence." This may have been so; but the danger of the Commission's advice being set at naught or being treated with scant courtesy cannot be so lightly disregarded. The danger is a hard reality, as the latest report of the Madras Public Service Commission, to which attention was drawn in these columns on a recent occasion, conclusively shows. With a view to minimising this difficulty Lord Salisbury suggested the safeguard of publicity for the Commission's proceedings, a suggestion with which the Secretary of State expressed "great sympathy." Lord Salisbury added: "So long as the Public Service Commission advise in private, and are overridden in private, it might come about that they would be treated with very little more than contempt by the Minister, but, if it was known that whatever they said would be published, then there would be a real security that their advice would be attended to." Allowing for the strength of language used by Lord Salisbury, there can be little doubt that his observation has considerable force in it.

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'Accruing Rights' Indefinable.

THE 1919 Government of India Act safeguarded all the "existing and accruing rights" of civil servants appointed by the Secretary of State before the commencement of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and guaranteed compensation to them in the cases of the loss of any of those rights. The White Paper draws no such line between those recruited before and those after the commencement of the Hoare reforms but extends the protection to those who are already in service as also to others that may be recruited by him in the future. It also differs from the existing Act in that it makes no mention of "accruing" rights; but instead gives a general power to the Secretary of State to compensate the servants in other cases, "in which he considers it to be just and equitable that compensation should be awarded." This, it is easy to see, is intended to cover the cases of the loss of accruing rights. A list of existing rights has been appended to the White Paper; but not of "accruing rights." As explained by the Secretary of State before the Joint Select Committee, the non-appearance of the expression in the White Paper was due to the fact that it had so far baffled all attempts at definition. He elaborated the point thus:

As to accruing rights, two views have been taken, each of a rather extreme character: (1) that they are so vague that you cannot define them at all; (2) that they are so definite that any change in the conditions of service in India really amounts to a repudiation of some right to which the official is entitled. We have come to the view that the wise course is to set out the existing rights, but not to attempt to define the accruing rights. We have found the more we have gone into the question the more difficult it is to define an accruing right, and it is essentially a question upon which a measure of discretion must be left to somebody.

He instanced the difficulty as follows:

Supposing a particular post—one of very many—was abolished in the administration of India for this reason or another, the effect that the abolition of one post might have upon the great body of Indian civilians would be so insignificant as to be almost indefinable. If, however, a whole class of posts were abolished to which in the ordinary course, a civilian might look forward for promotion, then I think it might be argued that the careers of certain officials have definitely been injured. Holding that view, we propose that a discretion should be left for the compensation of accruing rights and that that discretion should be left to the Secretary of State.

Articles.

INDIAN AGENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

IN the present sore temper of the Indians in South Africa it is understandable but none the less deplorable that some of the Indian leaders should so far lose their sense of proportion as to belittle the services and usefulness of the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa. In its issue of the 13th October last, the *Indian Opinion* opined that "the Agent has not been able to bring us substantial relief, nor will he ever be able to. Whatever we will be able to achieve will be mostly through our own efforts." In so far as this is meant as an adjuration to the local Indians to redouble their efforts at self-help it is most excellent. But in so far as it is meant to belittle the services, past and prospective, of the Agent or to institute a comparison between the achievements of themselves through self-help and of the Agent, to the disadvantage of the latter, it was both unnecessary and unfair. The Agent may not have brought *substantial* relief. But neither has the self-help of the local Indians themselves. If it had, nobody would have been more pleased and relieved than the Agent himself. The problem of the amelioration of the status of Indians in South Africa is so difficult that both the Government and the people of India, if they consulted their comfort alone, might well be tempted to wash their hands of it, even as Great Britain has done. But they would have been guilty of grave dereliction of duty if they had succumbed to the temptation. Nor would the Indians in South Africa themselves have permitted it, notwithstanding occasional fits of vexatious outbursts to the contrary. It is unhappily too true that, whether on account of their own unaided efforts or the assistance of India, the status of Indians in South Africa has not improved in the sense desired by them and by India. But it is neither right nor wise to ignore or belittle such good, both

negative and positive, which stands to the credit of India and her Agent in South Africa. Even during the current year, when the general situation from the Indian point of view could not have been worse, the benefits secured by the present Agent, Sir Maharaj Singh, are not insignificant. The relief of the unemployed Indians in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, the increase of Government grant to Indian technical education, the repeal of certain obsolete but irritating marriage laws in Natal, the great reduction in the money to be deposited by Indian students proceeding to Fort Hare College, the patronage of the Governor-General to the Indian Agriculture Show in Durban, the suspension of adverse action proposed by the Municipalities of Springs, Benoni and Krugersdorp, the most determined among the anti-Asiatic bodies, the enhanced grant from the Union Government to the Indian Ward in the Pretoria Hospital, are among them. These are not certainly benefits of the first magnitude. To Indians in India they may seem insignificant and not worth noticing. But Indians in South Africa have no excuse for underestimating their value or be unappreciative of them. They have every reason to be grateful to the present Agent and his wife for all that they have done and achieved under the most adverse circumstances, not the least of which are the dissensions among the Indians themselves.

But when the *Indian Opinion* in its issue of the 27th October said, "If the Agent has succeeded in doing something substantial in this country, he has certainly succeeded in bringing about a cleavage in the community which never existed. Officialdom in India is well versed in the art of *divide et impera* and if we were to experience a repetition of that in this country, it will be a sorry day for the Indian community and the creation of an Agency in this country will have been a curse rather than a blessing." This is the unkindest cut of all, for which there is not the slightest excuse. The Indian Agent is not the ruler of the land nor Indians the bulk of his subjects that he might conceivably profit by divisions among them. Not even the wildest desperation can condone such a wanton charge against the Agent.

It is equally cruel to charge him with creating a cleavage among the Indians. The Congress has always had its opponents and detractors. While the Congress accepted the first Cape Town Agreement, the Transvaal British Indian Association and another organisation in Natal opposed it and the Congress bitterly. Successive Agents tried their level best to bring about unity among the Indians and the present Agent is no exception. They all failed. Whether they agreed with the views of the Congress or not, they always upheld the prestige and status of the Congress. The Congress decided to boycott the Asiatic Land Tenure Commission against the advice of the Agent, but the latter did not on that account run it down.

It is not always possible for the Agent to see eye to eye with the Congress. It is a misfortune common to politics all over the world and in all times. But

it is expecting too much to ask the Agent to meekly follow the changing opinions of the Congress or its rival bodies, whichever for the moment seems to be more popular. India and her Agent in South Africa cannot be expected to be the sport of party factions among South African Indians. They have to consider their obligations to be the South African Government under the Cape Town Agreements and their own ideas as to how best to promote the interests of Indians in the Union. In East Africa the Indians of all communities solidly demanded the common roll for all races and India supported the demand, not only because the demand was made by Indians but also because she approved of it as the right course.

But if tomorrow, as it may well happen, Indians themselves demand communal electorates for the different communities among themselves, India may stultify herself in backing it.

There is much in the situation in South Africa to make local Indians despondent and desperate. Ample allowance should be made for it. But it is not to their interest that they should fall foul of friends and their best friends at that, belittle their work and invent wholly unfounded and cruel charges against them. The Indian Agent has an uphill and an almost impossible task in front of him. Let not our Indian friends add to his difficulties.

THE PRINCES' VETO POWER.

THE federal constitution provided for in the White Paper is not only not capable of wholesale abrogation in future, but it is not capable of any large modifications either. A constitution such as ours will require alteration in future in two directions. First, the scope of the power to be transferred from British to Indian hands will have to be widened; and second, a larger measure of democracy will have to be introduced into the government to be now brought into being. In regard to enlarging the powers of self-government, the British Parliament will, it is generally held, be the final arbiter. But this is not the whole truth. It is true that our constitution will contain no provisions permitting its internal development into a full-grown Dominion constitution without reference to an extraneous authority, viz. Parliament. But it is not merely the imperial Parliament whose consent will be required for the transfer of departments which will continue even under the new regime to be reserved to the control of the British Government. The consent of the federating States, i. e., of the rulers of the States, will also be required. Let us take for instance the question of defence, which will be the most important of the reserved departments in the central Government. Sir Samuel Hoare declared at the Joint Select Committee, in answer to a question by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, that when time came for the British Government to surrender its own control over defence to the federal legislature, an Act of Parliament would be required authorising this forward step in self-government. But at the same time he entered a caveat, viz. that the power of the British Government itself to take such a step was limited. It had incurred, by treaties entered into with the Princes, an obligation to defend the States from internal and external trouble. This obligation had been interpreted to mean that the British Government could employ an agency not under its own control for discharging the obligation unless the Princes themselves agreed to such an agency being employed. This interpretation had already been accepted as correct by Government. It therefore followed that even if the British Government were ready on grounds of expediency to transfer control of defence to the

federal legislature, it would be precluded from doing so in case the States stood on their treaty rights. The States' delegation in its examination by the Joint Select Committee has put it beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Princes do stand on their rights. Mr. Panikkar, on behalf of the Princes, said to the Committee in effect, "The British Government must not take it for granted that the States do not need to be taken into consultation when it is prepared for its own part to make over defence to the federal government since the States are themselves going to form part of such government. On the contrary, if and when the British Government becomes willing to transfer control over defence, it must take the express consent of the States before control is actually transferred." The final authority then to determine this matter is, as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was moved to exclaim, not the British Parliament or the British Government but the Indian States, for these have the right of interposing their veto upon the decision of the British authorities. And it should be remembered that it is not merely the States which join the federation whose consent will have to be taken. Equally necessary will be the consent of those that stand outside the federation. The consent of all the States, big or small, federating or non-federating, will be required in addition to the consent of Parliament, before defence can be transferred. Does not this make popular military control impossible, if not in theory at any rate in practice? As we envisaged this problem in the past, we had thought that the British Government's unwillingness to surrender control would be the only difficulty in the way. This indeed is not a small difficulty, but it is not the only one. On it has now supervened a far greater difficulty, viz. that all the Princes must agree to the change of control. I say that this is a greater difficulty, because it is hard to believe that even one of the 700 States will not be short-sighted enough to withhold its consent. A thousand and one influences can be brought to bear on the States, and if even if a solitary State does not give its consent, the result will be the same as if all the 700 States and the British Government solidly refused consent. The federal constitution that is being formulated will thus be in actual fact

impossible of amendment in the direction of self-government.

Similarly will it be impossible of amendment in the direction of democratisation of the federal government. The White Paper allows the States to be represented by Princes' nominees in the lower as well as the upper chamber of the federal legislature. Now it is obvious that so long as such a provision remains in the constitution, popular government will be out of the question. But will it be possible to have the provision excised at any time in future? Well, in theory it will be possible; but in fact it will be sheerly impossible. The Instruments of Accession which the States will now execute will leave it to the discretion of the Princes to determine how their representatives in the federal legislature will be selected. In order to secure that none but elected representatives shall be admitted to either of the legislative houses—and this will be necessary if not only self-government but popular government is our objective—all the Princes will have to bind themselves and their descendants to adopt election as the mode of choosing all their representatives. Now, under our constitution none will have the power of imposing such an obligation upon the Princes at any time in future; neither the British Parliament, nor the Indian Parliament will be able to do so even by any special procedure of constitutional amendment. In all other federal constitutions a certain special majority is prescribed for inserting amendments in the constitutional provisions. If a majority of the requisite size favours a change in the constitution, it takes effect and becomes binding even on such component parts of the federation as may not themselves be agreeable to it. The minority states in such constitutions have to conform to the wishes of the majority. In our federation, however, it is not the majority of the members of the federal legislature, be it even two-thirds or three-fourths, that decides. It is each State for itself. Take the questions of election of the States' representatives as an illustration. Will the support of two-thirds or three-fourths or even four-fifths or nine-tenths of the federating States for elective representation make it obligatory on the other States which are in a small minority to agree to election for themselves? No. Each State must agree on its own account; how many other States do so is a wholly irrelevant matter. I know of no other constitution in the world in which a question like this is placed beyond the jurisdiction of the constitution altogether and left to be dealt with at the sole discretion of the State concerned, irrespective of the wishes of the rest. Thus, the popularisation of the federal government as well as the extension of the scope of self-government is to all intents and purposes impossible to secure by amendment of the constitution in future. This aspect of the virtual immutability of the constitution must be emphasised, in view of the facile trust which most persons place in the improvement that in their opinion the constitution will necessarily and almost in the natural course of things undergo as time goes on. They say to themselves: "This is a bad

constitution, it is true; but it will certainly be better in course of time. It's no use expecting all the good things to come at the beginning. They will come later in their appointed time, provided we have patience enough to wait for them." Such kind of optimism is however entirely misplaced in this particular instance. If we accept the federal scheme which is placed before the country, we shall be accepting a scheme which is not only initially bad, but which it will be impossible to better in future by any exertions on our part.

I will go back for a second to the point with which I started, for it represents in my opinion the worst aspect of the constitution, though it is generally neglected in public discussions. The federation that is proposed for India is impossible, as I have pointed out, both to abrogate and to modify, either in the direction of self-government or in that of popular government; and yet the British Government is pressing forward with it without the hearty consent of the the people at large either in the Indian States or in British India. A constitution of this cast-iron nature which cannot be changed in material respects or altogether done away with by any peaceful means is not a constitution of which the consideration should be proceeded with in a state of political unsettlement as at present. It can only be taken in hand when the co-operation of all important sections of the public can be secured in fashioning it and when a consensus of opinion is found unmistakably to be in its favour. As it is, the constitution that is being made is a forced one and is to be condemned out of hand for that reason alone.

OBSERVER.

MADRAS LAND REVENUE POLICY AND THE ECONOMIC DEPRESSION.

THIS unprecedented economic depression with daily falling prices of agricultural produce is driving to the forefront fundamental problems of land revenue policy of the Government. The prices have already reached a level not known to any of this generation, and the disastrous consequences of such a fall require drastic remedies. The landholder, whether he is a cultivator or a rent-receiving landlord, is now rudely shaken out of his comfortable ease and finds it difficult to fulfil his obligation to his family and to the State. Finding himself in such a predicament, he wants to get relief from all quarters, and as his domestic economy does not so easily adjust itself, he looks to the State for a substantial amount of relief. The Mirasdars' agriculturists' and landholders' conferences of Taluks and Districts are daily occurrences, and they all press for a 50% remission of land revenue. Even the Village Panchayats, Taluk Boards, and District Boards pass such resolutions and forward them to Government. The Legislative Council of the Presidency is not far behind these in its request for a generous remission of the land revenue. The Government, though it recognise the justice of the claim, is not generous in giving the much-needed remission. Last year they

announced a suspension of $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ for certain districts. Many other provinces have made greater remissions, but the Madras Government ordered only a suspension of an insignificant $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ and made an invidious distinction as between districts, though the economic depression cripples the whole country.

The land revenue policy of the Government is more of an executive fiat than one based on proper legislation. The policy of the Government as regards ryotwari land is to take half of the net produce of the land and to revise the assessment once in thirty years. The usual practice has been always to enhance the old assessments at every re-settlement. For example, there was an enhancement of 63% in 1894 and $18\frac{3}{4}\%$ in 1924 in the land revenue assessment of Trichinopoly District. For more than half a century the prices have been steadily increasing, and the land-holders did not trouble too much about the land revenue policy, as they were in a position to pay. Perhaps they did not even dream of such a fall in the price level and kept quiet. Moreover they did not know how to organise themselves and carry on constitutional agitation. Now they have realised the hard reality; they want something to be done immediately.

The commuted average price of paddy of the staple produce of Tanjore District as fixed in 1893 settlement was Re. 1-0-8 per thalam and its present price is only 12 annas. The 1893 commuted figure was an average of prices from 1863, and the subsequent enhancements of 1893 and 1923 have increased the assessment to what it is now, but the prices have gone back to 1863 or so. This simple fact should be sufficient to convince anyone of the need for a temporary reduction in land revenue in proportion to the fall in prices as long as depression lasts. The Government gives remission when crops are damaged by seasonal variation or floods, and the situation created by this depression is one such. The net income has to be divided, but if it were only in kind there would be no difficulty. The share of the State is assessed in money, based on an average. Though a slight change in price level for a season or for a locality may not justify a change, a universal fall in price level and that for a continued period has to be seriously looked into. The attempt to attribute to the settlement the nature of a contract, and then to insist on the wording of it is no good State policy and is fraught with dangerous consequences. The main source of provincial finance is the land revenue, and those who pay it should be taken the greatest care of. Nobody thinks that this price level becomes permanent, and nobody wishes for it. As this is only a temporary phase, a temporary remedy is a justifiable one. A bold and a generous measure of relief should be given to the landholders and their demand for a 50 per cent. remission is not too much when the present prices are taken into consideration.

The Taxation Enquiry Committee were equally divided in their opinion as to whether land revenue was a tax or a rent, but they have recommended a lowering of the Government's share of the net income by at least a half, and keeping land as the basis for increasing local taxation. In no other country is

land taxed so heavily as in India, and where taxation comes up to this high percentage of 50 of net income it is only in the case of a few big landholders who get net big agricultural incomes. The normal land tax is about 10 or 15% of the annual value, and the local taxation may raise it by an equal percentage. In India the 50 per cent. of the net income as a flat rate is most iniquitous in so far as a small holder who is able just to make a living has to pay the same rate as a very big landholder. If he were to pay an income-tax, he will be given an exemption limit and abatements, but now he has to pay the same rate of tax. Even in normal days he is subjected to a most iniquitous system of taxation, which leaves him nothing and this depression drives him to ruin. He has to forego even necessities of life and the cumulative effects of such a low standard of living need no mention. His is a case which has to be immediately looked into for a permanent solution.

The executive cannot for ever manage to get on without a proper legislation on its land revenue policy, and when that has to be shaped urgently the case of the small holder should be very sympathetically considered. The traditional Hindu, Mogul and E. I. Company policies were unjust and retrograde, and a bold policy in conformity with that of the progressive countries should be adopted for this province also. Income-tax should form the main source of the States' income, and the land tax should be for local administration. Necessarily the land tax will have to be reduced as in other countries, and agricultural income-tax, death duties, and inheritance taxes should be instituted instead. Permanent settlement which is a very retrograde measure will have to give place to the new land revenue policy. These suggestions might look very advanced to the State and the big holders and Zemindars, but India alone cannot hope to continue in a primitive condition. The world tendency as to the functions of a State cannot be kept off India for ever. The small cultivating owner is the very backbone of the community and he has to be so helped if agriculture is to be made a paying industry and if the rural life of the country is to be put on a proper basis. What the State will lose in foregoing the small holders' land tax, it will get in other ways mentioned above. This will reduce the number of those who depend on land, and lead to proper investment of capital elsewhere than on land. The apprehension of losing their established age-long revenue might if necessary be met by forming a lower exemption limit, and a higher rate of income-tax for a transitory period.

N. S. S.

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)
(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, November 10.

ALMOST THE END.

THE end of yet another phase in the apparently interminable series of processes in the manufacture of a new Constitution for India is ap-

proaching. By the end of next week the consultations that have been proceeding between the Indian delegates and the Joint Select Committee will have been concluded, and the evidence brought to an end. Already some of the prominent States' representatives have left—Sir Akbar Hydari on Wednesday and Sir Manubhai Mehta yesterday. These two Statesmen have, in certain important respects, held very dissimilar views. It is believed that each has prevailed as regards certain matters in which the States are specially interested. There has also been the usual talk at dinners and valedictory speeches, in which compliments have been mutually exchanged, and every one has recognised the remarkable virtues possessed by his host. All of this is doubtless part of the necessary background of diplomatic research and constitution-making. The cost is relatively trifling, though the participants naturally hope that the results will be more substantial. Among the entertainers have been Dr. Shafa'at Ahmed Khan, Sir Hari Singh Gour, and Mr. Ghuznavi. The Secretary of State has, of course, taken a prominent place at these festivities.

Sir Samuel Hoare, however, has done something of more lasting consequence than turn a pretty speech at a complimentary dinner. He has completed his evidence, after having been in the witness chair for nineteen days, for a net period of over eighty hours of examination and cross-examination. He has answered over fifteen thousand questions and has submitted a series of detailed memoranda upon which he has invited solid criticism. This has been tendered in ample measure, and I believe that both British and Indian questioners had been very greatly impressed by his wide knowledge, his skill and technique, the directness of his manner, his complete absence of flippancy, and his general good temper in very trying circumstances. No one but a very well-equipped person could have stood up, as Sir Samuel Hoare has, on the whole, successfully done to the minute and detailed criticism to which he has been throughout subjected, and undoubtedly he has very greatly enhanced his prestige as an authority of great capacity on the details and technicalities of the Indian administration, and the consequences and implications, both political and otherwise, of the complicated constitutional proposals by which he stands.

It would be venturesome, however, to deduce from this that the position is any the more favourable from an Indian Nationalist point of view. Now that Mr. Churchill has shot his bolt, the extreme right-wing of the Government's Conservative supporters have been considerably discredited. But there are other considerable interests and influences at work, and these in many respects are more powerful and likely to succeed more effectively in modifying, in an illiberal way, the Government proposals than the Tory reactionaries and ex-Service diehards. I have reason to hope that, as a result of strenuous pleading by some of the British Indian delegates, many important positions that had been gained at an earlier stage have been maintained. There is also, unfortunately, reason to believe that where communal interests have been allowed to interpose the decision is likely to be rather to the right than to the left. I understand that an endeavour will be made among certain of the British Indian delegates, including Mohammedans, to present an agreed memorandum to the Committee before these delegates become *functus officio*, when their labours terminate next week and the Committee automatically expires at the end of the official session. Naturally there will be some matters upon which agreement cannot be expected, but strenuous efforts will be made to secure substantial agreement upon a number of important but non-controversial

matters among Indian Nationalists, and which will be in substantial accordance with the views understood to have been presented by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in his Memorandum.

AN INTERESTING OCCASION.

Mr. Jayakar and Sir Phiroze Sethna propose to fly to India leaving on the 25th instant. Sir Phiroze's enthusiasm for flying born of past experience has evidently been infectious, but I imagine that so soon as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru becomes aware of the venturesome intention of his quondam colleague and "residuary legatee", his anxiety will not be relieved until he has ocular demonstration of Mr. Jayakar's safe arrival. The latter is rather keenly looking forward to a new experience. His son Jaipal is already well on the way to receiving his pilot's certificate. Dr. Ambedkar is expecting to stay on for some time in order to complete a book upon which he has been for some time engaged, and which is to deal with the Indian Army, and presumably in particular with the contribution thereto made by the depressed classes.

Mr. N. M. Joshi will probably be leaving by the next mail for India, and if not, by the next succeeding mail, when Mr. Thombare, too, is sailing. Mr. Joshi was the special guest at a particularly interesting function yesterday, when he spoke at a luncheon arranged in his honour by the Women's Advisory Council on Indian questions, with Mrs. R. M. Gray in the chair. Mr. Joshi's subject was the work of the Servants of India Society, and no one is better qualified to speak of it with characteristic modesty than Mr. Joshi, who has a large circle of friends here, some of them former colleagues on Labour Committees and Commissions and all of them admirers both of his courage in political life, his sane common-sense, and his sound judgment and of the remarkable service that he has for many years rendered to Indian Labour. To-day's *Manchester Guardian* contains an excellent summary of Mr. Joshi's address.

INDIA AND BRITISH POLITICS.

For the present India has fallen into the background of our internal situation, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the yellow and reactionary Press to drag it in as a means of attacking Mr. Baldwin's leadership of the Tory Party. The whole thing, of course, is thoroughly disingenuous, and the mere fact that such attempts emanate from these notorious quarters is sufficient to discredit them in the eyes of responsible persons. Nevertheless a lot of mud has been thrown, and some of it is bound to stick. The Tory Party headquarters, however, realise that supporters of official policy are placed under a considerable handicap in discussing Indian affairs on by-election platforms so long as the Party leaders are under something of a ban of silence until the Report of the Select Committee, which will be reappointed at the beginning of the next session of Parliament, is presented to Parliament, and after the Burma evidence has been taken. In the circumstances it would not be surprising if the statement made in some of the anti-Government Tory papers is correct, that the Conservative Central Office is instructing Members of Parliament, speaking in the by-elections to avoid, if possible, reference to India. They are recommended not to introduce the subject themselves, and if questioned about it to divert attention to other matters. If such advice has, in fact, been given, Members of Parliament ought to have little difficulty in adopting it, for they already have a wide reputation of facile evasion of awkward matters. Indeed, this would seem to be a primary qualification for any successful politician. In the meanwhile, controversy is proceeding on platform

and in the Press, between votaries of the Union of Britain and India and of the India Defence League, each of whom claims maximum support for his views for or against the White Paper proposals. By the way, I learn that Mr. Dewar, the widely-advertised financial authority who appeared before the Select Committee with a couple of Memoranda to criticise the projected reforms from a financial point of view cut a very poor figure indeed under effective cross-examination, in particular that of Lord Eustace Percy and that he emerged from his ordeal very much discredited. The probability is that the Bengal Police witnesses who will appear before the Committee next week will be similarly disposed of.

PARLIAMENT RESUMES.

On Tuesday Parliament resumed its sittings for another fortnight when the session ends, to be followed almost immediately thereafter by a new session. The Government have been somewhat disturbed by recent political events, because of what they claim to be the malicious perversion of their policy on many important subjects. The resumption of Parliament was heralded by a luncheon given by the National Labour Party to the heads of the three party groups included in the National Government. Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Baldwin, and Sir John Simon united in proclaiming the unity of the National Government and the value of its contribution towards the restoration of public confidence. They were also in agreement that it was the one stabilizing element in an otherwise unstable world, and broad hints were thrown out that any return to party government, in the old sense of the term, would lead to disaster and to the institution of that kind of dictatorship that is so foreign to the British character. Whether or no the National Government will proceed to the formation of a National Party is a matter that is now being carefully handled. The desirability of such a Party was more than hinted at at this function, though both anti-Baldwin Tory circles and *News Chronicle* Liberals have already proclaimed that the attempt, if made, has fallen still-born.

At Tuesday's debate on Foreign Policy, and the Government's attitude towards the problem of disarmament, the official spokesmen were at great pains to assure the country that they were as wedded to peace and disarmament as the country had a right to expect and that all imputations and insinuations to the contrary were mere malice and party animosity. There is, however, a fairly widespread feeling voiced in particular by Viscount Cecil in the subsequent House of Lords debate, that the Government's ideas on the present international situation are far from being clear, and that it has failed to give the firm and decisive lead at the Disarmament Conference that Europe and America would have welcomed. It is hoped in responsible political circles here that whilst, on the one hand, the Government's statements will have allayed certain war-mongering rumours that have received wide circulation, and, on the other that Sir John Simon may now feel in a stronger position upon his forthcoming return to Geneva to give a constructive lead at the resumed Disarmament Conference. Germany is obviously seeking for fresh points of contact with the other European countries, and Mr. MacDonald, at last night's Lord Mayor's Banquet, offered the olive branch in no vague terms. No doubt Signor Mussolini, who has just disposed of his principal rival, the popular Air-Marshal Balbo, by appointing him Governor of the African Colony of Lybia, may also be counted on to pour a little water into the rather fiery wine that the Nazi chiefs (who must by now be deeply regretting their staging of the Reichstag fire trial) have for some time been ostentatiously quaffing. The real mischief, however, is that, whilst Germany is protest-

ing that she has no desire to rearm, but only to procure the disarmament of her neighbours, and in the meanwhile to secure a notional equality with them, she is widely believed in well-informed circles in France and Belgium to have for some time past been surreptitiously rearming and to have equipped herself in order to secure the rapid change-over in an emergency for the manufacture on a huge scale of prohibited armaments. So long as Germany is unable to dispel these fears among her neighbours, it will be difficult to induce them to render themselves once more vulnerable to a German attack.

THE MALTA CRISIS.

The constitutional crisis in Malta shows no signs of an early solution, though Lord Strickland's Party seems to be deeply anxious with the Nationalist Party that has just been dismissed from office with the suspension of the Constitution, for a new General Election under the restored Constitution. The action of the Colonial Office in intervening, where no direct breach of the Constitution has been charged and where no financial breakdown has been alleged, is of some significance, having regard to present discussions on safeguards in the proposed Indian Constitution. Advantage has, however, already been taken by the diehards, and in particular by Sir Henry Page-Croft to suggest that what has taken place in Malta should also be regarded as a warning against granting any serious measures of reform to India, in view of the alleged attempt on the part of the Maltese Government, by legislation and administration, to render nugatory certain prohibitions contained in the now-suspended Constitution. The events in Malta furnish a two-edged weapon, and will be used by either Party in India in support of its own contentions.

Reviews.

COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISTIC DEMOCRACY.

DEMOCRACY IN CRISIS. By HAROLD J. LASKI.

(Allen & Unwin, London) 1933. 20cm. 267p. 7/6.

PROFESSOR LASKI'S theme in this book is the collapse of capitalistic democracy in the Western world and the prospects of a non-violent birth of the new order of society which is coming into being. He notes how the general temper of the world at the present moment is one of profound disillusionment. Old institutions which nobody would have thought of challenging a generation ago are everywhere being savagely attacked and none of the foundations of the old order is safe from angry and hostile criticism. This general dissatisfaction with things as they are is particularly noticeable in the economic sphere. The capitalistic system was tolerable so long as it was accompanied by material prosperity. The extension of the franchise also helped the working classes in wringing important concessions and benefits from the employers. But when the exigencies of international the competitions and, above all, the present world-wide depression, which has overtaken industry, inevitably disappointed the expectation of continuing the concessions, it was equally inevitable that the rebellious temper should rise to unprecedented heights among the suffering masses. Socialist ideals have taken firmer root than ever before, and besides we have in Russia the highly inflaming example of the socialist doctrine clothed in the panoply of an armed state passionately believing in the obligation to propagate the new gospel of revolutionary communism. Theoretically the basis of our present democracy is equality, but political equality is a delusion and a mockery with the

present excessively unequal distribution of economic power. The socialists desire to reorganize society so as to end this basic contradiction, and the question is whether this can be done by peaceful evolution. Labour cannot possibly go on agreeing on fundamentals with the upholders of the present system and when it comes into power, as it must sooner or later, the attempt it is bound to make at drastic social reconstruction will be stoutly opposed by the powerful vested interests which profit under the present regime. Not only the capitalists, but the whole organized power of the State in its different aspects—the judiciary and the civil service, the army and the monarchy—will be directed against the reformers who will thus find the method of peaceful constitutional change impossible of application as soon as anything serious which is not mere tinkering is proposed. According to Prof. Laski, the Western world is in this manner heading for a social and political revolution. Theoretically of course it is possible that the old order should bow down to the inevitable and consent to be merged peacefully in the new. Such a consummation, however desirable, is in the opinion of Prof. Laski most unlikely, and a study of history does not teach us to expect it. But what about England? Surely there, at any rate, there won't be an earthquake?—for England isn't seismic? Prof. Laski is, however, far from optimistic, and on an honest examination of facts he finds no room for national complacency even in England.

Whether we agree with the author or not, the book gives ample evidence of the qualities which the world has learned to associate with Prof. Laski's publications—learning, acuteness and originality.

G. B. JATHAR.

INDIA IN PERSPECTIVE.

INDIA ANALYSED. VOL. I: INTERNATIONAL.

By ALFRED ZIMMERN and others. (Gollancz.) 1933. 20cm. 192p. 5/-

WHILE much of the literature that has recently been appearing on India is certainly not likely to survive the political and economic crisis which has given it birth, one may safely assert, judging by this first volume of "India Analysed," that this series is not likely to share that fate. The object of the series, to quote the editors, "is to give in four volumes a picture of present-day India. The writers, English and Indian, who are best qualified to speak on the subject have been asked to contribute. The books do not seek to press any sectional point of view, but aim at producing a composite picture."

The first volume of the series which is here reviewed seeks to present "India in perspective". It is composed of five ably written essays dealing with the international aspects of India's life. The 'star' performance in the series is undoubtedly that of a young writer, Mr. Wilfred Jenks, who contributes an entirely original discussion as to how, now that India's constitution is in the melting pot, it may be given a decided bias in favour of internationalism by incorporating in it certain provisions of a somewhat daring character. The writer urges that the new Indian constitution should set an example to other countries by recognising in formal terms that the legality, even in the domestic forum, of all forms of national action is subject to such action being compatible with international obligations. As Mr. Jenks himself points out, a *milieu* more unfavourable for the introduction of such a constitutional innovation can hardly be imagined. India's foreign relations, as at present contemplated, are to be in the hands of the Viceroy, acting ostensibly as the agent of the British Foreign Office; and the proviso advocated by Mr. Jenks would impose very material

restrictions on Britain's control over India. A new principle of this far-reaching character cannot obviously be accepted by India acting in isolation. But this does not detract from the value, from the international standpoint, of Mr. Jenks' suggestion; and it is to be hoped that it will receive the serious consideration of all statesmen genuinely interested in promoting international peace and co-operation.

The other essays are: "India and the World Situation" by Professor Zimmern, well-known as a League of Nations propagandist; "India and the League of Nations" by Professor Manning of the London School of Economics; "India and the International Labour Organisation" by Dr. Lanka Sundaram, who has made a thorough study of the subject; and "India in the Empire" by Professor Keith, the well-known expert on constitutional questions relating to the British commonwealth of nations. The high quality of these essays renders any special commendation of any one of them invidious. The common idea running through them all is the enhanced political status India has acquired on account of the international relationships which she has cultivated during the last two decades, and the very real *capitis diminutio* which she will incur by any attempt to narrow her sphere of international contacts. As Professor Manning points out, India has "a grievance, well advertised and presumably solid enough, against her present assessment in regard to League contributions.... With so few of her nationals in League employment, with a faultless record for the prompt payment of a contribution greater than that of any other member not permanently on the League Council, said to be directly interested in only a few of the League's activities, never elected to a Council seat, India has a quite special claim that her protest should not be cavalierly brushed aside". Any one who reads these essays with care will, however, realise that the correct attitude for India to take in this matter would be, not to talk of withdrawing from the League, but to strengthen its hands that the material returns that India would derive from this expenditure by way of an increased international stature would be worth more than the money spent. Dr. Lanka Sundaram has emphasised this aspect of India's connection with Geneva, and in his judgment, great as are the direct social advantages through labour legislation which India has gained by her membership of the I. L. O., these are not by any means more important than the distinguished position which India has now won in the international industrial and social sphere. No mention will here be made of the main thesis of Professor Keith's brilliant contribution to this volume, since his remarks on the vital question of "India in the Empire" raise certain grave issues regarding the present unsatisfactory position of Indians in the British Empire, which ought to be studied first-hand and pondered over both in India and in other parts of the British dominions if the British Empire as such is to continue to exist.

Altogether, this bunch of essays has a perfume all its own, and if the same level of excellence is maintained in the remaining three volumes, the "India Analysed" series may be sure of wide popularity among the discerning public.

P. P. PILLAI.

PROBLEM OF FARM ECONOMICS.

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF FARM COSTING WITH FARM STUDIES. By P. C. PATIL. (Government Central Press, Bombay.) 1933. 23cm. 92p. Rs. 4-12-0.

THIS book is the result of the labours and experience of an officer who has spent a life-time in the Agri-

cultural Department of the Bombay Presidency. During this time he has had experience of the District Teaching and Research work. Further he has had the opportunity of studying under well-known people in America more than once. As such, his equipment for writing a book of this kind is almost perfect, and the book therefore deserves the best consideration of all students of agriculture.

The author has happily recognised that the methods and standards used by American and other Western students do not necessarily apply to Indian conditions. This has meant a certain amount of preliminary work of determining the standards that should be applied here and the author's exposition of this part of the work is lucid enough. Where farming is not carried on strictly as a business but as a means of livelihood, the principles and other considerations of economic theory applicable to other professions do not strictly apply. When fresh ground is broken and new standards are set up, there is bound to be a difference of opinion. As however, such investigations are continued by different workers in different parts of India, we can expect the gradual evolution of methods and valuations which admit of accurate interpretation. While it is true that farming in India is more diversified than in other countries, it is difficult to see why a comparison of different farms is not feasible. We adopt standard measures or units of labour, costs, and income. While taking the individual farm as a unit for study, it may still be worth while to study cost accounts for individual crops and departments on the farm.

For details of methods and calculations, one must be referred to the book itself. Here again there is room for considerable difference of opinion about the accuracy of data collected by people visiting farms at periodic intervals and getting information by questioning the farmer, about the advisability of including or excluding certain items of farm expenses or receipts, methods of calculation and such other details.

The student of Farm Economics will find plenty of valuable and interesting information in the pages of this book. That there may exist differing views about methods and values does not in any way detract from the usefulness of the volume under review. This is a pioneer effort and further work by the author himself and others is bound to clarify issues as time goes on. Now that the author has retired from service, it would not be too much to hope that he will continue the work he has started. It might be safe to predict that, freed from his official duties, he will be able to come into closer and more direct contact with farmers, and thereby perfect his technique and interpretation of investigations into the economic life of farmers.

The collection of data in villages to give a picture of life therein is only the first step in the direction of bringing the village prominently before the public. The study of farming costs involving a detailed examination of farms and farmers with a view to assessing the economic values and implications seems to be the second step following on the first. The next step is for educated men, armed with all this knowledge, themselves becoming farmers and otherwise permanently attached to rural life, thus helping to provide first-hand material out of their own personal experiences, which would enable others to follow their example and make the villages the centres of culture they were of old.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

SHORT NOTICES.

INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN. By B. D. BASU. (R. Chatterjee, Calcutta.) 1933. 26cm. 570p. Rs. 10/—

"INDIA under the British Crown" by Major Basu is a companion volume to his new famous work "Rise of the Christian Power in India." The present book contains the story of the British occupation and rule of India from where it was left in the earlier volume and brings it down almost to the present day. In the wealth of material that it contains, in the elaborate documentation of events, "India under the British Rule" bears a close resemblance to "Rise of the Christian Power in India" and fully sustains Mr. Basu's reputation for scholarship.

Major Basu's method of writing the book is at once able and impartial and no one can charge him with being a carping critic, considering that all his statements are supported by lengthy quotations from contemporary records or writers. In fact Major Basu draws very few conclusions as the evidence that he adduces in support of his statements is sometimes more suggestive than any conclusions can be and the reader is enabled to make his own estimate of man and actions. Thus perhaps the greatest service which Major Basu has rendered to historical research is the shattering of certain generally accepted conceptions of British Indian rulers as a result of incorrect or inadequate information about their actions. This result he has achieved by quoting extensively from the writings of the persons concerned themselves.

Major Basu's present book also heightens his reputation for simplicity and directness of style, analytical presentation of the subject and clarity of thought. The publishers should be congratulated on their bringing out this book in the manner that they did.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

REVIVED MEMORIES. By K. SUBBA RAO. (Ganesh & Co., Madras.) 1933. 22cm. 518p. Rs. 5/—

THIS is a collection of articles that were originally contributed to the *Hindu* of Madras with a foreword by the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, C. H., written in a style fitted for light narrative. The book embodies the impressions gained from the inner and intimate knowledge by the author of the public life of Southern India in the half century beginning about 1870. In the panorama of personalities that are presented with a sense of justice and an abundance of charity gets an authentic knowledge of the conditions of the public life of the period and the currents and cross-currents underlying it. And the glimpses into the inner lives of the publicists and public servants, whose memory is fast fading in the stress and storm of the present, will give valuable food for thought to the critical student or historian of the organic growth of the Nationalist movement in Southern India. In a period of our history where the possibilities of public work, the intensity of public life or the initiation of public policies were necessarily meagre, great intellects and great hearts with the generous ambition of serving their country had to labour in cramped and narrow fields; but the pictures drawn of them are bold, vivid, colourful and true. If there was tragedy in the limitedness of their spheres and action, there is the joy of seeing them do things like true heroes. Not the least important con-

tribution which these pages make to our knowledge are the chapters detailing the then conditions of education and the indirect mention of the policies and officers of the Education Department half a century ago. In this varied experience as teacher, editor and civil servant in three Native States, the author—who, it is regrettable to record, died soon after the publication of the book—came across many sorts and conditions of men and things, but selecting the giants he has artfully woven round them a chapter of South Indian history which is a fit prelude to the great and exciting events that we are now witnessing. To the student of the contemporary history of the Madras Presidency and Mysore this volume will certainly serve as a valuable aid in his endeavour to trace the origin of movements or to assess properly the worth of the public work of Indian officials and non-officials in these provinces.

We heartily commend the book to all public workers—especially of South India.

N. RANGANATHAM.

IDEALS AND REALITIES. By DIWAN CHAND SHARMA. (Oxford University Press.) 1933. 20cm. 214p. Rs. 2/8.

ONCE again, Professor Diwan Chand Sharma has struck—this time not with a collaborator but off his own bat—a new and happy vein of prose anthology. Under the felicitously expressive title of *Ideals and Realities* he has assembled not essays on filmy themes—bottles woven of hay wisps—but serious extracts that have a hammer-beat on reality, even when they throw open vistas. Lord Haldane on 'The Conduct of Life,' Galasworthy on 'International Thought,' Earl Russell on 'Value of Philosophy,' Earl Balfour on 'Co-Partnership,' Dr. John Brown on 'Education through the Senses,' Sir William Ramsay on 'The Scientific Ideal,' Hilare Belloc on 'Reality' and Wells on 'The Federation of Mankind,'—these cannot but provide chart and binocular to the young wayfarer before he begins his 'hike' through life. But these are not all, for Professor Sharma, with a fine flair, has brought together bookmen as well as statesmen to act as cicerone to the student desirous of guidance in respect of ideals and conduct, concerning himself individually and the world at large. In compiling these essays on 'Ideals and Realities,' the editor is governed by this two-fold purpose, of making his young readers more vividly sensible of what they could make of themselves and what they own to the world. We warmly recommend this anthology to the Boards of Studies of our Indian Universities; for, neither light nor heavy, it has bowels and vision. It will beckon the reader on.

R. SADASIVA AIYAR.

THE FOUNTAIN OF LIFE. By SHRIRAM NARAYAN AGARWAL. (The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad.) 1933. 20cm. 50p.

HERE is a writer of vision and fine ensuings, whose heart and soul are in the right place. Compassion for suffering and hunger for reality are in him and he has the secret of his art. But he has not yet caught the magic that turns lead into gold and his epithets do not rise above *clichés*. There is doubtless expression and observation, but both lack *individuality*, the hall-mark of a poet. But, as we have said,

he has the secret in him to which the critic must render homage with pleasure and humility.

R. S.

INDIA. THE LANDSCAPE, THE MOMENTS AND THE PEOPLE. By MARTIN HURLMANN. (Taraporewala.) 30cm. Rs. 20.

THE publishers deserve to be heartily congratulated on the production of this exquisitely got up book. It contains over 300 pictures bearing on Indian culture, both past and present. In view of the widespread interest excited by India in Western lands at the present day, the publication of the book must be said to be very timely. Its publication also happens to be so timed that the book may serve as an ideal Christmas present. In taking the photos reproduced in this volume, an endeavour has been made, as the author explains, "to keep the directness of personal impressions, and at the same time to avoid photographic arbitrariness, which only too often claims to be 'artistic,' letting the beauty of the country and of its movements speak for itself." He further says: "At the same time that I was trying to capture the beauty of India, I wished, likewise, to illustrate her soul." We have no hesitation in saying that this object has been admirably fulfilled.

M. H. V.

BHAGAVAD GITA. Translated by N. V. THADANI. (Bharat Publishing House, Karachi.) 1933. 11cm. 190p.

THIS translation is neither fish nor flesh nor good red herring—we mean, it is neither verse nor prose nor English. The translation is loose and slipshod at that, and the whole labour could have been spared.

R. S.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE CAULDRON BOLLS. Poland and Its Minorities. By EMIL LEGYEL. (Grayson & Grayson.) 1933. 20cm. 285p. 8/6.
- A CRITICAL STUDY OF GOLD RESERVES AND THE MONETARY STANDARD. By D. S. EDWARDS. (King.) 1933. 20cm. 148p. 5/-.
- MONEY, BUSINESS AND PRICES. By JOHN PHILIP WERTHE. (King.) 1933. 20cm. 99p. 5/-.
- THE WESTERN INDIA GUIDE AND DIRECTORY, 1933-34. By THOMAS PETERS. (Author, East Street, Poona.) 1933. 22cm. 416p. Rs. 3.
- INTO THE SUN. By FRIEDA H. DAS. (Dent.) 1933. 20cm. 312p. 7/6.
- NAKED ASCETIC. By DICTOR DANE. (Rider & Co.) 1933. 20cm. 285p. 7/6.
- THE LAWBREAKER. By E. ROY CALVERT and THEODORA CALVERT. (Routledge.) 1933. 20cm. 294p. 7/6.
- INDIAN FINANCE YEAR-BOOK, 1933. Ed. by P. R. SRINIVAS. (Author, 20, British Indian Street, Calcutta.) 1933. 26cm. 356p. Rs. 5.
- THE BANK OF NOVA SCOTIA, 1832-1932. (The Bank of Nova Scotia, London.) 1933. 25cm. 166p.
- INDIAN INDUSTRY AND ITS PROBLEMS. Vol. I. By H. R. SONI. (Longmans.) 1932. 25cm. 439p. Rs. 10.
- THE NEW JURISPRUDENCE. By EDWARD JENKS. (John Murray.) 1933. 22cm. 290p. 9/-.
- AIR-SENSE. By W. O. MANNING. (Pitman.) 1933. 22cm. 83p. 3/6.