

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

Churchill does a good turn.

"OUT of evil cometh good" says the old adage. The thanks of India are due to Mr. Winston Churchill for the good turn he has,—unwittingly, no doubt,—done to India by his amazing performance under the auspices of that gallant gang of the Indian Empire Society, London, last week. His speech itself is of no significance, for nobody of any consequence attaches any importance to it. Its value lies in the criticism, replies and rejoinders it has called forth from all influential quarters. Except for a very small section of the ultra-Tory press, it has been universally condemned and repudiated. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was perhaps the first to take the field to challenge the speech and condemn it as mischievous from beginning to end. The Press, including the *Times*, was not behindhand in repudiating it. "Mr. Churchill is not more representative of the Conservative Party than the assassins of Calcutta represent the Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference, and his speech will have just as little influence on British policy." The speech has only served to extinguish both Mr. Churchill and the Indian Empire Society. Thanks for this riddance.

The display of the understanding of the Indian situation, and of goodwill towards India which the speech evoked is most gratifying. The most significant rejoinder was the one made by Sir Herbert Samuel. He is reported to have said that if general agreement was reached in the Conference, the House of Commons would be ready to endorse its recommendations. "If one section dissented on particular points the Commons would probably not accept their view, while if the issue of the intervention of the House of Lords was revealed, no matter on what question,

the challenge would be accepted by all sections of progressive opinion." The passage of the Government of India Bill embodying the conclusions of the Conference is assured and nothing will be allowed to stand in the way.

* * *

The Liberals' Solution.

AFTER giving the communalists every chance to come to an agreement and offering their good offices to promote such agreement, the Indian Liberals have come out with their own offer to the Muslim demands. Their proposals are joint electorates, weightage in the Provinces except Bengal and Punjab, Muslim majority in these two Provinces, (the size of it to be negotiated), confirmation of the agreement recently reached on some of the 14 points of the Muslims and 33 per cent. Muslim representation in the Central Legislature. These are their maximum concessions and they are not open to negotiation. It will be noticed that the Indian Liberals have gone much further than the proposals of the Simon Commission, which merely recommended that weightage might be retained in the Provinces in which the Muslims are in a minority provided the Muslims accepted joint electorates without reservation in Bengal and the Punjab. In the matter of the other 14 points also the Liberals have gone much further than is warranted by the merits of the case. It remains to be seen if the Muslims will accept this very liberal offer of the Indian Liberals or prefer to rest the solution in the hands of the British Government.

* * *

Burma.

THE report of the Burma Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference was not unanimous regarding the separation of Burma. Messrs. H. P. Mody and B. Shiva Rao have signed a dissenting minute. It is significant that the dissenters represent the capitalist and labour interests respectively. They are both interested in labour conditions in Burma, though for different reasons. They are both opposed to separation unless the future constitution of Burma and her international status are satisfactorily settled. They are not opposed to separation as such, only they wish to be sure that Burma will enjoy a higher constitutional status after separation: they do not propose to take any risks in the matter. The principal question is that Burma should get self-government; it is of secondary importance whether she attains it as part of India or otherwise. The news that the Sub-Committee has accepted the principle of separation has caused some alarm in Burmese quarters. The attitude of the Burma Government in instigating and backing the separation idea is no sealed book. The very fact that they have, in spite of the experience of the Simon Commission, suggested a purely Parliamentary Commission, in opposition to the clearly-expressed demand of the Burmans for a mixed Commission, to make recommendations regard-

ing the future constitution of Burma, is itself eloquent testimony to their diehardism. As Mr. Shiva Rao said, the Burma Government were genuinely alarmed lest, along with India, Burma should get self-government and cease to be a happy hunting ground for British bureaucrats. Separation first and the constitution next is their policy. The Burmese, who demand separation, have very different views on the subject. They agree with Messrs. Mody and Shiva Rao that before they agree to separation, they should have guarantees that Burma will be given full responsible self-government. Self-government first and separation afterwards is their policy. U. Ba Pe, one of the Burmese representatives at the Round Table Conference, who agreed to the principle of separation, was left in doubt as to his duty by the people of Burma, and in an interview in London he is reported to have said that:

the whole of Burma was out for a full measure of responsible self-government under the Crown on an equal footing with other self-governing dominions, and that, quite apart from any question of separation, any constitution given to Burma after separation which fell short of this aspiration would not give satisfaction at all.

It seems to us that separation is but a secondary issue, which may even be superfluous when the primary question of the future constitution of Burma, or for that matter, of India, is settled. If, as is being proposed, the provinces of India are to form units of the Indian federation and large powers are to be given to them, perhaps residuary powers also, Burma will conceivably be no loser by being a member of the federation and for common purposes. It is only in the contingency of Burma attaining a higher constitutional status and a fuller autonomy by separating from India that it will be worthwhile to do so. It is not to the interest of Burma to put separation before self-government. The Commission, proposed to be set up for determining the constitution of Burma, may reduce Burma to the status of a Crown Colony or give it a status corresponding to that of Southern Rhodesia, which has responsible government, but is not a Dominion and has no place in the Imperial Conference and in international gatherings, or it may recommend full Dominion status. It were best for Burma to join India in securing full Dominion status for India as a whole, and if the final result is not satisfactory to her, to seek her political salvation by separation.

States' Representation.

THE subjects of the Indian States will be grateful to Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao for championing the cause of that "untouchable", rather "unapproachable", community at the Round Table Conference. Their fate is as much at stake as that of any other class of Indians represented at the Conference. According to a special cable to the *Hindu*, Mr. Ramachandra Rao is reported to have pressed for a declaration of fundamental rights of the States' people and for the right of access to the Federal Supreme Court. Satisfactory as is this representation, the people of the States would wish that Mr. Ramachandra Rao would be more firm and unequivocal regarding the method of representation of the States in the federal chambers. They are greatly disappointed that, instead of standing up for the right of the people of the States to elect the representatives of the States, he was content to express the pious hope that "the principle of popular election is bound ultimately to be admitted." Even if he did not feel enthusiastic of the rights of the States' people, he might have pressed for popular election in the interest of British Indians themselves; for he must realise that responsible government at the centre will be frustrated if

the States' representatives were the nominees of the Princes. The Federal Relations Committee seems to have agreed that the representatives of the States shall be nominees of the States' Governments and not of the Princes. It is some advance, in principle, on the original position taken up by the Princes, but it is far from satisfactory. In the first instance, in no Indian State is the Government other than the Prince. "I am the State" is true of every Prince and princeling. Secondly, even if in course of time the States developed responsible governments, they have no right to nominate representatives to the federal chambers. It is the right of the citizens of the federation to elect their representatives.

We fully realise the need for compromise, and the inevitability of it, at the present moment. A far more satisfactory compromise would be to have popular representatives in the Lower Chamber and of the States' Governments in the Upper Chamber.

More Magisterial Excesses.

It is time the Provincial Governments and the Government of India sat up and took notice of the judgments of the High Courts in India in the Satyagrahi cases which do not redound to the credit of the police and the magistracy. We have already called attention to what may be called magisterial excesses. Last week furnished some more of them. The Appellate Bench of the Bombay High Court, consisting of the Chief Justice and Justice Murphy, have set aside the convictions in four cases which were brought to their notice. In all these cases, members of associations which were declared unlawful by the Government by notification under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 were arrested almost immediately after such notification and convicted and sentenced. In an illuminating judgment, the Chief Justice held that the moment an association was declared illegal by the Government, it should be presumed that its members have ceased their connection with it and that no specific act was necessary, or even possible, on the part of members to terminate their membership and that it was for the prosecution to prove that they continued to be members by producing evidence to the contrary. The object of the law was to put an end to activities which the Government considered to be contrary to public peace and not to penalise persons who were members when the association was legal. The Bombay High Court were so impressed by the miscarriage of justice in lower criminal courts that they have asked all Sessions Judges and Presidency Magistrates to go through the records and refer the cases in which these points were involved to the High Court.

A Bench of the Calcutta High Court, consisting of the Chief Justice and Justice Mullick, set aside the conviction of certain persons on a charge of having disobeyed the order of the Police Commissioner of Calcutta by which he prohibited for an indefinite period public meetings and processions without licenses. The Judges found that the Police Commissioner had no powers to issue such an order and it was illegal and altogether bad.

Mr. Justice Bhide of the Lahore High Court, in ordering the release on bail of Kewal Kishore suspected of being a party to a conspiracy for political murders, severely animadverted on the failure of the Magistrates to carefully examine police diaries in granting remands. He remarked that the "practice of obtaining remands from any Magistrate at the choice of the police which appears to prevail at present is objectionable."

The Chief Justice and Justice Graham of the Calcutta High Court have set aside the order of the District Magistrate of Midnapore directing a local

barrister to leave the district by the first available train and to abstain from entering it. The Judges held the order of the Magistrate was bad.

Notwithstanding those strictures passed by the highest Courts in the land, there are Magistrates who continue to indulge in such orders. The Chief Presidency Magistrate of Madras has issued an order prohibiting picketing of sale and purchase of foreign goods in that City for the next two months. This is but another instance of the misuse of the criminal law for political ends. The order does not define picketing. Even the Viceroy's Ordinance to penalise picketing distinguished peaceful persuasion from obstruction, and the highest Courts have held that certain types of picketing were legal even under the Ordinance. The Madras Magistrate's order takes no note of these distinctions; it is all comprehensive. We hope the High Court of Madras will have an early opportunity to pronounce on the order of the Magistrate.

All of which goes to show that the Magistrates have become subservient to the police, and that excessive zeal, not quite distinguishable from vindictiveness, has deprived them of judicial impartiality. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was reported to have remarked in his recent address to some members of the House of Commons that there was too much law and very little order in India. It seems there is very little of law either!

* * *

Friends on India.

THOUGH the Emergency Conference called by the Society of Friends in London in November last did not come to any definite conclusions regarding their attitude towards the present situation in India, they had the inestimable advantage of listening to the exposition of it by Mr. Horace G. Alexander, who was recently in India and interviewed, among others, both Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy and had intimate talks with them. With characteristic dispassionateness and charity, he dwelt on perhaps the greatest tragedy of contemporary India that two such devoted friends of peace and friends of India as the Mahatma and Lord Irwin, should, in pursuing the same object, the freedom of India, have been ranged in opposite camps, and should between them fill the country with bitterness and strife, lawlessness and repression. Mr. Alexander was convinced of the good faith of the Viceroy, which the Mahatma did not share. The other reason why the Mahatma refused the invitation to the Round Table Conference was, according to Mr. Alexander, his desire to divert the revolutionary forces, which were gathering strength in India, into non-violent channels. Sympathising with the motives of the revolutionaries, but disapproving of their methods, the Mahatma put himself at their head and gave a non-violent turn to their methods. That was certainly one way the Mahatma could have served India. But was there yet another way, perhaps better and more in consonance with the Mahatma's deeply cherished faith. Could he not have combined with Lord Irwin to change the system of government which, according to Mr. Alexander, brought about this most unfortunate hiatus between the two great servants of India? The revolutionary tendencies were the consequences of the present system of government. If, instead of attempting to cure the symptoms, the Mahatma had used his great influence to cure the disease itself, the revolutionaries would find little to do. The Mahatma has made his choice, but it is open to even lesser men to doubt if he made the wiser choice. Mr. Alexander does not believe in the boycott of the Round Table Conference; he was, agreeably to himself, relieved of his normal duties and placed on special duty in

order to enable him to devote himself to the work of the Conference.

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Consent in Kenya.

SIR SAMUEL WILSON, the Permanent Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, who was the first witness before the Joint Committee on East Africa, said in the course of his evidence that he would be loath to recommend any form of closer union between the East African territories unless the co-operation of the Kenya settlers was first assured. Sir Samuel did not feel the need for the consent of the peoples of the two other territories, much less of the non-settler, non-European populations in the three territories. The opposition of the Indians to closer union proposed by him he sets no value on.

As regards the common roll, he agreed with the Hilton Young Commission that a local general agreement was an essential factor to its introduction. While general agreement is most desirable and every nerve should be strained to evolve it, the Government in the past did not consider it essential. Sir Samuel very well knew that the communal roll was imposed on Kenya in the teeth of the opposition of the Indian community; no fetish was then made of general consent being essential. It is cowardly to say that the British Government should make no efforts to solve that problem now without general agreement. Nor is that possible. Some settlement must be made. It may be the retention of the *status quo* or the introduction of the common roll.

It is obvious that European opinion being what it is in Kenya—and Sir Samuel is not a little responsible for it—Government cannot please both parties, and must be prepared to displease one of them. Under the circumstances, it is far wiser for the Government to decide the question on its merits, apart from the consent of one party or the other. Committees and Commissions and all impartial students of Kenya politics have unhesitatingly and unanimously stated that the common roll is, on the merits, the best solution for Kenya.

* * *

Work of the Mission to Lepers.

WE have recently received a copy of the report of the fifty-sixth year's work of the Mission to Lepers in India which shows the extremely useful nature of the Mission's activities. On the last day of last year there were not less than 5809 lepers being cared for in the Mission's homes in this country; 798 healthy children were rescued from their parents' disease by providing separate accommodation for them and 1526 lepers were in receipt of financial aid. In comparison with the previous year's figures these represent progress of which the Mission has every reason to be proud. The yearly expenses of the Mission for 1929 came to the very considerable figure of nearly Rs. 8½ lakhs, out of which more than Rs. 4¾ lakhs came by way of contributions, mostly from foreign countries. This is very creditable to those who feel that this humanitarian work has claims upon their charity. The Government and local bodies also came to the help of the Mission with yearly grants which aggregate to about Rs. 3½ lakhs. We wish private persons realised their responsibility in this matter to a much greater extent than they seem to be doing at present. As pointed out by Mr. Lakshminarayan Sabu of the Servants of India Society, who is himself doing his bit to counter the disease in his leprosy clinic, in his article on leprosy published in a recent issue of this paper, there are as many as a million lepers in India. In view of the extent of the disease in India, the importance of the Mission's work cannot be over-estimated.

* * *

Articles.

THE COMMUNAL DEADLOCK.

THE news of the failure of the intervention of the British Prime Minister as conciliator in the disputes between the Hindus and Muslims will be received with deep regret and humiliation. As we said before, it is no consolation that no other set of politicians has done better in the matter, and even the Congress has failed to solve the problem. Though the latest cables indicate that the Nawab of Bhopal was making yet another effort to bring about a settlement, it would be little short of a miracle if the parties reached a mutually acceptable agreement. It now seems inevitable that the British Government and the British Parliament must take the responsibility of settling the question for India.

There are those who find consolation in this prospect. A solution, arrived at by the British Labour Government, whose genuine goodwill towards India and her national aspirations is widely acknowledged, a solution, unhampered by any inconvenient commitments as between the parties concerned but free to rest on the merits of the case and be in consonance with the needs of democratic government and British ideals, is any day bound to be far more favourable to national interests than any compromise between the communalists.

It is no small gain from the nationalist point of view that the British Prime Minister was fully seized of the implications of the communalists' demand for separate electorates and weightage. The Premier is reported to have said that his Government would be in a disagreeable position in defending separate electorates in Parliament, since joint electorates were much more in accordance with British democratic sentiments. He must have realised that those, whether a majority in a province or a minority, who stand for the common electorate, are genuinely seeking to develop democratic institutions, and, what is even more important, the democratic mentality, while those who demand separate electorates are thwarting democracy. He must have also realised that the Muslim demand is not for protection for a minority. If minorities need protection, the Muslims have far less claim than many an other community which is very much smaller in number and has equally distinctive culture to maintain, as for instance, the Indian Christians, the Sikhs, and the Parsees. But none of these looks to separate electorates for such protection. If these minorities have nothing to fear from the majorities, it seems incredible that a minority of no less than seventy millions of Muslims should be in need of protection.

If, again, the Muslims' anxiety is for protection against the vagaries of the Hindus, they have no justification for insisting on the separation of Sind. If they are a minority in the Bombay Presidency as at present constituted, they might have asked for the same kind of safeguards as they ask for in other

provinces where they are in a minority. Far from doing that, they have made up their mind to insist on the separation of Sind, in order to make it a Muslim Province. It is well to abandon once and for all the pretence that what the Muslims demand is *protection for a minority* and it is well to realise that they demand Muslim Raj in certain provinces. The Nationalist will have nothing to say if in the Punjab or Bengal or in any other Province the majority of the elected representatives of the people happen to be Muslims, but he will strongly object to the communal mentality which the Muslim demand inculcates and fosters and perpetuates. It is a negation of democracy.

There were those who agreed to communal electorate at the time of the Lucknow Pact who fondly hoped that by accommodating to the Muslim wishes for a time, they would outgrow them and come back to the normal path. He will be a bold man who today still cherishes that hope. If today, when the permanent and final foundations of Indian Swaraj are being laid and the responsibility for the government of India is being shifted from England to India, the plan is vitiated by the introduction of the communal electorate, the hope must finally be abandoned of ever evolving democratic institutions in India—except by means of a bloody and costly revolution. Democracy now—or never.

The failure of the Premier's intervention as a conciliator has given him and his Government and the British Parliament a unique opportunity to do the right thing by India. The responsibility now devolves on them to find a solution. Two courses are open to them. They could take the small view, make the continuance of British bureaucracy in India their primary consideration, take full advantage of the divisions among the Indians, exploit them for their own benefit and wean off the Muslims from the national cause by bribing them, and concede communal electorates and weightage that they demand or take a bigger view of their responsibilities and the mission of the British Commonwealth, make the national solidarity and the evolution of democratic institutions in India their principal concern, rise above the temptation to exploit our differences and exert their enormous influence to the full to save India from the folly of the communalists and be true to the ideals of the British Labour Party and of the British Commonwealth, and firmly and deliberately stand by the common electorate. It is impossible for the British Government to please both the nationalists and the communalists: their demands are mutually contradictory. They must be prepared to displease one party or the other. The personality and character of the present British Government, than whom India had never had a more friendly Government, gives hope that they will do the right thing by Indian nationalism and Indian democracy, and that if they must make a choice, they will make the right choice.

R. T. C.—FIRST IMPRESSIONS IN BRITAIN.

THANKS to the proceedings of the Round Table Conference India is occupying considerable space in the British Press and it is interesting to observe the impressions created on British opinion by the work of its plenary session. The absolute unanimity with which the different sections of Indian opinion united in demanding Dominion Status for India seems to have been quite unexpected in England. Similarly, the British people appear to have been unprepared for the general consensus of opinion in favour of a Federal constitution. In reviewing the "Progress at the Round Table" in its issue of November 22, the *New Statesman* gives expression to the feeling of surprise in British circles at the readiness with which Indian opinion closed its ranks on these two points. It looks upon the "vastly interesting first speeches" of the Princes and British Indian delegates as in the nature of "blowing off steam" which preceded the framing of an outline of the future Indian constitution—the real work for which the Conference has been held. Its examination of the speeches of the leaders of the various groups leads it to a recognition of the fact that "the attainment of Dominion Status, with as little delay as possible, stands for the common denominator of all the Indian groups." Certain passages of Lord Peel's speech are characterised by it as "emphatic and designedly provocative"; and while it is platitudinous to say, as Lord Irwin did last January and Lord Peel repeated on this occasion, that the enunciation of the goal is not the same thing as its attainment, the unanimity amongst Indians about the speedy attainment of Dominion Status for their country is "a very important new fact for the British Government to recognise and deliberate upon." Likewise, "the virtually unequivocal acceptance of the idea of a federal India by the leading spokesmen of one group after another" was also something of an eye-opener to people in Great Britain. While they believed "a bitter and prolonged conflict" between the advocates of the unitary and federal constitutions was unavoidable, the matter did not give rise to even a slight divergence of view among the Indian delegates—a fact which must have come upon them as a surprise, if not a shock! But, according to the paper, this unanimity was expected to result in "not only general understanding between the British parties on the principle (of federation) but a more or less definite plan of co-operation upon the programme between the Labour and Liberal groups." In this case it is clear that whatever Mr. Churchill and his like may say to the contrary, the passage of the Government of India Bill through the Commons at any rate is fully assured. Referring to the criticism passed in certain quarters on the Labour Government for their failure to give a lead to the Conference, the paper very pertinently reminds the critics that "this is an Indian Round Table, designed first of all to produce an expression of the Indian public mind."

But though agreement is general as regards the Federal basis of the Indian constitution, there appears

to be some difference of view as regards its detailed application among those representing Indian States' interests. The *Times* states:—

The disparities in population and size of the treaty States has led one of the advisers nominated by the Chamber of Princes' Special Organization, Sardar Jarmani Das, of Kapurthala, to urge that any scheme of federation should maintain the principle of equality of the sovereign States, which is recognized in the composition of the existing Chamber. Under his scheme there would be direct representation on the federal body of each State with Sovereign rights; or, if this should not fit in with the general plan of federation, the alternative would be indirect representation through a reconstituted Chamber of Princes, which would provide definite procedure for the election of such representatives.

The Sardar holds that in the representation of different States the model of the United States, rather than that of the German Federation of 1871, should be followed. The system should correspond to that underlying the constitution of the League of Nations, in which States, whether large or small, have equal rights, while the special importance of some countries is recognized by permanent seats on the Council. It is argued that representation by a system of grouping States in geographical connexion would lead to much friction and jealousy among the component States.

Next in importance, from the Indian standpoint, to the work of the Conference is the systematic canvassing of the claims of various Britishers for the Indian Viceroyalty that is going on in the British Press. It is of course difficult to say upon whom the choice of the Government will ultimately fall; but it was generally believed in England in mail week that Lord Gorell stood the best chance. As pointed out by the *New Leader*, the capitalist Press seriously doubts his qualifications for the post. "Even though Gorell has been properly brought up, has been to the right University, and, presumably has acquired the correct accent, his acceptance of Labour views constitutes him a danger to the Empire" is in effect what the capitalist Press says about him. Proceeding the paper says:—

Although this is an appointment that we hope will soon be superfluous, we trust that Mr. MacDonald will turn a deaf ear to propaganda of this kind.

His recent appointment of Lord Amulree to the Air Ministry was an inexplicable concession to these special pleas of our enemies, and we hope that in this supremely important instance he will make his appointment from the Labour Movement. Or perhaps even go much further and confound the reactionaries by appointing the first Indian Viceroy. Such an appointment would be a practical demonstration of that "equality of status" which is the basic claim of India.

This last suggestion is of course too good to stand any the least chance of acceptance by those with whom rests the power of making these appointments.

The process of booming the "principal author of the best seller of all the Blue Books on record" has not yet seen its end. During mail week the English Speaking Union entertained Sir John Simon under the presidency of a less principal author of the best seller, Lord Burnham. The occasion was availed of by the principal guest to sing the praises and virtues of the report with which his name is associated. He gave a very ingenious definition of self-government, which, according to him, did not mean that every body governed himself, but "meant a system under

which each citizen was prepared to accept cheerfully the rule of the other citizens of the state." He discounted the value of general phrases, such as apparently the speech-making at the plenary session and stressed the importance of "a detailed plan which faced indisputable facts" as apparently he had done in his report. He professed that attention was drawn to those facts, "not for the purpose of creating a block upon the road" to Indian self-government but for the purpose of concentrating attention on how best those difficulties could be overcome. But he need hardly be told that Indian opinion thinks differently on the point.

D. V. A.

Our London Letter.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

LONDON, 20TH NOVEMBER.

THE Round Table Conference has been sitting for a week, and from the Indian point of view it has begun well. Some of us have had little hope in it because of the unrepresentative character of the Indian delegation through the absence of the Congress delegates. Whilst we have great respect for the character and ability of many of the Indian members of the Conference, we realize the strength of the Congress movement in India and the prejudice with which even a good settlement would be received.

Whatever be the result of the Conference, however, the Indian members have the satisfaction of knowing that they have been putting forward the case for self-government with ability, courage, and a remarkable degree of unity. It is not too much to say that the strength of their utterances has astonished the British public. Everyone is remarking here that, if moderate Indians are so determined and uncompromising, there must be an overwhelming pressure for an uncompromising policy in India itself. The Indian speeches have shaken British politicians into a realization of the necessity of far-reaching proposals.

Lord Peel and Lord Reading have made clear the attitude of the Conservative and Liberal Parties. Their speeches have made the Indian members of the Conference appreciate what they are up against. The series of Indian declarations for full self-government had created an atmosphere which made the utterances of the two Lords seem like isolated voices engaging in the wilderness. But the fact is that their voices reflect the opinion of the entire Conservative Party and of a large part of the Liberal Party. I don't say the whole of the Liberal Party because, despite the attitude of Mr. Lloyd George, Sir John Simon, and Lord Reading, there are still Radicals who sympathise with the principles of self-government and self-determination.

At the moment of writing the Government representatives have not clarified its position. I anticipate that the Government will persist in declining to give a lead, acting as a kind of impartial group between the Indian and British attitudes as represented by the

Indian members on the one hand and Lord Peel and Lord Reading on the other.

There is a strong feeling within the Labour Party, even among the more moderate friends of India, that the Government should seize the opportunity of declaring definitely for Dominion Status and utilizing the united India demand as a public justification. I have given notice to the Parliamentary Labour Party that I wish to raise this issue at a Party meeting, but unfortunately yesterday's meeting was so much concerned in disciplining the I. L. P. that it had no time to consider India.

Unless the Government definitely encourages the Dominion Status proposal and exerts its active influence to secure a recommendation backed by the majority of the Conference on these lines, the danger is that, despite the splendid unity in the preliminary discussions, the proceeding in Committee may be conducted in such a way as to bring division among the Indian members. It will require all the patience, toleration and skill of the Indians to prevent this occurring.

The Indian members have very wisely insisted on the terms of reference to the most important Committee being widened so as to induce the question of responsible Government at the centre as well as a scheme for a federal constitution. This success means that the real issue will be faced at once and will not be allowed to be obscured behind a mass of constitutional details.

The obstacles to a final agreement are very great. If it cannot be achieved everything points to a united front among Indian Nationalists even more impressive than the boycott of the Simon Commission. No British Government could oppose such a demand for long. Despite all the suffering which India is now enduring her people should be full of confidence in the future. India is spiritually free already and no power on earth can prevent this essential freedom from finding expression in material form.

A. FENNER BROCKWAY.

Reviews.

THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION.

HOW BRITAIN IS GOVERNED. By RAMSAY MUIR. (Oxford University Press.) 1930. 22 cm. 333 p. 12/6.

THIS is one of the very best books written in recent years on the ever-growing English constitution. Most of the ordinary books on this subject content themselves with describing merely the formal law of the constitution. They prove the essential truth of Burke's remark: "The generality of people are fifty years, at least, behindhand in their politics." It is true that they speak of conventions and usages and compare the English constitution to a living organism. But they do not give the reader such a detailed and critical account of the way in which the British system of government actually works, as the book under review succeeds in giving. It brings out clearly the great difference there is between constitutional theory and actual facts. The author is impatient with parrot-like repetitions of the glories

of the English constitution and of the marvellous capacity of the Englishman to muddle through things. He critically analyses recent tendencies in the British system of government and offers many constructive suggestions for the successful working of representative government in Britain in future.

During the last thirty years or so a series of changes has come about, almost unnoticed, in the working of British institutions which have completely transformed their character. These changes are (1) the alarming growth of the bureaucracy in its range and power, (2) the undesirable growth of Cabinet dictatorship, (3) increased rigidity of party organisation, (4) distortion of the electoral system, (5) increasing incapacity of the House of Commons to perform its work, (6) the reduction of the House of Lords to a position of humiliating impotence, and (7) pressure upon, or even control over, the Government by organised interests outside Parliament, not recognised by the Constitution.

(1) The theory is, in administration, the Bureaucracy merely gives effect to the will of the political head of the Department; in legislation and finance it is not supposed to possess any power. But the practice is something totally different. Bureaucracy has usurped to itself considerable authority in the spheres of administration, legislation and finance, and even in the judicial sphere. It thrives under the cloak of ministerial responsibility. The author believes that while the growth of Bureaucracy is not dangerous in itself, and is, perhaps, inevitable, it must be carefully watched and guarded if the liberty of the people is to be made secure. "Bureaucracy is like fire—invaluable as a servant, ruinous when it becomes the master." The present control of the Bureaucracy by amateur political chiefs is not adequate. The suggestion is made that the various departments should be placed under the control and careful scrutiny of Standing Committees of the House of Commons, with the Minister in charge or his deputy as ex-officio chairman of the Committee. It is an improvement upon the American and French Committee systems. A device like this would utilise the expert knowledge possessed by some of the members of the House of Commons on technical questions, which now goes to waste.

(2) As to the Cabinet, in theory it is dependent upon Parliament; but in practice it is the master of Parliament. What prevents it from becoming omnipotent is that it has too many things to attend to. So long as it controls a majority in the House of Commons, it wields all the powers of Parliament as well as all the powers of the Crown. Pressure of business is so great that it neglects some of its duties and does not (and, perhaps, cannot) exercise adequate control over the Bureaucracy. It "has arrogated to itself half blindly, a series of colossal responsibilities which it cannot meet." The suggestions made to render it an efficient and workman-like body are: (a) the Cabinet Ministers are to be freed from the burden of detail and routine and (b) their number is to be reduced to ten or twelve by co-ordinating related departments of State under one Cabinet Minister and several Ministers not of Cabinet rank. Each newly constituted department with its Cabinet-Minister, non-Cabinet Ministers and a few experts as occasion demands, will have their own sub-cabinet or council, where all the details will be discussed. The Cabinet will concern itself with only general policy. The grouping recommended is a Cabinet Minister for Imperial Affairs with three non-cabinet Ministers under him in charge of the India Office, the Colonial Office, and the Dominions Office respectively; a Cabinet Minister of Defence with four non-cabinet Ministers under him in charge of the Admiralty, the War Office, the Air Office, and the Ministry

of Pensions respectively and so on.

(3) The freedom of the old 'two-party' system has practically vanished. Instead, we have to-day a rigid party organisation holding its members in its firm grip. The elector does not have real freedom of choice and the local organisations of a party are sometimes too rigidly controlled by its central organisation. "In doctrine, as in discipline, the Labour party has attained a degree of rigidity far surpassing that of the older parties." It is often assumed that the only alternative to a two-party system is a combination of numerous groups, such as is found in most of the European countries. This is a mistake. Three-party system seems inevitable for England—the Right, the Centre and the Left. It is not a calamity, for "it is not Cabinet government, but Cabinet dictatorship, which depends for its existence upon the continuation or revival of the two-party system." But Cabinet dictatorship falls short of the ideal of good government.

(4) The single-member constituencies of an earlier time do not meet present-day requirements. Negative kind of voting is exceedingly prevalent. Many a voter votes not for what he believes in, but merely against what he dislikes or fears. Quite a number of votes are cast not on the basis of principle, but upon a calculation of chances. In recent times it has been possible more than once for a minority party in the country to obtain a large majority in the House of Commons. Hence every election becomes a gamble. The existing system excludes from Parliament many men of ability and character who ought to be there. "The British method of election is in the highest degree unjust, unsatisfactory, and dangerous." All this means that there is an urgent need for electoral reform. The methods called Second Ballot and Alternative vote are unsuited to England. The author is convinced that some form of Proportional Representation—the Single Transferable Vote—is the only method of correcting existing defects. He makes some valuable suggestions as to the changed outlook required, both on the part of the Government and the Opposition, when there is a balance of parties, which is likely to become more and more normal.

(5) The House of Commons is not as efficient as it might be. One reason for it is the dictatorship wielded by the Cabinet, whenever it commands a majority. Another reason is that it is overburdened with business. Its proper business is criticism and 'control on behalf of the nation.' This work it does badly. It ought not to have the primary responsibility for carrying on the administration, or proposing laws or defining what money should be spent and how it should be raised. That work belongs to the Government—to the Bureaucracy, to the Cabinet, and to the party from which the Cabinet is drawn. It should confine itself to effective criticism and control. No Bills, however important, ought to be discussed in a Committee of the whole House. There are ample opportunities for discussion at Second Reading, Report stage, and Third Reading. The work of detailed consideration and amendment ought to be entrusted to those members (of the new Standing Committee referred to above) who have special qualifications for dealing with the subject of the Bill. These committees are to be of manageable size. Policy is to be excluded from their purview, but not questions of administration. Private Bills might be given up in favour of departmental inquiries...Of all the functions of the House of Commons, the control of finance and of administration is the least efficiently exercised.

(6) The House of Lords to-day is a mere shadow of its former self. It seems to be an unnatural anomaly in a democratic system. Yet it is not to be scrapped! The author discusses various projects for converting it into an efficient Second Chamber, and

gives his verdict in favour of election by the reformed House of Commons, i. e., a House of Commons elected on a proportional basis. The number of members is to be reduced to 200 or 250. The bulk of them are to be elected by the House of Commons, not from its own numbers, but from the whole nation. The election would have to be on a proportional basis. The rest, about fifty, would consist of two groups—one group consisting of ex-cabinet Ministers who are not members of the House of Commons, ex-Vice-roys, legal luminaries like the Lord Chancellor, etc. These would sit for life. The other group consisting of Presidents of a few great corporate bodies like the Royal Society, Royal Academy, etc., a certain number of Bishops, etc. would sit as long as they are occupants of the offices which entitle them to their seats. The Prime Minister, too, might nominate Ministers of his Cabinet who are not members of the House of Commons. To such a reconstituted Second Chamber the author looks with hope for making the process of legislation more efficient, and for making 'the control on behalf of the people' more real. The reform of the House of Lords thus hinges upon the reform of the House of Commons—not welcome conclusion to those who have honest misgivings regarding the feasibility of Proportional Representation.

(7) The author sketches a scheme of devolution which is more or less of academic interest: Scotland, Wales, London and its vicinity, and convenient groups of English counties are to have their own subordinate legislatures to relieve pressure at Westminster and to prevent the dangers of excessive centralisation. These 'provincial' legislatures would be in charge of certain 'transferred' subjects, the Imperial Parliament reserving to itself the power of overriding legislation in cases of emergency. The author is not much enamoured of the idea of an 'Industrial Parliament'. If it is desirable to have such a 'Parliament', it is to be merely an advisory body.

The book contains an admirable summary and conclusion. The whole work is worthy of close study by every one interested in the British system of government as it actually works to-day.

E. ASIRVATHAM.

DEVELOPMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW.

CASES IN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW. By D. L. KEIR & F. H. LAWSON. (Oxford University Press.) 1928. 22 cm. 479 p. 25/—

THIS is a handy volume in which the principles of English Constitutional Law are set forth by means of extracts from the judgments of English Courts from the earliest times to the present day. The book is divided into twelve chapters each preceded by an appropriate introduction setting forth in very clear terms the principles enunciated in the cases following. These introductions help the reader to follow the case law with ease, and form the contribution which the authors have made to the book. The book is intended quite as much for the use of the layman as for that of the lawyer. We congratulate the joint editors on the manner in which they have successfully executed their plan.

The subject of constitutional law is of special interest at the present moment to the student of Indian politics. Our representatives in London are engaged in the arduous task of framing a constitution for this country. Whether India is to be a federal or a unitary state is a question of subordinate interest. The real problem is, how to liberalise the constitution and transfer to the people the powers which the

Government of India as agents of the British Parliament are exercising. In making for this goal the several steps by which England achieved her freedom must be our sure guide. The book under review affords valuable help in tracing the lines on which England developed her free institutions.

The distinctive feature of the English constitution is that it is not embodied in a code such as that of the United States or any other country. The principles that underlie the constitution and govern its practice are to be found not in a statute but in the innumerable decisions of great judges who have always acted as the guardians and protectors of the liberties of the subject. The few statutes that related to the constitution either embody some well-known and long-accepted principles or are intended for special occasions arising out of circumstances such as the Great War. Even more striking than the absence of a written constitution is the grand principle of the sovereignty of Parliament. In other countries the legislative functions of the representative institutions are governed and controlled by the constitution creating them. But in England there is no limit placed upon the power of Parliament in regard to legislation. The Supreme Court of the United States can sit in judgment over the validity of a federal law and say whether the legislature has gone beyond its powers in enacting it; but no English Judge can pretend to discuss the validity of a law passed by Parliament and assented to by the King. The function of the courts is to interpret and apply the law, however repugnant it may be to accepted notions. There are, of course, certain presumptions in favour of the subject where the statute does not purport to take away common law rights either by express words or by necessary implication. But these exceptions are of very little practical value. As Lord Watson said in *Dobie vs. the Temporalitys Board* 1899-7—appeal cases "there is no practical limit to the authority of the supreme Legislature except the lack of executive power. Parliament is not only a legislative body, it is also a constituent legislature. It can alter its own constitution just in the same way as it passes any other law."

The principle of Parliamentary sovereignty is quite as applicable to the legislatures of the Dominions as to Parliament itself. While the validity of the laws passed by a colonial legislature depends upon the statute creating it and may be questioned in a court of law it is clearly accepted that the dominion parliaments are quite supreme in their own respective spheres. The Colonial Laws Validity Act sets the question at rest and several decisions following it have reaffirmed the position.

One very interesting development in recent times is the growth of what is known as Subordinate Legislation. The volume of legislation passed by parliament is exceedingly large. A new device has been adopted to relieve congestion by permitting many authorities besides Parliament to exercise legislative functions. Apart from Proclamations, Orders in Council etc., the sovereign legislature delegates to Government Departments and Local Authorities the function of framing statutory regulations and orders for implementing the laws passed by it. The rule-making powers thus transferred are as much a legislative function as Parliament itself exercises. Where the rules framed form part of the statute they are as much good law as the statute itself. This development is most noticeable in the case of statutes creating local authorities and corporations. Even the Government of India Act contains a number of provisions which enable the Government to frame rules and regulations to implement the law codified in the statute. The Devolution Rules under which the Central Government and the Provincial Governments

have divided their spheres of activity are an instance in point. Parliament has been accused of shirking its duties and handing over the liberties of the subject to the mercies of Government Departments and Corporations. There is undoubtedly some justification for the charge but the device has one great merit. It provides room for examination and adjustment without having to go to Parliament every time a change in the law is found necessary. It takes away from the rigidity of statutory law and diminishes the strain on Parliament. For all that, it is clearly an abdication by Parliament of part of its functions though it is on the whole a serviceable and useful practice.

Constitutional law is undergoing vast changes in the sphere of the relation between the colonies and the mother country. With very few limitations colonial legislatures have supreme legislative powers in their respective territories and Parliament has practically given up the right to legislate for the colonies. While the Crown remains as a symbol of Imperial Unity the colonies have succeeded in developing into free and independent nations, their position in the Commonwealth being determined and controlled by their free consent and nothing else. The Imperial Conference of 1926 declared the equality of the members of the British Commonwealth and the recent Conference was engaged in the task of preparing the ground for giving legislative effect to that declaration. It is expected that Parliament will soon undertake legislation to give effect to it. The validity of Colonial laws will no longer depend on the Colonial Laws Validity Act but on other legal basis. The practical independence of the Dominions is further emphasized by the fact that the Conference is said to have favoured an *ad hoc* Commonwealth Tribunal to settle disputes between the members of the Commonwealth, voluntarily referred to it by the disputants. This is a blow aimed at the Privy Council. A more significant development is that the Conference asserted the right of the Dominions to be consulted in case the law relating to succession to the Royal Throne or the Royal titles is to be altered. All this implies a great change in the relation between England and her colonies. We expect that very soon there will be a vast change in the relation between England and India. The whole trend of development is towards the establishment of a Commonwealth in which all the partners shall be equal and free. Not a little of the credit for these developments is due to the great Judges who sat to interpret the laws creating Dominion constitutions. They have been following English precedents and secured for the colonies and their citizens as much liberty as is enjoyed by the people of England.

There are many other points in the book to which we have not referred for fear of making this review too long, but we can assure the reader that the cases reported will repay perusal. A knowledge of constitutional law will prove, in the immediate future, to be a valuable equipment for the Indian citizen.

E. SANKARAN UNNI.

GUJARAT RURAL LIFE.

LIFE AND LABOUR IN A SOUTH GUJARAT VILLAGE By G. C. MUKHTYAR. Ed. by C. N. Vakil (Studies in Indian Economics Series) (Longmans, Bombay.) 1930. 22cm. 304p. Rs. 5/-.

THIS is a very comprehensive survey of conditions in a Gujarat village, more comprehensive than any we have so far had. We find, in the Introduction, a valuable discussion on the methods to be followed in investigations of this kind. This survey has involved—

- (1) a detailed examination of agricultural methods,
- (2) the description of 'purely personal possessions' like furniture, ornaments, cash and others, of the villagers,
- (3) a thorough study of the labour problem of the village,
- (4) a comprehensive discussion of the marketing organization of the village,
- (5) a discussion of the general economic conditions of the people by the application of tests, usually applied by economists and settlement officers, for gauging the prosperity or otherwise of rural areas,
- (6) an attempt to consider the relation between the total Government dues paid by the village and the benefit received by it in return,
- (7) a detailed study of the relation between the people and the State,
- (8) a detailed study of indebtedness and the credit organization of the village, and
- (9) a programme for the reconstruction of the village.

While no absolute accuracy is claimed for the statistics, the picture presented is claimed to be fairly true.

It is always difficult to find a village which is really typical of a large tract like Gujarat, and as such, generalizations may, to some extent, not be quite in accordance with facts. Every attempt has been made in this book to keep in sight the characteristics of the tract as a whole. A general survey of the tract having been first made, details with regard to the village of Atgam have been given. It is interesting to note the effect of literary education on the village social life: it tends to draw men away from the village. The remedy would lie in changing the system of education to one more suited to rural needs.

As with most villages in India, it is found that almost the whole of the population get part or whole of their income from land. The agricultural practices of the people are described in some detail. The farmers seem to follow certain definite rules in rotating their crops depending presumably on their knowledge of the soil and their experience. A tribute is paid to the sense of economy of the people. That the farmers recognise the value of rotation, manuring, good cultivation and good seed is evident.

The "balance sheet" studies of the different crops are very interesting. The coarser food crops give barely any profit to the "capitalist cultivator", while sugarcane actually works out at a loss. The self-working cultivator, however, seems to do well with almost all crops. The author points to the element of uncertainty in the income and believes that this often weighs heavily on the farmers. He suggests as a remedy the provision of perennial sources of water.

There seems to be a gradual increase in the number of 'owned holdings' and a corresponding decrease in the average size of the holding. The economic holding for the village is taken to be 15 acres, of which 3 acres are wet land. From this point of view, there seems to be a gradual increase in uneconomic holdings, due to subdivision of holdings, resulting in making agriculture an extremely precarious occupation. To offset this, there is a tendency to cultivate a larger area than a single holding, sporadic attempts at consolidation, and joint cultivation of crops like sugarcane. Legislation to effect consolidation of holdings and the introduction of subsidiary occupations are recommended.

For the village as a whole, the number of work-cattle and milch-cattle is inadequate. Although in recent years the farmers have been appreciating the use of good bulls for breeding purposes, the quality of the cattle is unsatisfactory. The implements are all of the indigenous variety; even they are inadequate and the yearly repair bill is a big amount. The houses are mostly old-fashioned mud huts. Of available cash there is very little in the hands of the cultivators. Modern methods of investment are unknown. Most of the people have very little in the form of savings and of "hoarding" there is no trace. Labour is scarce and enquiries point to the fact that labour has gradually become more and more inefficient.

A study of the marketing arrangements has shown the great disparity that exists between the price that the grower realizes and the price that the consumer pays. Co-operative agencies are suggested as a means of overcoming the disparity.

An attempt has been made to assess the progress in agricultural prosperity in recent times. Although direct estimation was made difficult owing to lack of data, indirect estimates have been made and the author comes to the conclusion that, although there have been a few individuals who have prospered, on the whole the condition of the village has remained stationary.

A study of the economic condition of the people has revealed the fact that the average family leads a hand to mouth existence and is indebted to some extent. Various remedies have been suggested for improving the condition of the people, such as better cultivation, co-operative marketing, better education, irrigational facilities, and the introduction of subsidiary occupations. Although the establishment of a co-operative society has eased matters to a certain extent, the effect is not considerable, and the establishment of a land mortgage bank is suggested as a remedy against the indebtedness of the peasants.

The appendices are valuable as they give us an insight into the methods of work of the author, and as giving us detailed statistics about various aspects of the economic life of the farmers. The whole study has been very carefully done and no aspect of the villager's life seem to have been overlooked. On the whole, the condition of the people seems to be much the same as in other parts of India where similar studies have been undertaken. These studies have shown us that the problems awaiting solution in the rural areas are very much the same and it remains for some effort to be made in the direction of ameliorating the lot of farmers in this country. While these studies are important as furnishing data about the conditions of people in rural parts, what is more important is that vigorous steps should be taken to organise work in the villages to make the lot of villagers more happy than it is now.

GUNDAPPA S. KURPAD.

WORLD PEACE.

THE TURN TOWARDS PEACE. By FLORENCE BREWER BOECKEL. (Friendship Press, New York.) 1930. 18cm. 214p. About \$ 2.00.

THE book is a scathing indictment of the 'war' mentality and is a convincing appeal for peace and goodwill in the world. The author is at pains to show that the financial interdependence of nations and the cultural interdependence of the people of the world must go a long way to prevent wars. A number of chapters are devoted to America's part in arbitration and conciliations in matters affecting the peace of the world.

The author's conceptions of what a nation is and what patriotism means are very interesting. The

idea that a nation can be isolated, self-sufficient, a wholly sovereign unit is an idea based on complete ignorance of present world facts. A nationalistic spirit, though often identified with patriotism, is actually incompatible with it. Love of country is no less needed, and should be no less an incentive to sacrifice and service but its expression should be in harmony with the facts of the world we live in, rather than of the world of yesterday.

Miss Florence wants that the fact of a world community must be accepted as the basis of men's thinking, and has many interesting suggestions as to how to do it. The author indicates how the family could begin with books and pictures and maps, that children may be taught the unity of the universe, of the earth and the planets, of the suns and the stars. Libraries, Churches, Business groups must all be mobilised for inculcating this idea of universal peace.

The author writes with great sincerity but so long as 'dependencies' exist, so long as the exploiting mentality exists, it is difficult to achieve world peace. Subject nations, conscious of their subjection and chafing under foreign rule, are always likely to take with reserve the plea for world peace: it may mean to them the perpetuation of their subjection. When nations cease to be covetous and imperialistic, when individuals change their character fundamentally, when justice reigns, peace will come and come to stay.

The author has done well in registering a very strong protest against the war-outlook and its dangers. Western nations, including America, may learn a good deal from the writer about the tragedies of a narrow nationalism and an aggressive imperialism.

S. V. AYYAR.

HORRORS OF WAR.

A BRASS HAT IN NO MAN'S LAND. By BRIG. GEN. F. P. CROZIER. (Cape, London.) 1930. 21cm. 254p. 7/6

THIS remarkable book about the Great War, written by a British General, who after seeing the frightful degeneration of nations engaged in the Titanic struggle, has since become a convert to Disarmament and the like, exposes, in every page, the terribly hideous massacre not only of men, but of all the moral principles that humanity had hitherto prized as priceless treasure in this world. War makes brutes of men, and of women too. In the book we read of many women of every nation engaged in the war, had lost all sense of morality, and had become actually 'sex-mad'. "Prostitutes and loose women may, and actually do, follow the big drums,"—why, the author says, that no war can be fought without wine and women—but the stories of "bitter free-love" and "temporary husbands" in many a French and English town are simply shocking. Not only this, but one English officer had actually written to his pretty wife that, if the money he was sending her out of his pay and allowances was not sufficient for her, she should exploit fully the "treasure in her face" in a hotel! One really cannot fully believe in the enormity of this debasement of minds, which every moral fibre seems to be shattered, until one sees it authenticated by men like General Crozier. And if even victorious nations are thus to lose entirely their morals in a war then one may seriously ask what do they gain by the huge carnage they revel in on the battlefields? If they lose men, money and morals also, then what do they gain by their victory?

But war breeds immorality not only in sexual matters alone. It eats into the vitals of morality in other directions also. We come across with many instances of fraud, dishonesty, theft, favouritism,

profiteering, etc., in this book. But the worst of it is the shooting of helpless 'war prisoners' for the simple reason that the British soldiers were not willing to "be bothered to escort them back" to their lines. The mischievous, malicious, and mendacious propaganda led by interested pressmen and profiteers is fully exposed by General Crozier in many places. Rank avarice of profiteers and businessmen was responsible, we read, for the loss of thousands of lives; and the author has shown how these business-devils were interested in prolonging the war and, in fact, did prolong it. The book is thus a miserable tale of massacre, on a huge scale, of not only men, but of everything that man has held sacred in his life. And it is no wonder that the author has learnt to hate war, after such an agonizing, torturing experience. But it is doubtful if ever his dream of peaceful solutions of all international questions will be realised. It seems we are yet much too far off from that ideal.

V. M. BHAT

MAKERS OF AMERICA.

MEN WHO ARE MAKING AMERICA.
7th Ed. 1926. 24cm. 442p. \$ 3-00.

MEN WHO ARE MAKING THE WEST.
20cm. 343p. \$2-00.

BOTH BY B. C. FORBES. (B. C. Forbes Publishing Co., New York.)

THE two books under review contain thumb-nail sketches of the industrial and commercial magnates of America, who have contributed in a very large degree to her material prosperity. These men who have built up a commercial and industrial civilization with no traditional background to fall back upon or derive inspiration from were not all of them born with the proverbial silver spoon in their mouths. The books relate to us the life stories, romantic and amazing most of them, of those who began their career with nothing except those innate qualities of perseverance, capacity for taking pains and foresight combined with good business acumen.

A careful reading of the two books leaves on ones mind the impression that banking facilities are at the root of every kind of material prosperity. With a highly organised system of banking with ramifications all over the U. S. A. and the world, it has been possible for the industrial and commercial "Kings" of America to build up what we may call the American Civilization. Out of the sixty-four lives dealt with in these two books, as many as five are those of bankers and financiers who have helped American trade and industry to assume their present amazing proportions.

Among others, the books give an intimate picture of some of America's greatest men who have achieved international reputation in one walk of life or other. We read of Andrew Carnegie, the iron king, the son of a hand-loom weaver, with no schooling, peddling oranges in the streets, who started life in a cotton mill as a bobbin-boy, working from early morning till late at night; of Robert Dollar—of the Dollar Shipping line fame, who began life as an office-boy doing the most menial job; of George Eastman of Kodak Company, who entered life as an office-clerk and spent his leisure hours in scientific experiments; of Thomas Alva Edison, the American Wizard; of Henry Ford, who began life as a mere mechanic; and of John D. Rockefeller, who rose from the position of an office-boy and assistant book-keeper, to that of an "Oil King".

The two books afford very stimulating reading and deserve to be placed in the hands of our young men who are complaining of lack of opportunity for

a career in life. The books are attractively got up with many good illustrations.

S. R. V.

MUHAMMADAN INDIA

A HISTORY OF INDIA. PART II—MUHAMMADAN INDIA. By C. S. SRINIVASACHARI & M. S. RAMASWAMY AYYANGAR. (Shrinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras.) 1929. 21cm. 336p. Rs. 3/-.

THE book under review is presumably a compilation of facts from various published sources, and as such there is little scope for reflecting the authors' personality. They have made the treatment so impersonal that in their zeal to avoid looking 'criminally reckless' they have even risked inconsistency of a sort, in attempting to incorporate remarks from several authors. The work resembles that of Mr. G. S. Saradesai in Maharashtra and though the authors of the present book can take credit for a more systematic plan than the former, the former has certainly one redeeming feature of having successfully introduced what may be called an Indian view point in history. The authors' claims to have sketched the social and economic life and the administrative systems in the various epochs and parts of India have thus a limited meaning. All these and such other features as prominence to History of South India and the Deccan and especially the Hindu Religious Revivalist Movement in India, usually follow the already written word, illustrating the *opinions* of various writers. They assert that they have made a conscious effort to include the latest researches and information in Indian History. If one is to infer from the general bibliography appended at the end and the references in the footnotes, the present effort seems to be but general, if not cursory. It is not enough to read books on historical topics, but an up-to-date knowledge of research journals is quite essential. Shivaji was not born in 1627 but in 1630, Shahaji died not in 1671 but seven years earlier. But the limits imposed upon the writers of a text book for examination purposes—and they are quite varied and numerous—renders it rather inconvenient to represent all shades and the student world may well feel happy at the welcome addition of this book presented to them by two of the pains-taking members of the learned profession.

D. V. K.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE TIMES OF INDIA ANNUAL, 1931.
(The Times Press, Bombay.) 1930. 33 cm. Rs. 2/-

THIS special number of the *Times of India* is, as usual, mainly meant for Anglo-Indian Society, and naturally, therefore, most of the articles are for them and even the stories included in the volume are about their life. To others the value of the volume lies mainly in the beautiful pictures of such reputed artists as Mr. Bagdatopulos and late Principal Burns. The former has achieved a considerable success like Lockwood Kipling or Warwick Goble or Evelin Paul in applying Western technique to Indian subjects. In his 'Akbar sees the Baby Prince' he has well brought out the subdued effect of light streaming through perforated windows and other architectural devices, and the gorgeous atmosphere of interiors of Moghal Palaces; in his 'Pratap and his Brother Sukta' he has displayed the selective eye of the artist in laying his finger upon a nobly romantic incident from the annals of Rajsthan and in depicting it he has added strength to beauty, though it must be admitted that the artist has failed fully to understand the spirit of the race. 'Shivaji's Leaving Raigadh in

State' is pure *tour de force*, achieved mainly by lavish display of colours. His black and white studies of Indian life are praiseworthy; they are graphic without being photographic. Principal Burns' 'Death of Shah Jahan' is a beautiful lyric, expressed through the medium of rhythmic colours, light and shade. The well-known portrait of Lord Clive at the end and especially the passage from his speech, printed on the fly-leaf, seems to say,

'Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget'

the tradition of Anglo-Indian bureaucrat, 'who must always be true to his country'. Many a recent event is sufficient enough to convince even a robust optimist that Lord Clive's spirit is not yet thoroughly extinct.

Y. G. N.

THE ANNUAL OF THE EAST, 1930. Ed. by H. F. KNAPP. (Pub. by the Author, 64, Cannon Street, London, E. C. 4) 1930. 33 cm. 355 p. 3/-

THIS Annual is a notable feature of the spirit of this age, and the Editor, Mr. Knapp, deserves congratulations for compiling this wellgot-up, beautifully illustrated, bulky volume, "with malice to none, with charity," if not for all, at least for those who were lucky enough to swim (must we say, to push themselves?) into the Editor's ken. Though articles about India bulk large in the volume, they give but partial glimpse of Indian life, since rural India has remained unrepresented but for a stray reference in the editorial to the teeming millions in the famine-stricken Indian villages. It is important to realise that the thirty-three big towns show India what exactly it is not. If this drawback is overlooked, the volume is full of interesting and informative articles, enriched by vivid and varied photographs and coloured plates, and they range over a wide variety of subjects. Some of the articles about India are worth mentioning. Lord Inchcape's well-wordsed plea for free coastal traffic conceals the Oliver Twist in him to some extent. He changes his frank, boyish demand, 'I want more!' to a more political one, 'we deserve more!'. An unexpected answer to this plea comes from the subsequent articles about the Progress of British shipping in Indian waters. A shipping company, which opened its career with three ships, has managed to own a fleet of hundred and thirty steamers, many of them being uptodate ocean liners, after paying a 'modest dividend' (!) to the share-holders. The information about Indian concerns, like those of the Tatas, is as stimulating as it is interesting, but we must thank the Editor particularly for disclosing all the information about the industrial and commercial enterprises carried on by British Capital in India by throwing a flash light from a vantage ground. Before concluding we may be allowed to give a hint to the enterprising level-minded Editor that the East is not only a land of temples and tombs, forest and ferns, sunshine and scenes, but a land of personalities too. Only recently a Liberal peer admitted that the East was changing fast. It is changing fast because there are great personalities almost in every field of life to make it wonderfully dynamic.

Y. G. N.

THE EAST AFRICAN ANNUAL, 1930-31. ED. and Published by the EAST AFRICAN STANDARD, LTD. NAIROBI. 1930. 40 Cm. 164 p.

THE Annual issued for the first time by the *East African Standard* of Nairobi, is a charming

production which does credit to the publishers. The articles are varied and interesting, and give a wealth of information about the country's scenery and game and development and potentialities. The photographs, of which there are a good many, add to the vividness of the descriptions.

In a volume which professes to deal with the four territories of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the omissions are rather glaring. The great bulk of the Annual is devoted to Kenya, and European life in Kenya. The other territories and the other races, like poor relations, get a scanty corner. Perhaps that was inevitable in the first issue of the Annual and the next and subsequent issues may justify its more comprehensive title.

P. K. R.

PRACTICAL THEOSOPHY. By C. JINARAJA-DASA. (2nd Edn.) (Theosophical Publishing House, Madras.) 1930. 20cm. 68p. As. 12.

THE matter of the book consists of lectures delivered by the author in Chicago, U. S. A., in 1910 and subsequently in Burma in 1914. The contents are divided into seven chapters, the first being introductory. In the subsequent chapters the author has described in very simple and lucid language how theosophy could be practised in the home, in schools and colleges, in business, in science, in art, and in the State. The book forms very interesting reading and will show to the reader that theosophy is not vain idealism but is essentially a truth for the living. The author states in his introductory remarks the fundamental truths which transform a man's attitude towards life when he begins to apply them. They are:

1. Man is an immortal soul which grows through the ages into an ideal perfection.
2. The growth of the soul is by learning to co-operate with God's plan which is evolution.
3. Man learns to co-operate with God's plan by learning first how to help his fellowmen.

These fundamental truths are applicable to every occasion of life and a real theosophist is he who applies him.

In the chapters that follow the author has described how these fundamental truths could be applied in various departments of human activity.

The book is carefully got up, the printing and paper are all that could be desired and would justly repay the amount of time spent on its reading.

V. C. GOKHALE.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- TYROL UNDER THE AXE OF ITALIAN FASCISM.** By EDUARD REUT-NICOLUSSI. (Allen & Unwin.) 1930. 22cm. 277p. 12/6.
- LIQUOR, LOOT AND LADIES.** By CHESTER T. CROWELL. (Knopf, London.) 1930. 21cm. 405p. 10/6.
- MAN AND THE UNIVERSE.** By HANS DRIESCH. (Allen & Unwin.) 1929. 20cm. 172p. 7/-
- MUGHAL RULE IN INDIA.** By S. M. EDWARDS AND H. L. O. GARRETT. (Oxford University Press, Bombay.) 1930. 20cm. 374p. Rs. 9.
- WHAT MAN MIGHT MAKE OF MAN.** By "THE CEAXK" (Benington, Liverpool.) 1930. 18cm. 88p. 2/-
- THE MODERN FAMILY.** By RUTH REED. (Knopf, London.) 1929. 22cm. 182p. 12/6.
- THE TURN TOWARD PEACE.** By FLORENCE BREWER BOECKEL. (Friendship Press, New York.) 1930. 215p. 18cm. About \$ 2.00.