

# Servant of India

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## Topics of the Week.

### The Nobel Prizeman.

WE offer our hearty felicitations to Dr. Sir C. V. Raman, F. R. S., on the honour conferred on him by the authorities responsible for the award of the Nobel Prize. Dr. Raman is a remarkable man in every way. He entered the Indian Finance Department at a very early age and even during the few years of his active life in the Department found time for research. The late Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, the great Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, chose young Mr. Raman for the Palit Professorship and was successful in inducing him to resign a service which had every promise of making Dr. Raman's life as happy as money could make it. But Dr. Raman heard the call of service and research. During all these years he has built up steadily a school of research in Physics at Calcutta. He has been the mainstay of the Indian Science Congress which is today a power in the land. Dr. Raman has also travelled widely in different parts of the world. He is an international figure. The Nobel Prize is not only a great honour to the great scientist, but is a recognition of India's scientific capacity. We may add that a few days ago he was awarded the Hughes Medal by the Royal Society.

### The Round Table Conference.

THE pomp and ceremony that attended the opening by the King of the Round Table Conference in London on the 12th inst. was in keeping with the importance and significance of the Conference. The speeches of the King and the Premier, though inspired by lofty sentiments and noble ideals, were largely confined to generalities. The outstanding speeches were those of Messrs Sastri and Jinnah. The former drew pointed attention to the significance of the Crown in the British Commonwealth. It was a symbol of unity. It

is also "the fountain of Justice, freedom, and equality among the various peoples of the Commonwealth and loyalty, therefore enjoins faithful and unceasing pursuit of these ideals and we should be failing in our duty to the Crown if we knowingly tolerated anywhere under the British flag conditions that produced injustice, inequality or undue restrictions on the growth of communities." We hope the significance of this true interpretation of the ideals of the British Commonwealth were not altogether lost on Gen. Hertzog, who, we are glad to note, was present at the meeting. Mr. Sastri defined the purpose of the Conference to be the liberal interpretation and the translation into action of the statements made by the Viceroy that dominion status was implicit in the Montagu announcement of 1917 and it was the desire of the Government to transfer the maximum of power to Indian hands. Mr. Jinnah invited the Premiers of the Dominions to witness the birth of a new Dominion of the British Commonwealth.

### Federation.

HOW thoroughly the Despatch of the Government of India is out of date, though it was signed as recently as September last, is indicated by the news that at the plenary session of the Round Table Conference both the Princes and the British Indians considered the integration of British India and Indian India a matter of the moment and not a dream of the distant future, as the Government of India Despatch presumed. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is reported to have said on the 17th in his brilliant speech opening the British Indian case that federation of British India and Indian India was "a real, live issue now." There is every probability that the Indian States will immediately join a federation, and be even willing that the right of paramountcy should be exercised by the Viceroy on the advice of the Prime Minister of the Dominion of India. In his reply to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's query, the Maharaja of Bikaner advocated a federation of British India and the Indian States. It is not clear from the speeches whether in the proposed federation, the whole of British India will be a single constituent unit or the British Indian provinces. The latter is the Simon solution and the former has the approval of by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar. There can be no question that a unitary Government of India for the whole of Greater India will be the best solution, but it appears that the Indian Princes are unwilling to come under such a constitution, though they will not be the worse for it. "A unitary State, with a sovereign parliament at Delhi to which the whole people could look for large and small things was impossible," said the Maharaja of Bikaner. The Maharaja's difficulty may well be met by extensive devolution of power.

### The Communal Settlement ?

GRATIFYING news comes from London that at

long last some settlement has been achieved on the communal question. It appears that it was agreed that Sind should be separated from Bombay, that the N. W. F. Province should have the same constitution as any other Province, that recruitment to the public services should be left to the Public Services Commissions, charged with the duty of seeing that no community has a monopoly of jobs, and that it was open to two-thirds of the members of any particular denomination to suspend for a year the operation of any bill to which they take objection on religio-social grounds, that if at the end of the year, the bill was re-enacted, it was subject to the veto of the head of the Government, and that the validity of the bill may also be questioned in the Supreme Court. Whatever be the merits of these proposals, it is gratifying that Muslims have agreed to the principle of joint electorates.

A latter cable says that the tentative agreement was denounced by Extremist Muslims!

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#### The Depressed Classes Mission, Mangalore.

WE are glad to see from an account of its work, published on another page, that the Depressed Classes Mission at Mangalore has been continuing its admirable work for the depressed classes. It rightly attaches special importance to the spread of education among these classes, for education alone can bring about a permanent improvement in their condition and raise their status. The schools maintained by the Mission do not cater merely for the educational needs of these unfortunate people, but try to instil into them the value of sanitation and cleanliness. It is a good thing that admission for caste Hindu children to the higher elementary school run by the Mission is not barred. Good example is infectious and the presence of high-class Hindu boys, besides promoting better mutual understanding, will also bring about an improvement in the general level of depressed class children. The education imparted in this school, the account tells us, is free and on up-to-date lines. Books, slates, clothing, etc. are given free to all pupils. Free midday meals are given to the pupils which serves to secure regular attendance and to give them much needed nourishment, which their usual food does not provide. It is a matter for satisfaction that the District Educational Council gives liberal grants in support of this school. All the same there is a big deficit which the Mission is called upon to make good every year. We trust more generous support on the part of Government as also of the public will be forthcoming in ample measure.

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#### Administration of Local Boards in Bombay.

To judge from the Government Resolution on the working of local boards in the Bombay presidency, one cannot say it is satisfactory. Quite a number of boards failed to hold the minimum number of meetings prescribed under the Local Boards Act; while in Sind, we are told, transaction of business by circular was not infrequent, so much so that Government were required to express their dissatisfaction of it. The audit of the board accounts disclosed in many cases serious irregularities with the result that several of the office-bearers had to be criminally prosecuted. Nor can we say that this state of affairs was noticeable only in a particular part of the presidency. The tendency to regard audit as something of a nuisance which must somehow be got rid of or evaded seems to be fairly common and does not speak well for the solicitude on the part of the board officials for the proper use of public funds. That members themselves should be guilty of over-drawing travelling allowances, as we find some of

them were in the Southern Division, is disgraceful. Slackness of supervision with the inevitable corollary of slackness in the recovery of dues seems almost general. This shows that all the energy expended in getting oneself elected to the board and then as an office-bearer is in most cases unaccompanied by the necessary public spirit which would make the member give a part of his time regularly to the work of the board. The institution of village panchayats is also not thriving, there being none of them in Sind and comparatively few in other parts. And like that of their parent bodies, the boards, the administration of the panchayats, too, is far from satisfactory. Instances are given in the Government Resolution of panchayats in whose working grave irregularities were found out. This is very deplorable and cannot cease unless the office-bearers persuade themselves not to take an undue advantage of their position but to enforce the rules and regulations strictly and impartially. The Government Resolution refers to the universal recognition of the utter inadequacy of the boards' resources for their obligations and to the impossibility of the Government coming to their rescue in their present financial condition. It need hardly be said that this means the indefinite postponement of the development of education and other public utility services on the part of the boards. Though the outlook is no doubt gloomy, the boards can get more even out of their present resources, insufficient as they undoubtedly are, if every rupee is made to go all the way it can. This was in effect the advice given at Karachi on the 17th inst. by the Governor of Bombay in his reply to the address presented to him by the Thar Parkar District Local Board when he asked it "to try to utilise this period of arrested development to study your organisation fully and see that it is designed to combine the maximum of efficiency and economy." The advice is of general application and will, we trust, not fall on deaf ears.

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#### Madras Excise Administration.

WE believe that the Madras Government is committed to prohibition as the goal of its excise policy; but the excise administration report of that province for 1929-30 does not give much ground for the hope that the goal will be reached in the near future. We do not mean to imply that nothing was done during the year with a view to hasten the attainment of the goal; but it was comparatively little. There has been a slight fall, 2-3 per cent, in the consumption of country liquor; but it is more than set off by the rapidly growing use of foreign liquor, the consumption of beer having nearly doubled itself in eight years. Though, as the report assures us, it is not the poorer, but the more well-to-do, sections of the community that are increasingly going in for foreign drinks, that does not make the fact of their wider use any the less disquieting. And it is time measures were devised to check the growing evil. We observe that the policy of rationing, which was working so well in Bombay, is being enforced as an experimental measure for two years in three municipalities, the ration being fixed at 5 per cent. less than the average consumption for the last five years. The experiment had been in force for a year from 1st April 1929 and is reported to have worked satisfactorily with the result that its life has been doubled. The Madras Government did well in meeting the objection generally levelled against the rationing system that it leads to illicit distillation by engaging a special staff to prevent any unauthorised additions to the sources of supply. We do hope rationing will soon be extended to the other parts of the presidency so that prohibition will come automatically at the end of twenty years and will give Government enough time to make the necessary financial adjustments.

Another reform carried out during the year as an experiment in prohibition was the closure of all country liquor and toddy shops in two small areas in the Salem district where the ground seems to have been prepared by means of non-official propaganda. While it is yet too early to say anything as regards its results, the experiment is having considerable local support, which is doubtless a happy augury for its success. It is also satisfactory to note that the prohibition of sale of any kind of liquor to members of the hill tribes on the Nilgiris except on a medical certificate was continued. Another temperance measure, though of minor importance, introduced during the year, was the closure of all liquor and drug shops on elections days within three miles of the polling booths and on Sundays and public holidays in specified areas. As a result of the Legislative Council sanctioning a grant of four lakhs of rupees for temperance propaganda, a Central Propaganda Board in Madras and district propaganda committees outside came into being; but they worked only during the latter part of the year to which the report relates. So, as the report puts it, "it is neither surprising nor disappointing that little visible results were achieved" during the time in which the scheme was in operation and the report expresses the hope that it will have greater and quicker effect if women came forward and took a practical interest in the movement.

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#### Minorities in Esthonia.

IF a few post-war States in Europe have solved their minorities problem satisfactorily, it was not due so much to the influence of the League of Nations as to their own good sense. Among them is the small state of Esthonia. Dr. Ewald Ammende, who was primarily responsible for the happy result, relates in a recent issue of the *Headway* the fascinating story. The reconciliation between loyalty to the state and allegiance to cultural affinities was brought about by the acceptance of "cultural self-government." It provided that "all those who belonged to one national stock should be allowed to develop and manage their schools and cultural institutions without let and hindrance, to elect a 'cultural parliament,' and, with its help, actually to tax the members of the minority, according to their capacity, for cultural purposes. In addition they were to have the right to deduct from their payments of State and local taxes their contribution to this cultural expenditure. Instead, that is to say, of paying the ordinary education rate, they would contribute that amount for the upkeep of their own schools." There was a great deal of opposition to this idea in the first instance on the ground that it would create a State within a State. But the German minorities gave guarantees that the autonomy would be limited absolutely to cultural questions, and that if the limits were over-stepped, the autonomy might be vetoed by the State. The State was also to have sufficient right of control over the autonomous bodies and their chief officials were to be acceptable to the State. The Esthonian autonomy law was passed in 1925, and has worked admirably.

It will be noticed that the minority problem was solved by the admission of cultural autonomy. Political claims or activities were rigidly excluded. The control of education, libraries, museums, and cultural societies, was transferred to the 'cultural parliament' and nothing more. The minority was allowed to tax itself and received contribution from the general funds of the States. No other claims were made or allowed. In that respect the claims of the minorities in India, particularly of the Muslims, differ fundamentally from those of the minorities in Esthonia.

## Articles.

### AN INSULT TO INDIA.

THE Despatch of the Government of India on constitutional reform will be received not only with disappointment but with dismay and disgust. Far from facilitating the work of the Round Table Conference, it will greatly embarrass the delegates and add one more deadly handicap to the all too numerous handicaps they are already suffering from. Nobody expected any good from the Simon Report and in consequence, its inadequate and reactionary proposals caused no surprise and no disappointment. The expectations of the Government of India's proposals, sponsored by Lord Irwin, were pitched to a different key. The Simon Commission deliberately and peevishly declined to take note of the recent political developments in India; their conclusions were based largely on the evidence they received which was lop-sided and incomplete, and, in some respects, perverse. The Government of India were in a better position that way, and their appreciation of the political forces moving the country is more accurate and fair. The Government are impressed by the strength of the nationalist forces, if also of their limitations. And they proceed to observe that "the time has passed when it was safe to assume the passive consent of the governed. The new system must be based as far as possible on the willing consent of a people whose political consciousness is steadily being awakened." They correctly describe Indian aspirations:

There is a strong demand among those who are stirred by the rising feeling of nationalism that India should be allowed to manage her own affairs at the centre, as in the provinces, and, above all, that she should have a chance of devising and pursuing a national policy in matters of finance, commerce and industry, which might improve the general economic conditions of the country.

They admit that if the principle of responsibility to the legislature was established in the central executive, Indian sentiment would be satisfied to a great extent and Indian suspicions of the real intentions of the British Government allayed. And they deliberately come to the conclusion that:

The conditions for a substantial transfer of power are not unfavourable, and we are convinced that the time has come when the broadest considerations of Imperial policy demand that we should spare no efforts, and even take some risks, in order to arrive at a constitutional solution which will give reasonable scope to the ideas and aspirations that are moving India today.

Lord Irwin went further in his speech to the Assembly on the 9th July and in his letter to Mr. Jayakar. In the latter he said:

It remains my earnest desire, as it is that of my Government, and I have no doubt also of His Majesty's Government, to do everything that we can in our respective spheres to assist the

people of India to obtain as large a degree of the management of their own affairs as can be shown to be consistent with making provision for those matters in regard to which they are not at present in a position to assume responsibility.

How have the Government of India translated their promise to transfer the maximum of power possible and retain only the minimum necessary into concrete proposals in their Despatch? Their proposals belie their conclusions, defeat their promises and violate their pledges. They have transferred nothing to Indian hands at the centre and introduced no element of responsibility there. The constitution of the Government of India is to remain much as it is to-day, except that one or more of the three Indian members may be appointed from among the elected members of the Central Legislature. Even these members are not to be responsible to the legislature; only they retain their elected seats in it.

And what is the justification for this reluctance to implement the Government's promises? How does it happen that the maximum of transferable power is nil and the minimum of untransferable power is all? Britain has interests in India control over which cannot be transferred; even otherwise, Indians are incompetent to control; and the British trade and industry fear adverse discrimination. Britain and India are partners in the government of India, only the former is the principal partner and the latter can have only such power as the former will trust her with. It is not even a partnership of equals! There are matters in which the British Parliament will be in continuous control and direction, such as defence, foreign affairs, internal security, and financial obligations. There is a second category of subjects in which, if there should be a difference of opinion, the view of the British Government should prevail; and in it are included methods of taxation, tariffs and commercial policy, and the management of railways. There is the third category of subjects which may be decided by India—provided, again, Indian policies do not come in conflict with those of the British. In all the three categories, therefore, every policy is subject to the final veto of British policies and interests.

It is quite understandable that Britain has interests in India which should be protected against spoliation, as, for instance, the interest on public debt, the pensions of the retired British officers, etc. There is, in the first instance, no reason to suppose that a dominion government of India will repudiate these obligations. But to make things doubly sure, the constitution may include a clause to make these obligations the first charge on the central revenues. The Government of India are not content merely with demanding such a guarantee, but go the length of doubting if the dominion government will levy taxes enough to cover these obligations! Here are the precious paragraphs:

But (a) a first charge on revenue is of no value unless the necessary taxes are levied to produce sufficient revenue, and

(b) in this case the total of the charges including only cost of the army, interest on loans and pensions amounts to about 80 per cent. of the net

revenue of the Central Government. Where a "first charge" absorbs all but a narrow margin of the total revenue, the security implied by the nomenclature disappears. In such a case, the authority responsible for seeing that these payments are made has an intimate concern in the whole financial administration of the country.

The Government of India seriously advance the view that a responsible Indian Government will not only not acknowledge their financial obligations but will deliberately reduce taxation in order to defeat them! They are not asking for a safeguard but diabolically distrusting Indian integrity and character. Starting with this mentality, it is small wonder that they object to the transfer of finance to a popular Minister. It logically follows from this that finance cannot be transferred as long as there is a single British pension to pay and an anna of interest to pay on a foreign loan. If the Government's fears are honest, they would have, as an alternative, made proposals for the compounding of pensions and the liquidations of loans. But nothing of the kind. By drastic financial arrangements, these difficulties might be shoved out of the way. But that is not what the Government want. Even if these difficulties be met, they say, there are other difficulties which are not capable of precise determination and of the solution of which His Majesty's Government must, in the last resort, be the sole judge!

And yet with irritating patronage the Government of India pretend that these doubts need not constitute a permanent obstacle to any transfer of financial responsibility. When confidence is established in Indian administration, finance can be transferred to Indians. Do the Government honestly believe that their deliberate insult to and distrust of Indian character will ever produce a state of things which will inspire confidence of the British in Indian administration? Repeatedly they urge that mutual trust and confidence, mutual understanding and common consent are vital to the success of any constitution. Are these likely to be produced by the policy Government propose to follow?

Similar arguments have been advanced to refuse the transfer of other departments of the Government of India to popular hands. They propose to transfer the department of Industries. They sympathise with the Indian desire to speed up the industrial development of India. They grant that "if the control of the tariff is placed in the hands of the Indian legislature, it will control the most powerful instrument which can be used to promote industrial development." And yet they decline to transfer tariffs and commerce to popular hands because of considerations of revenue and international relations. The Government have given no shred of justification to suppose that an Indian finance minister will approve of tariff policies which will cripple seriously the finances of the Government. As for the latter, the Government observe, "tariff policy may have international reactions, or may raise questions between India and other parts of the Empire, and Parliament must necessarily retain control in the sphere of external relations." If this contention is valid, the tariff policies of the other Dominions also should be

controlled by the British Parliament. No, it is distrust of Indian capacity and character again. !

But enough has been said to bring out the spirit that inspires the Government of India proposals—the same old bureaucratic conservative attitude of contempt and distrust; the same reiteration of the right of Great Britain to be the sole judge of India's capacity and trustworthiness; the same admonition to Indians to behave like good boys and win the approval and approbation of the British masters. If any aspect has received some extra emphasis, it is the fear that if Indians get power, they will use it to ruin British interests in India. The professions of undivided concern for the good of India and the pretensions that the British are in India for the sole good and uplift of India have receded into the back-ground. The chief objective is to safeguard British preserves and privileges, and because of the fear that they may be jeopardised by an Indian Government, it is proposed not to transfer any power to them at all. Along this line of fear, India will never be fit to be trusted with dominion status. For the hatred of England will only grow with the refusal to trust India with power and will make transfer at any subsequent date even more disastrous than now. The gap will only widen and not close. But if India is trusted and given power, the probabilities are that Indians will soon forget they had any grievances against England and adopt policies solely for the purpose of helping India and not of hindering England. The Government of India were prepared to take risks. The risks of trust are infinitely less than the risks of distrust.

The only consolation is that the Government of India's proposals were out of date when they were published, as events at the Round Table Conference show and they may be put on the shelf by the side of the unwanted Simon recommendations.

#### FEDERALISM IN INDIA.

THE Muslim demand that in the future constitution of India the constituent provinces should be the repositories of residual powers and that no further change in the constitution should be brought about except by the consent of all the provinces is an issue of the greatest magnitude. Apart from the Princes, it is apparent that no nationally and rationally minded thinker is inclined willingly to accept the propositions contained in the above noted demand. It seems unfortunate, however, that the issue between the central and the provincial governments as rival claimants to residuary powers should have been clouded by an altogether unnecessary controversy regarding 'Unitary' and 'Federal' forms of government. Those who plump for a strong central government and wide yet specific provincial functions are quite incorrectly taken to be advocates of a 'Unitary' as opposed to the 'Federal' form of government. It is desired in the course of this article to point out that a strong central government endowed with residuary powers is theoretically in accordance with the principle of federalism and that in the light of India's constitutional history it is the only natural and safe

ordering of the relations between the central and the provincial governments in a self-governing India.

At the cost of appearing presumptuous, the present writer feels constrained to remark that the confusion between a strong and unitary central government has been helped forward by an unduly narrow definition of 'Federalism' adopted by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer in his admirable book on Indian Constitutional Problems. Sir Sivaswamy justly criticises Lord Haldane's definition of a federation and points out that the constitutions of United States and Canada both belong to the federal type, though they vary with regard to the important question of the allocation of residuary powers. Having thus rightly concluded that the allocation of residuary powers is no essential part of a federal scheme the distinguished author, however, adopts as his own a definition of Federalism which itself is unnecessarily narrow.

"In my opinion", says Sir Sivaswamy, "the true test of a federal government is the distribution of the powers and functions of sovereignty between a central and two or more provincial governments in such a manner that the distribution cannot be altered, except with the concurrence of both the central and provincial governments, or by the nation at large which is supreme over both authorities." That the distribution of powers and functions must be between a central government on the one hand and *two or more* provinces on the other is really no essential part of a federation. This is illustrated by the position that Croatia held in the Hungarian constitution before the war. Since 1872 Croatia had a separate parliament which legislated on a part of those matters which were not regarded as common to the whole of the territories of the Hungarian crown, the rest of such matters being legislated on in the Hungarian parliament at Budapest, to which Croatia sent deputies, the Croatian deputies voting in the Hungarian parliament not on all matters, but only on such matters as were not legislated separately in the Croatian parliament. This organisation is recognised as a peculiar form of federality by political writers.

Nor is there any warrant to say that the distribution of powers and functions, which constitutes the only essential part of a federation, should be such as cannot be altered except by the concurrence of the provinces and the central government or by an extraordinary legislature. What matters really is not a statutory equality of the constituent provinces with the central government in this respect but the practical assurance that in all reasonably conceivable circumstances the provinces will be left alone to enable them to administer important public matters according to the wishes of their citizens. Moreover, if it is admitted that a provision empowering a body, which can speak on behalf of the whole nation, to change the distribution of functions does not detract from federality, why should a constitution which leaves this function to the central legislature popularly elected for the major part, as in the case of the All Parties' Scheme, be not entitled to be called federal?

We know that this version of federalism is classified by Sir Sivaswamy as 'loose and confused

thinking.' It would, therefore, be worth while to quote the considered views of distinguished political philosophers and writers on this subject.

"You see what a complicated case this is of the operation of what I have called federality,—i. e. of the plan of uniting communities for certain important purposes of government, while they are separate and independent for certain other important purposes. I use these vague terms because the division of functions is made differently in different cases.... These are essential characteristics of the modern idea of a federal state:—a whole made up of parts, with approximate equality of political position among the parts, and a clean and precise as well as balanced and stable constitutional division of governmental functions between the government of the and whole the government of the parts."

Prof. Sidgwick, from whom the above is taken, must have been dissatisfied with this description also, because the pre-war German constitution which was accepted on all hands as being a federation left with the central government such a generality of powers and created for Prussia so dominant a position as to fall outside the requirements contained in the above definition. The fact is that the attempt to define federality too closely is futile. Wherever a substantially important and reasonably secure field is allowed for the independent action of a local government, there we have federality. Sir John Seely, the English historian and political writer goes even further and observes:

"I deny that between the unitary state and the federation or federal state there is any fundamental difference in kind. But I adopt the terms as marking conveniently a great difference which may exist between states in respect of the importance of local government.... Every political union which has not sufficient central power to deserve the name of a unitary state must in our system be called federal."

The Holy Roman, the Persian and the Turkish Empires were all federations in this sense.

It will be clear from the above that a constitution in which the central government has adequate powers to secure uniformity and efficiency in essential matters of national importance and which leaves a wide yet specific field for independent action of the provincial governments must be considered federal even though the latter cannot claim complete statutory freedom from and equality of status with the central government. There seems to be a reservation in the mind of some people to the effect that a constitution is not to be called federal unless there is an element of pact between the central and the provincial governments. That this argument is theoretically unsound will be obvious from the above analysis of federality. That it is not historically correct is also easily demonstrated.

Prof. Sidgwick, from whose book, '*The Development of European Polity*' we have already quoted, observes:

"We have another way in modern times in which federality has developed: namely by the establishment of secure national liberties, mainly under the influence of the sentiment of nationality, in states that were previously of the unitary type. Such states have often had

a kind of federality, only obscured by the predominance of the monarchical common government. The formation of states, in the feudal period and that of transition from feudalism, by marriage of hereditary lords with heiresses, naturally tended to this."

How very varied is the course of federal evolution and how diverse its existent forms is easily observed by a historical and comparative study of federations. That federations can rise as much by devolution as by a pact is borne out by historical fact and political theory.

The question of residuary powers in the future constitution of India has unfortunately been coloured by the all-pervasive communal controversy. But the dictates of history and constitutional science are clear on that point. Historically a case for the central government being the repository of residual powers is made out by the fact that, firstly, the provinces are to receive freedom of administration at the hands of the central government which at present controls all functions, and when the field demanded by self-conscious and self-governing provinces is conceded to them what remains is the central field; and secondly, as Sir Sivaswamy rightly points out, the course of Indian history has on more than one occasion exhibited separatist tendencies of various kinds, and unless the central government is free to meet all unspecified contingencies a premium will be placed on these very fissiparous influences. Constitutionally also it is plain that when divided sovereignty emerges out of a unitary state residuary powers, which are necessary for securing stability and for meeting unforeseen circumstances, should vest where the whole sovereignty rested before the process of division commenced.

Federalism is not a legal term, it is a political fact. Since the days of the Achaean League in ancient Greece to the present day different forms of federated state life have emerged so as to suit the conditions of time, place and peoples. There is likely to be a special Indian type of federalism with the following important attributes: (a) the central government to be empowered with important co-ordinating, financing and supervisory functions and to be the custodian of residuary powers, so far as its relations with the British Indian provinces are concerned; (b) the provinces to have a wide yet specific field of independent action wherein the central government would be expected to intervene only for remedying gross and dangerous inefficiency and to secure co-ordination of effort in national matters; (c) the future changes in the constitution to be made dependent on a substantial majority of the central legislature, composed of one federal and one popular chamber; (d) the Indian States to surrender to the national government specific functions of all-India importance, and be prepared to invite the same treatment in those respects as would be received by the provinces, in return for a proportional share in the composition of the central government; (e) the Indian States to have residuary powers unlike the British Indian provinces; and (f) a change in the distribution of functions between the Indian States and the national Indian government to be brought about by a

substantial majority of the whole of the central legislature with the concurrence of a large majority of states' representatives in the federal chamber.

D. G. KARVE.

### THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AND THE PROBLEM OF RACE.

THE Jewish community in Durban (among whom I number some of my most treasured personal friends) presents at once a challenge and an example. In a land of race problems, and in a town that presents those problems in an acute form, the Jewish people say (in effect but not in words): "What are you worrying about? If you did not worry so much there would really be no problem. We have but recently come from countries where *we* were regarded as a race problem; and look at us now!"

That, of course, is the challenging fact. There are many Jews in Durban who have come from countries in Europe where they suffered disabilities of various kinds, were denied the franchise, denied freedom of movement and choice of home: that is, treated very much as Indians are treated in Natal. As South Africa was too busy making a "problem" of Indians and Natives it allowed the Jews to be just ordinary citizens like anybody else, which was a good thing for the Jews and a still better thing for South Africa.

Here in Durban we have seen members of the Jewish community elected to Parliament, sitting on the Provincial Executive, presiding over the Chamber of Commerce, decked in the Mayoral robes, and generally contributing to the many aspects of our communal life whether commercial, administrative or artistic. And no one in his senses would do other than rejoice that this is the case.

Owing to the curious passion of mankind for dividing off part of itself for special (and unpleasant) treatment, most of us have had our turn at one time or another. The recent celebrations of our Catholic friends reminded us that they have only just completed a hundred years of social freedom. But in the case of many Jews social disabilities of one kind or another are fresh in living memory; and, just because of this, it is, perhaps, not too much to hope that they may be both able and eager to contribute to the solution of this problem of race-relationship that is so much with us in Durban.

This race problem that is talked so much about, and written so much about, is really the problem of how people of different tradition, religion, custom, and standard of living, can adjust themselves so as to form a homogeneous community. The problem is forced upon us here in South Africa, and very definitely in Durban; and, owing to the modern developments of communication and transport between parts of the world previously separated, is forcing itself upon the world at large.

The problem can be solved as the Jewish community in South Africa has so happily demonstrated. And if a Jew and a Christian can work together for the good of the community to which they both belong,

why not a Jew and a Christian, a Hindu and a Mahomedan? Why not?

Unfortunately, merely to ask so simple a question will usually, in Durban, provoke some one to declare that the enquirer is wanting to reduce the whole population to a drab uniform mass, and to breathe fiercely the dread word, "miscegenation." Dr. Moton, one of the leaders of the American Negroes, used to answer similar objections by declaring that while he wanted to be the white man's brother he had no desire to be his brother-in-law. Fortunately, our mathematicians have demonstrated that there is a Highest Common Factor as well as a Lowest Common Multiple. Slavery, poverty, and indifference produce here and have always produced everywhere the Lowest Common Multiple; it remains for conscious effort, statesmanship, and understanding to produce the Highest Common Factor.

Some measure of uniformity there must be. There must be a common standard of health and the habits that promote health. The pollution of Natal rivers by the indentured Indians was one of the justifiable grounds of resentment felt by the Europeans towards the new-comers from Asia, and Mr. Sastri, when in Durban, was quick to see the importance of health standards among the Indian people. Some uniformity of education is essential if we are to speak the same language and understand each other's ideas. Most important, but most difficult, there must be a greater uniformity of economic standard if the elements of our population are to form a stable citizenship.

But of religious and racial uniformity there is no need. It is not necessary that a Hindu should carry a top hat into his temple, or that a devout member of the Church of England should discard his boots in the vestibule of his Church in order to achieve a measure of social unity. Nor is it necessary that each should discard his faith, lest the susceptibilities of the other be offended.

Here again the members of the Jewish community appear to offer an example. To an admiring Christian they appear to have solved the problem of how to share in the life of the whole community while retaining their own religion and racial solidarity. It would indeed be fair to say that their contribution to the community as a whole is the greater when their devotion to their own faith is most strong. A good Christian and a good Jew can together do more for society than two nondescripts, for there is a bond of sympathy and understanding between all religious people even though they may differ greatly as to the form of their faith. As Lavinia says in Bernard Shaw's most inspired play, "Androcles and the Lion":

"Religion is such a great thing that when I meet really religious people we are friends at once, no matter what name we may give to the divine will that made us and moves us."

While every principle of equity and humanity demands that these sections of any community placed in authority should regard, with justice and consid-

ration, those less fortunate than themselves, it is in the interest of any society that all its elements should be able to make their own contribution to the common good. Jews denied the opportunity of service in European countries have contributed greatly when afforded the opportunities of service. What gifts of statesmanship do we not lose when we deny the privileges of citizenship?

May it not be that we in South Africa, Jew and Christian alike, are denying ourselves and the country that we govern, when we deny to the other racial elements of our community the privileges of citizenship and the opportunities of service?

The Indian who came into Natal as an indentured labourer under a limited contract has already established himself as a definite part of our social life. He has not only added colour and variety to our town but has contributed greatly to the success of commerce and industry and the amenities of daily life. Might he not contribute more? In the person of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri we have been afforded a glimpse of a great wealth of culture, of statesmanship, of human personality.

The Durban Jewish Circle takes a lively interest in drama and reads and produces plays. The Indians in Durban cherish their drama in spite of almost overwhelming difficulties. Here is a ground of common interest upon which two groups might meet with advantage to both.

There is in many Indians an attitude to life, expressed in the teachings of the Buddha, in the writing of men like Gandhi and Tagore that, if given opportunity to become manifest, should help us all; a faith in things of the spirit. But western acquisitiveness and concern with material things might well be tempered by a little of the oriental concern for the things of the spirit and the mind.

And the native, who is, when all is said, by far the largest element in our population, can he also contribute, given encouragement and opportunity?

It is thought that the native, just emerging from primitive barbarism can only receive from the western civilisation which he encounters and cannot give to it anything of worth. Perhaps here the old paradox becomes truth; and he who gives does, by his giving, receive. But the native has definite gifts besides; his vitality and cheerfulness, for instance. Perhaps even his refusal to regard perpetual industry as good, is, in itself, a contribution? Have we not made a fetish of industry instead of regarding it as a means to an end—the development and enrichment of life? Above all could not our civilization of the west be enabled and made human by that quality that the natives call *Ubuntu*?—that which knits them together and makes them conscious of each other's needs: which means that while there is food in the tribe no member of the tribe shall hunger?

Our society is individual and acquisitive to an evil degree. Those of us who have accepted the title of Christian should not need to be reminded of this that the native calls *Ubuntu*; for we were told long ago that we are members one of another and that he

who has two coats should give to him that has none. Perhaps the greatest contribution that the Native can make to South African society is to remind us of the things we have forgotten.

MAURICE WEBB.

## Reviews.

### THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS.  
By FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG. (Macmillan, New York.) 1929. 23cm. 783 p. 181.

ENGLAND has distinguished herself in many directions, but in none so much as in politics. The topic of English political development is of perennial interest and when it is handled by so authoritative a pen as that of Dr. Ogg, the result is bound to be of more than ordinary interest. It cannot boast of that literary finish which we associate with the names of Bagehot and Dicey, but for the students of English constitution at the present moment the book under review is as authoritative as, and certainly fuller than, Bagehot's and Dicey's works in their day.

It is the beauty of the English constitution that it develops in a very unobtrusive fashion. Certain names may continue century after century and yet their meaning varies from decade to decade, and so a book like Dr. Ogg's is an inevitable necessity for those who have no opportunities to have an inner acquaintance with the workings of the English constitution. The decline of the House of Commons both in its prestige and its power is the inevitable result of the growth of party machinery and socialistic legislation, which has made the permanent civil service more important than ever before, and all this receives exhaustive treatment at the hands of Dr. Ogg. Perhaps the two most interesting questions in English politics at the present day are the position of the Crown and the position of the Dominions. There is no doubt that the republican feeling today is very strong in the world generally and one might expect *a priori* that the position of the King would be less strong in the English polity than before. But paradoxically enough this is not so. It is curious that after half a century Dr. Ogg has to use practically the same language about the King as Bagehot. If anything, in Dr. Ogg's opinion, the position of the Crown has grown stronger mainly due to the silent, but firm, influence wielded by Edward VII and His Majesty George V. Ministers come and go, but the King is there always in the background to supply the connecting links.

The position of the Dominions is a far more delicate problem, and he would be a bold man who would venture to offer any easy solution of the conundrum: Is the British Empire one or many? If the Dominions have a separate representation on the League of Nations, if they can enter into treaties with foreign powers and have their own representatives at the foreign courts, if they can hold aloof, when the mother-country is at war, and lastly if a Dominion has got the right to secede, where is the unity of the British Empire? It exists only as a sentiment, albeit a powerful sentiment. It exists in the person of the king, who symbolises in himself the ancient traditions, all the precious memories of olden days and irrepressible hopes for the future. Hence too the aptness of describing the English constitution as a "Crowned Republic." The expressions like His Majesty's "Army", His Majesty's "Navy", and "His Majesty's Inspectors" may in one sense be mere legal fictions, but in another, and perhaps far truer sense, they bring out the element of unity in the diversity of the British



Commonwealth of Nations. Dr. Ogg has nothing of importance to say about India, but if the Round Table Conference succeeds in securing Dominion status for India, there will be one more complexity in a subject already complex. It will also bring out more than anything ever done before the peculiar genius of England for compromising and working successfully seemingly impossible schemes, while others lose themselves in paper constitutions, beautifully harmonious, but unable to stand the stress of conflicting political ideals. The Conservatism of England is yet her greatest asset. She is often distressingly slow, but then the results are sure. When Dr. Ogg from "God's own Country" sees something great in the English constitution, it is a compliment. His book deserves to be read by every student of politics.

A. R. W.

### AN ENGLISHMAN'S AFRICAN ADVENTURES.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF SIR HARRY JOHNSTON. By ALEX JOHNSTON. (Cape, London.) 1929. 21 cm. 351 p. 12/6.

THE writer of this very interesting book is a younger brother of the late Sir Harry Johnston and was his private secretary for about thirteen years. In the Foreword he questions "the cynicism that a man is never a hero to his valet", and certainly proves that he can be one to his brother and secretary. Sir Harry published his autobiography in 1923. His brother's object has been 'to supplement, not to supercede' it by making use of unused correspondence and supplying a different viewpoint. The book, however, is fairly complete in itself and forms an excellent addition to popular biographical literature. The writer's gift for description and narrative, his sound judgment, a number of amusing incidents and stories, a sympathetic understanding and love of the subject (Sir Harry) without blindness to his foibles, a rich vein of humour—these command the reader's interest and ought to secure an assured place for the book in every library.

Sir Harry Johnston is a great and familiar name for all people interested in Africa, especially East Africa. Born in 1858 he was nearly 70 when he died in 1927. He was a versatile genius and worked his way to fame without the aid of university education. He was painter, explorer, scientist, administrator and author—all of a very high order. His work was confined to Africa, but it is a vast continent and he served in different parts of it. He coined the phrase "Cape to Cairo" and stood out for the policy represented by it. His best work, however, as explorer, scientist and administrator was done in East and Central Africa in the midst of savages and mosquito-borne diseases. He led the Kilimanjaro Expedition, put down slavery in Central Africa and reorganised the administration of Uganda. He was responsible for adding a big bit of Central Africa to the British Empire. Many were his adventures and narrow escapes. While on the Kilimanjaro expedition he routed a hostile tribe (which was on the point of over-powering a friendly one) by 'making magic' with rockets and other fireworks. In the Cameroons he and his party fell into the hands of a cannibal tribe. A naked Samson carried him like a child, deposited him in a hut and fastened the door on him. What did he find there?

"Several dismembered bodies of human beings were hanging round the walls on hooks, and a whole freeze of mummified heads grinned at him as he withdrew his hand in horror from contact with a greenish-black ham. When he had had plenty of time to wonder how soon his own

limbs would be smoked and added to this collection, he heard swift footsteps approaching, and his gigantic captor appeared. Saying something in an incomprehensible tongue, the man picked him up in the same manner as before and bore him towards the crowd in the market place, where the fires had nearly reached the fierce heat required for singeing and roasting. A tipsily noisy crowd was pressing round a penned off space in which his men were huddled together, except one of them—the only available interpreter. This man—Joseph Eyamba—was talking earnestly and vehemently with the village chief. Presently he told my brother quickly that though things had looked very bad at first, all was well for the moment. He had said that Harry was the only son of a great white Queen across the sea, who would exact the most terrible vengeance on any one harming her offspring but would confer powerful magic on those who received his embassy with friendship and respect.

With all the aplomb of a successful commercial traveller, Harry then and there produced a despatch box from the canoe and extracted from it a Treaty form. He next proceeded to propound to the Chief and the more sober of his braves how much better it would be to 'make a book' with him than a meal off him. The point was further debated between the pro-Treaty and the pro-Dinner parties. When the alternatives had been duly weighed in the balance, Harry managed to get the chief men to make their crosses or splodges on the Treaty form, which insured that Victoria was by the grace of God not only Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India, but also Suzerain of Ededama, the name of his cannibal country, which not even her Acting Consul had heard of before."

Sir Harry retired from the consular service in 1902 though he was only 43 years old on a meagre pension of £500. It was officially given out that his health had broken down, but the real reason, according to our author, was the hostility of the permanent officials in the Foreign Office who looked upon him as an outsider, because he had not joined the service through the university portals, and the hostility of Cecil Rhodes whose influence was then tremendous. Rhodes and Johnston had been good friends, but when the former suggested to the latter that he should make a raid, like what Dr. Jameson did later in South Africa, in Portuguese territory and capture a sea-port in order that Nyasaland may have an outlet to the sea, he refused to take the dishonourable step. "I will smash you, Johnston, for this", Rhodes is reported to have said at parting. After his return from Uganda where he was Special Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief for two years, he was offered no suitable post and so retired in disgust. He twice attempted unsuccessfully to enter Parliament as a Liberal candidate and then engaged himself in literary work and produced several valuable books on Africa. His offer to serve in East Africa during the war was not accepted by the Government. If it had been, perhaps, as the author observes, many lives might have been saved on account of his intimate knowledge of the country.

It should be a matter of some pride to us in India that he depended largely on the Sikhs for putting down slavery in Central Africa. In the nineties he came to India, toured the country widely, recruited picked men and officers for military service, and also took with him the best breeds of farm cattle and poultry and useful plants and fruit trees for being introduced in Central Africa. "He formed the highest possible opinion" of the Indian officers whom he recruited, and was a great favourite with the Sikhs who were reported to have admitted him to their brotherhood. For many years he had a faithful servant by name Virapan whom he

recruited at Aden and to whom he owed his life at least on one occasion.

V. V. S.

### ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

**LINCOLN.** By EMIL LUDWIG. Trs. by EDEN & CEDAR PAUL. (Putnams, London & New York.) 1930. 23cm, 532 p. 21/—

ABRAHAM LINCOLN is fortunate in his biographer and Emil Ludwig in his subject. A man of the people 'Honest Abe' provides a champion after the author's own heart and right well is he treated in this biography. Without disparaging other living biographers we may say that we have no biographer like Emil Ludwig. Others may be as learned as he; but none except he can present the subject of biography vividly and attractively to the common man, and if biography cannot be made to appeal to the general public, of what social value is it? In this book Emil Ludwig excels himself and it may well prove to be his masterpiece.

Greatness is made up of three qualities, virtue, industry and genius. Abraham Lincoln possessed these three qualities in abundance and they raised him from the log cabin to the White House. Lincoln hailed from a sturdy peasant stock and his environment was anything but conducive to his rise to greatness. Ludwig forgets neither heredity nor up-bringing. In fact so far as the former is concerned, he makes much of Lincoln's natural curiosity about his unknown maternal grandfather, Lincoln's early trials and tribulations, his merry and irresponsible father, his loving and melancholy mother who was unfortunately cut off in his youth, his step-mother's kindness, the forests and rivers where his youth was spent, and his passion for and quest of knowledge even in adverse circumstances—all these are described with a vivid realism and a wealth of anecdote which are characteristic of Ludwig's dramatic method. But sometimes Ludwig lays aside the role of the dramatist and assumes that of the showman. Instead of permitting Lincoln's sayings to speak to us themselves, he details their obvious meanings and elaborates them. Thus, for instance, when Lincoln had written the letter of acceptance of the nomination to the Presidency, he went with it to the Superintendent of Education and said: "Mr. Schoolmaster, here is my letter of acceptance. I am not very strong on grammar and I wish you to see if it is all right. I wouldn't like to have any mistakes in it." And when the school-master only suggested not to split the infinitive Lincoln made the suggested change saying, "So you think I better put these two little fellows end to end, do you?" On this Ludwig gives himself out thus:—

"Has ever a king or a president adopted a more charming attitude? Lincoln has not been like a king in a fairy tale, taken from the plough to rule the people. He is a man over fifty, grown gray headed in the practice of the law, in business affairs, and in political life. After having made many great speeches to the nation, after years of campaigning he has been selected to run for the highest office in the land. He knows too that he is fit for the job. But there are little matters that men born to be kings, the Douglasses, know all about the well-ironed coats of the New Yorkers, the well-fitting trousers of the Washington Gentlemen. These 'little fellows' in grammar that have to sit properly like a neck-tie have to be well brushed like a stove pipe hat. It would be fatal to make a slip here! Mary of course understands about shoes and collars; she can even talk French but when the question is one of how to word a letter properly it is better to go to the Schoolmaster. Besides, he will know how to keep a still tongue, and even should he gossip there will be nothing to your discredit.

"And so the President of to-morrow goes over to an old teacher to ask advice on matters he had not learned in Indiana for there he had to split rails." (p. 237).

Lincoln was fond of telling stories and his biographer gives us a plethora of anecdotes to illustrate the traits of his subject. When Lincoln was about to leave for Washington as President-Elect, he noticed the old rusty signboard and remarked to his partner, Herndon: "Billy, let it hang there undisturbed, give our clients to understand that the election of a President makes no change in the firm of Lincoln and Herndon. If I live I'm coming back some time, and then we'll go right on practising law as if nothing had ever happened (p. 264)." Here is a unique combination of swagger, simplicity and homesickness.

Lincoln's rare outbursts are lighted up by a lambent humour all his own, "as once when a man short of a limb asked for a job and could produce no proof of how he lost his leg, Lincoln exclaimed: "what! No papers! No credentials! Nothing to show how you lost your leg! How am I to know that you did not lose it by a trap after getting into somebody's orchard?"

It is by these anecdotes that Ludwig brings out Lincoln's modesty, his fatalism, his hatred of injustices and his shrewdness. His estimate of Grant, Lee, Mrs. Lincoln and several other persons is unbiassed. Lincoln, "the Saviour of the Union" and the lover of humanity, stands resplendent in the dark days of the Civil War. With a Cabinet of persons who would not co-operate with him, with an army but without a general, and the Confederates threatening Washington every moment, Lincoln's Presidency in the first three years was not a bed of roses. But in the end he triumphed, and his triumph was the triumph of justice and love. Lincoln, the statesman, stands revealed in his disposal of his Secretary of State's memorandum on the position of affairs in America and Europe, in his Second Inaugural Address, in the famous Gettysburg speech and in the proclamation which abolished slavery.

This great man fell by the hand of an assassin, and Ludwig writes in his own inimitable style: "Without recovering consciousness he dies at seven o'clock in a strange bed like a pilgrim, slain on Good Friday like a prophet."

M. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

### FRESH LIGHT ON MARATHA HISTORY.

**SOURCE BOOK OF MARATHA HISTORY, VOL. I. TO THE DEATH OF SHIVAJI.** By R. P. PATWARDHAN & H. G. RAWLINSON. (Govt. Printing and Stationery, Bombay.) 1929. 26 cm. 243 p. Rs. 5/—

THE Bombay Government is to be congratulated upon its *debut* in the field of history by submitting to the public in this book what purports to be the first volume of a series, bringing the history of Maharashtra down to 1817 A. D. The series was evidently planned on a popular basis. And though it has nothing to do with the controversial proposal to throw the so-called alienation *Duffer* open to the public, the inexplicable delay in executing a plan first proposed in 1919 and then developed into a definite scheme in 1923 speaks volumes for the lack of interest evinced by the Government agency in such matters. Part I deals with the Maratha sources and Part II with Foreign sources. The editing of the first part covering 132 pages in all bears evident marks of an efficient and discriminating study. The selection of authentic material is done with great caution paying due attention to the recent researches. The introductory remarks to each section are at once impartial and suggestive. The translation carries with it in the majority of cases the

proper spirit of the original passages and but for an instance or two the first part may be said to represent fairly the reliable currents in the history of Shivaji. The same eulogy cannot, however, be bestowed upon the second part which not only does not necessitate any effort on the part of the editors who have contented themselves with the active operation of scissors and paste, but have not taken due care in allotting sectional headings. After reading the recommendation that "on the much discussed death of Afzal Khan, he (Manuchi) supplies new and important evidence," one vainly runs over the pages for some time before one discovers that this interesting part of the narrative is mixed up under the doubtful caption "Descent of Shivaji." Statements made on the authority of Sir William Foster in the matter of L'Escaliots letter are unnecessarily assertive. 'Umbrav' (p. 187), evidently the plural of Amir in Persian, is annotated by 'Omrah' which would seem to connote something of a proper name. One fails to understand what the not on 'chaul' means (p. 229). Nagatan is Borivle! The selection is by no means representative and the method of making concessions in favour of a book intended to be published by another man is indeed a novel feature of the present volume. According to the editors, they refrained from including certain extracts, 'as I understand that these will form the subject of a separate monograph which is being prepared by Dr. Balkrishna'

It need not be said that such works, though serving the purpose of popularising Maratha history to a certain extent among the non-Marathi reading public, cannot take the place of source-books giving details of documents on a scientific plan. The book is useful so far as it goes and may be recommended for those who are interested in such efforts.

D. V. APTE.

### CONDEMNATION OF DEATH PENALTY.

#### CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. 4TH (EDN.) By E. ROY

CALVERT. (Putnams, London.) 20 cm. 210 p. 5/-. THIS is the fourth and revised edition of Mr. Calvert's book published originally in May 1927. The continuing popularity of this book is an index of the growing attention paid to the subject of Capital Punishment by the reading public. In this edition, "the whole text has been revised and a number of new sections and recent references have been inserted".

The first edition of Mr. Calvert's book was received with great commendation by the press. It could not have been otherwise. From a variety of sources and from many points of view the author has piled his statistics and massed his arguments against the continuance of the death penalty. Mr. Calvert's reasoning is characterised as much by sobriety of presentation as by his anxiety to face the hard facts of a discussion in which moral inertia and ingrained prejudice is not the least difficult factor. While advancing many weighty contentions the author has steadily avoided the line of the sentimentalist, a line which is so tempting at the first blush. But the attempt has been to discuss the subject 'scientifically and in a spirit of honest enquiry.'

By far the most interesting chapter in the book is the review of the position of capital punishment in the countries of the world. The conclusion is thus stated by the author.

Capital Punishment has been abolished in a large number of countries in the world, including some of the most enlightened and law-abiding ones. In no single instance is there evidence of a permanent increase in homicidal crime as a result of abolition; in many there has been a decided decrease. The experience of these

countries indicates that the Death Penalty cannot be a necessary deterrent. If other countries find they can get on very well without Capital Punishment, there is no valid reason why Britain should not follow their lead."

A perusal of this chapter will reveal the groundlessness of the fear that the removal of the death penalty may lead to an increase in capital crimes.

The book is written against the background of contemporary life and conditions in England. Other and different considerations will arise in applying the proposal to India where the social composition is remarkably heterogeneous and stratified, and cultural divergences are extensive and pronounced. Nevertheless it cannot be long before India will have to revise its notions as to the appropriateness of capital punishment. India cannot successfully resist the incursion and influence of modern ideas regarding the causes of crime and the true function of punishment. Mr. Calvert's book is bound to exert a steadily growing influence and be an invaluable aid to the supporters of the movement for the abolition of a penalty which even the most zealous of its advocates cannot at this age justify except on the ground of inexorable necessity.

K. V. SETHA AIYANGAR,

### SHORT NOTICE.

**GREECE TO-DAY. THE AFTERMATH OF THE REFUGEE IMPACT.** By ELIOT GRINNELL MEARS. (Stanford University Press, California.) 1929. 23cm. 336 p. 23/-

THIS is a comprehensive work on Modern Greece presenting the tale of varied aspects of life in that extremely fascinating land. Prof. Mears has contented himself with being more a chronicler of events and conditions than a critic thereof. The scope of the book, moreover, rules out a too intensive study of any particular aspect of life in Modern Greece. But the outstanding interest of the work still remains in the economic position of Modern Hellas as emerging out of the influx of Greek women and children from Trans-Greek borders as a sequel of Greeco-Turkish and Greeco-Bulgarian hostilities in 1920-22. A chapter on politics describes the kaleidoscopic political changes of Greece in recent years. But students who are largely interested in the particular aspect of Greek life will turn with profit to the volume on Greece in the "Modern World" series. But for students seeking for a more complete picture of Modern Greece, Prof. Mears' book will better serve the purpose.

K. M. P.

### Miscellaneous.

#### THE DEPRESSED CLASSES MISSION, MANGALORE.

##### A SHORT ACCOUNT OF ITS WORK.

The founder of the Mission, Rai Saheb K. Ranga Rao (Swami Ishwarananda Sanyasi) began the work of the uplift of the Depressed Classes years ago. He was in the beginning helped by a few friends. The main features of the work were schools, boarding houses and colonies. Later on he thought it best to organise a regular body to carry on the work and so constituted the Mission and got it registered under Act XXI of 1860. There was a time in the history of the institution when it maintained a large number of day and night schools. But the rise in the cost of living which necessitated increase in the salaries of teachers and the lack of the required financial support from the public owing to similar work undertaken in other parts of the country compelled the Mission to close down some of its schools and concentrate its

efforts on the development of the central institution and other special features of work which the Mission as a non-official body was best fitted to undertake. Fortunately by this time the Labour Department had begun work in the district and many of the schools were transferred to it. Meanwhile the founder of the Mission was seriously troubled about the future of the work as owing to old age and ill-health it was not possible for him to give the time and attention which the Mission's activities demanded. So he approached the Servants of India Society, who were good enough to come forward to take up the management of the Mission. Since 1923 the Mission is managed by the Servants of India Society assisted by a Local Committee constituted under the Articles of Association of the Mission. A member of the Society is deputed to carry on the work.

#### EDUCATION.

There is a Higher Elementary School with a strength of 108 children. Education imparted is free and on up-to-date lines. Books, slates, clothing, etc., are given free to all the pupils. To encourage the association of pupils of other communities, every effort is being made to admit boys of all classes and communities. It will be interesting to know that there are a few Christian and caste Hindu pupils. To secure regular attendance and to improve the health of the children a free mid-day meal is given. Scholarships are also secured for deserving pupils from the Labour and Education Departments. The staff of the school consists of seven teachers and all, except one, are trained. Though the grant received from the District Educational Council is liberal, the Mission has to raise a large sum to meet the deficit in running this institution.

The Mission maintains the following institutions :-

1. The Court Hill Higher Elementary School.
2. The Attavar Day School.
2. The Derebail Day School.
4. The Attavar Adult Night School.
5. The Derebail Adult Education Centre.
6. The Koraga Residential School, Puthur, Udipi.

Besides these educational institutions, the Mission gives scholarships for boys receiving higher education. A few scholarships are also given to boys undergoing training in technical schools to supplement either the stipends or scholarships or wages received.

With the help of a grant received from Government, vocational education in carpentry is imparted to pupils in the Higher Elementary School. Needle-work for girl pupils is also taught.

The pupils of the schools conducted by the Mission are encouraged to engage themselves in some hobbies. So far the experiment has been successful in the Higher Elementary School.

#### BOARDING HOUSES.

Select pupils, orphans and destitute children are admitted into the Boarding House attached to the Court Hill Higher Elementary School. They are provided with free boarding, lodging, clothing, books, slates, etc. They are all under the care and supervision of a Resident Warden who by precept and example inculcates in them habits of cleanliness, evokes sense of self-respect and dignity of labour. The boarders are required to do all work except cooking. Even cooking they do in the absence of cooks owing to illness or other cause. There are now 48 boarders while the Government grant of Rs. 320 per mensem is received for 40 pupils. The Mission has admitted a larger number as the demand for admission is great. Preference is given to pupils from the Labour Schools in making admissions. Dormitory system has been adopted. The school building is converted into a dormitory after the school hours. The Warden also acts as the tutor and supervises their studies. There is a Medical Superintendent who attends also to the medical inspection of boarders and the pupils of the Higher Elementary School.

The Mission has just made another attempt and the experiment is watched carefully. A Girls' Boarding House has been opened with 8 pupils. All these pupils are now reading in the Mission's Higher Elementary School.

#### INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT.

In addition to vocational instruction in carpentry provided for the pupils of the Higher Elementary School, the Mission has made provision for training apprentices in carpentry. During the period of training the apprentices are paid wages ranging from 4 to 8 annas per day. Syllabus approved by the Inspector of Industrial Schools has been adopted. The Mission has not been able to take many apprentices for want of accommodation in the Boarding House for the pupils coming from places outside Mangalore. Moreover, there is not enough room to make arrangements both for vocational and industrial sections. The Mission has an idea of opening an industrial school teaching carpentry and weaving. Lack of accommodation and the difficulty of securing trained instructors who possess a working knowledge of Canarese and Tulu (the language spoken) are impediments in carrying out the scheme. But ere long the Mission hopes to give effect to the scheme.

#### COLONIES.

The Mission allots lands to homeless families for residential and agricultural purposes. Housing materials are supplied free. The settled families are under the moral influence of the Mission which spares no efforts to improve their moral and economic condition. There are seven colonies and the extent of land is 64.71 acres. On two colonies, the Koragas, an aboriginal tribe, are settled. Recently a colony for the Koragas with model houses for eight families costing about Rs. 1,000 was opened. Altogether about 80 plots out of 100 have been allotted. To settle more families and to appoint workers to be in charge of the colonies and work among the settlers, money is urgently required. A Prayer Hall at a cost of Rs. 650 was constructed in one of the colonies where *bhajans* and meetings are conducted regularly. It is the wish of the Mission to erect such prayer halls in all the colonies. An Adult Education Centre has been opened in one of the colonies.

#### FINANCES.

Sources of income are [i] Government grants, [ii] Interest on deposits, [iii] Local subscriptions, and [iv] Donations from the outside public. In view of the growing work and the need for expansion of activities, funds are urgently required. Any help rendered will be gratefully acknowledged.

A. B. SHETTY,  
R. SURYANARAYANA RAO,  
*Hon. Joint Secretaries.*

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- THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EUROPE. Vols. 1 & 2. By JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON & CHARLES A. BEARD. (Ginn, London.) 1929-30. 21cm. pp. 611, 661. About 20/-
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