

The Servant of India

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Topics of the Week.

The Bowley-Robertson Report.

THE report of the British experts invited by the Government of India to advise them on an economic census and organisation of statistical intelligence closely follows the anticipations that were entertained. On the latter subject the experts condemn the present improvised and unsatisfactory machinery for the collection of commercial intelligence. They recommend a special, competent and permanent organisation for the purpose of collecting economic information and supplying it in suitable form to the executive council. It is recommended that the head of this organisation should be in direct touch with the economic committee of the executive council. The experts also recommend the enactment of a measure making obligatory the maintenance and supply of information. The training of the investigating staff is generally supported by the experts, but it is doubtful whether the factory inspectors' staff will be more suitable than a specially maintained body of investigators under the ministry of trade. The experts' report does not recommend any general estimate of the income of the people. On the other hand they recommend that a census of production in rural and urban areas on the basis of sampled inquiries should be attempted. They recognise the peculiar physical and psychological difficulties in the way of any reliable rural census in India. They, therefore, recommend that a number of investigators should be specially trained and that they should be sent to live in the selected villages during the period of inquiry, which might extend over a few years. The co-operation of local agencies such as school teachers is also recommended.

A good deal will naturally depend upon sampling and the methods of investigation. The Government have ignored expert Indian opinion long enough to justify a doubt as to the attitude of Government in these respects. It is essential that expert and independent Indian opinion should be consulted by Government before practical steps in these matters are taken. Any suspicion that the census is being guided by particular political or fiscal purposes will only ensure its failure. The method of sampling is only of a limited application to urban areas. Hence the experts recommend, in the first instance, surveys of larger towns based on a sample inquiry of personnel and occupations of the families and their income. It is expected that these inquiries in rural and urban areas will supply at least workable material for elucidating such topics as the cost of cultivation, distribution of agricultural income, standard of life, wages, profits, taxes, etc. If the Government of India take early action on this report, and if they satisfy competent public opinion on the subject of sampling and method a good deal will be achieved towards modernising the statistical equipment of India. At present much is talked about economic planning in this country but, as the experts themselves hint, in the absence of adequate data and competent machinery more harm than good is likely to result from State intervention in particular industries. It is doubtful how far Government are prepared to launch an independent and *bona fide* inquiry of the nature recommended by the experts. It is up to public opinion in general and the legislatures in particular to organise the necessary pressure for Government to move in the matter.

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Indianisation of the I. C. S.

A MOTION asking for a substantial increase in the Indian recruitment to the Indian Civil Service was recently discussed in the Council of State. While it is undeniable that the Service is being increasingly Indianised, it is equally beyond question that its rate of progress is exasperatingly slow. In 1911, out of a total membership of 1,300, the Service had a sprinkling of only 64 Indians. Thanks to the persistence of Indian agitation, the position has latterly improved somewhat, but not to the extent desired by public opinion. From 64 the number of Indians had gone up in 1932 to 368—a rise of 300 in 22 years—in a service numbering 1,177 members, which works out to 31 per cent. of the total cadre. This is far from the fifty-fifty proportion which, under the Lee Commission proposals since accepted by the Government, is to be reached in 1939. It was probably the fear that Indianisation of the Service even to this limited extent may be difficult of attainment that impelled the mover to bring up the subject for discussion. The Home Secretary, who acted as the spokesman of Government, tried to assure his hearers how surprisingly great were the strides which Indi-

anisation of the L. C. S. had made during recent years and how the plan of completing one half of it five years hence would be strictly adhered to; but his explanation, with whatever force it might have been put forward, was hardly better than mere eye-wash.

We do not know why the mover of the resolution should have found it necessary to dissociate himself from the demand for the stoppage of European recruitment for the Service. Does he labour under the delusion that it proceeds from irresponsible quarters and is sponsored by impatient idealists? All we need do by way of dispelling his misgivings is to point out that the demand has secured the backing of such a responsible and sober group of political reformers as the Liberals who lent the weight of their influence to it as far back as more than ten years ago. But if he cannot stomach the idea of recruiting no more Europeans to the Indian Civil Service, to what extent would he like its Indianisation to proceed? His speech does not make his intentions clear. He would have helped in a better appreciation by the public of what he wants if he had mentioned the outside limit to which he would have the substantially increased recruitment, which he so ardently desired, to work up to and that in how many years. "A measurable distance of time" is hardly helpful to show exactly how much he would like the Indianisation to be speeded up. Is it not safer in such matters to state one's intentions with as much precision as possible?

Plea for Better Railway Travel Amenities.

IN his speech in the Legislative Assembly on a out motion to press for the provision of better travel amenities to railway passengers Mr. N. M. Joshi as usual championed the cause of the poor third class passengers and supported his advocacy by facts and arguments which appeared to be almost unanswerable. It is obvious that as a commercial concern the railways ought really to regard the contentment of that class of passenger traffic which is most paying as their special concern. In point of fact however they care more for the higher classes which are not as lucrative as the lowest class. Mr. Joshi had little difficulty in proving that this was so and seems to be doing it year after year without, however, much effect. According to him, a first class seat is used only 60 times in a year, a second class one 180 and a third class one 400 times. This leads to no other conclusion than that while rolling stock used in the case of the higher classes is plentiful, that required for the carriage of third class traffic is inadequate, leading to overcrowding and consequent discomfort to the travelling public. The real point, however, is not so much whether this or that class suffers inconvenience from overcrowding as whether it is not the lowest class that is most gainful to the railways. While every first class seat yields Rs. 208, and every second class one Rs. 236, every third class seat gives the Government Rs. 241. Now, what does it cost to make a seat? A combination of one first class seat and one and one half second class seat costs Rs. 4,000 to the Government and yields Rs. 562, while a third class seat costs only Rs. 260 and yields Rs. 241. Is there any doubt that any investment on increasing third class accommodation is more profitable than on any other class? As can be easily seen, the number of persons who can afford to travel in first class in this poor country cannot be very large. Mr. Joshi himself puts it down at 40,000 consisting mostly of people with an annual income of Rs. 12,000 and more. He therefore suggested the appointment of a committee to go seriously into the question of the reorganisation of our passenger traffic system with a view to

bringing it more closely into relation with the economic conditions in the country. If as a result of its investigations the committee proposed the abolition of the first and second classes, it need not be looked upon as a grave calamity. We do hope the Government will give their earnest consideration to Mr. Joshi's suggestion.

Education in Madras.

EDUCATIONALLY Madras is generally believed to be more advanced than Bombay; but the impression is not borne out by the figures of literacy given in the report of the Director of Public Instruction for that presidency for 1932-33. It is true that the number of educational institutions and of scholars in them is larger than in the Western presidency; but so far as the proportion of literacy goes, it is not very much higher than in Bombay, being 6.2 as against Bombay's 6.11. But though the general level of literacy is very nearly equal in both cases, the number of literates in Madras is, as stated already, much larger. The population of the southern presidency is more than twice that of Bombay, being 46 and 21 millions respectively; but the number of educational institutions in the former is more than three times that in the latter (52,483 and 16,871 respectively). The same proportion does not however hold good in relation to the number of students, which for Madras was nearly 3 millions as against 1,332,693 for Bombay.

Nor does the number of students in arts colleges in the two presidencies show any very marked difference. If Madras had about 12,000 male students in receipt of University education, Bombay had only 3000 less. The secondary stage claimed a little more than 1½ lakh students in boys' schools in Madras in comparison to 83,000 in Bombay; while the number in the primary schools stood at nearly 2¼ millions as against less than one million in Bombay.

Female education, though more widely diffused, cannot be said to be as widespread as the population proportion would warrant. The total number of girl students in recognised institutions was 391,743 in Madras; while that for Bombay was 193,964. Though Bombay does not boast of a separate girls' college, the number of lady students attending men's arts colleges was 835; while in Madras with its 6 arts colleges for females the number was actually less. These had a strength of 512, which together with the 235 girls attending men's colleges made the total number of girls receiving university education 747.

But enough with this comparison with Bombay. The last year witnessed a set-back in the number of both educational institutions and of scholars attending them, the former by over 2600 and the latter by as much as nearly 12,500. The latter would have been even larger but for the fact that the number of girl students showed a uniform increase in all stages of instruction amounting to 4000. It is disheartening to find that no new area was brought under compulsion during the year under report. In spite of the general awakening of sympathy for the depressed classes, several panchayats seem to have displayed a deplorable tendency to segregate Adi-Dravida pupils from pupils belonging to higher castes and to start separate schools for them. The Government deserve praise for putting a curb on this tendency by refusing grants to schools not open to Adi-Dravida pupils and by withdrawing them from those maintained specially for the Adi-Dravida pupils and amalgamating both schools into one.

Gond Seva Mandal's Work.

OF the good work being carried on by Father Elwin and his band of workers for the last two years and more for the benefit of the Gonds so little is known that we are sure our readers will welcome a reference to it here. These welfare activities are undertaken in the name of the Gond Seva Mandal which is modelled on the Bhil Seva Mandal working in Gujerat under Mr. Thakkar's leadership for the uplift of the Bhils. In addition to the main Ashram at Karanjia, the Gond Seva Mandal conducts five others, in every one of which there is a primary school attended by about 30 children, a Hindi library and a small dispensary. A resident worker chosen from among the villagers themselves lives in each centre. Once a week all the workers are assembled together in the Ashram and instructed in general knowledge, first aid, music, etc., the knowledge thus acquired by them percolating in due course to the villagers by their contact with them. It need hardly be stated that the knowledge imparted to them has close bearing on local needs and can be easily turned to practical use.

The number of children coming under the influence of the beneficent activities of the Mandal comes to about 150. Every care is taken to keep the costs as low as possible, an Ashram building costing not more than Rs. 50 and its maintenance expenses for a whole year coming to about three times as much. During the next year it is intended to start twelve such centres within a twelve-mile radius of the Karanjia head-quarters; and to impart a definitely vocational bias to the education given at them. From the numbers taking advantage of the facilities for medical relief provided by the Mandal, that part of its work seems to have evoked widespread appreciation among the Gonds. The refuge for lepers whose opening was in a way forced upon the Mandal by the unexpected arrival on the same day of as many as five lepers has nine inmates, who receive food, clothing, and anti-leprosy injections at the cost of the institution. But its varied activities do not stop here. It acts as a sort of arbitration court in petty Gond disputes and renders valuable assistance in representing their grievances to the authorities. That its efforts in this direction are not altogether wasted is evident from the fact that *begar* or forced labour within the area controlled by the Mandal has now become a thing of the past. The immediate needs of the Mandal are a couple of horses for visiting branch ashrams, funds for running two new schools and the publication of a Gond primer and reader in the local dialect and a large quantity of quinine, vaseline and khadi cloth. We are confident that those who appreciate the nation-building value of the Mandal's activities will see to it that these wants are satisfied.

Articles.**THE ROAD TO UNITY.**

AS was to be expected, the Government of India have announced their intention to allow a meeting of the Congress, whether of the Working Committee or of the bigger executive committee or of the general body itself, to be held without let or hindrance if the purpose of such a meeting is to stop the civil disobedience movement in accordance with Mahatma Gandhi's advice. Government are at least as much interested in seeing the movement brought formally to a close as the Mahatma himself or non-

Congress parties. If the movement is discontinued as there is no doubt it will be, we hope the release of political prisoners will be speeded up so that in a short time there will be a general gaol delivery, and in particular we hope Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will be set at liberty. The Congress policy can be said to have orientated itself only when it is decided upon in consultation with him. As the Congress organisation was unable to take a final decision in regard to civil disobedience over the head of Mahatma Gandhi, so will it be unable to determine its political policy in the absence of Pandit Nehru, and it would make for the steadying of our politics if the Government of India restored him to freedom soon enough. The repeal of repressive measures is a matter that falls in a different category. The ordinary legislative procedure will take some time, and besides the Governments in India will probably like to keep a watchful eye on things for some time and satisfy themselves that there is no likelihood of the civil resistance movement recrudescing before they will consent to give up the powers of which they are already in possession. As to whether the Working Committee or the All-India Congress Committee or a special session of the Congress should be convened, it is not for us outsiders to say. But it seems to us that there is much force in what Mr. Purshotam Tricumdas says, viz. that more than three years having elapsed since the election of the A.I.C.C., it would be only right to call a special session of the Congress and take a final decision on the general policy at such a meeting. It is clear, however, that whatever the decision of the Congress or the A.I.C.C., may be, the new Swaraj party will come into being and will start functioning. If the Congress adopts the Council entry programme, then the Swarajists will be the political section of the Congress, the other section confining itself to the constructive programme of khaddar and harijan service and so forth. But if the Congress opposes Council entry, even then the Swarajists will go forward as a dissenting faction within the Congress. What the Swarajists want is not Congress approval so much as Mahatma's neutrality. This explains why Mr. K. M. Munshi does not want even an A.I.C.C. meeting to pronounce on their policy. But, if non-Congressmen may express an opinion on this question, keeping in view the larger interests of the country, a special session of the Congress would appear to be a fit instrument for taking decisions for Congressmen as a whole.

In taking these decisions, it is to be hoped that the imperative need of the present moment for unity among all political parties will not be lost sight of. It would be nothing short of disaster if, just when all parties have agreed to use the constitutional weapon, they should split again on the way in which the weapon should be used. In course of time divisions will take place, and ought to take place, in nationalist ranks in consonance with the different social and economic policies which they will pursue, but these divisions may well wait for some time till the constitutional question is out of the way. The *Indian Express*, one of the numerous Free Press journals,

says in this connexion: "The real issue before the Congress is whether it should go back to the National Liberal programme of the pre-non-cooperation days or inaugurate a post-noncooperation era on the lines of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's *Whither India?* There is no third alternative." This is in our opinion an entirely wrong lead. If the Congress were to decide here and now which of these two courses it should follow, it would find itself broken into fragments as soon as it meets. No single party would be able to maintain its integrity if it tried to formulate its economic and social policy. Nor is it quite necessary at this particular time. The Swaraj party, for instance, has not decided upon capturing the Councils under the existing constitution in order to forward any particular social and economic programme that it has set its heart upon. If that were its object, it might well have waited for the new constitution to come into force, when any such programme will have a better chance. The reason why it throws itself into the fray at this time is because it realises the importance of all nationalists bending their energies to the improvement, however little, of the constitution that is being framed. The actual work that can be done in the present Councils is of subsidiary importance; the main thing is to get the Legislatures and the constituencies to give a clear and unambiguous demonstration of the national will on the subject of the new constitution.

The instinct of the Swaraj party is right in this matter, and the Congress too will do well not to precipitate internal divisions amongst us by furthering any particular legislative programme just now. But the Swaraj party too must sedulously refrain, if it is to create a solidarity among all nationalist elements, from taking up a cry which, instead of welding all the various forces into a national party, will drive them still further apart. "Rejection" may well be such a cry. It is wholly unnecessary too when all parties can join in condemning the proposed reforms in unmeasured terms, and when no party is prepared to boycott the reforms when they come, whatever they be. If words like "acceptance" or "rejection", which only cause misapprehension and create differences where there are none, are avoided, unity, so necessary in our political fight at present, will be quite easy. The next General Election will then be like an All-Party Conference which was planned in Bombay recently but which is probably being abandoned; only it will be on a very much bigger scale. Nor need you omit from the purview of this Conference the communal award, on which people feel so keenly but which had to be kept out from the Bombay Conference. Provided we are clear about one thing, viz. that the Councils are not to be tabooed on any account, and indeed that the more eager we must be to go in, the worse it is, we may well

include the communal award among our grounds for the condemnation of the White Paper constitution. We may include several other matters too which we think it prudent to leave out at All-Party Conferences. Nomination of the States' representatives is one of them. It might be wise—it is wise—not to mention its disapproval too prominently in the working policy of any party; but surely no one likes nomination, and it will not be theoretically wrong nor politically inexpedient to make this an additional ground for a total disapproval of the constitution. The more, the merrier. If we fight the elections on the sole issue of the acceptability of the constitution, we shall do very much more than what we had hoped to do by organising an All-Party Conference.

Indeed, one may go further and say that we may put forward a specific demand to the effect that the India Bill, when it passes, should receive the imprimature of the approval of the Legislative Assembly elected on the issue of the reforms. This will satisfy to some degree India's claim to a right of self-determination. It does not derogate in any way from the sovereignty of the British Parliament. That is fully preserved by Parliament alone passing the Bill. But, before the Bill becomes Law, it should be submitted to the Indian legislature in order to consult Indian opinion in an effective way. There is precedent for adopting such a measure. As we remarked in a recent issue, the Philippine Independence Act passed by the United States Congress itself stipulated that the Philippine Legislature must accept the Act. Congressional power was certainly not limited in any way by such a provision. On the contrary, the provision helped in a most admirable manner to harmonise the supremacy of the United States legislature with the right of the Filipinos to be taken into consultation. The United States in fact did not stop with consulting the Philippine legislature; the legislature was itself required to submit the Act to the people of the Philippine Islands for rejection or ratification. We may dispense with such elaborate provisions in our country. A plebiscite may be abandoned here as being too unwieldy. But if the legislature's view is ascertained, then the Swaraj Party's cry for "rejection of the reforms" will have some reality. Rejection in the sense merely of unacceptability has no terrors for any political party in India, provided that such rejection does not involve non-cooperation. On this kind of programme all can unite; for all parties are agreed in thinking that the reform proposals as they stand are hopelessly meagre and inadequate. This is a very good opportunity for demonstrating public opinion on the constitutional question, but an effective demonstration of the kind requires that all other issues be put aside for the present and that this issue alone be concentrated upon.

CASTE AND OUTCASTE I.

THE first impression one gets on a perusal of Mr. Agarwal's bright little book* is that of a strong rationalism contending against an equally strong ancestor-worship. It is well that most often reason has gained the upper hand in the struggle. But it has not done so always. Thus, on p. 52, after explaining the caste system as a means deliberately adopted by the Aryans to prevent "blood-mixture," in consequence of a hypothesized "too bitter experience" of the process in some earlier age, he passes this judgment on them, that "they

* "The Harijans in Rebellion: Case for the Removal of Untouchability." By O. B. Agarwal. (Taraporevala.) 1934. 17cm. 121p. Re. 1-4.

went too far in prescribing such an inhuman practice as untouchability." Then at once, as if this was too hard on the Aryans, he softens and hesitates: "But as our knowledge of their conditions is far from perfect, we can merely hazard such an opinion."

The book is, as its author states in his Preface, an adaptation of a recent one in Marathi by Mr. S. M. Mate of Poona, well-known as a worker in the cause of the Depressed Classes in Maharashtra. Mr. Agarwal avows himself to belong to Mr. Mate's school of social thought. From the latter-day activities of 'Mate Master,' as he is popularly known, one would think that our author was one of those extremely moderate social reformers who are for

reform in principle but opposed to it in practice and in detail. But the book under review belies the expectation. It is true that there is evidence in it of that school's tendency to glorify our past and to deprecate or belittle all alien agencies making for reform and progress. It contains also a lot of patronising advice to the Harijans as to how to behave in order to deserve well of the higher castes. But only uncharitable readers will pretend to detect in it any evidence for the charge which critics make against the school, that it champions the Harijans rather as pawns in their patron's game than as human beings with souls of their own. For, along with a genuine sympathy for the Harijans, there is evident on almost every page of this book the sense of an obligation to improve their lot, even if it be by saving them from themselves.

Mr. Agarwal gives the name of the Marathi work on which his is based as "Asprushyanoha Prashna." The faulty transliteration apart, that is not the title of the book. Mr. Mate, who prefers to call the Harijans "Asprishta" (the Untouched), and regards the term "Asprisya" (Untouchable) as derogatory to them, has entitled his Marathi book "Asprishtancha Prashna" (अस्पृष्टांचा प्रश्न, or the Problem of the Untouched), instead of "Asprisyanoha Prashna" (अस्पृष्ट्यांचा प्रश्न, or the Problem of the Untouchables). It may be remarked, however, that both the terms 'Untouched' and 'Untouchable' are inapplicable to the Harijans because, just as the Harijans are untouched and (regarded as) untouchable by the rest of the Hindus, so are the latter untouched and (regarded as) untouchable by the Harijans. If a Brahman may not touch a Mahar, neither may a Mahar touch a Brahman. In fact the two classes of Harijans and non-Harijans are mutually untouched as well as untouchable, or unapproached as well as unapproachable. And it is only because the former is the weaker of the two classes numerically or otherwise, that it suffers from what is a mutual ban.

In his first chapter, which deals mainly with the history of the anti-untouchability movement, Mr. Agarwal blames the Indian National Congress for taking up this reform, because it is "a social problem which does not interest all the communities" represented in the Congress; and for this reason he would have the problem tackled by the Hindu Mahasabha alone. Now, if there was one thing which the National Congress ought never to have taken up, it was the extra-territorial sectarian question of the Turkish Khilafat of the Sunni Muslims; and equally truly, if there was one thing which the Congress might have tackled from the very beginning of its career, it was the civic side of untouchability. It is because Mr. Agarwal overlooks the civic aspect of the question that he cannot see how the Indian National Congress as a secular body standing for the rights and liberties of the whole of the Indian Nation, of which the Harijans form so important a part, would have been false to the fundamental object of its existence if it had ignored them. The Congress is not concerned with the Harijan as a Hindu or a potential Hindu, but as a citizen of India and as a citizen he labours under certain disabilities, whatever bearing these may have on the community or religion to which he is now claimed to belong. Of course, the purely religious disabilities of the Harijan could be excepted and relegated to a communal organisation of the Hindus like the Mahasabha. But to say that the whole of the Harijan question concerns only the Hindus and ought to have been left to their Sabha is like saying that the N.-W. Frontier question ought to be left to the Frontier branch of the Muslim League, or that if the Agarwals are disqualified to enter the Indian army, their grie-

vance must be tackled by the All-India Vaisya Conference alone.

Our author indeed has little faith in democracy. He believes that the establishment of democracy in India is only one of the many tricks which the Britishers are playing upon the people for the prolongation of their rule. He claims that there are many other direct and less circuitous ways of transferring power to "the owners of the land," without specifying those ways. In his opinion, "so long as the various communities in India view one another with distrust, the democratic form of government is least suited to the country." To socialism and communism Mr. Agarwal is equally opposed. One can only infer that he stands for a benevolent despotism on a hereditary basis.

Mr. Agarwal devotes his next chapter to discussing the vexed question of the Harijans' numerical strength. After an elaborate examination of the several criteria of untouchability and the different estimates based upon them, the conclusion is arrived at that the correct estimate of their total number in British India is 14.42 millions, and not 43 millions, as claimed by some. This leads up to an indictment of the Poona Pact as a "gross injustice done to the caste-Hindus", since "the number of seats allotted to the Harijans is entirely out of proportion to their population." However that may be, the author is on surer ground when he says, with regard to the genesis of the Pact (p. 3), that "if Mahatma Gandhi had not treated Dr. Ambedkar with scant courtesy at the second Round Table Conference, the latter could have been won over and made to put his signature to an arrangement far superior to the... Pact." But when he claims that "the Harijans have nothing to fear from the caste-Hindus in the future," and that "the tremendous agitation carried on all over India... should be enough earnest of the good-will of the caste-Hindus" (p. 40), it cannot but strike a close observer of recent events as being a too sanguine, if not quite a delusive, hope for the Harijans to rest on. They cannot have forgotten how only a few months ago at a municipal by-election in Bombay, the most progressive and cosmopolitan of our cities, the high-caste Hindu voters of a predominantly Hindu ward combined with the non-Hindus to elect a non-Hindu, who was practically a stranger to public life, in preference to so well-known and public-spirited a candidate as Mr. P. Baloo, who happens to be of Harijan birth and had been supported by Congress and Hindu-Sabha leaders like Gandhiji, Mrs. Naidu and Dr. Savarkar. Then, so recently as in February last in the town of Thana, next to Bombay, a proposal to throw open the municipal wells to all classes including the Harijans (the wells being presumably up to then open to all, non-Hindus, as well as Hindus except the Harijans) could be carried only with the casting vote of the municipal president. These surely are not very hopeful signs.

As an instance of the author's predilection for glorifying our ancients without warrant, I may mention his statement (p. 64) that Dnyanesvar was "one of the greatest reformers in Maharashtra", who "opened the gates of Vedic spiritualism" to the Harijans, although, "according to the Shastras, the Harijans are debarred from hearing or reading the Vedas." What Dnyanesvar actually did was to make available to the non-Brahman Hindu masses some of the Puranic or rather non-Vedic sacred Sanskrit literature through his Marathi paraphrases. This meant no reform except in so far as Brahmanic bigotry had in his time extended the ban on the Veda against Sudras to non-Vedic sacred literature like the epics and the Puranas, and even to their vernacular versions. What Dnyanesvar did was to ignore this last

extension of the ban, a mere sacerdotal prejudice rather than a Sastric prohibition, in opening up an ancient non-Vedic composition like the Gita to the common people of his province by paraphrasing it into Marathi verses. It may have been a service to the Sudras, but not to the Harijans, except as the Harijans, who are called Ati-Sudras in Marathi, may be included among Sudras, by which term, according to the strict orthodox theory, all non-Brahmans are meant in this latter part of the Kāvya.

A glowing picture is presented on pp. 68-9 of the condition of the Harijans under the Peshwas and it is contrasted with their position under the British to the disparagement of the latter. It is all very well so long as the other side of the picture of the Harijans' treatment under indigenous Hindu rule is not presented to the readers. It is all very well to read of the Untouchables having then had "many pathaks or units of their own in the army," if we do not mind the implied segregation, or if we ignore other well-known practices of those days, such as compelling the Harijans while walking by public footpaths to wear round their necks earthen spittoons in which to spit, lest they should spit on the paths and their spittle defile the higher-caste people treading on it.

Mr. Agarwal is a great believer in caste, of which his ideas are, to say the least, very curious. In a chapter headed "Conflict of Races" he treats the castes as though they were so many races and tries to find eugenic reasons for their origin and continuation. His view is such as no unbiased student of the sciences of ethnology and eugenics can accept (if the latter may be called a science at all at the present stage of its development). His theory also runs counter to the orthodox tradition, according to which all mankind was originally of one *varna* and then branched off into four *varnas*, which in turn by miscegenation, degeneration etc. gave rise to all the castes, tribes and nations that on earth do dwell. Ethnologically none of our castes, in the narrowest sense of the term, and much less in its widest sense of *varna*, is racially pure. Each caste, once it was formed, may have continued to be a comparatively pure group for centuries, but to say that the castes were formed to prevent "blood mixture" is the height of absurdity. The author presses into his service the history of Latin America to support him in his view of caste. "The Spanish and Portuguese Empires in S. America and the French in N. America," we are told (p. 53), "failed because they were 'hybrid' nations": the colonists "lost themselves among the natives of the land" by marrying the women of the land; the English, on the other hand, took their women with them and settled in America. This is hardly correct. A great many of the earlier and the majority of the later colonists from Spain and Portugal did take their womenfolk with them, but these settlers formed connections with Amerindian women more freely than the English did. Racially the N. American nations are scarcely less mixed than the S. American. There is actually more inter-European, though there may be less European Amerindian or Negro-European, mixture in North America than in South. No American country in fact is free from racial mixture, whether it be inter-European or Negro-Amerindian-European; it is only a question of more or less and of which sort. Then, if freedom from racial mixture were a prime factor in colonial or national success, the Scandinavian colonies in Iceland and Greenland, which were the purest imaginable, would not have been the failures that they have been. Indeed, India itself, the home of caste or racialism sanctified, should have been the happiest land on earth, and not the door-mat it has been for every alien adventurer from Alexander to Abdali.

In this same chapter Mr. Agarwal makes much of the social prejudices against inter-dining and inter-marriage obtaining among different sections of Indian Muslims and Christians. But we must note that a social prejudice is one thing and a religious taboo quite another. For instance, if any one among the high-class Sayyids, who are said not to inter-marry with the low-class Sheikhs, does marry one of the latter, no mulla will issue a bull of excommunication against the parties and their descendants, as a Swami may do in the case of an inter-caste marriage among his flock. If Christians of different sections which are said not to inter-dine do so, it may be treated as an impropriety and not as a sin to be expiated with a *prayaschitta*. What 'caste' there is among the followers of non-ethnic religions like Islam and Christianity is in spite of their religious tradition, and not because of it, as among the adherents of the ethnic religion of Hinduism. Even the social prejudice not amounting to a religious taboo is not without its parallel in Hinduism. Thus, if an inter-marriage takes place between the Smarta and Vaishnava sections of a caste which do not usually inter-marry, the parties are not outcasted though the marriage may be disapproved of.

To the "bitter experience of blood mixture" on which this chapter dwells the case of Sri Krishna, the avatar of Vishnu and inspirer of the Gita, must be a remarkably sweet exception; for the traditional genealogies make him out to be the descendant of the inter-caste, even *pratiloma*, union of the Kshatriya king Yayati with the Brahman lady Devayani. The late Lord Birkenhead and Sir Richard Burton, the famous Orientalist and explorer, are said to have had gypsy blood in their veins; and either the late President Coolidge of the U. S. A. or one of his immediate cabinet colleagues could boast, it is said, of Amerindian ancestry.

While the author is eager to share in the glory of our ancients' achievement, e.g., "the wonderful Hindu philosophy which still fascinates the European mind" (p. 53), he does not scruple to disclaim their evil bequest. He blames Mahatma Gandhi for calling the higher-caste Hindus sinners, for "how we are to be held responsible for the sins of our forefathers we do not know" (p. 103). So, it seems, we may repudiate ancestral liabilities but claim the assets.

In an interesting but not strictly relevant chapter on mixed marriages and inter-dining Mr. Agarwal expatiates on the virtues of vegetarianism and tries to justify the taboos on inter-caste dining and marriage among Hindus. He will not allow members of vegetarian and non-vegetarian castes to inter-dine even with the restriction that only vegetarian food is served to all on the occasion. His objection that "if we allow inter-dining with persons who are non-vegetarians we are likely to drift away from our principles" (p. 92) invites the obvious retort that people who are likely to drift away from their "principles" by the mere act of dining in company with people of other principles or no principles are not at all worth their salt, much less their "principles." A virtue, it has well been said, which ever needs to be guarded is scarcely worth the sentinel. Besides, vegetarian virtue associating with non-vegetarian vice might well be expected to convert it, instead of being perverted by it. And, then, if inter-dining is to be tabooed because of the danger of contamination, why not taboo also inter-lunching, inter-speaking, inter-travelling, all inter-activity in fact? Mr. Agarwal wants the taboo on inter-caste dining to be removed so far as vegetarian Brahmins and vegetarian Vaisya are concerned. But he must know that the orthodox have objected to such a

proposal, saying that the nature of the food partaken is not the only consideration which justifies the existing ban, or men might even dine with monkeys. While on this subject it may be of interest to note that in Bengal the Vaishnava Namasudras, who are strictest vegetarians and teetotalers continue to be treated as outcastes, whereas the Brahmans who are mostly carnivorous and many of whom indulge in liquor also as Sakti-worshippers, take precedence of all other castes, just as elsewhere. O custom, what inconsistencies are perpetrated in thy name! It was the emperor Akbar who said that the vulture must be accounted the noblest of animal kind, because it kills no fellow-creature for its food but lives only on carrion, and is thus both harmless to all life and serviceable to man as a scavenger. In the light of this remark the Mahars and other Harijans who are despised for consuming the flesh of cattle dead of themselves must be held to be far nobler men than those Sakta priests who torture the goat in sacrificing it to their gods and goddesses. Yet, says Mr. Agarwal, "it is well-known that at religious functions the offerings of the gods do not include any non-vegetarian food" (p. 89). What is much better known is the fact that vast numbers of goats, buffaloes, fowls, &c., are occasionally as well as at fixed seasons offered up to the gods throughout Hindu India. In N. India even the Brahmans, who do not object to fish-food, make offerings of such food to their manes and the gods at the *śradha* ceremony.

It is surprising that this chapter on inter-caste marriage and dining should have been included when we find it stated in an earlier, more realistic chapter headed "The Break-down of the *Varna-Karma* System," that the Harijan question "has nothing to do with inter-dining or with inter-marriages. These problems are not peculiar to them. They are common to all sections of the Hindu society... and the Harijans have no special grievance in those respects" (p. 84).

In refreshing contrast with the hesitating observation on the guilt of those who instituted untouchability, already quoted, are the following remarks on pp. 56-7:—

"Whatever the motive and whatever the logic, it is no use denying that in treating the Adi-Dravids as untouchables, the Aryans have made themselves answerable for one of the most atrocious crimes against humanity recorded in the history of man. Untouchability stopped the growth of the Harijans spiritually, mentally and in every other conceivable way. All the qualities that distinguish a human being from a beast remained static in them, though they have multiplied in numbers. Literature and philosophy grew up in support of the custom, and it became incorporated in the religion of the people. The doctrine that a person is born in a higher or a lower caste according to the degree of righteousness in his previous incarnation... served to extinguish the last vestiges of fire in the minds of the Harijans."

In the following passage in his chapter "Shall We disregard the Shastras?" Mr. Agarwal stands forth as a rationalist pure and simple:—

"We stand not on the Shastras but on the principles of equality and humanity... If the Shastras are in our favour, so much the better; but if they are unfavourable to us, we shall be untrue to our principles if we desist from our course. We are bound to set aside the Shastriic injunctions, and strike a new path to suit the requirements of our time. We are the masters of this generation, and we have every right to amend, alter or vary the laws in the light of our experience and knowledge. In this way we shall have earned the credit for perpetuating our Dharma and justified its being called 'Santana.'" (pp. 62-3.)

In acquitting the Brahman of any special responsibility for "the commission of the crime" of untouchability and making him a partner in it equally with the Kshatriya and the Vaisya (and why not the Sudra also?), Mr. Agarwal may hope to please the Brahman, as he fears he might displease the other two (p. 54). But the Brahman cannot be so ignorant as not to know that he has been teacher and law-giver to all the castes, and that, therefore, the negative responsibility, at least, for not having educated people out of the crime will justly attach to him.

S. D. NADKARNI

(To be concluded)

Our London Letter.

(BY AIR MAIL.)

(From Our Correspondent.)

LONDON, April 6.

THE REFORMS.

WHILST with the reasons given in my last letter I do not attach undue importance to the result of the voting at last week's Tory Conference, the forth-coming visit of the Viceroy should do much to restore a sense of proportion in those Conservative circles which have been of late disturbed by the cantankerous propaganda of the Churchill-Lloyd group. Mr. A. G. Gardiner very rightly observes in a recent article in the *Star*, that Mr. Churchill is really aiming at a "come back" in politics, for which purpose he may capture the Conservative Party, and that he has used the Indian issue as one that gave him the best chance of so doing. The issue, as Mr. Gardiner rightly says, "depends on whether the rank and file of the Conservative Party will back Mr. Baldwin and the official leaders of the Party or Mr. Churchill's reckless gamble with the Indian Empire." The former realise that "if the British occupation of India is to continue, a new basis of relationship must be established. We must govern India by consent or not govern it at all." The latter, whilst pretending to offer as an alternative the Simon Report with the reservation of Law and Order in the Provinces, have in reality no other alternative than holding down India by force. Mr. Gardiner concludes that Mr. Baldwin and his Conservative colleagues have been converted to the view that the Government that entered on such an enterprise as holding down India by force would crash, "and in its place would come a Labour Government, which would repudiate the whole policy of repression and make a settlement with India under the worst possible conditions, and probably on the most disastrous terms, both for India and this country." The conversion of Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues to the idea of the measure of self-government for India adumbrated in the White Paper proposals is due to "a sheer compulsion of facts."

Nevertheless in politics it does not do to take anything too easily for granted, and it is perhaps as well that the Viceroy, during his leave in this country, in the near future, should be available for consultation by the Party leaders and by the Joint Select Committee, whose Report is unlikely to see the light of day before the middle of June, if then. Lord Willingdon will return here with a prestige second to that of none of his predecessors. For good or ill he has the reputation of being the Viceroy who successfully challenged the power of the Congress and who crushed the Civil Disobedience movement.

Whether any and what alternatives lie before the Congress is comparatively unimportant in this connection. If, as is reported in certain places, Lord Willingdon upon his arrival here is going to stand four-square upon the main proposals of the White Paper, with especial reference to the transfer of Law and Order in the Provinces, his attitude is bound to have a powerful influence in all responsible circles, and it would appear to be extremely improbable that, in the face of so powerful an advocacy as the Viceroy's, the Joint Select Committee and the Government would be disposed to truckle to the demands of the diehard element in Parliament.

In the meanwhile it is noted here that, notwithstanding Mr. Jinnah's personal view regarding the merits of the federal scheme, the Mohammedans are little disposed to reject the advantages they find in that scheme, subject, presumably, to such amendments and modifications as their representatives, headed by the Aga Khan, embodied in the Joint Memorandum presented to the Joint Select Committee last December. Begum Shah Nawaz's courageous stand for the reforms has been much appreciated here.

Another feature of the Indian situation that has been widely commented upon is the apparent decision, subject to Mr. Gandhi's tacit approval, of a substantial section of the Congress Party to revive the All-India Swaraj Party to fight the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Assembly. Under whatever pretext a substantial section of the Congress Party may have decided upon Council re-entry, it is all to the good that there is the clear prospect of their abjuring a policy of political sterility and inactivity, the natural corollary of which should be the complete calling-off of the civil disobedience movement, in which few outside of the ranks of the Mahatma's closest companions at present believe as an effective weapon of political achievement. That some new instrument of Congress policy and some new method of activity for the fulfilment of the Congress purposes was being urgently called for had become obvious to disinterested but friendly onlookers more than a year ago, and it is a thousand pities that an entire year has been wasted by Congressmen who should have had the courage of their convictions and a clearer sense of reality, and who should have reorganised themselves accordingly.

INDO-IRISH TRADE NEGOTIATIONS.

It is reported in the Press to-day that trade negotiations between the Irish Free State and the Government of India opened here yesterday. The possibility of developing trade between India and the Irish Free State by tariff preferences will be discussed, the present meeting being the sequel to conversations which took place during the Ottawa Conference. The representatives of India appointed by the Viceroy with the Secretary of State's approval are the High Commissioner, Sir Harry Lindsay, and Sir George Rainey. Mr. Dulanty, the High Commissioner, is at the head of the Irish Free State delegation. Since the subject of tariff preferences between India and the Irish Free State was broached in Ottawa it remained in abeyance until recently, when Mr. de Valera's Government, it is understood, suggested that the negotiations should be reopened.

THE INDIAN EARTHQUAKE.

The subscription lists opened here for the relief of distress in the earthquake area in Bihar are slowly filling up, and remittances are being sent from time to time to India. In the nature of things it is difficult to imagine at a distance the extent and the intensity of the disaster as they are realised so intensely by those on the spot. If so much ruin can have resulted from so comparatively slight a shifting

of the centre of gravity of the Central Himalyan mass, what must have been the nature of the calamity that resulted in the break-up of the Gondwana Continent and the submersion under the waters of the Indian Ocean of that vast portion of it that once connected India with Africa!

However, the important thing is not so much speculation regarding the magnitude of the disaster or its causes, as the need to repair as quickly and efficiently as human ingenuity can devise its consequences. Mr. C. F. Andrews, who is now on a brief tour of the Scandinavian countries, and of Holland and Belgium on his way back here, in order to acquaint the peoples of those countries more closely with the extent of the present disaster, writes me that it is very probable that in the near future M. Pierre Ceresole, a Swiss engineer, who with a number of companions has for years devoted himself to reconstruction in devastated areas, including most recently Brym Mawr in South Wales, is going out to the stricken districts of Behar, with a view if possible to make suggestions, from a long and varied experience, for the restoration of life and activities there. He will, I am confident, have a very warm welcome on all hands. He will be bringing to his task a knowledge and an understanding of the problems and requirements of the situation such as few are endowed with, and his practical experience should provide much encouragement and stimulation of activities. It is also on the cards that an Englishman with high engineering qualifications, and whose name is well-known in India, may presently be deputed to go out for similar purposes after the results of the monsoon have been fully observed. I am not at liberty just now further to identify this gentleman, but his visit, if finally decided upon, should be treated in India as a gesture of practical sympathy.

Our Parliamentary Letter.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

NEW DELHI, April 15th.

STATES' PROTECTION BILL.

THE Princes' Protection Bill was passed by the Legislative Assembly on Wednesday last in practically the same form as had emerged from the Select Committee, Government agreeing only to Mr. Neogy's amendment, which provided that "no court shall take cognizance of any offence punishable under Section 2, unless upon a complaint made by order of or under the authority from the Governor-General in Council or the Local Government." All other amendments were rejected and the Assembly could not effect any improvement in some of the most objectionable clauses of the Bill, trenching upon the freedom of person and press. There was a very determined fight to get the Press Clause either deleted or at least amended in such a form as to do away with its rigour; but the Opposition could hardly whip up thirty votes on their side while Government could easily count sixty on theirs.

Rao Bahadur Patil launched the attack on the Clause relating to Press and moved for its deletion. He showed that even with the explanation added in the Select Committee's Report, it would be difficult for any newspaper to publish even statements of fact, thus depriving the States' subjects of the only chance of ventilating their grievances. Diwan Bahadur Ramaswami Mudaliar thought the Clause to be superfluous, as the Princes' Protection Act of 1922 had covered the same

ground. The most objectionable part of the new Bill was that it substituted an executive trial for judicial trial and also proposed to forfeit the security of the press. He read out extracts from the opinions submitted by the District Magistrates of Dharwar, Bombay and Belgaum and showed that there was no necessity of such drastic provision. He thought it was perhaps the price they were paying for the princes joining the Federation. Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer welcomed the Bill on the very ground that it facilitated the entry of the princes into the Federation. Himself a journalist, he thought the Clause necessary to put down blackmailing by the "gutter press." Mr. Joshi feared that the Bill would be a handicap on honest journalism and blamed the princes coming forward to bribe journalists instead of attempting to improve their ways. He did not see any reason why they should not take recourse to legal action against an offender, when English kings appeared before the British Courts to vindicate their honour. If the princes were to be protected in this manner, equally was protection required against the princes making inroads into the public life of British India by offering alluring jobs to men in public life. Mr. Yamin Khan supported the retention of the Clause, as, according to him, the formation of jathas was only an aftermath of the virulent agitation in the press; and if they wanted to cut at the root of the evil, such a penal clause was a necessity. Sir Cowasji held that even mere statement of facts in the press, accurately and even faithfully narrated, would come within the meshes of the Clause, no matter if the writer had no intention to create hatred or contempt; for, he contended, the very facts would be so revolting that they could not but create contempt against the administration of the State concerned.

Sir Harry Haig in replying to the debate declared that there was nothing to fear if there was no intention to create disaffection and hatred. The prosecution would have to prove that there was such an attempt. He again laid stress that the Bill was required to curb the writings in the press that stirred up communal hatred. He emphatically repudiated the suggestion that the Bill was an attempt to purchase the support of the princes for the Federation. The amendment was then defeated by a very big Government majority.

When the attempt to delete the Clause was defeated, amendments were moved by Mr. Lalohand Navalrai to soften down its rigour, but the whole series of them were unceremoniously rejected one after another. The amendment moved by Mr. Jadhav got good support of the Opposition but to no effect. Sir Abdur Rahim maintained that the onus lay on the accused to prove that he did not intend to create hatred, and not on the prosecution. Sir Cowasji appealed to the Government to redraft the explanation to the Clause to meet the wishes of the Opposition, so that it would be made explicit that bona fide statements would not be penalised. Sir Harry Haig however would not move from his position and the amendment was rejected by a large Government majority. Mr. Joshi moved a rider that the protection afforded by this Bill should be made available to those States only that had a properly constituted representative legislature. He brought out how the administration of laws in States was utterly defective and held that Government should not encourage its continuance by such protective measures. The amendment was, however, lost. All other amendments having been rejected the second reading was passed and the third reading immediately followed. Mr. Mody, Mr. Sitaram Raju, Sir Abdur Rahim and others opposed the Bill in very strong terms. Sir Abdur frankly confessed that Government

did not realise how far the Opposition had gone to meet the wishes of the Government, and yet they had received no response from the Government; they had, therefore, no choice left but to oppose the Bill. The motion was pressed to a division and Government carried the day with its assured majority.

COTTON TEXTILE PROTECTION.

The Cotton Textile Protection Bill came up for the second reading on Thursday last. The textile industry having come up for protection more than once before the Assembly, it came under searching criticism from the point of view of the burden it inflicted on the consumer. Mr. Anklesaria moved for the circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion. In his opinion the measure imposed a severe and disproportionate burden on the consumer, which he calculated at something near Rs. 80 crores. He complained that the millowners and the millionaires had a dominating voice with the Government of India and the interests of the agriculturists, labourers and the consumers were ignored, although Government spoke about it every now and then. He moved the amendment more because the Select Committee, instead of lowering the taxation had proposed to increase it from 25% to 31%. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed supported the amendment and said that as the purchasing power of the people was falling and the Japanese quota was fixed, any reduction in consumption of goods would be at the expense of the Indian industries. Mr. S. C. Mitra complained that the Select Committee members were hustled into accepting the statements of the Central Board of Revenue and Government ignored those of the Tariff Board. The Commerce Member Sir Joseph Bhore replied to the criticism and pointed out that Japan had agreed to buy the same amount of Indian cotton that she had been previously buying on an average during the last ten years. He also informed the House that on the representations from the Government of India, Japan had agreed to raise the restrictions on freight, about which a protest had been made on the floor of the House some time back by members from Bombay. The motion for circulation being defeated, the Bill was taken into consideration clause by clause and all the amendments persistently moved by Dr. Ziauddin and Mr. Maswood Ahmed were rejected. Government accepted only two amendments one moved by Sir Cowasji Jehangir, and the other moved by Mr. H. P. Mody.

Reviews.

AMERICAN NATIONAL PLANNING.

THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ACT. By BENJAMIN S. KIRSH. (Central Book Co., New York.) 1933. 20cm. 156p. \$ 2.50.

NATIONAL planning of various types is the order of the day throughout the civilized world and reflects the universally felt need for drastic collective effort as offering the only way out of the present economic depression. The National Recovery Act (together with the Agricultural Adjustment Act) is an attempt at national planning best conforming to American conditions. Under the provisions of this Act it has become possible for Government, in partnership with industry, to prevent the evils of unrestricted competition, price-cutting and overproduction, and by industrial self-regulation under government supervision it is hoped to rehabilitate industry and trade. The operation of the Federal anti-trust law is temporarily suspended, because the anti-trust law, however excellent its intentions, was in actual

practice found to protect price-cutters and employers of sweated labour and led to overproduction and chaotic business rivalry. It also encouraged underground and surreptitious illegal practices and alliances with the racketeering element. American business traditions have been refractory to the kind of socialistic discipline imposed by the Recovery Act. It has however been welcomed by an overwhelming public opinion as an experimental measure in the present difficult and exceptional times. It has been welcomed by business men in general because it aims at putting industry once more on a profitable basis by permitting regulation of prices, volume of production and the coercion of any recalcitrant minority that may stand out against such regulation and continue to insist on complete freedom, including the freedom to adopt unfair competitive methods and to cut prices to an impossible level for healthy normally conducted business. Labour also has received this piece of legislation with open arms because the Act invites its participation in the preparation of fair practices dealing with wages, hours, and a generally improved status for labour. Finally, the consumers are assured of protection from exploitation as the Government will insist on adequate safeguards to public welfare before conceding to industrialists the lawful right of entering into agreements regarding prices, production, etc. and withdrawing from these subjects the forbidding shackles of the old anti-trust laws.

The author has given a lucid exposition of the Recovery Act and has clearly brought out its main implications. The book should prove very useful to anyone interested in the American contribution to industrial organization and an ordered economic structure.

G. B. JATHAR.

INDIAN INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS.

INDIAN INDUSTRY AND ITS PROBLEMS.

Vol. I—Factors in Industrial Development. By H. R. SONI. (Longmans.) 1933. 28cm. 439p. Rs. 10.

THE none too rapid tempo of industrialism in India has made the problem of Indian industries one of profound interest to men of our generation. The book under review is the first of three volumes in which an ambitious attempt is made in the form of a thesis, for the Degree of Doctor of Science (Economics) in the University of London to visualise this interesting problem as a whole. It is born of sheer optimism for the author believes that the solution of the industrial problem of India lies in the suggestions he has made in this work. Whether this optimism can be justified or not remains to be seen, for this can be done only after we have perused the remaining two volumes. This volume deals only with the manifold factors in industrial development and hence it contains nine chapters dealing with Raw Materials, Sources of Heat and Power, Finance and Management, Labour and State Action—all of which are preceded by a Preliminary Survey.

It is rather regrettable that the Preliminary Survey contains certain statements which may mislead non-Indian readers. Whilst the author admits that Britain had always a desire to "push her own manufactures in the Indian market regardless of the interest of Indian industries," he refuses to admit that India could have been in any way better off had she no political connections with England. Mr. Soni is treading on dangerous and controversial ground when he says that without the British power in India we would have had no indigenious government

prepared to support our industries, and since our own people would not have done any better we have no right to complain of the early industrial policy of our British rulers and no right to talk of political rights and wrongs. To say this is to deny the truth of what Ranade, Dutt, Basu and others taught us a few years ago. The author seems to underestimate, if not forget, what kind of an industrial revolution would have taken place here and in England had these two countries not been brought into contact with each other through the fortunes of war and politics. It seems as if these few pages would have been written more by an Anglo-Indian apologist than by an Indian.

Mr. Soni evidently is a writer who does not hesitate to put things bluntly. Whilst this is certainly commendable in a way, it is apt to be carried to extremes at times. He does not hesitate to describe those Indian bankers who were responsible for the bank failures of 1913 as "a curiously mixed lot of fools and knaves," and those who have been responsible for company promotion and management in India as "crooks of the lowest order of intelligence." To Mr. Soni many things in India are "barbaric." He has a special fascination for the use of this adjective. Two other things which are apt to puzzle us are his assertion that the money income of the masses is steadily improving and his opposition to unemployment insurance for factory labour.

But apart from these minor defects the book as a whole is worthy of the serious consideration of all. Useful originality has been shown in emphasising certain aspects of the problem which till now had been ignored by officials and non-officials alike. His emphasis on the need for the modernisation of our industrial equipment through the utilisation of electricity as a source of heat and power—a fact ignored by the Industries Commission—deserves our notice. Rightly does he insist on the importance of the conservation of coal in a country like ours where the coal resources are comparatively meagre and where nearly 80 per cent. of the coal is of low-grade variety. He has shown great scholarship in proving a great many serious fallacies of the Fiscal Commission regarding foreign capital and his bold attempt to show that the majority of the members of this Commission had not the moral courage to speak according to their conviction is not unsuccessful. His courage in proving that "the mischievous arguments put forward by the Fiscal Commission are either based on their ignorance or constitute a deliberate attempt to misdirect public opinion and Governmental action" is commendable combined as it is with facts figures and arguments.

Nor is it only in these directions that the book will be found useful. Mr. Soni is not unsympathetic to the larger problems involved. His treatment of labour, for example, is full of genuine and broad-minded sympathy for the toiler in factory and farm. The freshness, generosity and impartiality of youth is clearly visible in the remedies proposed for labour. In all the misfortunes which have dogged the Indian employer Mr. Soni sees the hand of Nemesis. It is really interesting to note that Mr. Soni does not share the views held by many members of our legislatures on the drink question. His emphasis on the adoption of an anti-drink policy as one of the proposed remedies is correct and timely, particularly when we remember that the Whitley Commission shirked this important question by saying that it was no part of their function to indicate a national policy on the subject.

On the whole there can be no doubt that the book is bound to be very useful. But a perusal of the next

two volumes will be necessary before the last word can be said on the subject. This volume merely proves to us that India has a great industrial future, a future that is in keeping with the history of her people. Notwithstanding our deficiency in copper, zinc, lead and sulphur India can be a great industrial country provided we have intelligent and honest men to promote her industries and a sympathetic and disinterested Government to support them.

PESY N. DRIVER.

SHORT NOTICES.

FINANCIAL DEMOCRACY. By MARGARET and DOUGLAS CAMPBELL. (Hogarth Press.) 1933. 20cm. 132p. 4/6.

THE book discusses the methods by which the joint stock companies can be made more responsive to the will of the shareholders. It points out that the enormous growth in the size of these concerns makes it imperative that if shareholders' interests are not to suffer, the directors of joint stock concerns should be made to feel greater responsibility for what they do to the shareholders than heretofore. The methods of working of most of the directorates of these companies are obscure and the existing methods of control over them rather ineffective. The checks upon the directors' action as contained in the general shareholders' meetings, the scrutiny of the auditors and the intervention of the law courts are either too meagre or too incapable of proving advantageous.

The joint stock system, as the authors point out, is based upon the ideal of democracy, but the ideal is honoured more in the breach than in the observance. And the result is that the very foundations of the joint stock system are being shaken. They want that some definite and immediate steps should be taken to retrieve the position, either by setting up a dictatorship in business or by giving some concessions to the shareholders even if it meant the sacrifice of the principle of efficiency to a certain extent. A greater measure of independence to the auditors and a provision that they should not only scrutinize the companies' account but also pronounce upon the business policies of the directors and a greater measure of control to the law courts over the companies' affairs are remedies which may be tried.

C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

THE PULSE OF OXFORD. BY D. F. KARAKA. (Dent.) 1933. 20cm. 80p. 2/6.

TRADITION, prestige and cultural glamour combine to make Oxford a most fascinating centre of learning. Mr. Karaka who is overcome by its magic makes an attempt in his own unobtrusively charming but immature way to discover wherein lies its attraction. Experience tells us that for every statesman that Oxford produces, there are twenty shallow snobs issuing from its portals. Mr. Karaka realises that since the coming of labour into parliamentary power, Oxford has ceased to be a training-ground of parliamentarians, but that it serves its purpose of infusing into its products an attitude of nonchalant mastery over facts of life. We wonder how far it is true. Even so the price it exacts is far beyond moderate competency—which if spared will help to lend stronger sinews for the struggle against odds. In the fight for existence, the unlettered are known to face as well or even better than those who have acquired the polish of Oxford. Anyway Oxford satisfies the craving of the young mind for sophistication—which is all the justification for it.

K. VENUGOPAL RAO.

LIFE OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA. Vols. I & II. By HIS EASTERN AND WESTERN DISCIPLES. (Advaita Ashram, 4 Wellington Lane, Calcutta.) 1933. 23cm. 927p. Rs. 8.

WE congratulate the publishers upon this second edition of the life of the great Swami. Great praise is due to them for having shorn this edition of all those uninviting features that marred the beauty and usefulness of the first. The bulk of the biography is considerably reduced and instead of four unwieldy volumes, we have two portable, beautifully printed and elegantly bound ones. This is due to the fact that considerable portions which had merely descriptive or interpretative interest have been altogether omitted. To the Indian readers these portions were superfluous and tiresome while even to the Western reader they were of doubtful value. Care however has been taken that nothing important is omitted and every word which had a biographical significance has been retained. Indian biographical literature is so meagre that it is a pleasure to go through these nine hundred odd pages of elevating and enlivening biographical matter.

To the devout reader, Indian, European or American, the days of the Swami's discipleship at Dakshineswar are of special interest. It is therefore a pleasure to find chapters VI to XI rewritten in the light of the new information available from Swami Saradananda's Bengali life of Sri Ramakrishna. The epic of Swamiji's transformation from militant agnosticism to transcendental Faith and Belief has been accurately and delicately presented in these chapters. As such, they deserve special attention on the part of the reader.

The book is, as is well-known, written in chaste and elegant English, the descriptions are always illuminating and the facts of the Swamiji's life are presented in proper psychological sequence. As we go through the pages of the book, the mighty personality of the Swami is unfolded to us in a vivid and realistical manner. This book is not a mere biography; it is at the same time a history of contemporary religious revival and the interrelation between the Swami and the revival has been faithfully portrayed. All honour to the great writers for this comprehensive study of modern Hinduism.

A.

THE FRENCH POLICE FROM WITHIN. By RENE FARALICQ. (Cassell.) 1933. 22cm. 295p. 8/6.

THE author, a University graduate, has wonderful stories of detective work to tell in this book. He started with a prejudice against Police work, but once he accepted it the thrill of adventure and ample scope for man's genius to hunt out criminals fascinated him, and his excellent work earned for him a high reputation in the Police Department. He has not however stated the secret of his trade, and one does not get any glimpse of the methods which the French Police use in getting confessions and corroborations the hardened criminals who have no scruples about anything deemed sacred in the world. The stories of crime defected read like fiction, but such fine work of detecting has been shown by the Indian Police also, and one can parallel every story in this book with one in the files of the Indian Police.

V. M. BHAT.

THE PROBLEMS OF RURAL UPLIFT IN INDIA. By M. B. AHMAD. (Author, Jaunpur.) 1932. 25cm. 179p.

BOOKS on rural uplift are fast multiplying, but Mr. Ahmad's clear understanding of the problem adds

value to his book. The villager is ignorant, poor and conservative, for he is forced to be so, being neglected alike by all who should have cared for him. "The ryot in India has never been a part of the State. Successive administrations have taken charge of him as an element in the wealth of the country as they did the monsoons, the soil and cattle. To them he has been a matter of concern only so long as he has helped in filling their coffers, manning their armies, so to say the chores of the ruler. With the realisation of revenue and other demands interest in him wanes until so long as the next instalment falls due." Poverty is the key note of the rural problem, and the root cause of all rural maladies. "Now the problem in the villages is twofold, first the amplification and extension of the existing resources and secondly uplift." For the first step the author gives an elaborate programme, from the organisation of rural credit to the establishment of foreign trade legations. The villager, however benumbed he might be, is not irresponsive to calls for improving himself. He never spurns the helping hand extended to him.

Rural reconstruction work, sincerely undertaken throughout the country, has given very satisfactory results. The reports of the Agricultural, Educational and Health Departments amply prove how responsive the villager is.

Mr. Ahmad treats mainly of the United Provinces, but rural India in other Provinces is not quite different. He gives details of the work of his Akbarpur centre, and of the various development departments of his Province. His own experience of the work is quite encouraging, but work under official auspices has suffered by a change of official personnel elsewhere. The appendices at the end of the book are useful. The get-up should be improved when it runs to another edition.

N. S. S.

Correspondence.

"THE NEGRO'S CHURCH."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—In your issue of December 7, 1933, I noticed a review of "The Negro's Church" signed by Mr. K. Kanakaratanam. We were happy to send the book at his request, but the review is very disappointing, alike for what it says and fails to say. The reviewer makes his review the occasion for a diatribe against lynching in the United States and finds fault with the authors of "The Negro's Church" for not devoting more attention to that subject. He also asks with scorn: "Why do the effects of pigment prejudice remain to this day uneffaced by Christianity?" Let me deal briefly with these and other points in the review.

In the first place, the reviewer seems to have been strangely blind, since he assumes that the authors were whites, whereas it is clearly stated on the very jacket of the book itself that "when the Institute of Social and Religious Research decided to undertake this study of Negro Churches, the desirability of having it directed by members of the Negro race was at once recognized, since only Negroes themselves could approach the task with the necessary sympathy and understanding". The authors are not only Negroes, but are both of them ordained ministers while, at the same time, they are competent social investigators. One of them already

holds and the other is shortly to receive the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

If the reviewer had read the volume with more care, he would probably have refrained from uttering most of his criticisms. For example, he would hardly have assumed that the book was a race-relations exposé if he had not overlooked statements in the book itself that its purpose was "to give an accurate description of the Negro Church today in the United States." If it had been a study of Negro-White relations then, of course, it would have dealt thoroughly with lynching and race discrimination, but to have written a treatise on lynching in a volume on the Negro Church would have been to drag it in by the heels.

The reviewer as much as says that the Institute of Social and Religious Research, under whose auspices this study was made, and of which I am the executive, was afraid to handle such inflammatory subjects as lynching and race prejudice. To disprove this gratuitous assumption I need only say that we have recently made a study of discrimination in the treatment of Negroes by white religious agencies and institutions, which will be published this summer. In it your reviewer will find an unvarnished statement of the facts, many of which are damaging to American white Christian organizations. I may say in passing, however, that the white leaders who are most active in attempting to exercise the demon of race prejudice in the United States are almost invariably Christian men and women, and despite the grave abuses still remaining in the realm of race relations, it would not be hard to mention evidences of progress. Prominent among the agencies operating in this realm is the Inter-racial Commission (Atlanta, Georgia) an inter-denominational Christian organization composed, in both its national and local units, of nearly equal numbers of influential whites and Negroes.

The reviewer also states that the writers of the volume "evince no enthusiasm over Negro achievements" and that they "write with no sympathy." Such criticisms evidence a very careless reading of the volume, for almost all of Chapter XVII, entitled "The Genius of the Negro Church", deals with the achievements already won by the Negro Church and with its great potentialities as an instrument for the service of the Negroes in America.

I thank you for your valuable space and venture to hope that many of your readers will have opportunity to judge of the quality of "The Negro's Church" for themselves.—Yours, etc.

New York City.

GALEN M. FISHER.

Jan. 26

BOOKS RECEIVED.

INDIA'S PLIGHT: DEBTS DOUBLED: DEVELOPMENT DAMMED. By M. DE P. WEBB. (The Daily Gazette Press, Karachi.) 1934. 23cm. 102p. Re. 1.

MANKIND AT THE CROSSROADS. By EDWARD M. EAST. (Scribners.) 22cm. 360p. 18/-.

BY INDRA'S AID. A Glimpse of Life in the Vedic Age. By FRANK R. SELL. (Bangalore Printing & Publishing Co.) 1933. 20cm. 180p.

PROBLEMS OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA. By F. M. DE'MELLÉ. (Oxford University Press.) 1934. 20cm. 68p. Re. 1/.